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# *Journal of Adventist Archives*

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## **Foreword**

**Roy K. Kline, Editor**  
**Michael F. Younker, Managing Editor**

Welcome to the fourth volume of the *Journal of Adventist Archives*! It is our lengthiest issue so far, and we trust it includes articles our readers will find enriching in their study of Adventist history.

In this 2024 issue, we're pleased to share detailed articles by Michael Campbell about a too often neglected administrator, Irwin Henry Evans, who served as GC Treasurer and NAD President. Ashlee Chism passionately shares about remembering the importance of women in telling our Adventist story. Kevin Burton provides the most detailed account to date of the story of Israel Damman, an early Millerite believer who faced legal battles, while Benjamin Calmant brings to light several letters from the pioneer Swiss Adventist Albert Vuilleumier.

This issue of *JAA* also includes updates from David Trim about several archival accreditations that took place throughout 2023–2024, and Kevin Burton updates us on new acquisitions at Andrews University's Center for Adventist Research. Additionally, book reviews for recent publications by David Hollinger, Donald McAdams, and Michael Campbell conclude this issue.

We in the Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research at the General Conference wish you good reading this winter! Also, again, as a friendly reminder, we invite our readers and their fellow Adventist historians and other scholars doing relevant research to submit articles for publication in *JAA* to our managing editor of *JAA*, Michael Younker, at [younkerm@gc.adventist.org](mailto:younkerm@gc.adventist.org). We welcome your submissions for potential future publication!

## **Articles**



## **“Give God the Best”<sup>1</sup>: The Life of Irwin Henry Evans as General Conference Treasurer and North American Division President**

by  
**Michael W. Campbell**

This article provides a biographical overview about the contributions of Irwin Henry Evans (1862-1945), who was an influential administrator in the formation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onward, with his key ministry occurring in the first half of the twentieth century. His life serves as a case study in the development of church organization, and was the primary focus of the formation of the North American Division (1913-1918). In this key role his leadership, and the early first phase of a specifically North American Division territory and level of organization within the denomination, is the primary focus of this article, with the events leading up to his tenure, that provides some context to help better understand both Evans' life as well as what he accomplished and the context for the North American Division.

It will be suggested in this article that Evans was, in effect, a victim of his own success, and yet in his many roles within the denomination he remained firmly committed to the worldwide mission of the denomination. Consequently, it was the need to sustain a worldwide mission and maintain a strong base of support in North America that would be a defining aspect of his administration, and a pivotal reason both for the creation and dissolution of the first iteration of the North American Division. Thus, while Evans' life is not well-known in Adventist history, no

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<sup>1</sup> The title of a poem by Evans, see I. H. Evans, “Give God the Best,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* [ARH], February 8, 1917, 10.

biography exists, and his life is generally given only passing references in Adventist historiography, he deserves consideration as one of the most influential administrators in Adventist history. His background as a pastor, missionary, administrator, poet, author, and hymn writer show a complex individual who dedicated his life to the mission of the worldwide Seventh-day Adventist Church. He served as one of the key officers of the denomination, as treasurer (1903-1910), before he served in his role as the leader of the denomination in Asia and then as North American Division president. It is his leadership in these key positions that remains the primary focus of this article in an attempt to remedy this lacuna about his significant administrative and leadership contributions to the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

### **Early Life & Ministry**

Irwin was born April 10, 1862, in North Plains, Ionia County, Michigan, to William (1840-1914) and Ruth Ann née Locke (1843-1926) Evans. Irwin was converted and baptized at the age of 12. As a youth “he held the ministry in view as his goal.”<sup>2</sup> He “used to go out and preach to the stumps on his father’s farm.” This early training, according to A. W. Spalding, prepared him for his “gracious, winning form of address which made his preaching so charming and so effective.”<sup>3</sup> He began ministry as a licentiate in 1882, teaching school in the winter. In 1884 he participated in evangelistic meetings in Michigan.<sup>4</sup> He also received a ministerial license for the first time.<sup>5</sup> The next year he was transferred to Kentucky. He arrived December 10, 1885, where he began to hold meetings at Leitchfield.<sup>6</sup> He was successful at raising up several groups of believers.<sup>7</sup> He became involved in the Kentucky Tract Society.<sup>8</sup> He was ordained that summer at the 1886 Kentucky

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<sup>2</sup> A. W. Spalding, *Captains of the Host: First Volume of a History of Seventh-day Adventists Covering the Years 1845-1900* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1949), 373, 374.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> I. H. Evans & H. P. Holser, “Michigan,” *ARH*, June 24, 1884, 411; *idem.*, “Gaines, Aug. 6,” *ARH*, August 19, 1884, 541; *idem.*, “Michigan,” *ARH*, September 9, 1884, 588.

<sup>5</sup> See report on the Committee on Credentials and Licenses, *ARH*, October 21, 1884, 668.

<sup>6</sup> I. H. Evans, “Kentucky,” *ARH*, February 23, 1886, 124.

<sup>7</sup> See the report for “Kentucky,” *The Gospel Sickle*, October 1, 1886, 135.

<sup>8</sup> “Kentucky Tract Society Proceedings,” *ARH*, October 26, 1886, 662.



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Camp Meeting (October 7-12).<sup>9</sup> He was afterward elected president of the Kentucky Sabbath School Association.<sup>10</sup> By early 1887 Irwin was serving back in Michigan.<sup>11</sup> He worked actively in evangelism. He served as president of the Michigan Sabbath School Association<sup>12</sup> and secretary of the Michigan Health and Temperance Association.<sup>13</sup> He would increasingly work on regional meetings to rouse confidence in the work. “When our people understand the workings of our institutions,” he wrote after one such gathering, “and the different branches of the cause, they will have more confidence in the work of God.”<sup>14</sup>

In 1887 he married Emma Ferry (1862-1903), who died in 1903. They had four children: Arthur Henry (1888-1956), Edith Evans (1890-1893), Jessie Ruth Corbett (1892-1981), and Jerome Fargo (1894-1971). His youngest child was named after the former president of the Michigan Conference, Jerome Fargo (1824-1899).

#### **Michigan Conference President**

In 1891 Irwin was elected president of the Michigan Conference.<sup>15</sup> One of his first initiatives was to organize a special training institute for all church workers held from November 13 to December 15.<sup>16</sup> Irwin traveled extensively holding regional meetings to encourage believers. He reported in 1892 that they had “not had a large attendance at any of the meetings, because of so much sickness [la grippe].” He added that these gatherings were “seasons of hard labor.” He added that such unbelief and doubt “do not exist so much in regard to the truthfulness of the great pillars of our faith, as they do to personal experience and a knowledge of acceptance with God. But when one is in doubt or uncertainty about his own standing with God, the great truths we

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<sup>9</sup> R. A. Underwood, “Kentucky Camp-Meeting,” *ARH*, October 26, 1886, 669; “Kentucky Conference Proceedings,” *ARH*, November 9, 1886, 700.

<sup>10</sup> “Kentucky Sabbath-School Association Proceedings,” *ARH*, November 16, 1886, 717.

<sup>11</sup> “Recommendations for Tent Labor in Michigan,” *ARH*, May 17, 1887, 313, 314.

<sup>12</sup> See under “Appointments,” *ARH*, November 4, 1890, 687.

<sup>13</sup> “Michigan H. and T. Society Proceedings,” *ARH*, November 11, 1890, 701.

<sup>14</sup> I. H. Evans, “General Meetings in Michigan,” February 10, 1891, 92-93.

<sup>15</sup> O. A. Olsen, “A Good Camp-Meeting,” *ARH*, September 29, 1891, 601; “Michigan Conference Proceedings,” *ARH*, September 29, 1891, 604-605.

<sup>16</sup> I. H. Evans, “To Michigan Workers,” *ARH*, November 3, 1891, 686.

have held so long soon lose their luster and strength, and it is easy then to lose hold upon them.”<sup>17</sup>

During the 1890s he became increasingly interested in the publishing work. From March 15 to April 23, 1893 he organized a six-week canvassers’ institute—the largest gathering of its kind up to that point with at least 200 in attendance, to more thoroughly train and equip people to disseminate Adventist literature.<sup>18</sup> Teachers, in addition to Evans, included J. O. Corliss, F. D. Starr, E. E. Miles and F. L. Mead. By the time the institute was over the participants had contributed \$26.48 toward the Adventist mission in India.<sup>19</sup> This strong sense of mission can be seen in an evangelistic initiative by Evans to plant a church by the Michigan Conference across the border in the Canadian province of Ontario. After holding evangelistic meetings, in 1893 they organized a church in Albuna, Ontario. A. T. Jones was the featured evangelist, and the Michigan Conference sponsored two full-time Bible workers to help establish an Adventist presence in the city of Toronto where there had recently been organized a Sabbath School. “We trust the work in Ontario will have the prayers and sympathy of all the brethren and sisters in Michigan.”<sup>20</sup>

Evans was a frugal administrator. In 1893 he was trying to find ways to help reduce costs and sustain the city mission in Detroit. He came up with a plan to have churches from across the state send them canned food, one of their most expensive foods they had to buy, to help make the outreach work more sustainable.<sup>21</sup> He was one of the earliest for developing the practice of holding workers’ meetings right before camp meeting each year.<sup>22</sup> He urged for better planning when holding camp meetings, whether that was arranging for your tent ahead of time, or the practicality of making “a good sheet-iron stove” which was more cost effective than renting one.<sup>23</sup> This “white city of the tents of

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<sup>17</sup> See under “Michigan,” *ARH*, March 8, 1892, 153.

<sup>18</sup> I. H. Evans, “Canvassers’ Institute for Michigan,” *ARH*, March 7, 1893, 160; F. L. Mead, “Notes from the Canvassing Field,” *ARH*, March 21, 1893, 188; see note *ARH*, April 25, 1893, 272.

<sup>19</sup> See note *ARH*, April 25, 1893, 272.

<sup>20</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Dedication at Albuna, Ontario,” *ARH*, June 13, 1893, 380-381.

<sup>21</sup> I. H. Evans, “To the Brethren and Sisters in Michigan,” *ARH*, June 25, 1893, 477.

<sup>22</sup> “NOTICE TO MICHIGAN!” *ARH*, August 8, 1893, 509.

<sup>23</sup> I. H. Evans, “Tens for the Lansing Camp-Meeting,” *ARH*, August 22, 1893, 541.



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Israel” with an estimated “constant attendance” of from four to five thousand persons “was thus the largest camp-meeting ever held by our people.”<sup>24</sup>

In 1893 Irwin was elected as a member of the executive committee of the International Tract Society.<sup>25</sup> From April 4-16 1894<sup>26</sup> he held another canvassing institute in which he worked to train more workers to sell Adventist literature, works such as *Bible Readings, Two Republics, Volume 4 [Great Controversy]*, or *Patriarchs and Prophets*.<sup>27</sup> He appealed for “men and women who love hard work” to “sacrifice for the truth’s sake” by working as canvassers.<sup>28</sup> Later that year he developed a second camp meeting in Frankfort, on the shores of Lake Michigan.<sup>29</sup> He happily reported that about the growth of the “mission work in Detroit” that resulted in most nights in a “nearly full” chapel.<sup>30</sup> At the time the mission had 14 Bible workers.<sup>31</sup> He added that there were now “four tent companies” doing evangelism in Ontario and enough interest from the Bible workers in Toronto that he believed it would soon be time to “have a house of worship in Toronto.”<sup>32</sup> By 1895 he was happy to announce that they dedicated a new church building with 41 members at Selton, Ontario.<sup>33</sup> During that year they raised \$5,000 toward a church building and added two more Bible workers to assist in building up a church in Toronto.<sup>34</sup> Irwin was a passionate evangelist who loved to both share his faith and equip others to do the same. He loved to preach, for example, on the verse “Ye are my witnesses” showing how important it is to rightly represent God when sharing the truths we profess.<sup>35</sup>

Through the 1890s his administrative responsibilities began to expand. In 1895 Irwin was elected as a member of the General

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<sup>24</sup> See editorial note, *ARH*, October 3, 1893, 628.

<sup>25</sup> See *ST*, March 20, 1893, 318.

<sup>26</sup> I. H. Evans, “Michigan Canvassers’ Institute,” *ARH*, March 27, 1894, 205.

<sup>27</sup> I. H. Evans, “Michigan Canvassers,” *ARH*, January 23, 1894, 62.

<sup>28</sup> I. H. Evans, “Michigan Canvassers’ Institute,” *ARH*, March 6, 1894, 158.

<sup>29</sup> I. H. Evans, “Northern Michigan Camp-Meeting,” *ARH*, August 7, 1894, 510.

<sup>30</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Work in Michigan and Ontario,” *ARH*, August 21, 1894, 539.

<sup>31</sup> See note under “Field Notes,” *ST*, March 26, 1894, 332.

<sup>32</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Work in Michigan and Ontario,” *ARH*, August 21, 1894, 539.

<sup>33</sup> “General Meeting in Ontario,” *ARH*, April 9, 1895, 239; A. O. Burrill, “Ontario,” *ARH*, June 18, 1895, 396.

<sup>34</sup> I. H. Evans, “Ontario,” May 21, 1895, 332.

<sup>35</sup> See description of his sermon in *ARH*, October 30, 1894, 688.

Conference Association Executive Board.<sup>36</sup> That year seven new churches were organized with a total of six new church buildings that were also dedicated in the Michigan Conference.<sup>37</sup> In 1896 Irwin requested that the missionary work in Ontario be transferred to the General Conference.<sup>38</sup> That same year he was also elected as a member of the Board of Trustees for the S.D.A. Educational Society.<sup>39</sup> He again organized another canvassers' institute (April 9-25, 1896), which became a vital part of his leadership training.<sup>40</sup>

### **Growing Administrative Responsibilities**

In 1897 Irwin was chosen as "business agent" for the General Conference Association (the business arm of the General Conference) and relinquished his role as Michigan Conference president.<sup>41</sup> He remained a member of the General Conference Committee until his death. He proposed a "self-denial week" for individuals to give additional funds for overseas church mission projects.<sup>42</sup> With mounting debts, he pled with church members to loan the General Conference money without interest to provide more working capital.<sup>43</sup> This ultimately led to "a special season of seeking God for the prosperity of the work" on July 2-3, 1898.<sup>44</sup> Also, in 1898, he became vice-president of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association as well as continuing as a member of the S. D. A. Educational Society and GC Executive Committee.<sup>45</sup> That summer he spoke at a series of camp meetings

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<sup>36</sup> G. C. T[enney], "The General Conference," March 12, 1895, 171.

<sup>37</sup> J. S. Hall, "Proceedings of the Michigan Conference," *ARH*, October 15, 1895, 668.

<sup>38</sup> General Conference Committee Minutes, Spring Session, March 15, 1896, 2 [126].

<sup>39</sup> "S. D. A. Educational Society," *ARH*, March 10, 1896, 158.

<sup>40</sup> I. H. Evans, "Michigan Canvassers' Institute," *ARH*, March 24, 1896, 191.

<sup>41</sup> See description in *ARH*, April 13, 1897, 240. The term "business agent" is used by church president Geo. A. Irwin in description his role. See G. A. Irwin, "The Special Season of Fasting and Prayer," *ARH*, May 11, 1897, 297. The explanation of the role of the General Conference Association as the "business arm of the General Conference" appears in *ST*, December 16, 1897, 11.

<sup>42</sup> General Conference Committee Minutes, June 17, 1897, 5.

<sup>43</sup> I. H. Evans, "Read This," *ARH*, February 22, 1898, 132.

<sup>44</sup> I. H. Evans, "The Coming Season of Prayer and Special Donation," *ARH*, June 21, 1898, 398.

<sup>45</sup> See minutes, "The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association," *ARH*, April 5, 1898, 222-223; "Twenty-First Annual

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from Michigan to Maine. His message was “Receive ye the Holy Ghost.”<sup>46</sup> He both appealed and opined that the General Conference had to borrow money, but continued to appeal to church members, if possible, to loan money to the church without interest. If he had to, the General Conference Association could pay up to 4 percent.<sup>47</sup> When one person at the 1899 GC Session proposed making this year of Jubilee (50 years since the founding of the *Review*) as a way to forgive debts, such as the \$47,000 the Review and Herald Publishing Association held against Battle Creek College, it was Evans who noted how one could not rejoice in such financial bondage, but “it was a fine thing to forgive, and also a fine thing to pay.”<sup>48</sup> He proposed instead remitting the interest instead of the principal. Another idea he had was to close out the last full week of 1899 (Dec. 23-30) with a week of prayer:

Why not let a real missionary spirit come in to our hearts to go to the disheartened ones and make them a visit? In many churches there are those who never, or at least seldom, attend services. Why not arrange to have all such visited? Invite them to the meetings, and show them your love. Get them to join in prayer and song, and invite them to speak a word for the Lord. . . . Pray for the work in other lands. Pray for our foreign missionaries. Pray that God will give success to the missionaries we have, and will raise up many more. Pray for money to carry on God’s work. Pray that his people may have liberal hearts, hearts of sacrifice, to give for perishing souls. And, lastly, pray him to tell you just what he wishes you to do.<sup>49</sup>

In 1899, Irwin continued as a member of both the General Conference Committee, International Tract, Society, and then served as president of the Foreign Mission Board.<sup>50</sup> He appealed for church members to become more aware of the 1.4 billion people on the planet. “The Gospel is due to the world . . . Christ’s representatives cannot confine their labors to one nation or tongue. It is not to be confined within state lines or national

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Meeting of the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society,” *ARH*, April 5, 1898, 223.

<sup>46</sup> Eugene Leland, “The Maine Camp-Meeting,” *ARH*, October 18, 1898, 672.

<sup>47</sup> I. H. Evans, “Help Needed,” *ARH*, November 29, 1898, 774.

<sup>48</sup> See quote under “Fourth Meeting,” *ARH*, March 21, 1899, 188.

<sup>49</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Week of Prayer,” *ARH*, December 19, 1899, 322.

<sup>50</sup> See “Officers of S. D. A. Societies and Boards,” *ST*, March 22, 1899, 10.

boundaries; but extended to the uttermost parts of the earth.”<sup>51</sup> The providential rise of the Adventist movement in New England has grown into strong conferences across most of the United States. “It is but natural, and we believe in the order of God, for the work to be firmly established in America that it may supply laborers and means for the entire world.”<sup>52</sup> The cosmopolitan nature of the United States made it unique for sending out missionaries to the world. With a membership of 57,000 and a tithe of \$350,000 they employed 842 workers, but only employed 250 workers for overseas missionary work. He believed that the amount invested in missions should exceed that being used in the home field. He proposed that every church member raise 10 cents a week for missions that would expand the number of overseas workers by 300 workers. This was a bold proposal to expand the missionary presence of the denomination.<sup>53</sup>

In 1900 church leaders sent him to resolve the bankrupted Christiana Publishing House. He discovered that the Skodsborg Sanitarium was in even worse financial shape. They came up with a plan to liquidate the property and repay creditors over three years.<sup>54</sup> The funds needed were a staggering \$65,986 (approximately \$2.4 million in 2023).<sup>55</sup> He also proposed a special week of prayer focused on mission to take place from December 22-29, 1900.<sup>56</sup> By early 1901 the lawyers on behalf of the creditors of Skodsborg demanded a mortgage on the property. Evans would negotiate one of the largest early financial crises of the denomination.<sup>57</sup> In order not to lose the property it required \$22,000 paid semi-annually for three years. Evans believed that they could meet these demands and other requests for mission projects with this 10 cents a week plan. He urged: This *can be done*. Only let the *whole denomination* take hold and *pull together*.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> I. H. Evans, “Our Work World-Wide,” *The Missionary Magazine*, August 1899, 331.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 332.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> See plan dated September 26, 1900, in General Conference Committee Minutes, October 14, 1900, 160-162.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>56</sup> I. H. Evans, “Are We Planning for It?” *ARH*, November 27, 1900, 764.

<sup>57</sup> General Conference Committee Minutes, April 30, 1901, 29.

<sup>58</sup> I. H. Evans, “Systematic Giving,” *ARH*, March 26, 1901, 203.

### **Review and Herald Manager**

The 1901 General Conference session was a turning point in Irwin’s life as he took on many new responsibilities, not least of which were his growing responsibilities in the publishing arm of the denomination. At the 1901 General Conference session, in addition to previous committees mentioned, Irwin was added to the General Conference Finance Committee.<sup>59</sup> He was also placed in charge of the publishing work for the Lake Union when the General Conference was re-organized in 1901 and the administrative level of unions was created between the General Conference and conferences (divisions would be created later).<sup>60</sup> Then on May 28, 1901, he was elected president and general manager of the Review and Herald.<sup>61</sup> Later that year he participated in the organization of the Canadian Union Conference.<sup>62</sup> He would facilitate giving the Toronto Branch of the Review as a gift to the Canadian field (with half the expenses shared by the Foreign Mission Board); and a gift of the Atlanta Branch in the South.

Under the Evans administration he cast a new vision for the Review and Herald, which had grown from a “small scale” operation to a turnover with three million dollars in sales. He believed the “object” was the “advance the Third Angel’s Message.”<sup>63</sup> And while there had been some “incidental” commercial work, this was “not the leading object of its existence.” Irwin shared how the new Review Board was “anxious” that the Review “should fulfill the mission upon which it started in the beginning.”<sup>64</sup> Change, he admitted, had been “slow” which he believed was hampered by being unable “to secure competent help.” They opened a new dormitory and began to offer a special

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<sup>59</sup> He remained a member of the General Conference Committee, Mission Board, Publication Committee, General Conference Association, and as a Trustee of the Foreign Mission Board. See “Directory of General Conference and Union Conference Organizations,” *ARH*, May 14, 1901, 318.

<sup>60</sup> “Directory of Union Conference Organizations,” *Supplement ARH*, May 21, 1901, 338.

<sup>61</sup> “Organization of R. & H. Board,” *ARH*, June 11, 1901, 386.

<sup>62</sup> “Organization of the Canadian Union Conference,” *ARH*, December 17, 1901, 820.

<sup>63</sup> [I. H. Evans], “Remarks of Elder I. H. Evans,” *ARH*, February 18, 1902, 106.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

“night school for our apprentices” with free tuition.<sup>65</sup> He believed that as a consequence this would “put us upon right lines, and bring this institution, as it ought to be, into perfect harmony with the different movements of the Third Angel’s Message.”<sup>66</sup> He did believe you could find more “loyal” and dedicated workers “than the employees of the *Review and Herald*.” Despite “mistakes and failures” he believed “there are brighter days” ahead for the *Review and Herald*.<sup>67</sup>

Irwin was at the church headquarters when the Battle Creek Sanitarium tragically burned to the ground on Feb. 18, 1902. Afterward Irwin appealed to *Review* employees to donate a portion of their wages to help the sanitarium rebuild and offered to create a special souvenir booklet on the history of the institution as a fund raiser to help their “sister institution in distress” toward their building fund.<sup>68</sup> He facilitated a redesign of the *Review and Herald* periodical making it slightly smaller size would still contain the same amount of content.<sup>69</sup> He also happily reported that thanks to the generosity of church members they were able to repay the debt on the Christiana Publishing House early. Although not legally obligated, he believed this was the right thing to do, even “unheard-of” to the creditors, giving increased confidence in the “integrity” of the denomination to back its institutions.<sup>70</sup>

Tragically the *Review and Herald* building burned to the ground on December 30, 1902. Through this “disaster” the offices of the *Daily Moon* allowed them to set their type and the *Review* continued to be printed at the office of *The Pilgrim*.<sup>71</sup>

### **Treasurer of the General Conference (1903-1910)**

On April 11, 1903, Irwin was elected as treasurer of the General Conference.<sup>72</sup> The re-structuring of the denomination

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> See description in *ARH*, February 25, 1902, 128.

<sup>69</sup> I. H. Evans, “Announcement,” *ARH*, April 8, 1902, 24.

<sup>70</sup> I. H. Evans, “Why Not?” *ARH*, May 20, 1902, 24.

<sup>71</sup> “Sympathy and Help,” *ARH*, January 6, 1903, 16.

<sup>72</sup> “The General Conference: Summary of Daily Proceedings, April 6 to 11,” *ARH*, April 14, 1903, 24; “Report on Nominations,” *ARH*, May 5, 1903, 14. The General Conference Archives lists the date of his appointment as March 27, 1903, but this date does not correspond with primary sources. To compare see: <https://www.adventistarchives.org/gc-treasurers> [accessed 8/16/23].



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allowed for more financial stability. At the same time Irwin reminded church members of the critical need to raise funds to facilitate the expansion of the denomination into new territories around the globe.<sup>73</sup> Tragically, hardly had he been elected as an officer of the General conference when his wife, Emma, died on May 13, 1903, from endocarditis. A memorial service was held in the home of Henry Nicola after which the body was taken back to the family cemetery in Ovid, Michigan, and another funeral held.<sup>74</sup> The dual loss of the Review through fire and that of the death of his wife meant this was a time of incredible personal loss. Yet even in the midst of that, Irwin remained ever the missionary-minded administrator, Irwin planned for a special offering on July 4, 1903, to help expand the work of the church in Australia.<sup>75</sup> He also worked to dispel rumors about the demise of the Review noting that all financial obligations will be honored, and although it would take some time, he continued to serve as General Manager working on plans to relocate the Review to the east coast<sup>76</sup> Irwin was part of a delegation that visited two sites: New York City and Washington, D.C. The relocation committee met first in New York City on May 18.<sup>77</sup> The committee met again in Washington, D.C., in late July.<sup>78</sup> Ultimately the committee opted to move to Takoma Park, on the border of Maryland and Washington, D.C. Once the new location was decided, Irwin went to work requesting stockholders of the previous corporation assign their stock to the new corporation.<sup>79</sup>

Irwin spent the winter of 1903 through 1904 working on closing up any remaining business at Battle Creek, Michigan. He tied the knot with Adelaide Bee Cooper (1870-1958) on April 13,

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<sup>73</sup> I. H. Evans, “Important Resolutions,” *ARH*, May 12, 1903, 6-7.

<sup>74</sup> See announcement of her death, *ARH*, May 19, 1903, 24.

<sup>75</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Offering for July 4,” *ARH*, June 9, 1903, 24.

<sup>76</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Review and Herald Publishing Company,” *ARH*, June 23, 1903, 24.

<sup>77</sup> A. G. Daniells, “The Removal to Washington,” *ARH*, August 11, 1903, 5-6. Other members of the committee included H. W. Cottrell, S. N. Haskell, J. E. Jayne, S. N. Curtiss, C. D. Rhodes, D. W. Reavis, and A. G. Daniells.

<sup>78</sup> A. G. Daniells, “The Removal to Washington (Concluded),” *ARH*, August 20, 1903, 4-5.

<sup>79</sup> “Assignment of Stock,” *ARH*, November 19, 1903, 24; A. G. Daniells, “To the Stockholders of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association,” *ARH*, December 10, 1903, 21; “Another Call,” *ARH*, February 4, 1904, 24; “An Important Matter,” *ARH*, April 21, 1904, 24.

1904, in Battle Creek. On May 18, 1904, Irwin participated in the closing of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association which was replaced by a new corporation known as the Review and Herald Publishing Association.<sup>80</sup> On July 12, 1904, the courts official dissolved the old publishing house “declaring its existence as having ceased.”<sup>81</sup> All remaining assets in Battle Creek were auctioned off on January 10, 1905.<sup>82</sup> With the new re-organization Irwin stepped aside as general manager of the Review and focused solely on his role as the General Conference Treasurer. Irwin remained supportive of continued outreach efforts in Canada. He participated in the June 16-26, 1904, Ontario Camp Meeting at which he facilitated finding a new conference president since the General Conference had recently called Elder George B. Thompson to church headquarters (they settled on A. O. Burrill in his place).<sup>83</sup> Of special note was a new school, known as the Lornedale Academy, that had recently started by an Elder Leland on fifty acres of land about thirteen miles outside of Toronto.<sup>84</sup>

The December 1, 1904, *Review* reported that Evans had now made Takoma Park, D.C., his permanent home.<sup>85</sup> In the meantime he spent most of December 1904 through January 1905 assisting with the Guadalajara Sanitarium and Mexican Mission.<sup>86</sup> Irwin began a fundraising campaign for \$100,000 so that the denomination could establish a new General Conference building, a sanitarium, and a school.<sup>87</sup> There were sufficient assets from which to rebuild the new publishing house. J. S. Washburn was appointed as a “soliciting agent” to receive these funds. Until the new headquarters building was constructed the temporary General Conference headquarters would be located at 222 North Capital Street in Washington, D.C.<sup>88</sup> Irwin was placed in charge of plans for erecting the new General Conference building.<sup>89</sup> A significant

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<sup>80</sup> “Review and Herald Publishing Association of Washington, D.C.,” *ARH*, June 9, 1914, 19.

<sup>81</sup> I. H. Evans and W. W. Prescott, “The Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association,” *ARH*, July 21, 1904, 19-20.

<sup>82</sup> See announcement, *ARH*, December 22, 1904, 24.

<sup>83</sup> I. H. Evans, “Ontario Camp-Meeting,” *ARH*, July 14, 1904, 16.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> See *ARH*, December 1, 1904, 24.

<sup>86</sup> See *ARH*, December 22, 1904, 24.

<sup>87</sup> See announcement *ST*, March 23, 1904, 13.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> General Conference Committee Minutes, June 8, 1905, 31.

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new development was the “purchase of the adding machine” to assist the accounting department. This was the first time such a machine was purchased by the denomination’s treasury to help secure great accuracy in keeping the church books.<sup>90</sup> Irwin also worked with the District of Columbia to establish postal facilities in Takoma Park.<sup>91</sup>

Irwin remained firmly committed to the missionary outreach of the denomination. He appealed to members that it wasn’t enough to sustain existing missions, but this was a critical time to give more so that the work of the church could expand.<sup>92</sup> This included setting aside a parcel of land, for farmers, the proceeds of which could be used for missions. This plan was called the “Missionary Acre Fund.”<sup>93</sup> In due course, Irwin was elected as a trustee of the new Washington Training College and Washington (D.C.) Sanitarium Association.<sup>94</sup> In what has to be one of the more unusual surprises in Adventist history was a Washington “Surprise Party” that brought a report to General Conference leaders on May 12, 1905. The impetus was a woman who felt called to serve as a missionary, and the response by Daniells that the church treasury was in such a deplorable state that there just wasn’t enough funds to send more missionaries. This was the catalyst for a lay-led fundraising campaign.<sup>95</sup>

At the 1905 General Conference session Irwin was re-elected for a second term as General Conference treasurer. He also established more clearly principles, in light of several financial crises (Skodsborg Sanitarium, the destruction of the Review and Battle Creek Sanitarium, and the move to Takoma Park) that made it clear, along with church re-organization, that as the denomination grew larger that it had to institute clear financial principles. One such principle was that the General Conference could no longer assume financial responsibility except when “specifically assumed by action of the General Conference or its executive committee.” He added:

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<sup>90</sup> General Conference Committee Minutes, June 14, 1905, 34.

<sup>91</sup> General Conference Committee Minutes, September 28, 1905, 60.

<sup>92</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Support of Our Mission Work,” *ARH*, January 12, 1905, 6.

<sup>93</sup> I. H. Evans, “Missionary Farming,” *ARH*, March 9, 1905, 17-18.

<sup>94</sup> See *ARH*, June 1, 1905, 32.

<sup>95</sup> A. G. Daniells, W. A. Spicer, I. H. Evans, “An Inspiring Occasion,” *Atlantic Union Gleaner*, May 24, 1905, 2 (238).

We want it understood that this General Conference declares before the world that, so far as this denomination is concerned, it will not be responsible for obligations that it has not assumed by its own action. It has been suggested that the whole denomination is responsible for anything done by any organization associated with the denomination. We ask the delegates to make it known to their local conferences that the responsibility rests upon those who are operating local enterprises to handle their business affairs in such a way as to take care of their obligations. This placing of local responsibility will develop local resourcefulness.<sup>96</sup>

Among other resolutions at the 1905 GC session was that Irwin was included in an official church deputation of 40 individuals “to wait upon President [Theodore] Roosevelt.”<sup>97</sup> The delegation presented greetings on behalf of the denomination in a formal greeting to the president on May 22, 1905.<sup>98</sup> It also remained significant that at this session the executive committee was expanded to include 31 individuals.<sup>99</sup> Another significant development in Adventist giving history was the innovation of a tithe envelope in which people could submit their tithes and offerings. This practice of using tithe envelopes would become ubiquitous in the twentieth century in Adventist churches.<sup>100</sup> While there were earlier examples of offering boxes, and even envelopes, for special sacrificial mission offerings, it was at the 1905 GC session that church leaders realized the importance of distributing regular envelopes with “Tithe,” “Mission Offerings,” “Church Expenses,” “Home Literature,” “Donations for the Poor,” etc. to help encourage regular and systematic giving. Church leaders ordered one million such envelopes to be distributed to churches across North America to encourage and increase regular giving of its members.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> See discussion on “The General Conference: Thirty-Sixth Session, May 11-30, Twenty-Eighth Meeting,” *ARH*, June 8, 1905, 5.

<sup>97</sup> “Deputation to the President,” *ARH*, June 8, 1905, 27.

<sup>98</sup> “Adventists at White House: Conference Committee Offers Greeting to the President: Views on Civil Government Embodied in Memorial Presented at the White House,” *ST*, June 14, 1905, 5-6.

<sup>99</sup> “Officers of the General Conference,” *ARH*, June 8, 1905, 32.

<sup>100</sup> I. H. Evans, “Annual Offering Envelopes,” *ARH*, November 23, 1905, 24.

<sup>101</sup> Evans, I. H. “How to Increase Our Tithes and Offerings,” *ARH*, October 26, 1910, 10.

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As an administrator, Irwin had a strong spiritual focus. He encouraged church members to remember the power of prayer and to pray for the church leaders as they strive in turn to serve God:

The most of the battles that have ever been won for Christ have been gained by prayer. A genuine revival was never known till some one had a burden of prayer, and who ever heard of a great harvest of souls till there was all-night wrestling with the Angel? . . . There is no power on earth so strong as the power of prayer.<sup>102</sup>

This strong spiritual focus as the denomination re-organized meant that mission was paramount for Evans in his view of church organization. An ever expanding global denomination meant, for Evans, that church leaders at headquarters could not, and should not, micromanage the decision making processes:

The time was when the General Conference Committee could look after every branch of the work, and know all the plans set on foot for prosecuting the same; that day is past. Local autonomy must be given to all these different fields, and local responsibility for the success or failure of the enterprises started must be assumed.<sup>103</sup>

As economic prosperity picked up in 1905 across the country, Evans appealed for church members to loan the General Conference funds so it “could pay off its interest-bearing notes, and thus save a large sum each year to the denomination.” This was especially important as a stopgap measure while “it is compelled to secure temporary loans, until it can sell some of its real estate in Battle Creek, Mich.”<sup>104</sup>

The early part of 1906 found Evans traveling to a series of union conference constituency meetings.<sup>105</sup> Increasingly, under his administration, there were calls for the offerings on specific Sabbaths to be designated for special purposes. For example, April 7, 1906, was designated for the support of orphans and

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<sup>102</sup> I. H. Evans, “Brethren, Pray for Us,” *ARH*, February 9, 1905, 6-7.

<sup>103</sup> I. H. Evans, “Loyalty and Responsibility,” *ARH*, April 6, 1905, 6-7.

<sup>104</sup> I. H. Evans, “One Way to Help,” *ARH*, October 5, 1905, 24.

<sup>105</sup> See note, *ARH*, January 25, 1906, 24, which notes that he was leaving for the Central Union Conference and expected to be away two to three months.

orphanages.<sup>106</sup> Evans next traveled with J. S. Washburn to attend the executive committee of the Southern Union Conference in Graysville, Tennessee.<sup>107</sup> Upon his return he was part of a delegation, and asked to chair a meeting, between General Conference leaders (other GC representatives included A. G. Daniells and G. A. Iriwn) to meet with Lewis Sheafe and his church in Washington, D.C. Their first meeting occurred April 1, 1906.<sup>108</sup> When the 1906 earthquake hit San Francisco (April 18) Evans organized relief efforts including a special offering, again, to assist with rebuilding Adventist churches and damage done to the Pacific Press.<sup>109</sup>

After these meetings Evans traveled to the West Indies (arriving in late June<sup>110</sup>) where he worked on organizing the West Indian Union Conference with three thousand believers.<sup>111</sup> By late 1906 Evans was attending the Lake Union Conference Committee.<sup>112</sup> He also suggested that congregations hold a special Thanksgiving worship service focused on mission with an opportunity to raise more funds for mission. He believed this was an especially critical time where there was now more people willing to go serve than there were funds available.<sup>113</sup> Next was a month-long campaign to raise an additional \$150,000 if every church member could only contribute each day ten cents per capita for thirty days.<sup>114</sup> The church was continuing to grow rapidly and need new resources to support a variety of burgeoning mission opportunities. At the same time, the church was also rapidly expanding in Takoma Park. By late 1906 Evans was calling for 10 carpenters and joiners to help with building the many new buildings the church had under construction (notably the new college and sanitarium). Wages were 40 cents per hour.<sup>115</sup>

The year 1907 started off with some rather shaky beginnings. Not least of which was the final departure of Sheafe and his

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<sup>106</sup> I. H. Evans, "The Collection for Orphanages," *ARH*, March 15, 1906, 6-7.

<sup>107</sup> See note *ARH*, March 15, 1906, 24.

<sup>108</sup> K. C. Russell, "The Work Among the Colored People," *ARH*, April 12, 1906, 18-19.

<sup>109</sup> I. H. Evans, "An Appeal," *ARH*, May 17, 1906, 6.

<sup>110</sup> See "East Caribbean Conference," *The Caribbean Watchman*, July 1, 1905, 12.

<sup>111</sup> A. G. Daniells, "A Sign of a Short Work," *ARH*, December 13, 1906, 7-8.

<sup>112</sup> See note in *ARH*, October 25, 1906, 24.

<sup>113</sup> I. H. Evans, "A Suggestion for Thanksgiving," *ARH*, November 15, 1906, 7.

<sup>114</sup> I. H. Evans, "A Daily Offering for Thirty Days," *ARH*, December 6, 1906, 7.

<sup>115</sup> "Wanted," *ARH*, December 6, 1906, 31.



congregation from the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Evans left with E. W. Farnsworth and Luther Warren in early January to participate in the new West Indian Union Conference to hold worker’s meetings (January 11-26).<sup>116</sup> On January 14 a devastating 6.2 earthquake shook Kingston and its surroundings.<sup>117</sup> Tragically the mission treasurer, Norman Johnston, lost his life.<sup>118</sup> On the day of the earthquake Evans was with a group of about 30 church leaders who were inspecting the Bog Walk school about 23 miles outside of Kingston. For some who remained behind, providentially he believed, the walls of the Kingston Chapel “did not fall to the ground.”<sup>119</sup> Evans reported how the city laid in ruins.

In the midst of this tragedy, Evans was happy to report that for the first time the denomination would convene its first meeting of the General Conference Executive Committee for Spring Council.

### **Transition from Administration to Missionary**

In 1909 Evans attended the second biennial council of Adventist works across China. At this meeting the work in China was divided into ten great mission fields and they requested twenty more families to come over the next two years to support the aggressive missionary expansion. On this same trip, Evans participated in meetings in Korea that established Korea to be known as the Korean Mission field of Seventh-day Adventists. At this meeting the publishing and educational work was also organized and plans laid for raising funds to purchase a property in the country where students could work their way as they obtained an education.<sup>120</sup> Similar plans for starting a school were laid while he visited Japan.<sup>121</sup> As Evans traveled across Asia, he urged for the people met to go to school so they “quickly learn the whole truth, and lay hold of it by faith.” He felt a special burden that these converts were the best and most effective way to do

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<sup>116</sup> See note in *ARH*, January 10, 1907, 32.

<sup>117</sup> “1907 Kingston Earthquake,” available at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1907\\_Kingston\\_earthquake](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1907_Kingston_earthquake) [accessed 8/22/23]

<sup>118</sup> “The Report From Jamaica,” *ARH*, January 31, 1907, 24.

<sup>119</sup> I. H. Evans, “The West Indian Union Conference,” *ARH*, February 7, 1907, 12-13.

<sup>120</sup> I. H. Evans, “Our Work in Korea,” *ARH*, January 14, 1909, 16-17.

<sup>121</sup> W. D. Burden, “Another Forward Step for Japan,” *ARH*, January 21, 1909, 16. [Note title page has typo stating 1908]

missionary work. These converts, instead of “foreigners,” were strategically the best way forward to spread the Adventist message.<sup>122</sup> On February 10, 1909, Evans sailed from Japan to return to America.<sup>123</sup> After traveling for six months, he was ready to return home. The first Sabbath back he gave an extensive report to the Takoma Park Church about the great needs for the support of missions in Asia.<sup>124</sup>

Evans was not forgetful to raise funds for other important projects as one of the leading fundraisers in the denomination. He reminded church members about the need to contribute to the offering on April 3 for the annual offering to provide relief for orphans and those in need. He also raised funds to develop the Oakwood Sanitarium and Rock City (Nashville) Sanitarium reminding believers of Ellen White’s strong and emphatic support for such institutions.<sup>125</sup>

Ever the mindful administrator and as treasurer of the General Conference he was looking at how to be good stewards of church finances. He reminded delegates traveling to the 1909 General Conference session to secure the most economical means of travel, including working with agents and others to secure private cars whereby delegates could travel together from different sections of the country.<sup>126</sup> During his treasurer’s report he noted that during the quadrennial period (1905-1908) the church had spent \$1,655,137.53 and disbursed \$1,641,199.55 leaving a balance in the treasury on Dec. 31, 1908, of \$13, 937.98. During this time he had retired a debt of \$47,965.50, and now resources exceeded liabilities by \$6,770.71. This was all the while maintaining a posture of expansion and growth while seeking fiscal responsibility.<sup>127</sup>

That summer, at the 1909 General Conference session, the importance of expanding the presence of Adventism across Asia was vividly impressed upon the delegates. From China came a

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<sup>122</sup> See description of Evans work and talk in John J. Westrup, “Honan, China,” *ARH*, February 11, 1909, 14.

<sup>123</sup> See note in *ARH*, February 18, 1909, 24.

<sup>124</sup> See report in *ARH*, March 11, 1909, 24.

<sup>125</sup> W. A. Ruble, D. H. Kress, G. H. Heald, “Two New Sanitariums for the Colored People: How We Can Help,” *ARH*, April 15, 1909, 19.

<sup>126</sup> I. H. Evans, “Rates to the General Conference,” *ARH*, March 25, 1909, 22.

<sup>127</sup> General Conference Proceedings: Fourth Meeting, Friday Morning, 10:30,” *ARH*, May 20, 1909, 17.

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delegation that requested 42 additional missionary families be sent over the next two years so that there could be at least two families of foreign workers across the 18 provinces of China proper and the 4 Chinese dependencies (Mancuria, Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia, and Tibet).<sup>128</sup> In order to accomplish this herculean task, he believed the church needed to come back to the Great Commission of Christ and earnestly pray for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.<sup>129</sup> Evans was re-elected as treasurer of the General Conference, but then with the creation of a new position, was also elected to lead this new division and serve as vice-president of the General Conference. During the meeting, on Sabbath May 29, Evans gave a “stirring discourse . . . on the needs of the great mission fields, and the inability of the Mission Board to supply these needs, since its treasure is empty.” As a result, \$11,000 was raised so that the work could move forward.<sup>130</sup> With the significant leadership change, as he prepared to serve in Asia, through the end of 1909 he continued to serve as “acting treasurer” of the General Conference while they searched for a replacement.<sup>131</sup> In this role he both continued legally as treasurer of the denomination while he trained in his replacement, prepared to go overseas, and began to undertake aggressive plans for missionary expansion. Ever the fundraiser, he made aggressive plans to raise money for missions in November 1909 by printing 350,000 copies of the Harvest Ingathering special “mission” edition.<sup>132</sup> This was an unprecedented campaign to raise funds to support and send out missionaries as part of the worldwide missionary program of the denomination.

The creation of this new division of the world church followed the model of having a similar vice-president for Europe and North America. This new world division now included the territories of China, Japan, Korea, Philippines, Singapore, Burma, and India.<sup>133</sup> At the time when the nominating committee approached Evans, he was at first hesitant to go, on account of the hurried sale of his home which he estimated would sustain a loss of \$1,000, after an

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<sup>128</sup> I. H. Evans, “China,” *ARH*, September 9, 1909, 6-7.

<sup>129</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Great Commission,” *ARH*, September 2, 1909, 6.

<sup>130</sup> “Eleven Thousand Dollars,” *YI*, June 22, 1909, 16.

<sup>131</sup> See note *ARH*, December 30, 1909, 24.

<sup>132</sup> I. H. Evans, “Object of the Harvest Ingathering,” *ARH*, October 14, 1909, 6; I.

H. Evans, “The Plan,” *ARH*, October 28, 1909, 7.

<sup>133</sup> “In the Asiatic Division,” *ARH*, June 16, 1910, 18.

earlier loss from the sale of his home in Battle Creek. Church leaders agreed to share half of the loss of \$1,000 in light of the urgent need for his leadership in Asia.<sup>134</sup> Evans continued to function in his capacity as treasurer of the General Conference until January 16, 1910, when he turned over the responsibility to W. T. Knox who had the previous summer accepted the position on a “provisional” acceptance.<sup>135</sup> This included a final audit and power of attorney for bank accounts.<sup>136</sup>

During the first part of 1910 Evans attended a number of constituency sessions. Of special note was the Pacific Union Conference meeting held January 25-30, 1910, at which church members voted to give an additional \$10,000 to the General Conference for missionary work and also voted, under the advisement of Ellen White, to start a medical school at Loma Linda. Evans went with E. E. Andross and H. W. Cottrell to interview Ellen White<sup>137</sup> asking for clarity about whether they should have doctors who qualify for State board examinations and become “registered, qualified physicians,” Ellen White replied: “The medical school at Loma Linda is to be of the highest order.”<sup>138</sup>

He chaired the last General Conference Committee meeting in his capacity as an officer of the General Conference on May 26, 1910.<sup>139</sup> Evans left on June 7, 1910, from San Francisco headed to Japan and then to the new headquarters in Shanghai, China.<sup>140</sup> His family would follow nearly a year later.<sup>141</sup> He traveled with F.

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<sup>134</sup> See General Conference Committee Minutes, July 22, 1909, 67. See also earlier conversation for context, General Conference Committee Minutes, July 4, 1909, 59.

<sup>135</sup> A. G. Daniells describes the story of this “provisional” acceptance at the following General Conference session. See “North American Division Conference,” *ARH*, June 12, 1913, 17.

<sup>136</sup> See “Auditor’s Statement to January 16,” General Conference Committee Minutes, April 6, 1910, 103. The voted action turning over power of attorney can be seen in the General Conference Committee Minutes, January 10, 1910, 163.

<sup>137</sup> The background and identity of the three persons doing the interview are mentioned by George I. Irwin, “An Important Council,” *ARH*, June 9, 1910, 15-16. This story is recounted at the 1913 GC Session. See “Twenty-Third Meeting: May 29, 10 A.M.,” *ARH*, June 12, 1913, 7-8.

<sup>138</sup> I. H. Evans, “Pacific Union Conference Meeting,” *ARH*, March 17, 1910, 18-19.

<sup>139</sup> General Conference Committee Minutes, May 26, 1910, 242-243.

<sup>140</sup> See note in *ARH*, June 16, 1910, 64.

<sup>141</sup> See note *ARH*, June 2, 1910, 24.

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H. DeVinney and his wife, Dr. Kawasaka and Brother Miyaka.<sup>142</sup> They stopped for a day of refreshment in Honolulu en route.<sup>143</sup> After seventeen days at sea, he finally reached the harbor of Yokohama, Japan, on June 24, 1910. The next morning was Sabbath and he preached at the Tokyo Church, which met in the spacious living room of Brother Burden.<sup>144</sup>

**Missionary to Asia (1910-1911)**

Now that Evans was in Asia he was a man of action. After landing in Tokyo he left July 6, 1910, with F. W. Field and F. H. DeVinney, for Kobe where upon arrival he spent five days in meetings. He was happy to report that despite most of the foreign workers dispersing across Japan, the attendance at the church had remained strong. He was especially impressed with the sanitarium run by Dr. Noma as all the rooms remained full.<sup>145</sup> On July 13, Evans left Kobe for Hiroshima where there had recently been evangelistic meetings leading to seven baptisms. Evans laid plans for a ten month training school for workers to begin in November 1910. F. W. Field would take charge of the school as they worked to train more workers.<sup>146</sup> On July 28 Evans left Seoul for Pieng-yang and then onward to Soonan as he continued his tour. Here in a small Korean house was a dispensary run by Dr. Riley Russell and his wife, and assisted by Miss Mae Scott. Up to that point some nine thousand patients had been treated in the humble clinic.<sup>147</sup>

From August 5-13, 1910, the “Korean General Meeting” was held to gather all the workers across Korea. At the conclusion, just after the Sabbath was closed, Dr. Riley Russell was ordained to the gospel ministry. Although a physician, he had proven himself “a real soul winner” leading “the brethren” to make a unanimous recommendation to be ordained. Also at this meeting it was voted to start a regular periodical to circulate among the believers in Korea with Mimi Scharffenberg was the first editor. The limited printing that had been done was on an old Washington Hand Press. As soon as they received a special mission appropriation, Evans wanted to remedy this situation with better equipment and

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<sup>142</sup> See note *ARH*, June 16, 1910, 64.

<sup>143</sup> I. H. Evans, “A Day in Honolulu,” *ARH*, July 28, 1910, 15.

<sup>144</sup> I. H. Evans, “Our Work in Tokyo,” *ARH*, September 8, 1910, 10.

<sup>145</sup> I. H. Evans, “Japan,” *ARH*, September 15, 1910, 11.

<sup>146</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Hiroshima (Japan) Meeting,” *ARH*, September 29, 1910, 8.

<sup>147</sup> I. H. Evans, “Soonan, Korea,” *ARH*, October 20, 1910, 7.

working conditions. Also at this meeting the Korean field was divided into four parts. With the fledgling school that was started under Dr. Russell's supervision, they hoped to see a significant expansion happen in the near future.<sup>148</sup>

Next Evans participated in a Council for the work in China (August 25 to September 4, 1910) at the mountain retreat in Mokanshan. Here there was a treatment room where missionaries could recuperate their health. At the nearby chapel, at the end was a modest dispensary for the Chinese. The chapel seated about fifty persons and the Seventh Day Baptists worshiped with them on the Sabbath. The Chinese had meetings in the mornings; and the foreigners had theirs in the afternoon. Here new plans were laid were the expansion of the work in China, especially the need for a better location and equipment for the press.<sup>149</sup> Evans next made his way down to Singapore and the Straits Settlements.<sup>150</sup> Following that, he continued on another extensive trip to the north reaching Mukden, in Manchuria, traveling some 4,000 miles. As a result of these travels and assessments, Evans concluded that the church needed better facilities for the publishing work. In fact, he called for someone to urgently come and coordinate the work of publishing in China right away.<sup>151</sup> Writing home to a relative, Evans described: "Never have I seen such wonderful opportunities for service as here [China]; never have I seen such possibilities for gathering in fruit [converts] as here. . . . It seems as if in the whole world there is no place that holds such promise of a mighty ingathering of souls as China."<sup>152</sup>

By early April 1911 Evans left next on a trip to the Philippines.<sup>153</sup> On the way he spent two weeks in Korea where he organized the very first Seventh-day Adventist congregation in Seoul with 31 members. With the teachers and 70 students at the fledgling school, they also circulated the first special edition of the Korean paper. The expanding need for print meant the purchase of a cylinder press to keep up with the calls for literature.<sup>154</sup> Once

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<sup>148</sup> I. H. Evans, "The Korean General Meeting," *ARH*, November 24, 1910, 9.

<sup>149</sup> I. H. Evans, "The Council at Mokanshan, China," *ARH*, December 1, 1910, 10-11.

<sup>150</sup> See note in *ARH*, February 9, 1911, 24.

<sup>151</sup> See announcement in *ARH*, March 16, 1911, 24.

<sup>152</sup> "One of the Last Things," *ARH*, March 30, 1911, 12.

<sup>153</sup> See announcement, *ARH*, April 6, 1911, 24.

<sup>154</sup> I. H. Evans, "Progress in Korea," *ARH*, April 20, 1911, 9-10.



23 – Campbell: “Give God the Best”: I. H. Evans

Evans arrived in the Philippines after “one of the stormy [sic] voyages I have ever experienced,”<sup>155</sup> he witnessed the very first baptism of 12 souls and also organized the very first church of 22 members in March 1911.<sup>156</sup> His three weeks allowed him an opportunity to meet brethren and “learn of the progress of our work.” L. V. Finster was conducting nightly services utilizing an interpreter to hold evangelistic meetings. About 40 had begun to keep the Sabbath with many more who were interested. Finster had also started a training class for workers that included two hours of Bible study each day. “Out of this number he hopes,” wrote Evans, “to secure several workers in the native language.”<sup>157</sup> R. A. Caldwell was now sharing copies of a Tagalog translation of *Thoughts on Daniel* along with other literature in Spanish. They agreed to work on a small book on Bible readings in the Tagalog language.<sup>158</sup>

As Evans traversed Asia, in 1911 he spent only three weeks at home in Shanghai traveling almost non-stop. He felt as if “it is like a great campaign in war” in which he needed another “company of fighting men” to spread the Adventist message. “Day by day,” he wrote with a sense of urgency, “you see the opportunities slipping, passing beyond all hope of return.” Now, as he traveled into the interior of China to Chang-sha, he described a revival that was taking place with over 70 Sabbath-keepers who gathered for three weeks of training. Although R. F. Cottrell could only speak in a whisper, and his wife was bedridden: “I never saw people more eager to hear the truth of God than this congregation.” Some have traveled a hundred li, some even farther, paying their own expenses to study the Bible. Evans and Dr. Selmon did their best to fill in until they had to leave, by which time Cottrell had regained his voice. Without any funds, needing to start two new chapels, Cottrell placed 200 squares to raise funds. The believers took 180 of the squares and Evans and Selmon took 10 each demonstrating the willingness of these new converts to sacrifice for the spread of the Adventist message.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Philippine Islands,” *ARH*, June 1, 1911, 11.

<sup>156</sup> See announcement *ARH*, May 18, 1911, 24.

<sup>157</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Philippine Islands,” *ARH*, June 1, 1911, 11.

<sup>158</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Philippine Islands,” *ARH*, June 1, 1911, 11.

<sup>159</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Crying Need in China,” *ARH*, July 6, 1911, 12-13.

On June 16, 1911, Evans planned to leave Korea for the Friedensau Annual Council meeting traveling overland through the Siberian route.<sup>160</sup> This first year of mission service was largely one of assessment and strategic planning. Evans invested heavily in education, publishing, and medical missionary work, allocating extremely limited funds and personnel, to attempt to expand an Adventist presence across Asia.

### **Mature Administrative Missionary (1911-1913)**

Evans attended the second Biennial Session of the General Conference Executive Committee beginning July 4, 1911, in Friedensau, Germany.<sup>161</sup> As the General Conference expanded rapidly and as it met every four years, instead of two, this larger gathering half way between General Conference sessions became more important. They also were held outside North America to help maintain a strong missional focus within the denomination as it was rapidly expanding. Especially notable was that Evans used stereopticon views to impress upon the delegates the great need for missionary resources in Asia.<sup>162</sup> From here Evans returned with A. G. Daniells, G. B. Thompson, and H. R. Salisbury from England to New York expecting to arrive in Washington, D.C. on July 31<sup>st</sup>.<sup>163</sup> He returned “to close up his personal affairs” and to bring his wife back with him. They would stop at several camp meetings as they traveled across the country.<sup>164</sup> Evans also requested that A. G. Daniells spend the year 1912 traveling with him across Asia.<sup>165</sup> Evans would spend time raising funds and awareness about missions at various camp meetings and other church gatherings until he attended the fall autumn council (starting Oct. 25).<sup>166</sup> After this it was decided that both Elder and Mrs. Evans would return to China.<sup>167</sup> Evans went from the Annual

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<sup>160</sup> See note in *ARH*, July 6, 1911, 24.

<sup>161</sup> W. A. Spicer, “The Biennial Council in Europe: First Report,” *ARH*, July 27, 1911, 9-10.

<sup>162</sup> See report under “Asiatic Division,” under “The Biennial Council in Friedensau, Germany: Fifth and Last Report,” *ARH*, August 24, 1911, 8.

<sup>163</sup> See announcement *ARH*, August 3, 1911, 24.

<sup>164</sup> *ARH*, August 10, 1911, 24.

<sup>165</sup> W. A. Spicer, “The Biennial Council in Friedensau, Germany: Fourth Report,” *ARH*, August 17, 1911, 9.

<sup>166</sup> Note his attendance at the East Kansas Camp Meeting, August 10-21, 1911; North Missouri Camp Meeting; Rocky Mountain Camp Meeting;

<sup>167</sup> See announcement: *ARH*, August 24, 1911, 32.

25 – Campbell: “Give God the Best”: I. H. Evans

Council to meet his wife and visit his family in Michigan, after which they would travel to San Francisco to cross the Pacific Ocean.<sup>168</sup> They sailed November 22<sup>169</sup> and arrived in Shanghai on December 16.<sup>170</sup> As they parted with other traveling missionaries, and after having been gone from Asia for six months, he reflected about how they were engaged “in the great work” of sharing the gospel, and that “we meet and part continually.”<sup>171</sup>

On his return to China, Evans discovered that in October 1911 a successful revolution occurred in southern China that overthrew the Qing Dynasty and replaced it with the Republic of China. At the time of his arrival, “all our foreign workers gathered from the central and northern provinces of China.” During this “trying crisis” the city of Hankow was destroyed including the loss of two chapels, medical supplies and literature; also in Chang-sha missionaries had also fled. Missionaries believed “that not one of our Chinese church-members will give up the truth because of the present troubled condition of the country.” The question was how to get funds for “native workers in Honan.” As a result Liu Tien Bang and O. A. Hall would travel with two money belts and arrived home despite great obstacles. In light of having all the missionaries together, and after three years, Evans decided to utilize the time by holding a “general meeting for the foreign workers in China” that would last from January 25 to February 10, 1912.<sup>172</sup> Such uncertainty and war was merely a sign of the times showcasing what “thrilling times” they lived in on the verge of Christ’s soon return. Every Christian had “a plain duty—to *make Christians*.”<sup>173</sup>

Ever the strategic planner, Evans utilized newly raised mission funds to build better and more healthful homes for missionaries. This included a new cottage in Korea, two homes in Weichow (for the families of J. P. Anderson and S. A. Nagel), and two more cottages in Chang-sha (although these efforts were hampered due to war). Evans was also working diligently to get a piece of property stamped so that they could proceed with building

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<sup>168</sup> See note in *ARH*, November 9, 1911, 24. It also notes that their children would be attending school in Berrien Springs, Michigan, and Lincoln, Nebraska.

<sup>169</sup> *ARH*, November 23, 1911, 24.

<sup>170</sup> I. H. Evans, “Word from the Far East,” *ARH*, February 8, 1912, 11.

<sup>171</sup> I. H. Evans, “Word from the Far East,” *ARH*, February 8, 1912, 11.

<sup>172</sup> I. H. Evans, “Word from the Far East,” *ARH*, February 8, 1912, 11.

<sup>173</sup> I. H. Evans, “Our Duty,” *ARH*, March 7, 1912, 10.

a new publishing house. Between war and delays in building, the publishing work was coming to a standstill. Evans, however, was pleased at the new housing opportunities for missionaries. Despite the cost, such housing betokened “better days for our workers” and the extra funds invested “will soon be more than saved in the extra time the laborers can remain at their work each year.”<sup>174</sup> He recommended that they hold another “general meeting” in Asia in three years and request the General Conference president to attend. Also, at the same meeting plans moved forward on building the publishing house and the potential purchase of property for a training school.<sup>175</sup> Tragically, on February 22, 1912, Evans reported on the tragic death of Esta Miller (1885-1912), the younger brother of Dr. Harry Miller, who did not wake up after a surgery for appendicitis.<sup>176</sup> The loss of just one worker, at a time of such great need, “casts a great shadow over the progress of the work we love,” wrote Evans.<sup>177</sup>

Next Evans held a meeting for workers in south China held during March. He left Shanghai on March 17 and reached Amoy in three days arriving as the meeting was already in progress.<sup>178</sup> He was joined by W. C. Hankins and B. L. Anderson, the two key leaders of the denomination’s work in the south, as they trained evangelists, Bible workers, and colporteurs. Evangelists Keh<sup>179</sup> (from Shghnai) (1865-1937) and Ang Tau Kiet<sup>180</sup> (from Swatow) (1864-1936) were also present. The latter was ordained to the gospel ministry, being only the second ordained evangelist from China. “He is a promising, consecrated man, with a well-trained family . . . who . . . are united in the worship of the true God.” He added that he was “a very pleasant, capable man, having been a mandarin.” Evans noted that in Amoy two schools were conducted, one for girls and the other for boys, with 2 teachers and 56 students. Three other schools enrolled 70 students (Chin Chow), 20 (Hui An) and 15 (Tang Chu). Evans reported that thanks to the work of a colporteur selling subscriptions there was the first Sabbath-keeper on the island of Formosa (Taiwan). From

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<sup>174</sup> I. H. Evans, “Mission Homes in the East,” *ARH*, March 21, 1912, 12.

<sup>175</sup> I. H. Evans, “The General Meeting in China,” April 11, 1912, 11-12.

<sup>176</sup> See note *ARH*, March 28, 1912, 24.

<sup>177</sup> Obit. *ARH*, April 25, 1912, 23.

<sup>178</sup> I. H. Evans, “Meetings in South China,” *ARH*, June 13, 1912, 11.

<sup>179</sup> <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=A8GA&highlight=Keh>

<sup>180</sup> <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=388S&highlight=Ang>

here Evans sailed with Brother Keh to Hong Kong where he spent two days with Brother and Sister S. A. Nagel, and sisters Ida and Gertrude Thompson. The Nagels were waiting here until things calmed down to return to their home in Wai Chow.<sup>181</sup>

From June 13-23 Evans was able to attend the first Adventist camp meeting held in Korea. This would be the very first Seventh-day Adventist camp meeting held in Asia. The meeting was held about halfway between Chemulpho [Incheon, South Korea] and Pieng-yang [Pyongyang, North Korea], today located in North Korea, where on a small hill near several Korean villages a large tent (28 by 42 feet) was pitched with nine smaller family tents. Approximately 150 people gathered for this special occasion and \$350 pledged toward building new school buildings. Evans, along with Fred Lee and F. H. DeVinney, led out in the preaching. Evans found this to be a deeply moving spiritual experience that led to a call for greater consecration. Over the previous over 100 people were baptized, several new companies begun, and one new church organized.<sup>182</sup>

Evans was happy to learn that the progress on building a publishing house and new missionary homes in Shanghai was moving along rapidly. They expected to move in by November 1912.<sup>183</sup> Meanwhile, Evans went on to hold a “general meeting” for the work in Japan from July 11-21. Outreach among the Japanese was “a slow and laborious work,” not because they disliked their religion, but rather because they were “indifferent to it.” This required greater effort to develop an interest than it did back home, according to Evans. A large number of people were not able to come due to the high costs of travel. He did note how medical missionary work was especially important for breaking down prejudices and opening doors for further missionary work.<sup>184</sup>

Evans took a five week trip through the Malaysian field in which he checked on missionaries and organized the work. Java [Indonesia] was divided into three divisions, with Borneo and another mission for the Straits settlements in the Federated Malay States. These groups would now be organized into a union mission. This represented seven missionary families for an

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<sup>181</sup> I. H. Evans, “Meetings in South China,” *ARH*, June 13, 1912, 11.

<sup>182</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Korean Meeting,” *ARH*, October 3, 1912, 13-14.

<sup>183</sup> See announcement, *ARH*, October 10, 1912, 24.

<sup>184</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Japan Meeting,” *ARH*, October 24, 1912, 13-14.

estimated fifty million people. He was especially pleased that there was an Adventist presence in Singapore, which was a modern city as important as New York or London, as cosmopolitan as any western city, and here was “gathered the nations of earth in miniature.” With such a cross-section of languages and ethnic groups: “Singapore is the world in a nutshell.”<sup>185</sup> Evans also stopped for two weeks in the Philippines, his second visit, in which his heart rejoiced to see the growth of the work in Manila. He now witnessed “native evangelists holding a tent effort in the city, at which they do most of the preaching,” which encouraged him that the message was taking hold. He also reported on the publication of “a small monthly missionary paper in the Tagalog language.” They needed a large church building since most of the meetings were taking place in private homes, without sufficient funds to rent a hall. A school, he pleaded, was desperately needed to train workers. He also happily reported on the organization of the second church on the island of Luzon, in a place called Malolos, about two hours’ ride from Manila. While there they baptized 28 with the expectation that a native worker would come and follow-up the interest. Floyd Ashbaugh visited Evans and reported two young girls in Iloilo who had become believers. Evans pleaded for more missionary families to help build up the work.<sup>186</sup>

Evans would leave Asia in time to attend the General Conference session (May 15-June 8, 1913) held in Takoma Park, Maryland. In his report he brought greetings from the missionaries and converts in Asia who were working, as he put it, to reach the estimated 625 million people that were part of the newly formed division.<sup>187</sup> Evans preached an “impressive sermon” from John 2:17 titled “Zeal for God in Finishing His Work.”<sup>188</sup> He challenged every church member in the denomination to win one soul that next year to Christ.<sup>189</sup> In it he implored delegates with a sense of urgency for greater consecration.<sup>190</sup> He stated:

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<sup>185</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Malaysian Mission Field,” *ARH*, July 24, 1913, 13.

<sup>186</sup> I. H. Evans, “My Visit to the Philippines,” *ARH*, July 31, 1913, 12.

<sup>187</sup> “First Meeting, May 15, 10 A.M.,” *ARH*, May 22, 1913, 5.

<sup>188</sup> I. H. Evans, “Zeal for God in Finishing His Work: Sabbath, May 17, 11 A.M.,” *ARH*, May 29, 1913, 12-14.

<sup>189</sup> This was one of the memorable aspects of the meeting as recalled at later ministerial institutes. Cf. H. A. Weaver, “Win One Soul,” *ARH*, March 5, 1914, 16.

<sup>190</sup> “The Opening of the General Conference,” *ARH*, May 22, 1913, 24.



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If we had the zeal that God wants us to have we could accomplish a mighty work in the world in a very little while. The cause of God needs men who are wholly given to God, whose hearts are on fire with the message. When the church as a body has that experience, then God can use each individual member as a living instrumentality to carry on his great closing work. It is now the night of time; the Lord is coming soon; and yet many of our people are not willing to give themselves and their children to God for service. Every son and daughter ought to be on the altar ready to go where God calls.<sup>191</sup>

In his report to the delegates he summarized and gave an assessment ultimately reminding delegates of “the vastness of the work before us.”<sup>192</sup> To the surprise of those present, former church president G. A. Irwin passed away during the meeting (May 23). Irwin would participate with other church leaders in a funeral service in which he paid his own personal tribute.<sup>193</sup> On May 30, 1913, Elder I. H. Evans was nominated to be president of the North American Division Conference. Daniells stated his appreciation for someone of Evans’ “experience in that field” in which he devoted his time to “adjusting, reorganizing, and putting things in shape.” Now it was felt that Evans was needed in America to strengthen the work in the homeland. As Daniells added: “This new conference [the North American Division] has a big work to do.”<sup>194</sup> From the vantage point of church administrators, including Evans, it was seen as absolutely imperative to organize and make sure that the support from North America, including both funds and personnel, was as strong as possible in order to sustain and grow the mission of the church around the world.<sup>195</sup> R. C. Porter, a veteran missionary in Africa, was elected to take the place of Evans in Asia.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> “A Great Need,” *ARH*, May 29, 1913, 4.

<sup>192</sup> His full report can be found: I. H. Evans, “The Asiatic Division of the General Conference,” *ARH*, May 29, 1913, 8-10.

<sup>193</sup> “Life Sketch and Funeral Service of Elder G. A. Irwin,” *ARH*, June 5, 1913, 15-17.

<sup>194</sup> “North American Division Conference, Fourth Meeting, May 30, 4:15 P.M.,” *ARH*, June 12, 1913, 17.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>196</sup> “A Transformation—Not a Revolution,” *ARH*, June 19, 1913, 3.

### **NAD President, 1913-1914**

Between 1901 and 1913 there was some fluidity in the development of the idea of vice-presidents of the General Conference who were responsible for large regions of the world church and the development of divisions. The term “division of the General Conference” began to also be used, but the terms were often overlapping. What is clear is that the 1913 General Conference session helped to clarify these terms and roles so that now a “transformation” had taken place, but as church leaders were careful to also remind members, this was “not a revolution.”<sup>197</sup> It was this subtle tweaking of church organization that allowed the three major regions of the world church—notably Europe, Asia, and North America—to be clearly identified as each being “organized into a great division conference.”

With clarification on his administrative role, Evans began to travel across North America attending meetings, initially in the central west.<sup>198</sup> One of his first tasks was to promote the “Midsummer Offering” (July 26) to provide funds for missions. If every member could raise 15 cents a week, they could sustain the present mission outreach, but at that moment, he estimated for the first half of 1913 they were \$80,000 behind. “There is no investment,” he wrote, “in banks, stocks, or bonds that will pay so large eternal dividends as the investment we make in the souls of men.” In this great controversy conflict, the struggle was literally life or death without any neutral ground. The previous year the denomination had effectively reached its goal for mission funds, and now it was absolutely essential that the church not lose ground by supporting its missions.<sup>199</sup> It was this impassioned appeal that would feature his new title for the first time as “President of the North American Division Conference.”<sup>200</sup> By August Evans was attending camp meetings, notably in Iowa, Nebraska, and California.<sup>201</sup> At each camp meeting he made strong appeals to raise funds for mission. His quick stop at the Nebraska

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<sup>197</sup> “A Transformation—Not a Revolution,” *ARH*, June 19, 1913, 3.

<sup>198</sup> See note in *ARH*, July 3, 1913, 24.

<sup>199</sup> I. H. Evans, “Shall It Be Thirty Thousand Dollars,” *ARH*, July 17, 1913, 9-10.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>201</sup> See note *ARH*, August 21, 1913, 24. See also O. A. Olsen, “The Iowa Camp-Meeting,” *ARH*, October 2, 1913, 13.

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camp meeting resulted in \$1,500.<sup>202</sup> This last stop allowed him to meet his wife, who traveled from China, after the surprise news that they would be returning to America. On their return they stopped at the Northern Illinois Camp Meeting.<sup>203</sup> An announcement in the *Review* celebrated their arrival back at church headquarters.<sup>204</sup> For his part, Evans was able to participate in the opening exercises of the Foreign Mission Seminary on September 17, 1913.<sup>205</sup>

Evans believed that the strength of the church was in its unity. Through collective efforts the denomination could do what individually they would never be able to accomplish. In the day of great capitalist business interests, the pooling of money allowed the possibility of “financing gigantic undertakings.”<sup>206</sup> With shipping, steel, and similar trusts, what could happen when the church pools its resources? No one person could finance the missionary “campaign” of the church, but together, as individuals are organized into churches, churches into conferences, conferences into unions, and unions into divisions, and divisions into the General Conference. “Each organization is stronger than the preceding. Each gathers together a larger number of single units combined in the organizations, so that when we reach the General Conference, we have the strongest organized body in our work. The General Conference, therefore, is the one to carry on aggressive work which neither the division, union, nor local conferences are able to carry on as efficiently and as well.”<sup>207</sup> Evans challenged members to take note of the new pledge of 20 cents per week per member challenge voted at the 1913 General Conference session.<sup>208</sup> He also had the privilege, on October 26, 1913, of offering the dedicatory prayer for the new Takoma Park Church at church headquarters.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> O. A. Olsen, “The Nebraska Conference and Camp-Meeting,” *ARH*, October 2, 1913, 13-14.

<sup>203</sup> G. E. Langdon, “Northern Illinois Conference and Camp-Meeting,” *ARH*, October 23, 1913, 17.

<sup>204</sup> See note *ARH*, September 25, 1913, 24.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> I. H. Evans, “Our Strength Lies in Unity,” *ARH*, October 6, 1913, 9-10.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup> I. A. Ford, “The Takoma Park Church,” *ARH*, December 25, 1913, 17.

Although Evans started to write about the importance of the Holy Spirit and revival as the great need for the church in order for it to accomplish its mission, now as president of the North American Division the need for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit became a major focus of his ministry. "One thing more is needed,—a heart preparation on the part of God's people. When his Holy Spirit fills these messengers, when every witness for Christ becomes a channel through which the Spirit of God may ass to other souls, the work can indeed be quickly finished." He prayed for the "final baptism" of the Spirit that would cause a mighty revival. As the work of God is rapidly closing, he believed, it was vital that each person make sure they are ready for Christ's return. "It is time for God's people to be in a state of readiness, waiting for their Lord's return." Anything imperfect or unsanctified might prevent oneself from being ready.<sup>210</sup>

Late 1913 through early 1914 brought a series of union meetings that required Evans' attention. He first attended the ministerial institute and Union Conference session for the Atlantic Union. Evans spoke on the great need for the Holy Spirit.<sup>211</sup> By late December 1913 Evans left with A. G. Daniells and G. B. Thompson to attend the Southern Union Conference (Jan. 2-11, 1914) in Graysville, Tennessee.<sup>212</sup> Evans felt that it was vital to develop "a medium for communicating the plans, policies, and instruction of the North American Division Committee to the to the church officers" hence the reason why they began a new sixteen page "monthly journal" titled *The Church Officers' Gazette* in early 1914.<sup>213</sup> Edith M. Graham and Matilda Erickson would become the two founding editors of the periodical. The new periodical would not be a "competitor of any other periodical or magazine published by our people" because it was "not for general circulation." Instead, the *Gazette* had "a field of its own" to "benefit" church officers across the division.<sup>214</sup> Evans, along with the two other General Conference vice-presidents (as division presidents), and George B. Thompson, as secretary of the North American Division, would serve as consulting editors of the *Review and Herald*.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> I. H. Evans, "The Finishing of the Work," *ARH*, November 20, 1913, 9-10.

<sup>211</sup> "Our Union Conference Meetings," *ARH*, December 11, 1913, 24.

<sup>212</sup> See note *ARH*, December 25, 1913, 24.

<sup>213</sup> "The Church Officers' Gazette" *ARH*, January 15, 1914, 24.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>215</sup> *ARH*, May 28, 1914, 24.

As Evans took the helm of leadership he conducted a survey of the effectiveness of church workers across the division. He reported to pastors during the Southern Union ministerial meetings “some very startling figures showing a lack of fruit from the labors of the workers in this cause.” Such a startling wake-up call “stirred all present” to be part of an “earnest call to prayer” to change.<sup>216</sup> Since the “present time is the most momentous and solemn in human history,” it was imperative that as God works in a “marked manner” at “certain times” that it was time to finish the work. The opening of doors in “remote nations” to receive the gospel, along with rapid developments in transportation and communication, made it possible to share the gospel as never before.<sup>217</sup>

Next Evans participated in ministerial meetings at College View, Nebraska (January 13-25, 1914) for the Central Union Conference.<sup>218</sup> Once again Evans “in a forcible and impressive talk, set forth the weakness of our ministry as compared with what it ought to be in view of the tremendous work committed to our hands.” He implored them to see spiritual power from on High and “many heartfelt confessions were borne” that “brought liberty of soul.”<sup>219</sup> Evans gave additional talks about “the calling and work of the gospel ministry, emphasizing the importance of a definite call, the sacredness of the calling, the object of the ministry, the spiritual life and high standard set before the ministry.”<sup>220</sup> Evans did the same thing again for the Northern Union Conference (January 27 to February 7, 1914) held in Minneapolis, Minnesota.<sup>221</sup> Then he attended the ministerial meetings at Lacombe, Alberta, from February 11-22, 1914.<sup>222</sup> Similar meetings

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<sup>216</sup> R. W. Parmele, “The Southern Union Conference,” *ARH*, January 29, 1914, 16.

<sup>217</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Day of His Power,” *ARH*, February 5, 1914, 13.

<sup>218</sup> A. T. Robinson, “The Meetings at College View, Nebr.,” *ARH*, February 12, 1914, 14.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>221</sup> E. M. Graham, “The Northern Union Conference,” *ARH*, February 26, 1914, 14.

<sup>222</sup> I. H. Eavns, “Western Canadian Union Conference,” *ARH*, March 19, 1914, 11.

were held for the North Pacific Union (Feb. 25-March 8, 1914) in College Place, Washington.<sup>223</sup>

Evans took a special interest in the retention of young people. He supported the Missionary Volunteer Sabbath. He estimated that there was an estimated 13,000 Adventist young people between the ages of 10 and 25, but only 6,000 affiliated with the church meaning a 54% loss rate. "We are anxious to save our young people from the world."<sup>224</sup> He noted that those who participate in the Missionary Volunteer Reading Course tend to go on to get an education that results in greater retention rates. By simply retaining 1,500 young people this would save more than all the money expended in evangelism to replace those who left. This was a worthwhile investment.<sup>225</sup> He similarly urged conservative financial policies, especially avoiding debt both personally and for institutions.<sup>226</sup>

Evans participated in the College of Medical Evangelists constituency meeting (March 25-29, 1914). Then from April 1-12, 1914, he participated in the Southwestern Union Conference and Ministerial Institute.<sup>227</sup> Once again he held some special workers' meetings in which he read excerpts from the "plain and cutting Testimonies" (Ellen White's writings) with his comments toward the ministry.<sup>228</sup> Evans believed that in order to maintain a strong evangelistic focus, it was vital to train Adventist ministers. A new requirement was the minimum of twelve grades for all licentiate ministers. All clergy should participate in the Ministerial Reading Course.<sup>229</sup> Final meetings included the session of the Columbia Union Conference and ministerial institute, held in Baltimore April 28 to May 10, 1914.<sup>230</sup>

After completing ministerial meetings across the North American Division territory, Evans reported that they had entered into a new era of evangelism. "I must say that I had never taken

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<sup>223</sup> G. B. Thompson, "North Pacific Union Institute and Conference," *ARH*, March 26, 1914, 7-8.

<sup>224</sup> I. H. Evans, "Our Young People's Work," *ARH*, April 23, 1914, 19.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>226</sup> I. H. Evans, "Is It Right?" *ARH*, June 18, 1914, 9-10.

<sup>227</sup> W. W. Eastman, "Southwestern Union Conference and Ministerial Institute," *ARH*, April 30, 1914, 15.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>229</sup> W. E. H[owell], "Notes Afield," *ARH*, May 14, 1914, 19.

<sup>230</sup> W. L. Burgan, "Newspaper Work in the Columbia Union Conference," *ARH*, May 28, 1914, 13.

hold of any work,” he wrote, “that so enlisted my interest and stirred my heart as this. The people respond readily, and I am convinced that most of our people need only to be shown how to work, and to get just a little taste of the joy of service, and they will become firebrands for God.”<sup>231</sup> He set a new goal for the upcoming Harvest Ingathering for that year for a record-breaking \$100,000.<sup>232</sup> By early July Evans finally returned to his office after a lengthy tour of meetings.<sup>233</sup>

As World War I broke out, Evans reminded members that this was a fulfillment of end time events. “At this time,” he cautioned, “it is not known what nations of Europe will be involved, if the war continues. . . . Our people should not forget their brethren and sisters in these war-stricken zones. Many will be called upon to go to the front, and there enter into a life-and-death struggle with their fellow men, some of whom are Christians like themselves. . . . In these trying times our European brethren need our sympathy and prayers for wisdom and strength to do the right. . . . Our sympathies should reach the unfortunate and those whose lives are endangered.”<sup>234</sup> Evans’ rhetoric took on a more militant tone.

The kingdom of God is a conquering kingdom. It is aggressive. It invades the territory of Satan, and besieges the hearts of the children of men. The warfare wages by Heaven is a war of conquest. Christ himself came into an enemy’s land to establish his kingdom. . . . Every loyal citizen of this heavenly kingdom is subject to service to extend its domain. The enemy’s territory must be invaded; the standard of Prince Immanuel must be planted in the hearts of men; subjects of Satan must be won to love the Lord Jesus and to believe in him to the saving of their souls.<sup>235</sup>

The primary weapon of warfare would be to distribute truth-filled literature.<sup>236</sup> As Evans tracked progress, he happily reported that attendance at camp meetings that summer was up and that the church was on track to reach its goal of 20 cents a member for mission that year. Further reports from various administrators also were encouraging that records for sales of Adventist literature

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<sup>231</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Outlook Encouraging,” *ARH*, May 28, 1914, 9.

<sup>232</sup> I. H. Evans, “Our Goal,” *ARH*, June 25, 1914, 10.

<sup>233</sup> See *ARH*, July 9, 1914, 24.

<sup>234</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Times and the Demands Upon God’s People,” *ARH*, August 13, 1914, 8-9.

<sup>235</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Call to Service,” *ARH*, August 20, 1914, 9-10.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*

were taking place. This may have be in no small part due to Adventists pointing to the war as a sign of the end.<sup>237</sup> This called for hard yet joyous work.<sup>238</sup>

As the scale of war intensified, Evans both recognized that while on the one hand such “wars and rumors of wars” was a sign of the end, while also reminding members not “to venture beyond what is revealed, and to preach what the Word of God does not declare.”<sup>239</sup> Evans also urged church members to support the call for a day of national prayer and supplication for the first Sabbath in October. He especially reminded believers to remember their fellow brothers and sisters in Europe who were suffering under the calamities of war and “find it difficult to prosecute the work of the third angel’s message as heretofore.”<sup>240</sup> On this same Sabbath, he also reminded members to contribute liberally toward the work of “Negro believers.” Such help was needed due to the shortage in funds that had caused “great perplexity” and “necessitated reducing the active force of workers to the minimum. Our colored laborers bravely share the self-denial, and in some conferences they have been satisfied with reduced wages for some time, or else have taken up self-supporting work.” In order to prevent a hindering of this work, Evans pleaded for church members to contribute liberally to this work.<sup>241</sup>

As Europe unfolded, Evans recognized that this would provide financial instability preventing believers in Europe from contributing their part to support the worldwide mission program of the denomination. He called upon church members to sacrifice more and to raise extra funds for mission. “If ever there was a time when funds for prosecuting the work were needed, it is now.”<sup>242</sup> He added:

The people are ready and willing to help, if for no other reason, because of this war; for many believe it is a sign of the end. Never has the world witnessed such a scene as exists at the

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<sup>237</sup> I. H. Evans, “Encouraging Omens,” *ARH*, August 27, 1914, 7.

<sup>238</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Joy of Service,” *ARH*, September 3, 1914, 9.

<sup>239</sup> I. H. Evans, “Correctly Interpreting Prophecy,” *ARH*, September 10, 1914, 11-12.

<sup>240</sup> I. H. Evans, “A Day of Prayer,” *ARH*, September 17, 1914, 8.

<sup>241</sup> I. H. Evans, “A Donation for the Work Among the Colored People,” *ARH*, October 1, 1914, 24.

<sup>242</sup> I. H. Evans, “A Sobering Effect,” *ARH*, September 17, 1914, 9.



37 – Campbell: “Give God the Best”: I. H. Evans

present time. Never has there been a time like the one through which the nations are now passing. War! war! war! The literature we read, the conversations we hear, the sermons to which we listen, the very air we breathe, all seem to be surcharged with the spirit of war.<sup>243</sup>

Evans returned in time for the opening of the Washington Missionary College on September 16, 1914. Up until then it was called the Foreign Mission Seminary, but the 1913 Annual Council voted for the school to “carry a regular college curriculum, giving special emphasis to the preparation of men and women for the ministry and the Bible work, and also continue those courses having special reference to preparation for foreign mission service.” Hence the school was renamed and Evans gave the opening address.<sup>244</sup>

Evans advocated for a no-debt policy. Where problems exist, he urged leaders to “call a council, and let plans be laid either to place the institution or association on a substantial working basis or to close the enterprise.”<sup>245</sup> Such warnings were none too soon as the war progressed, those institutions still in debt or losing money would close. A significant number of smaller Adventist sanitariums closed during the war.

The war also caught A. G. Daniells in Australia and unable to return in time to attend the 1914 Annual Council. As a result, Evans would call the meeting to order and chair most of the sessions. The Annual Council meetings took place in the mornings, 9 am to noon; and the Division committee meetings in the afternoons, 2:30 to 5:30 pm, with the evenings devoted to committee work as needed.<sup>246</sup> As 1914 drew to a close, he reflected on some important statistics. In 1913 church membership increased to 122,386 (a net increase of 7%) and the denomination had a banner year sending out 157 missionaries.<sup>247</sup> As the year drew to a close, he encouraged churches to celebrate Young People’s Day (December 18) so that every young person is given an

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Frederick Griggs, “The Opening of the Washington Missionary College,” *ARH*, October 1, 1914, 20.

<sup>245</sup> I. H. Evans, “An Encouraging Prospective,” *ARH*, October 15, 1914, 9-10.

<sup>246</sup> “Autumn Council of the General Conference Committee,” *ARH*, November 5, 1914, 10.

<sup>247</sup> I. H. Evans, “A Retrospect,” *ARH*, December 10, 1914, 8.

opportunity to consecrate themselves to God. The following day, December 19, was the Annual Offering to turn in receipts for the “Twenty-cent-a-week” mission fund.<sup>248</sup>

### **Assessment & Church Health, 1915-1918**

The first quarter of 1915 witnessed a series of three medical conventions (Takoma Park, Maryland; Loma Linda, California; and, Boulder, Colorado). The strong focus on young people and training workers meant that the focus of 1915 was centered on educational and missionary volunteer councils and conventions.<sup>249</sup> For the new year (1915) Evans set a goal of increasing the church membership from 73,605 (as of April 1, 1915) and increasing the membership to 80,000. The 1,407 church workers the previous year had set a 15-year record by bringing in 4,700 new members or an average of 3.3 souls per person on the church payroll.<sup>250</sup>

It can only be the sign of a much-needed reform and careful elimination, to be set in operation by union and local conference officers. Why should papers of recognition be given to nonproducers? If we cannot win souls to Christ, should we take papers from a conference and expect support?<sup>251</sup>

Furthermore colporteurs had sold \$1.3 million in literature in 1914. All schools and sanitariums should be “centers for winning souls to Christ.”<sup>252</sup> Evans, ever the pragmatist, suggested putting stoves in evangelistic tents to extend the evangelistic season for winning souls.<sup>253</sup>

Evans spent the summer attending the Educational and Missionary Volunteer Conventions. The first was at Pacific Union College (June 4-14, 1915).<sup>254</sup> From here there would be six other regional educational-missionary volunteer conventions.<sup>255</sup> When Ellen White passed away (July 16, 1915), Evans wrote one of the main tributes in the commemorative issues of the *Review and*

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<sup>248</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Week of Prayer,” *ARH*, December 10, 1914, 24.

<sup>249</sup> I. H. Evans, “Educational and Missionary Volunteer Council and Conventions,” *ARH*, May 6, 1915, 9.

<sup>250</sup> I. H. Evans, “Our Goal for 1915,” *ARH*, May 27, 1915, 10-11.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>253</sup> I. H. Evans, “Our Summer’s Campaign,” *ARH*, July 29, 1915, 9.

<sup>254</sup> See note *ARH*, June 3, 1915, 24.

<sup>255</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Educational and Missionary Volunteer Council,” *ARH*, July 1, 1911, 11.

39 – Campbell: “Give God the Best”: I. H. Evans

*Herald* affirming her lifetime of contributions. She held a “deep personal piety” and was “liberal beyond her means.” He added:

No one ever more firmly preached righteousness by faith than she. She exalted Christ as the sinner’s only hope. She loved this Saviour, and did what she could to bring others to a knowledge of him. . . . While we mourn the loss of one so strong and true as Sister White, still Christ lives, and in him we must unite in a renewed consecration of life and means to complete his work on earth.<sup>256</sup>

Evans left with other church leaders to attend the funeral service of Ellen White in Battle Creek, Michigan.<sup>257</sup> Evans served as one of the pallbearers in the procession from the church to the carriage that took her remains to the cemetery.<sup>258</sup> At the graveside service, Evans read some Scriptural passages.<sup>259</sup>

The next General Conference and North American Division Executive Committees meeting for Annual Council was held for the first time in Loma Linda, California, from November 5-27, 1915. Due to limited space, only actual members of these bodies were invited to participate. One exception was the invitation for conference presidents to attend. They were urged to attend because their role was so vital in raising funds and supplying personnel, so it was felt best to invite all conference presidents to be present.<sup>260</sup> At the opening session he preached a message on personal piety titled “Heart Religion.”<sup>261</sup> Evans at this meeting promoted the week of prayer reminding believers that in “this maelstrom of confusion and international perplexity God’s people have to live and carry on the great work of preparing a people for the coming of Christ.”<sup>262</sup> He believed that if “all rise to the high standard of efficiency called for by the Lord himself . . . we may soon see a hundred thousand Sabbath keepers in America alone.”<sup>263</sup> Perhaps most crucial of the 1915 Annual Council was the

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<sup>256</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Character of the Message,” *ARH*, July 29, 1915, 4-5.

<sup>257</sup> See note *ARH*, July 29, 1915, 24.

<sup>258</sup> See description in *ARH*, August 5, 1915, 10.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>260</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Coming Autumn Council,” *ARH*, October 7, 1915, 2.

<sup>261</sup> I. H. Evans, “Heart Religion,” *ARH*, January 20, 1916, 8-10.

<sup>262</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Week of Prayer,” *ARH*, December 2, 1915, 3.

<sup>263</sup> See “Notes from the Field—No. 4: The Spirit of the Council,” *ARH*, December 2, 1915, 4.

need to raise sufficient funds to build a hospital so that medical students can “secure satisfactory clinical work.” A group of women were empowered to raise \$61,000.<sup>264</sup> Evans made a clarion call, based on Ellen White’s admonition to have a school of the highest order, that when things seemed impossible to retain the College of Medical Evangelists’ accreditation that the denomination needed to step out in faith and raise the necessary funds to keep the fledgling medical institution going.<sup>265</sup> At this critical juncture Evans believed “that we must set ourselves more resolutely than ever before to carry out the instruction of God [through Ellen White], and courageously meet this first great test since the passing away of the servant of the Lord.”<sup>266</sup> In her memory the hospital would be named The Ellen G. White Memorial Hospital. This development, as they have sacrificed to reach each step, helped them to become “a real medical school.”<sup>267</sup>

Evans joined other church leaders in urging participation in the Harvest Ingathering campaign. “The needs of the ever-widening mission fields demand it,” as Evans along with other church leaders challenged them to join the battle “in a great soul-winning campaign” that will contribute to the “speedy finishing” of the work.<sup>268</sup> An important development was that Evans led the charge in establishing the first systematic requirements for ministers to be ordained. The North American Division executive committee voted that “all candidates for ordination to the gospel ministry shall be carefully examined in Bible doctrines, their ability correctly to expound the same, and their confidence in and loyalty to the denominational organization.” They required a minimum of 14 years of education, and then after sufficiently demonstrating practical experience, must be called before an ordination committee. Only after successfully examinations have been done can the prospective candidate be recommended by their local conference for ordination. Only afterward can arrangements

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<sup>264</sup> I. H. Evans, “The College of Medical Evangelists,” *ARH*, January 13, 1916, 6-7.

<sup>265</sup> Percy T. Magan, “My Counsel Shall Stand, and I Will Do All My Pleasure,” *ARH*, March 2, 1916, 16-17.

<sup>266</sup> Percy T. Magan, “Strengthening the Hands of the Builders: A Notable Meeting in Connection with the Founding of the Los Angeles Hospital and Dispensary,” *ARH*, March 16, 1916, 17-18.

<sup>267</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Offering for Our Medical Hospital,” *ARH*, September 7, 1916, 24.

<sup>268</sup> “An Earnest Appeal,” *ARH*, December 2, 1915, 24.

for the ordination ceremony be done at the hand of the General or Division Conference who with the union and local conference presidents. Ordination credentials were revocable if the conference granting them deem it unwise for the person to continue in the gospel ministry. When ministerial credentials are not renewed, the authority to administer church ordinances, perform marriage ceremonies, would not be recognized.<sup>269</sup>

By late 1915, Evans rejoiced that his first major book, *Ministry of Angels*, was released and included in the Ministerial Reading Course.<sup>270</sup> In late 1915, when the ship carrying Homer R. Salisbury sank, a memorial service officiated by Evans was held at Washington Missionary College.<sup>271</sup> In early 1916 he attended union meetings for eastern Canada and the North Pacific Union. Evans was known, along with George B. Thompson, for speaking about the “privileges of a victorious Christian life and the duty of winning souls to Christ.”<sup>272</sup> Evans would continue to expound upon the role of the Holy Spirit and victorious living as he participated in another round of union meetings. The first was for western Canada in a rented building in Calgary (February 24-29, 1916).<sup>273</sup> Then on to the Lake Union (March 7-14) where Evans gave a series of talks on the victorious Christian life<sup>274</sup> followed by similar meetings for the Columbia Union Conference held in the Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (March 13-20)<sup>275</sup> and the Southeastern Union Conference (March 25-April 5) held in Atlanta, Georgia. Once again Evans was noted for his talks on the victorious life.<sup>276</sup> Next was the Southern Union Conference held in the Southern Publishing Association chapel in Nashville, Tennessee.<sup>277</sup> In the busy round of travels to attend union meetings, Evans reified the importance of working for young people, especially with the annual Missionary Volunteer Day (May

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<sup>269</sup> See section “The Gospel Ministry,” in “Autumn Council of the Executive Committee of the North American Division Conference,” *ARH*, December 16, 1915, 8.

<sup>270</sup> See “Ministerial Reading Course,” *ARH*, December 2, 1915, 6.

<sup>271</sup> “Memorial Service for Prof. H. R. Salisbury,” *ARH*, February 17, 1916, 15-16.

<sup>272</sup> G. B. Thompson, “North Pacific Union Conference,” *ARH*, March 16, 1916, 16.

<sup>273</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Western Canadian Union Conference,” *ARH*, March 23, 1916, 15.

<sup>274</sup> M. E. Kern, “The Lake Union Conference Session,” *ARH*, April 13, 1916, 15-16.

<sup>275</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Columbia Union Conference,” *ARH*, April 13, 1916, 16.

<sup>276</sup> Frederick Griggs, “Southeastern Union Conference,” *ARH*, April 20, 1916, 14.

<sup>277</sup> G. B. Thompson, “Southern Union Conference,” *ARH*, April 20, 1916, 15.

6) that included a program for each church so that they could participate. Evans wrote a talk to be read for the occasion titled "The Missionary Volunteer Work a Preparation for Service."<sup>278</sup> Additional meetings were held for the Southwestern Union Conference (April 6-13) held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.<sup>279</sup> He attended more meetings to offer counsel about the work at Loma Linda before returning to give the baccalaureate sermon as part of the graduation exercises at Union College.<sup>280</sup>

During the war the future of Adventist sanitariums was on the brink even as the need for raising funds for missions was never greater. The high costs of running such medical institutions had caused many of them to go into significant debt, and not a few closed between 1910 and 1915. Evans recognized that something must be done so a major theme of his administration was to put institutions on a sound financial basis. A Medical Convention to discuss the many facets of medical missionary work was held at the Madison, Wisconsin, Sanitarium from June 5-10, 1916.<sup>281</sup> Evans spoke about how "Personal Sacrifice [is] Necessary to Win the Kingdom of God"<sup>282</sup> and "Our Responsibility."<sup>283</sup> This visit coincided in part with the Wisconsin Camp Meeting allowing Evans an opportunity to preach.<sup>284</sup> The war also strained global finances as Evans reminded members to give generously for the midsummer offering (July 29) for support. Of the estimated twenty-cents a member asked, 15 cents went for mission and 5 cents to reduce the indebtedness of institutions. "God has given us in America great prosperity," wrote Evans, adding "the prosperity in the North American Division Conference is beyond anything ever known before."<sup>285</sup> Such optimism led him to set a goal of

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<sup>278</sup> I. H. Evans, "The Missionary Volunteer Work a Preparation for Service," *ARH*, April 20, 1916, 17-18.

<sup>279</sup> I. H. Evans, "The Southwestern Union Conference," *ARH*, May 4, 1916, 15.

<sup>280</sup> See note *ARH*, June 1, 1916, 24.

<sup>281</sup> L. A. Hansen, "The Medical Convention at Madison, Wis. Its General Features," *ARH*, June 29, 1916, 17; I. H. Evans, "Our Medical Convention," *ARH*, June 29, 1916, 24.

<sup>282</sup> The sermon can be read in its entirety at: I. H. Evans, "Personal Sacrifice Necessary to the Kingdom of God," *ARH*, November 16, 1916, 6-8.

<sup>283</sup> I. H. Evans, "Our Responsibility," *ARH*, February 15, 1917, 6-8.

<sup>284</sup> I. H. Evans, "The Wisconsin Camp Meeting," *ARH*, July 20, 1916, 14.

<sup>285</sup> I. H. Evans, "The Midsummer Offering," *ARH*, July 20, 1916, 24.

\$100,000 for ingathering funds (the previous year \$78,000 was raised and in 1914 \$59,000).<sup>286</sup>

The war continued to impact Adventism in America in many ways. The 1917 Annual Council of the General Conference and the North American Division met from October 10-14. Paramount was the impact of the war. The high costs of paper were causing the publishing houses to lose money, and new plans and higher prices were necessary.<sup>287</sup> Adventist colporteurs had to be supplied with adequate ammunition. “The colporteurs,” he wrote, “are an army that knows no defeat.”<sup>288</sup> Perhaps the most significant actions had to do with systematizing how the local church operated, especially with regard to records and finances. This would result in a list of published guidelines that was to be printed and kept available by church members for quick reference as a de facto *Church Manual*. This included the selection of church officers, church board, nominating committee, ordination of local church officers, transfer between churches, remission of offerings, expenditures and poor fund, and that local churches, not conferences, should be the means of disciplining unfaithful and troublesome members.<sup>289</sup> As America became militarized, it became imperative that the church operate as efficiently as possible, too.

Despite war rations and travel restrictions, Evans maintained a busy schedule attending church meetings and raising funds. He encouraged people to contribute liberally for another annual offering (November 18) for the work for the colored people. He pledged \$45,000 in the coming year (1917) so that the church could provide for facilities and specifically do outreach among Black Americans.<sup>290</sup> In Evans’ week-of-prayer reading he reminded believers that: “The enemy is fighting hard for our souls. It is therefore necessary for every one of us to reconsecrate himself

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<sup>286</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Harvest Ingathering for 1916,” *ARH*, August 10, 1916, 24.

<sup>287</sup> G. B. Thompson, “Fall Council of the North American Division Executive Committee,” *ARH*, October 26, 1916, 5.

<sup>288</sup> This quote appears in “Colporteurs of Union College Reach Their Goal,” *ARH*, February 1, 1917, 19.

<sup>289</sup> I. H. Evans, “Important Resolutions for the Churches,” *ARH*, December 28, 1916, 6-7.

<sup>290</sup> I. H. Evans, “Donation for Our Work for the Colored People,” *ARH*, October 26, 1916, 5-6.

anew to the service of God.”<sup>291</sup> From January 3-11, 1917, he participated in a Ministerial Institute for Colored Workers at the Oakwood Manual Training School.<sup>292</sup> As a result of the meetings, C. M. Kinney wrote a special poem and those present pledged to increase the Black membership of the denomination 400% over the next five years (to 10,000). The Oakwood school board voted to change the name to Oakwood Junior College Training School (as a 14 grade school) and to raise \$50,000 over the next three years to expand its facilities. From January 12-21, 1917, he participated in the publishing and home missionary convention held in the chapel of the Southern Publishing Association in Nashville, Tennessee.<sup>293</sup>

From April 12 to 19, 1917, Evans led out in the Spring Council of the North American Division Conference Committee held at Oakwood Manual Training School. This allowed church leaders to see up close the growth of Oakwood, which coincided with an affirmation to change its name to become a junior college. Among other resolutions, church leaders affirmed their position by passing “a carefully worded declaration applying only to our people in the United States . . . reaffirming the position taken at the time of the Civil War, that we are noncombatants, and petitioning the government to recognize our conscientious conviction on this question.”<sup>294</sup> When President Taft passed a conscription law requiring all men between the ages of 21 and 30 to register,<sup>295</sup> Evans urged that all Seventh-day Adventists to comply with the provisions of the draft law.<sup>296</sup> This led to a more formal pronouncement by church leaders.<sup>297</sup> He also supported a special collection for the Red Cross.<sup>298</sup> The North American Division Conference called for a day of fasting and prayer on July

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<sup>291</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Week of Prayer: What It May Mean to Us,” *ARH*, November 2, 1916, 7-9.

<sup>292</sup> C. B. Stephenson, “Ministerial Institute for Colored Workers,” *ARH*, November 23, 1916, 24.

<sup>293</sup> W. W. Eastman, “The Publishing and Home Missionary Convention at Nashville, Tenn.,” *ARH*, March 1, 1917, 21-22.

<sup>294</sup> G. B. Thompson, “Spring Council of the North American Division Conference Committee,” *ARH*, May 10, 1917, 3-6.

<sup>295</sup> See response by I. H. Evans, “Registration,” *ARH*, May 31, 1917, 24, 21. See also, *idem.*, “The Draft,” *ARH*, June 7, 1917, 24, 21.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>297</sup> I. H. Evans, “Exemptions in the Selective Draft Law,” *ARH*, June 14, 1917, 2, 5.

<sup>298</sup> I. H. Evans, “Special Collection for the Red Cross,” *ARH*, June 21, 1917, 2.



14.<sup>299</sup> The urgent need for relief prompted a special offering (June 23) collected in churches across the division for the work of the Red Cross.<sup>300</sup> Altogether, Evans reflected: “These are testing days.”<sup>301</sup>

Church leaders gathered for a special Council, in light of the war, held at Takoma Park, from July 24-27, 1917.<sup>302</sup> At this meeting they asked church members across the North American Division to meet for a season of fasting and prayer on Sabbath and Sunday, September 1-2, 1917, to seek “for a full baptism of the Holy Spirit.” They clearly were, they felt, on the cusp of Armageddon. “Our people are in sore trial because of world conditions, over which they have no control.” Increasing numbers in terms of membership, Evans wrote, was “not an indication of the all-important thing.” He felt instead the “supreme need” was “to *get right with God*.” Many who were “dear to us . . . have been drafted, and some will have been called to service, and some will have been called to service before the time appointed for fasting and prayer.” This new environment and call to endurance would surround them with temptations. “If ever we needed the help of the Holy Spirit, it is now,” he added.<sup>303</sup> The Provost Marshal General made an exemption for ordained ministers under appointment as missionaries as an exemption to military service.<sup>304</sup> It was imperative that those claiming noncombatant status be proactive and appear before their local draft board; failure to do so meant automatic entry without consideration of status to the United States Army.<sup>305</sup> Evans requested anyone drafted and sent to the front lines to please notify him personally and to let him know what the conditions under which they were

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<sup>299</sup> I. H. Evans, “A Season of Fasting and Prayer,” *ARH*, June 21, 1917, 24.

<sup>300</sup> I. H. Evans, “Collection for the Red Cross Society,” *ARH*, June 28, 1917, 24.

<sup>301</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Lord is My Helper,” *ARH*, August 9, 1917, 4.

<sup>302</sup> G. B. Thompson, “Midsummer Council,” *ARH*, August 16, 1917, 2; “Our Late Council,” *ARH*, August 16, 1917, 2, 6.

<sup>303</sup> I. H. Evans, “A Season of Fasting and Prayer,” *ARH*, August 9, 1917, 24; I. H. Evans, “The Season of Fasting and Prayer, September 1, 2,” *ARH*, August 23, 1917, 2.

<sup>304</sup> I. H. Evans, “Recent Rulings by the Provost Marshal General,” *ARH*, August 16, 1917, 6.

<sup>305</sup> I. H. Evans, “Official Rulings Concerning the Draft,” *ARH*, September 6, 1917, 2.

working and “any suggestions” about how to be of help.<sup>306</sup> Another exemption was for students enrolled in school. This contributed to a quick surge in enrollment in all Adventist colleges for the 1917-1918 school year.<sup>307</sup>

Evans continued to advocate for African Americans who were faithful members who paid their share of tithe and support of foreign missions, but yet often did not have access to the same resources. These people, he argued, had been forcefully taken here, and it was only fifty years since the emancipation proclamation, and now by the annual offering for Oakwood and the “colored people” this was an opportunity to do something. “We owe them a debt which we must try to pay,” he shared, “and the Division Committee feels anxious that our people rally to help provide them with church buildings, church schools, and with a suitable training school, equipped to train colored workers for efficient service.”<sup>308</sup> From late August through early October 1917 Evans spoke at a series of camp meetings through the southern United States.

A significant turning point in the brief history of the North American Division occurred during the Autumn Council. Held from October 26 to November 6, 1917, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the meetings would be held jointly with the General Conference and the North American Division committees. The war effort meant that A. G. Daniells and I. H. Evans issued a joint statement that in light of the need for “the greatest simplicity, economy, dispatch, and efficiency,” and the administrative duplication, “in actual experience it has been found that the North American Division administration duplicated in many points the General Conference administration, therefore it was decided to recommend that it be discontinued, and that the organization of the General Conference be so strengthened that it can hereafter administer the work at its base.”<sup>309</sup> The war would also be a point of continued concern, especially the draft, as Evans posted regular

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<sup>306</sup> I. H. Evans, “Notice to Our Brethren Who Have Been Drafted,” *ARH*, September 20, 1917, 24.

<sup>307</sup> I. H. Evans, “Further Draft Regulations,” *ARH*, September 27, 1917, 2; idem., “Compiled Rulings Issued by Provost Marshal General on Questions Concerning the Selective-Service Law,” *ARH*, October 11, 1917, 2, 5.

<sup>308</sup> I. H. Evans, “Needs of Our Negro Department,” *ARH*, October 5, 1917, 5-6.

<sup>309</sup> A. G. Daniells and I. H. Evans, “The Minneapolis Council,” *ARH*, November 29, 1917, 3.

updates expressing appreciation to the United States government for giving them consideration and exemption for those who cannot “conscientiously perform [the bearing of arms] and not stultify their conscience.”<sup>310</sup> Evans also organized a special offering for the “destitute Armenians and Syrians” who were facing extreme suffering and atrocities.<sup>311</sup>

By 1918 Evans wrote for the first time about the dangers of higher criticism within Christianity. He warned that “we must not drift” by “conformity to the world.” Instead “our pattern” must always be Christ. He opined that “Our Puritan forefathers would have been staggered at the things done in these days by church members.”<sup>312</sup> Instead of seeking deliverance from sin, plain pulpit preaching is no longer popular, and even the sermon has degenerated into a popular lecture with slang and vaudeville performances that amuse and gratify. Adventists were called to a higher standard of the Word of God that knows no compromise with sin:

This advent movement stands for all that the Word of God teaches. It knows no compromise with sin; its standard of righteousness is the law of God as interpreted in the teaching and life of Christ. Its aim is to prepare a people clothed, through faith, with the righteousness of Christ, who will await their Lord’s second coming in glory and power. Such a people, both in their life and in their work, must live unmoved and uninfluenced by the conditions of sin about them. This people must not drift. They *cannot* drift and fulfill their mission to the world.<sup>313</sup>

In order to help avoid this drift, and encourage spiritual growth, he recommended the daily study of Ellen White’s writings. By cherishing and study this gift, never replaces the Word of God, but “helps in the perfection of Christian character. A methodical study of these writings . . . will be a means of helping him to grow in grace and Christlikeness.”<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> I. H. Evans, “Important Changes in Draft Rules,” *ARH*, November 29, 1917, 2; idem., “The New Rulings of the War Department on the Draft,” *ARH*, December 13, 1917, 24.

<sup>311</sup> I. H. Evans, “Collection in All Our Churches for Destitute Armenians and Syrians,” *ARH*, December 6, 1917, 24.

<sup>312</sup> I. H. Evans, “Are We Drifting?” *ARH*, January 31, 1918, 4-5.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>314</sup> Quoted by Matilda Erickson, “Begin Today,” *ARH*, February 7, 1918, 19-20.

### **Wrapping up War and the 1918 General Conference**

As preparations continued for the 1918 General Conference session, in light of “the general war conditions,” it “seemed advisable” to shorten this important event. Travel limitations, especially from delegates in war-torn regions, would reduce attendance, or at best, make it much more difficult and expensive to participate. The conference would be reduced from 24 to 17 days.<sup>315</sup> The gap of five years since the previous General Conference session was “the longest interim between sessions” since the denomination was founded. Evans encouraged church members to make sure they read the *Bulletin* and for those coming to make arrangements with J. L. McElhany who was coordinating lodging for the upcoming gathering.<sup>316</sup>

As the war progressed, Evans published a notice affirming that “Seventh-day Adventists are and always have been noncombatants.” All members “in good and [regular] standing [as of] May 18, 1917” are “entitled to a certificate exempting him from the bearing of arms.” Those enlisted should seek help from their conference president, or C. S. Longacre who was appointed secretary of the “War Commission.”<sup>317</sup>

The joint session of the General Conference and North American Division Conferences was held in San Francisco from March 29, to April 14, 1918. Evans gave the opening message on Friday evening titled “God Revealed in Man.”<sup>318</sup> Evans, in his subsequent report highlighted what he felt were the most significant accomplishments during the five years of the North American Division.<sup>319</sup> Never since the days of William Miller was there such widespread interest in the Adventist message. Such success must be acknowledged as the divine providence of God. At the recommendation of the 1917 Autumn Council it was recommended “that the organization known as the North American Division Conference terminate” at the 1918 General

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<sup>315</sup> A. G. Daniells and I. H. Evans, “Shortening the Session of the General Conference,” *ARH*, February 7, 1918, 24.

<sup>316</sup> I. H. Evans, “Coming Sessions of General and Division Conferences,” *ARH*, February 28, 1919, 24.

<sup>317</sup> I. H. Evans, “Notice to Drafted Men of Our Faith,” *ARH*, March 28, 1918, 24.

<sup>318</sup> I. H. Evans, “God Revealed in Man,” *ARH*, May 9, 1918, 3-6.

<sup>319</sup> I. H. Evans, “North American Division President’s Address,” *ARH*, April 4, 1918, 9-14.

49 – Campbell: “Give God the Best”: I. H. Evans

Conference session and “its work and territory be absorbed the General Conference.” The official wording was as follows:

In order that the unity of our worldwide work may be preserved; that economy of administration may best be served; that the largest possible amount of funds may be made available for the prosecution of our work, both at home and abroad; that the believers everywhere may be constant contributors of their means to the regions beyond; that the General Conference may have direct control and management of its chief base of supplies, both of men and of means;

*We recommend*, That the General and North American Division Conferences, at their next session, arrange for eliminating the North American Division Conference, and that the territory comprised in the North American Division Conference be hereafter under the direct administration of the General Conference.<sup>320</sup>

Under Evans’ administration notable developments included the creation of the Home Missionary department in the autumn of 1914, which facilitated the Harvest Ingathering work raising hundreds of thousands of dollars for missions. During the previous quinquennium the denomination aggregated \$4.8 million, but during the past five years of the NAD, the tithe aggregated \$7.6 million making a gain of \$2.7 million (56.54%). The contributions for missions amounted to \$3.6, which included \$2.7 million for foreign missions and debt relief of \$854,733 and a reduction of liabilities of \$499,386 so that with creased assets should a net improvement of \$1.6 million. Church membership had increased by 23,357 just shy of Evans’ goal of 100k members in North America. He pointed out that it had taken the previous eighteen years so win that many souls in the same territory. If anything Evans had been too successful as church leaders looked to harness these resources. He had some recommendations: (1) The NAD is the base of supplies for finances and personnel and there is no limit to the need; (2) the home base must be kept strong; (3) We must not increase our liabilities; and (4) we must become more efficient and continual in soul-winning; more young people should be enrolled in our schools; (6) local conferences need to be responsible for training their membership for service;

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<sup>320</sup> Ibid., 10.

(7) colleges should establish short summer institutes to train members for outreach; (8) we should eliminate nonproductive workers; (9) the Sustentation Fund needed “definite regulations”; and (10) every union needs to have a treasurer, not just a president, to build up the finances of the union and local institutions, raise mission offerings, and increase of tithe.

Ultimately there was competition between Evans and A. G. Daniells for resources that led the General Conference president to recommend phasing out the North American Division. Daniells wrote in 1917 that “a strong, self-directing, practically independent organization thrown in between the GC and its resources. . . . It transfers the control of the base of supplies from [the] GC [General Conference] to the division.” Froom noted that the restriction of finances tied the hands of General Conference leaders. T. E. Bowen noted that at the Annual Council was recommended the that the North American Division be discontinued. “While this organization has done good work in stimulating our people in the home land and building up the work in other lines at the base, yet with the world-wide work in hand, and America being the base of supplies, it seemed that the General Conference Committee should have immediate direction of the work in the home land.”<sup>321</sup> Leaders furthermore reflected how this was “an interesting experience” that resulted in “an unworkable arrangement.” William A. Spicer, for his part, described it as “an extra wheel . . . at home base.”<sup>322</sup> In a way, Evans was a victim of his own success with his strong evangelistic focus and the need to develop workers with his strong emphasis upon training leaders, especially pastors, and raising funds to reduce debt, increasing tithe, and raising additional funds for projects.

### **Continued Commitment**

On April 4, 1918 General Conference session Evans was elected for a second term as vice-president of the General Conference (effectively division president) for the Eastern Asia division. The one change was that India and Australasia were separated into a separate Division of the General Conference, and

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<sup>321</sup> T. E. Bowen to J. M. Johanson, February 26, 1917, General Conference Archives.

<sup>322</sup> W. A. Spicer to W. S. Hyatt, November 22, 1917 (GC AST Secretariat General Files #21, 1917—Hyatt, W. S.).

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the Southern American Division was at the same time also created.<sup>323</sup> Their daughter, Jessie (1892-1981), returned with them to Asia.<sup>324</sup> Then on April 8, 1918, Evans made two motions discontinuing the North American Division, and the General Conference assuming all of its assets and liabilities.<sup>325</sup> After the General Conference, the Executive Committee met for an additional four days to get some “detail work” done.<sup>326</sup> Meanwhile, Mrs. Evans wrote a poem “The Old Packing Boxes” as they prepared to move.<sup>327</sup> Before they left, Evans participated in the dedication of the new hospital building at Washington Sanitarium on May 19.<sup>328</sup> His talk was titled: “How Christianity Leads in Helpful Service for the Sick.”<sup>329</sup> Before he had even left, Evans rejoiced at the gift of \$50,000 by Mr. and Mrs. Au to build a permanent sanitarium in Shanghai.<sup>330</sup> Evans stayed by to attend the Midsummer Council of the General Conference Committee (July 9-15).<sup>331</sup> By late July they left Takoma Park to visit family before sailing for China.<sup>332</sup> They set sail from San Francisco on September 24, 1918.<sup>333</sup> On the way they stopped briefly, as they had done a number of times before, in Hawaii where he spoke to the believers one evening while their boat was repaired.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> See “Report of Nominating Committee,” as part of the report titled “Eighth Meeting: April 4, 10:30 A.M.,” *ARH*, April 25, 1918, 14.

<sup>324</sup> See “Telegraphic News from the Conference,” under “Night Letter of April 14,” *ARH*, April 25, 1918, 24.

<sup>325</sup> “Seventh Meeting, April 9, 3 P.M.,” *ARH*, May 2, 1918, 22.

<sup>326</sup> I. H. Evans, “The General Conference Session,” *ARH*, May 16, 1918, 24.

<sup>327</sup> Mrs. I. H. [Adelaide Bee Cooper] Evans, “The Old Packing Boxes,” *ARH*, May 30, 1918, 19.

<sup>328</sup> “New Hospital Building,” *ARH*, May 30, 1918, 24.

<sup>329</sup> As recorded: I. H. Evans, “How Christianity Leads in Helpful Service for the Sick,” *ARH*, July 4, 1918, 17-19.

<sup>330</sup> I. H. Evans, “The Shanghai Sanitarium,” *ARH*, July 18, 1918, 24.

<sup>331</sup> See report *ARH*, August 1, 1918, 3-6.

<sup>332</sup> See note *ARH*, August 8, 1918, 24.

<sup>333</sup> See note *ARH*, October 10, 1918, 16.

<sup>334</sup> I. H. Evans, “Honolulu, H.I.,” *ARH*, December 19, 1918, 11-12. Evans objected to the exploitation of the Hawaiian islands. “The visitor . . . cannot but feel a sense of sadness at the thought that these hills and valleys, which, a generation ago, were the property of the races who had held them so long, are now owned and exploited by others. Year by year the native Hawaiians are becoming fewer and fewer, while the foreigners are increasing in numbers and strength. In the land where their fathers lived and ruled they are now the toilers and the poorest of the poor, while the descendants of those who brought them the gospel own and govern their country.”

After his tenure in the North American Division Evans remained vice-president of the General Conference for the Far Eastern Division until 1930 when he was elected as a general vice-president of the General Conference, a post held continued in until 1936). From 1936 to 1941 he served as a field secretary of the General Conference, after which he retired from active service. Irwin was a “strong administrator” as well as “a forceful preacher and writer.” He loved to write poems, hymns and put some of his own hymns to music. He was a significant force behind the development of the 1941 *Seventh-day Adventist Church Hymnal*. Such efforts in his later years contributed to “undue strain” on his health. He was also a major player in the development of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary and a member of the board of trustees until his health forced him to step aside. He had a lifelong passion for the education and the development of pastors. Evans was especially known for his extensive writings. One obituary observed that “Throughout his lifetime he wrote a great deal for Adventist publications.”<sup>335</sup> A major focus of Evans’ life was bookended by both World War I, as North American Division president, and then in his final years, with World War II. The war impacted his own family. His son Arthur was held as a prisoner by the Japanese in a Philippine internment camp during World War II. His grandson, Lieut. Irwin Evans, was killed on Christmas Day, 1944. His son Jerome worked in government service in Panama. And his daughter, Jessie, married Lieut. Col. L. P. Corbett.<sup>336</sup> Irwin died November 24, 1945, at Takoma Park, D.C., at the age of 83. He was remembered as a “man of iron will but gracious spirit” who did much to mentor young ministers and build up and establish “the pillars of the cause in finance, administration, and literature.”<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> “Elder Irwin Evans, Leader in SDA, Dies,” *Battle Creek Enquirer*, November 26, 1945, 2.

<sup>336</sup> “Elder Irwin Evans, Leader in SDA, Dies,” *Battle Creek Enquirer*, November 26, 1945, 2.

<sup>337</sup> A. W. Spalding, *Captains of the Host: First Volume of a History of Seventh-day Adventists Covering the Years 1845-1900* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1949), 374.



## **Seldom Making History: Women in Adventist Historiography**

by  
**Ashlee L. Chism**

When people nowadays quote the phrase “Well-behaved women rarely make history”, they’re misquoting a historian, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, retired professor of early American history at Harvard. In her 1976 article, “Vertuous Women Found”, Ulrich wrote: “Well-behaved women seldom make history; against Antinomians and witches, these pious matrons have had little chance at all.”<sup>1</sup> In context, Ulrich’s contention is that well-behaved women are equally deserving of historical attention, even if, as she said, “they never preached or sat in a deacon’s bench” and were not outliers in their society the way that the “Antinomians and witches” were. Unfortunately, very few of either the well-behaved or the ill-behaved women of Seventh-day Adventism’s past have made it into its history books, even though these women were and remain crucial to that history.

As of 2022, the Seventh-day Adventist Church comprised 52.87% women compared to 41.26% men. Another 5.87% of the membership did not provide their gender, and several areas of the world church did not collect gender demographics,<sup>2</sup> but even with those caveats, the official numbers are fairly clear: there are more women in the Seventh-day Adventist Church than there are men. Even someone with a cursory knowledge of Adventist

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<sup>1</sup> Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, “Vertuous women found: New England ministerial literature, 1668-1735”, *American Quarterly* 28:1 (Spring 1976), 20.

<sup>2</sup> Seventh-day Adventist Church, *2023 Annual Statistical Report*, 14. Accessed 7 March 2024, <https://documents.adventistarchives.org/Statistics/ASR/ASR2023.pdf>. There may be other or better ways to adjust and visualize these statistics, but at present this is what is available.

historiography knows that the historiography does not correlate with the demographics of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. This has been the case for as long as Adventists have been writing on Adventist history. In 1940, Ava Covington, introducing her book on pioneer Adventist women, wrote, “Much has been written and said about the men of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination...but, with the exception of Mrs. E. G. White, little has been written about the women...”<sup>3</sup>. As we will see, this is still the case.

This article identifies the categories of what works exist in the historiography related to Adventist women, highlight areas of concern when researching and writing about women in Adventist history, and explore how scholars may better represent the entirety of the Church when creating its history. This exploration will be exemplified by looking more closely at a group of Adventist women who have not yet been studied in any sort of depth. This article addresses Adventist historiography in a broad sense, as to exclude certain works would be to possibly exclude avenues for future research; this is due to the scarcity of proper historical scholarship on women. While many works in the identified categories are *not* scholarly in and of themselves, they still capture emotions, events, and experiences that other sources may not. Therefore, these sources are worthy of historical examination.

**Categories.** What exists broadly falls into six categories:

<b>Categories of Adventist historiography on women</b>	
1	Articles
2	General works, including textbooks
3	Mission narratives
4	Biographies (popular and scholarly)
5	Works on or about Ellen White
6	Works about the ordination of women

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<sup>3</sup> Ava Covington, *They also served: stories of pioneer women of the Advent movement*, (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1940), 1.

**Articles.** This first category is comprised of both popular and scholarly articles, published in Adventist magazines, academic and scholarly journals (such as *Adventist Heritage*, which ran from 1974 to 1998), and the new *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, which began publishing articles online in 2020.

Articles about women in general Adventist periodicals or in *Adventist Heritage* are largely about specific incidents in a subject's life, especially if it pertains to ordination. Though such articles presumably went through an editorial process, it is not evident that they went through an official peer review process. Typically, the articles in this category do not provide in-depth analysis, though analysis is not generally the purpose of the articles.

The nine articles marked as “History” or “History of Christianity” in the Digital Commons website<sup>4</sup> for the refereed *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* (resulting from a keyword search for *women*) merely mention women and are not about them. The same is true of the twelve articles resulting from the keyword search for *woman* (and some of those results overlap with the first results). Since this article is focused on historiography, it is logical to consider only those results strictly related to history. While there are more results for both keywords, those results are typically tagged with “Biblical Studies”, “Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion”, and “Social and Behavioral Sciences”. Besides those in that last category, all of the results are tagged with a big-bucket label of “Arts and Humanities” and “Religion”. The peer-reviewed *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* does have articles that touch on Adventist history, but, in line with the focus of the journal, are often focused more on missiology; none of the historical/historical-theological articles appear to feature women.<sup>5</sup> The Adventist Society for Religious Studies does not appear to have a journal, but a skim of their 2024 conference schedule and a glance at their previous conference themes would indicate an understandable preference for theologically-oriented research.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The Digital Commons page for the *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* is available at <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jats/>.

<sup>5</sup> The Digital Commons repository for the *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* is <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jams/>.

<sup>6</sup> The schedule for the 2024 conference of the Adventist Society for Religious Studies can be found on their website at

The articles in the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists* are double-blind peer-reviewed.<sup>7</sup> The articles on women are generally in the Biographies subsection of the website, though women do appear in other articles when appropriate. The authors of biographical articles work to succinctly cover a subject's entire life, and not just one or two specific incidents. In the cases where couples whose work was so intertwined that separate articles would have been warranted but ultimately duplicative, the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists* has opted to have joint articles ideally covering both people equally. Additionally, the website has also implemented a way to highlight articles about women through filters available in its advanced search. The *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists* represents great improvement on the historiography on women in Adventist history, but more research and publication about Adventist women is needed beyond the scope of the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*.

**General works, including textbooks.** Most general works of collective Adventist history are chiefly concerned with the broad scope of Adventist history and are written in the Loughboroughian mode,<sup>8</sup> tracing the creation of institutions and the development of Adventist doctrines within a 'rise and progress' framework. These works are not typically interested in individuals, but exceptions were made for leaders of Church entities and institutions and in cases where someone was the only, the first, the most prominent. As many of the Church's leaders were men, they appear in these general works with greater frequency. This includes but is not limited to figures such as William Miller, Joseph Bates, James White, John N. Andrews, Stephen Haskell, and John Loughborough. Still, a handful of women, including but not limited to Ellen White, Annie Smith, Kate Lindsay, and Anna Knight, repeatedly appear in these works.

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<https://www.adventistsocietyforreligiousstudies.com/2024-schedule>. Accessed 7 October 2024.

<sup>7</sup> The URL for the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists* is <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org>.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of this mode, see Ashlee Chism, "'...except as we shall forget...': An Archivist's Reflection", unpublished paper given at the 2018 Society of Adventist Philosophers conference, Denver, Colorado.

It is glaringly obvious that the attention of historians of Seventh-day Adventism as well as others (scholars or otherwise) studying and writing about Adventist history has been on subjects other than women. Only one general work focuses solely on women in the Adventist Church. Ava Covington's *They Also Served: Stories of Pioneer Women of the Advent Movement* (1940) is a fairly solid book, containing a set of short biographies of Adventist women from the first nearly 80 years of Adventist history. Unlike later authors' use of short biographies, Covington appears to be actually interested in her subjects' lives and not merely in their utility in an argument. She treats her subjects as having agency and autonomy. She also does not treat her subjects as extensions of their male relatives or of Church leaders with whom they worked. Indeed, Covington covered a variety of work women did in connection with the Seventh-day Adventist Church and tried to make her coverage as broad as she could. Her book is limited in scope, however: it provides short biographies of mostly white women, despite the existence of equally deserving Black and brown women in the Church at that time.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, Covington provided a statement at the beginning of the text that she drew upon a variety of sources in writing the biographies, but beyond that statement, there are no citations of any kind. If any historian of Adventism had chosen to publish a volume similar to Covington's, covering the same amount of time that Covington covered (approximately 77 years), that book should have been published in 2017. Presently, there are no other books like Covington's in the historiography.

Even scholarly works are lacking in both focus and details when it comes to women. For example, Gary Land's entry on women in the *Historical Dictionary of Seventh-day Adventists* jumps from Ellen White's death in 1915 to 1960 and then focuses largely on ordination and the Merikay Silver case.<sup>10</sup> First, it is

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<sup>9</sup> Initial research indicated that Covington only provided biographies for white women; however, Sabrina Riley's research on Worthie Holden complicates this, as Holden had a mixed racial heritage and eventually assimilated into white society. See Sabrina Riley, "Holden, Worthie Dennis (Harris) (1871-1921)", *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=6JK6>. More on this complex subject is beyond the scope of this article.

<sup>10</sup> Gary Land, "Women", *Historical Dictionary of Seventh-day Adventists* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2009), 329-334.

doubtful (and untrue) that nothing in the Adventist Church was done with, for, or by women between 1915 and the late 1960s, as well as between the 1960s and the present. Additionally, while ordination and equal pay are highly contested subjects which deserve their fair amount of coverage in the history of Adventist women, those are not the only subjects which concern women (or about which women are concerned). There is no corresponding entry for “men” in the *Historical Dictionary*.

More recently, works written for a general audience, including David Trim’s *A Living Sacrifice: Unsung Heroes of Adventist Missions* (2019) and Michael Campbell’s *We Stand On Their Shoulders: A Historical Legacy of Adventist Pastors* (2023), feature both men and women from Adventist history. Perhaps this is indicative of a turn happening in the field.

**Mission narratives.** These works, covering genres such as mission writing, travelogues, autobiography, and children’s stories, were written for the public’s (Adventist or otherwise) consumption, mostly during the 1940s through the 1970s. This category includes works such as Barbara Osborne Westphal’s *A Bride on the Amazon* (1948), which is comprised of Westphal’s letters (presumably edited for publication) which she sent from the mission field to her mother, and Anna Knight’s autobiography, *Mississippi Girl* (1952), which captures a version of Knight’s childhood and young girlhood. The writers of these works—usually women—would, while keeping true to the emotional and experiential core of the events, obscure details which would directly identify them to their Adventist audience members, whether they wrote in a first-person or third-person point of view. Some of these writers almost completely obscured their actual presence in the story they wrote, despite being present and oftentimes involved. For example, in Norma Youngberg’s *Jungle Thorn* (1966), Youngberg tells the story of Kondima, a young girl in a Christian family from the mountains in Borneo. Kondima, who lost an eye to the jungle thorn of the book’s title, spends a short time in the unnamed missionary family’s home before traveling to Singapore for surgery at the Adventist hospital there. In the text, Youngberg describes her children and her husband in great detail, calling her children by their middle names or nicknames, and Gus Youngberg not by his name but by a title given him by the people they worked among. She barely appears in

the text itself. Youngberg made herself more observer than participant in the story, although, based on details from the book correlated with the historical record, she was deeply involved with the family's day-to-day life in Jesselton (now Kota Kinabalu), Borneo, in the late 1930s.<sup>11</sup>

When one considers the population size of the Adventist Church in the 1940s through 1970s and the intimacy caused in part by the size of the Adventist population, it is not surprising that these writers would undertake the work to make some of the names and details more nebulous. This work included using middle and maiden names for themselves and their families, (even if they did not obscure the names of their mission stations and co-workers) and setting the narrative in the recent past, usually choosing to avoid placing a story in any particular year or years. In a way, this semi-fictionalizes the story to make it more broadly appealing and applicable than the story of just one person or family in one place. This process can be seen in Alta Hilliard Christensen's 1949 *Up from the Godowns*, which recounts the arrival of the Christensens, accompanied by Alta's parents, the Hilliards, to India in the vague idea of the 1920s,<sup>12</sup> as well as some of their early experiences in India. Christensen's book, as well as several others in this category, capture aspects of mission service which would have been lost otherwise from the era prior to 1930, when overseas workers files began to be kept by the General Conference Secretariat (and which are now housed in the General Conference Archives). This means that these mission narratives,

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<sup>11</sup> *Jungle Thorn* refers to a "Dusun hut" on its very first page. According to the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists* article on Gus Youngberg, the Youngbergs worked among the Dusun people between 1935 and 1940. See <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=AD3N>. In some ways this means that *Jungle Thorn's* joyous depiction of the Youngberg family as "The House of Children" (the chapter's title) in the mission field is Norma Youngberg capturing what it was like less than a decade before Gus Youngberg's untimely and tragic death in a Japanese detention camp during World War II. Where the Youngbergs lived in Borneo in 1936 was established by consulting the 1937 *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association), 128.

<sup>12</sup> The Hilliards and the Christensens arrived in India in 1928, but this is not a detail one finds in *Up from the Godowns*. See Shirley Tarburton, "Hilliard, Edward (1851-1936) and Ida Louisa (Fleming) (1857-1945)", *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=A7XE>.

even having been semi-fictionalized, are important to Adventist history.

Semi-fictionalization was not an irrevocable process. For many of these books, the author is the subject, but written in a close third person point of view. Historians and other scholars willing to put in the archival work of looking at original and additional sources can at least partially lift the veil on the people and events captured in these texts. For example, *Jeanie Goes to The Mission Field* (1966), a story about a woman named Jeanie becoming a missionary written by Wilma Ross Westphal, was classified by a non-Adventist source as “Fiction”. Since the book’s publication date and narrative style indicated that it might not be fictional, but semi-fictional; it took digging into obituaries, checking files in the General Conference Archives, and building a family tree to ascertain the facts, but the Jeanie of the text was its author, Wilma Ross Westphal. While semi-fictionalized due to it being a recreation of the events in a story form, it is fueled by an autobiographical impulse and provides readers with insight into Wilma’s thinking during the events that she recounts. Would a more unmediated source like a diary be better? Absolutely! But something is better than nothing, and the work it takes to uncover what historical facts lay beneath the semi-fictional narrative is worth it.

The mission narratives are not rigorous histories; no one has ever treated them as such, and they should not be. These mission narratives are storybooks meant for education and inspiration, not as historical accounts. Yet they capture a facet of Adventist history that has not often (if ever) appeared in its historiography. Many of the narratives are less about the experience of individual women in the mission field and more about their families, whether that meant their husbands and their family back in the homeland, or their husbands and their children, or about the work that they were engaged in with their husbands while also raising and educating their children in the mission field. Most general histories of Adventism capture public-facing institutions and individuals, so these peeks into the private lives of Adventists can provide us with insights into how Adventists applied their theological beliefs in their day-to-day lives in the mission field.

**Biographies.** The first subcategory of this section consists of narrative-driven popular biographies, mostly published between



## 61 – Chism: Women in Adventist Historiography

the 1980s and 2010s, with a few earlier outliers. These narratives are far more often based on archival sources, such as correspondence and interviews, and many times include photographs rather than illustrations. Some even include footnotes or endnotes (even if such citations are incomplete) but were still written as stories for popular consumption and inspiration. The women in these works often take the central role in the narrative in ways that they do not in the earlier mission narratives. While still meant to inspire, these works often balance between capturing “how it was” and explicating some moral lesson from the experiences. Examples of this sub-category include Mary Ogle’s *China Nurse* (1974), about the life of Elisabeth Redelstein;<sup>13</sup> DeWitt Williams’ *She Fulfilled the Impossible Dream* (1985), about Eva Dykes;<sup>14</sup> Max Hammond’s *The Indomitable Gertrude Green* (2010);<sup>15</sup> and two books on Anna Knight, Patricia Maxwell’s *Journey to Freedom* (1987) and Dorothy Knight Marsh’s *From Cotton Fields to Mission Fields: The Anna Knight Story* (2016).<sup>16</sup>

The second subcategory consists of the truly scholarly biographies. These are, as far as can be determined, all about Ellen White. No other Adventist woman comes close to having as much written about her.<sup>17</sup> This was true in 1940 when Covington produced her book, and it is still (so far) true today in 2024.

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<sup>13</sup> A narrative which is very different in tone and scope than the article on Redelstein written by Ruth Crocombe for the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=58LL>.

<sup>14</sup> Williams also wrote the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists* article on Dykes, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=ACG5>. A new archival collection of material related to Dykes at Oakwood University has been processed and is being digitized by the Adventist Digital Library. Perhaps an in-depth scholarly biography on Dykes will be forthcoming from Williams or another scholar.

<sup>15</sup> Gilbert Valentine wrote on Green for the *ESDA*. See Gilbert M. Valentine, “Green, Gertrude Mary (1907-2002)”, *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=28DP>. Hammond’s book describes a wealth of archival material that was in his possession as he drafted and wrote the book. One hopes that the material finds its way into an Adventist archives so that it is made available to other researchers.

<sup>16</sup> Dorothy Knight Marsh also provided the article on Knight for the *ESDA*: “Knight, Rachel “Anna” (1874-1972)”, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=7CF2>.

<sup>17</sup> The closest is Anna Knight, who appears to be the most written-about Adventist woman after Ellen White. Even there, however, the works are the narrative-driven biographies, not scholarly works.

However, these works are archivally based, decently footnoted and endnoted, and constitute proper scholarship. This category includes, for example, Arthur L. White's six-volume biography of his grandmother, published between 1981 and 1986. This biography makes excellent use of the manuscripts held by the White Estate. Each book uses inline citations and provides a bibliography at the end. While Arthur White could not be presumed to have anything approximating emotional distance on the subject—after all, she was his grandmother, and he managed her estate—his work is thorough, though often lacking in broader context. Arthur White theoretically had access to more than just the materials held by the White Estate; the General Conference Archives did exist, being in its first decade, and his volumes could have been enriched with references to documents held by the General Conference. Arthur White also treats Ellen White as a singular person—which in many ways she was—but no one exists in a vacuum, including Ellen White. The titles of the volumes alone indicate that.

Of the fourteen scholarly biographies in the Adventist Biography Series presently for sale<sup>18</sup>, none are about women. If the series reflected the current rough demographics of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, seven of them would be. At least one forthcoming book in the series is planned to be about a woman—the book's main figure, unsurprisingly, is Ellen White, the subject of the next category.

***Works on or about Ellen White.*** Works in this category include scholarship done over the last fifty years by Ronald Numbers, Ronald Graybill, Terrie Aamodt, Gary Land, and Gilbert Valentine, among others. These works are highly visible within Adventist historiography and Adventist history. It stands to reason that Ellen White, her life, and her works have been and will continue to be subjects of scholarship. Much of what exists, however, analyzes Ellen White's writings in consideration of doctrinal, organizational, or institutional dilemmas. Such analyses

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<sup>18</sup> These biographies are on John N. Andrews, Joseph Bates, G. I. Butler, John Byington, A. G. Daniells, S. N. Haskell, A. T. Jones, John Harvey Kellogg, J. N. Loughborough, W. W. Prescott, Lewis C. Sheafe, Uriah Smith, E. J. Waggoner, and James White. The titles and covers can be seen on the Adventist Book Center website at <https://bit.ly/3Pn3v2X>.

are important because, even though her works were written in English, what she (and the people around her) understood a word or a concept to mean might not be what those words or concepts mean to people today, and such must be evaluated. Additional context does not lessen her writings, but rather allows church members to understand them better. This is deeply important and crucial to Adventist historiography.

However, not all scholarly works on Ellen White are seen as immediately accessible to Adventists who are neither theologians nor historians (even when the works are brilliantly written for and aimed at a general audience). Indeed, scholars steeped in knowledge of the pertinent theological and cultural contexts typically (and understandably) do not interact with Ellen White and her works in the same ways that non-scholars do. This is where George Knight's works from the late 1990s—*Meeting Ellen White*; *Walking with Ellen White*; and *Ellen White's World*—find their niche. They situate Ellen White's writings in their original contexts and depict them as having been done by an actual person in the real world. It would be well for scholars to continue situating Ellen White in her context, especially as the temporal distance between her time and the present lengthens.

**Works on ordination.** This is the last, and by far the largest, category of works having to do with women in Adventist history. However, the theological questions around ordination frame the space in which the history is done and used. This leads to much of this scholarship being theological in nature and straying into being purely theological and doctrinal far more often than not. When a historical argument is included in a work of theology or historical theology on ordination, that argument solely focuses on Adventist women who did pastoral and ministerial labor, whatever form that labor took, and only glancingly touches on other forms of labor (including the fields of medicine, education, administration, and publishing, all of which Adventist women worked in). Examples in this category include Josephine Benton's *Called by God: Stories of Seventh-day Adventist Women Ministers* (1992) and the book edited by Rosa Banks, *A Woman's Place: Seventh-day Adventist Women in Church and Society* (1992). This is obviously due to the wider theological questions regarding ordination in Seventh-day Adventism, but it has the effect of obscuring other activities and roles undertaken by women in the same places and times,

activities and roles that are equally deserving to be examined by the Church's historians.

Regardless of one's stance on women's ordination, it is important to note that each "side" has used historical facts to strengthen their arguments in advancement of their position. None of the works seem all that interested in the women themselves, but on whether the facts of those women's lives will score points for their "side". The same brief biographies, with little depth regarding the women themselves, and however sincerely researched and employed, are used repeatedly. The Adventist women in these works are typically more used as hard proof texts than as people whose real lives might lead to a better understanding of the past. When their lives and experiences are used purely in this manner, the produced works cease to be history and simply become polemic.

### **Areas of Concern**

***Theological lens.*** The default timeline of Adventist history is landmarked with theology and theological controversy. On one hand, this makes sense—the Adventist Church is a church and naturally, therefore, has theology, which has been developed over time. Besides, many of the excellent historians of Adventism have come through the Church's theological seminaries and these historians have often asked theologically-oriented questions. There is nothing wrong with asking and seeking to answer said questions. There is nothing wrong with teaching that history. It is needed and important.

However, this approach has left gaps in the historical record. The theological lens is not the only such framework through which to view the denomination's past. There is no need to jump in the timeline from 1844 to 1863 to the 1888 General Conference Session to Ellen White's death in 1915 to *Questions on Doctrine* in 1955 and Andreasen in 1961 to Desmond Ford in the late 1970s and early 1980s to women's ordination from the 1970s to now. If the questions that scholars who work in Adventist history and Adventist studies ask continue to be chiefly about theology and the effect of theology, then the scholarly community may lose sight of other aspects of the denomination's past, aspects which may be more engaging to lay people than the development of doctrine and the finer points of theological discourse, aspects which may also be

crucial to answering pressing questions in the Church of the present. For an example of such aspects, look at the research that Benjamin Baker has been doing with regards to the receptiveness of both free and enslaved Black people to the apocalyptic message of the Millerites and others<sup>19</sup> or at the research Kevin Burton has done on the abolitionist beliefs and practices of the founding generation of Seventh-day Adventists.<sup>20</sup> Their work has been both fascinating and deeply needed in the modern church. What would a timeline of Adventist history which did not privilege theology and theologically-oriented questions above all else look like? What would an economic or a cultural timeline of the Adventist Church look like? Or, indeed, what would a timeline of Adventist history whose landmarks are focused on Seventh-day Adventist women look like?

These are questions which we must answer if we want to expand the field's historiography on women because presently Adventist historical education reflects the current state of the historiography. This article is not a study of pedagogy and acknowledges that personal experiences vary. Some teachers and professors may excel at teaching Adventist history where others may not. However, it may behoove the scholarly community to build on the very preliminary results presented by Dr. Lisa Clark Diller at the joint conference of the Association of Seventh-day Adventists and the General Conference Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research in 2014. Dr. Diller's presentation, "Adventist history and theological heritage: Teaching our Church's past in our universities and colleges", indicates that the teaching of Adventist history appears to vary widely by institution and by whether it is being taught by a theologian or a historian.<sup>21</sup> More in-depth research on the teaching of Adventist history in Adventist

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<sup>19</sup> One of Baker's recent pieces is "'There's A Day Coming': The Origin, Reception, and Conception of the Catastrophic Apocalypse among Black Captives", *Journal of Africana Religions* 11:2 (2023), 153-197. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jafireli.11.2.0153>

<sup>20</sup> For an example of Burton's work, see "Joseph Bates and Adventism's Radical Roots", *ARH* (March 4, 2020), <https://adventistreview.org/magazine-article/joseph-bates-and-adventisms-radical-roots/>. Burton's recently defended doctoral dissertation, "The Anti-Slavery War on Evangelicalism: A Critical Interrogation of Abolitionism, Evangelicalism, and Apocalypticism", is sure to add to Adventist history in whatever form it is published.

<sup>21</sup> Her presentation can be viewed in this video on ASTR's YouTube channel: <https://youtu.be/QGPsvxhGLvg?si=wJZ1H918l4fz3g7q&t=1774>.

educational institutions should be conducted so that the Church's scholars (be they theologians, historians, educators, or all three) can continue to engage in deep thinking and conversations about how they present Adventist history to its publics, whether that's first grade students or first-year graduate students or somewhere in between.

Being a Seventh-day Adventist means more than merely the theological doctrines listed in the fundamental beliefs. It always has. But where are the historical examinations of those other facets of Adventism and of Adventist life? What did it mean to be an Adventist intellectually? Socially? Artistically? Economically? How did those change over time? Where are the studies of how Adventism was expressed over time in different places? After all, Seventh-day Adventists are not a monolith; there's a plurality of Adventist cultures. How has Adventist culture been spread? What products of Adventist culture exist? Are there distinct recipes, works of art, literature, music? Who created these? Why did they create such things? How were these things used in Adventist culture(s)? Is there a Seventh-day Adventist food culture or cultures? How were these created and perpetuated? How are Adventist values passed on to new generations? Who were involved with these tasks? Who performed this labor?

Class, race, cultural background, and gender are just some of the things that shape a person's understanding of Adventism as well as their lived experiences as Adventists. For example, an Australian's experience as an Adventist is different from an American's, or an Austrian's? What about a Kenyan's experience versus a Filipino's, or a Brazilian's? A man's experience versus a woman's experience? All are Seventh-day Adventists, but Adventism is individually experienced. Where are the cultural and social histories of Adventism? If we persist in only using the theological lens to make Adventist history, we will be missing out on huge swathes of it.

***Importance not determined by proximity.*** When researching and writing about Adventist women, historians should not evaluate those women's 'value' to the field of Adventist history by their proximity to Ellen White, nor by their proximity to male Adventists or to their male relatives. An individual woman from Adventist history is worthy of proper historical scholarship, whether or not she crossed paths with Ellen White or with one of

the other founders of the Adventist Church. Historians must be careful not to treat Ellen White as the Great Woman of Adventist history and to instead incorporate history about all sorts of Adventists, not just the “great” ones. Adventist scholars should be aware of what a disservice it is when denominational history is only great men and one great woman. Ordinary people from the past are not merely instruments for insight into those people deemed extraordinary; ordinary people can offer scholars avenues into subjects that have been previously unknown, or, at least, unexplored. Scholars should question their underlying assumptions when they only describe a woman using her relation to other people and their positions (“sister of”, “mother of”, “secretary of”, etc.) rather than her own positions or actions (“magazine editor”, “Bible worker”, etc.). If scholars are writing about a woman, they should write about that woman and not use her merely as a ramp to other subjects.

But this idea of importance due to proximity to greatness is an easy trap to fall into and it even seeps into modern works of scholarship, such as when a recent article in the *Journal of Adventist Archives* emphasized that the diaries of Persis Sibley Andrews Black (1813-1891) could best be utilized for scholarship in providing insight into the life of Ellen White, or into the church’s struggle to understand Ellen White’s charismatic gift, or into James White’s life.<sup>22</sup> There is nothing wrong with those lines of inquiry, of course, but what about Persis’s lived experience? Should she not be the protagonist of her own life and be someone’s subject of historical research rather than merely being seen as a window into someone else’s life?

***Need for lateral thinking.*** The nature of archival records and other historical records is that they often reflect the values, deliberate or unconscious, of those who created the records and of those who kept the records. What that means in practice is that people—in this case, Adventist women—are not always immediately visible in the archival record. This has led some to

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<sup>22</sup> Gilbert M. Valentine, “Personal Diaries and the study of Adventist history: filling out the context of Adventist events and communities”, *Journal of Adventist Archives*, Vol. 1 (2021): 55-59, accessed 14 March 2024 at <https://documents.adventistarchives.org/ArchivesPublications>.

assume that there are no Adventist women in the archival record. *This is not true.*

As with the women who semi-fictionalized themselves in the mission narratives, the women in Adventism's archival record are often obscured. It may be more difficult to find them, and the amount of material may be less, but any scholar willing to think around the edges and to do the work of finding them will in fact be successful at it more often than not. This means that scholars cannot rely on the *Review* alone for their research but must expand their searches farther afield into the archival record. A search for a woman might not bring up files under her name, but a search for her husband might yield records that include her (or even are largely about her). A woman might not have disappeared from the records—she may have simply gotten married! Additionally, one must be careful to make sure that the first Mrs. His Initials Last Name is the same Mrs. His Initials Last Name in later years. For example, there are two women who went by Mrs. E. L. Longway—Inez (Miles) Longway (1899-1973), who married Ezra Longway in 1918, and Florence (Nagel) Longway (1910-2008), who married Ezra Longway in 1973.<sup>23</sup> Checking for multiple marriages is key when looking for an obituary or other death record.<sup>24</sup>

What can Adventist scholars do to address these concerns and better represent the entirety of the Adventist Church when creating its history? Although tracing the development of doctrines and their impact on Adventism is a worthy and necessary scholarly pursuit, Adventist history should not just be a history of doctrines; Adventist history should also be a history of

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<sup>23</sup> See Milton Hook, "Longway, Ezra Leon (1895–1987) and Inez Ruth (Miles) (1899–1973); later Florence Ione (Nagel) (1910–2008)", *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=98IV>. Florence had already been married once, and, after Ezra's death, married twice more, which leads the long subtitle of Florence's book, *Lotus Blossom Returns: The Remarkable Life of Florence Nagel-Longway-Howlett* (2005). Even with her leaving off two of the surnames she gained through marriage, her use of all of them is a testament to her always being Florence, even when she was Florence Nagel, or Florence Longway, or Florence Howlett.

<sup>24</sup> It also helps fill in the historical record and can assist in photo identification. Three decades of Adventist mission work in the early twentieth century have very few accompanying records; checking for multiple marriages can reveal a missionary heretofore forgotten due to how quickly she died upon entering the work and then how quickly her role was filled by another.



the people—including women—who developed and debated and lived those doctrines. Scholars should continue to ask different questions of denominational history and to look at additional archival sources. Adventist scholars should look beyond their (probably unexamined) assumptions about women in Adventist history and what they think Adventist women’s lives were like and what records exist about, by, and because of them. Historians of Seventh-day Adventism should strive to create history which centers Adventist women’s lived experiences, making their labor—all sorts of labor, not just ministerial or prophetic labor—more visible.

What follows is an example of why Adventist historians should do this work and why it is crucial to Adventist history. The stenographers and secretaries who worked at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists headquarters were largely women. Some were married, but many were single, and some remained single their entire lives, which meant that after their deaths and after the obituaries were written (if they were written), their stories fell out of Adventist memory. This example looks at the lives and contributions of three women from that group of secretaries and stenographers. Like with Ulrich’s “vertuous” women, the “best documented activity” of these women’s lives are most often their deaths, but archival work can provide a broader image of these women who were vitally important to the development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church—and to the study of its history.

Elizabeth Zeidler was born in Pennsylvania on December 8, 1875. A graduate of Mount Vernon Academy in Ohio, Zeidler began working in Battle Creek, Michigan, as a secretary for the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (GC) on October 1, 1900. She was twenty-five years old. Her first wage was seven dollars fifty cents a week<sup>25</sup> (roughly \$271 dollars a week in 2022 dollars). She initially worked with GC Secretary Lewis A. Hoopes, then with his successor H. E. Osborne, and finally with William A. Spicer.

In 1903, Zeidler was one of the few office staff who made the move from Battle Creek to Takoma Park, working at both the early North Capitol Street location and then at the main premises on Eastern Avenue. She continued to work as the personal secretary

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<sup>25</sup> Mary Paul, Untitled editorial note, *The Keynote*, August 1, 1952, 2.

to GC Secretary William A. Spicer, whose tenure in that office lasted until 1922. Like other secretaries and stenographers at the headquarters, Zeidler regularly worked behind-the-scenes at Annual Councils (called Fall or Autumn Councils during her career) and at Spring Meetings, and with at least one General Conference Session (even if she, along with fellow assistant Carrie Bailey, did not make it into the photograph of the reporting staff from the 37<sup>th</sup> GC Session in 1909).<sup>26</sup>

When Spicer became GC President in 1922, Zeidler became Arthur G. Daniells' secretary (1922-1926) and then Cecil K. Meyers' secretary in 1926. In 1929, Zeidler became the recording secretary of the General Conference Committee (now the General Conference Executive Committee), beginning her work with the August 1, 1929, meeting. She served in this position throughout the remaining tenure of GC Secretary Meyers (1926-1933) and during the tenures of the next two people in the position, M. E. Kern (1933-1936) and E. D. Dick (1936-1952).

The last Executive Committee meeting Zeidler took minutes for was Thursday, July 10, 1952,<sup>27</sup> as Zeidler retired five days later on July 15. She was 76 years old and had served as a secretary at the General Conference for 51 years and 9.5 months. Two years later, in 1954, the Sustentation Committee voted to grant her "the family rate of sustentation" rather than the single worker's rate, based on her "long and faithful service in the General Conference office."<sup>28</sup> Zeidler's response might surprise some after having heard of her career. She wrote, "I cannot tell you how surprised I am. I did not know that single workers were ever eligible for more than the three-fourths of the family rate, except per chance one might have held some responsible official position. I therefore could hardly believe what I was reading."<sup>29</sup> In that same letter, Zeidler described her years of service as having "yielded large returns in the enjoyment I had in my work, and in the wonderful

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<sup>26</sup> Unsigned note, *ARH*, May 20, 1909, 18. She is listed as part of the reporting staff, but is not in the photograph of the recording staff from that Session (all of whom are identified). The photograph is held by the General Conference Archives.

<sup>27</sup> General Conference Committee minutes, July 10, 1952, 840

<sup>28</sup> W. H. Williams to Elizabeth Zeidler, 16 Aug. 1954, RG 33, Box 9817, Fld. "Zeidler, Elizabeth," General Conference Archives

<sup>29</sup> Elizabeth Zeidler to W. H. Williams, 18 Aug. 1954, RG 33, Box 9817, Fld. "Zeidler, Elizabeth," General Conference Archives

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privilege I had of association with the men and women with whom I worked.”<sup>30</sup>

When Zeidler died in 1960, one of those colleagues, former GC Secretary E. D. Dick, eulogized her in a life sketch, from which her obituary was drawn. In it, Dick wrote:

She possessed the unique ability of being able to summarize committee discussions and conclusions lucidly and concisely, and to recall these actions with marked accuracy. As the work grew, she became the “Information Bureau” of the General Conference office. As the result of her long and intimate acquaintance with the records, she was often able to guide the committees away from actions that would duplicate or conflict with those previously taken. To have stood so near the administration for more than half a century made her an exceedingly valuable worker in the cause she loved and served.<sup>31</sup>

Other colleagues, too, spoke of her high regard for the work she had done, and how Zeidler had not viewed it as “routine”<sup>32</sup> or as a “monotonous grind,” but as “a continual, stimulating challenge.”<sup>33</sup>

When Zeidler retired in 1952, Mary Paul became the recording secretary for the General Conference Committee. Paul had been born in Battle Creek, Michigan, on April 20, 1902. After her father’s death in May 1919, Mary and her mother Jennie moved to Takoma Park so that Mary could attend Washington Missionary College.<sup>34</sup> Paul’s career at the GC headquarters seemingly began in the mid-to-late 1920s. By 1930, at any rate, Mary Paul and her mother were living in Takoma Park. After her mother’s death in 1936, Paul roomed first with Emma E. Howell, and they were soon joined by another colleague, T. Rose Curtis. The 1940 US Census saw all three living together in Takoma Park

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<sup>30</sup> Elizabeth Zeidler to W. H. Williams, 18 Aug. 1954, RG 33, Box 9817, Fld. “Zeidler, Elizabeth,” General Conference Archives

<sup>31</sup> E. D. Dick, “Life Sketch of Elizabeth Zeidler,” 2, RG 33, Box 9817, Fld. “Zeidler, Elizabeth,” General Conference Archives

<sup>32</sup> Katie Farney, “Elizabeth Zeidler—Long-Time Secretary,” *The Keynote*, February 1, 1960, 2

<sup>33</sup> E. D. Dick, “Life Sketch of Elizabeth Zeidler,” 2, RG 33, Box 9817, Fld. “Zeidler, Elizabeth,” General Conference Archives.

<sup>34</sup> T. G. Bunch, “Paul, Jennie Eliza Glover,” *Lake Union Herald* September 8, 1936, 12.

in the time before Howell left to work as the secretary to H. M. S. Richards at the Voice of Prophecy in 1942.<sup>35</sup> Then Paul lived with Curtis until Mary's marriage to E. J. Lorntz in late July 1955, a year after the sudden loss of Lorntz's first wife, Edith, after their return from the mission field.

Soon after her marriage and the announcement of her husband's retirement, Mary Lorntz transferred out of secretarial labor and into domestic labor in her new home in California, where she lived until her death on June 20, 1985.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, the announcement of Mary Paul's wedding in *The Key Note*, the periodical made by and for the members of the Keepers of the Keys, the organization of stenographers and secretaries at the GC headquarters and the Review and Herald Publishing Association, provides a glimpse into the work that Paul did as recording secretary (and which Zeidler had done before her). Her work included:

...writing for the Review of the missionary sailings. With the two indices to the General Conference minutes she can readily turn to actions of the Committee from the beginnings of our denominational organization. [She] also writes the minutes for the North American Division Committee on Administration, and has the index to these actions.<sup>37</sup>

After Mary Paul's marriage, Katie Farney became the recording secretary of the General Conference Committee on a *pro tem* basis in August 1955 and held that position until December 1956, when it became her permanent position. She likely did similar things to what Paul and Zeidler had done.

Born September 6, 1902, in Ohio, Farney had started her career at the General Conference at age twenty in 1922, after short part-time stints at her alma mater, Mount Vernon Academy, and at the Ohio Conference office. One of her first jobs was as a secretary to A. G. Daniells. Farney was part of the "battery of faithful, prompt, skilled, precise stenographers, working in relays,

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<sup>35</sup> 1940 Census via ancestry.com; "Cooper, Emma Howell", *ARH* September 9, 1976, 23.

<sup>36</sup> "Mary Paul Lorntz, Loma Linda", *The San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), June 22, 1985, 48.

<sup>37</sup> Katie Farney, "Guidance to Secretarial Office Information", *The Key Note*, August 1, 1955, 5.

and capturing every spoken word” of the 1930 GC Session.<sup>38</sup> These captured words, of course, became the minutes that were published for the official record in the *Review*. In 1940, Farney lived with three of her colleagues from the General Conference: the widowed Grace D. Mace, assistant secretary of the Home Missionary Department; Grace’s sister, Lottie Quinn, who worked in the Sabbath School Department; and Edna Edeburn, secretary to Carlyle B. Haynes. When the 1950 US Census rolled around, Farney was enumerated as living on the second floor of 102 Park Avenue, Takoma Park. On that same floor lived Louise C. Kleuser, who was teaching at the Theological Seminary, and Marion V. Nyman, a long-time secretary for L. E. Froom. On the floor below them lived Charles and Florence Longacre, and their lodger, Mary Stella Fleisher, who worked as a secretary in GC Treasury. When Katie Farney retired in 1972, she had served fifty years in GC Secretariat, sixteen years of which she spent as recording secretary of the General Conference Committee.<sup>39</sup> Farney died five years later, in May 1977.<sup>40</sup>

The work that Zeidler, Paul, and Farney did endures to the present. Which researchers on Adventist mission and Adventist history have not referred to the pages of the *Review* for sailing dates, or to the minutes of the General Conference Committee for some action voted by that body? The tangible product of their labor forms the stuff from which Adventist history has been and continues to be made. Indeed, their labor, and the labor of others like them, whether fellow Keepers of the Keys at the headquarters or their counterparts at Divisions, Unions, Conferences, and institutions, provided a stable foundation for the Church to be built on.

At the 1954 GC Session, outgoing GC Secretary Denton E. Rebok made “The Secretaries’ Report”. While in previous (and later) years the report had been labeled as the report of just the GC Secretary, in 1954, Rebok presented the report on behalf of Secretariat. He introduced the associate secretaries and the secretary to the GC President, and then said:

This group of men, together with the secretary, is elected for a four-year period, and therefore subject to change. It has been said

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<sup>38</sup> Unsigned note, *ARH* June 4, 1930, 96.

<sup>39</sup> F. C. Webster, “Dateline Washington: Retiring”, *ARH* July 13, 1972, 23.

<sup>40</sup> “Farney, Catherine (Katie) A.”, *ARH* June 16, 1977, 22.

that men may come and *we* may go, but we have a faithful group of women who go on, not forever, but for many years, and they give that much-needed continuity of service that makes for success in any great organization.<sup>41</sup>

Rebok then introduced that group of women. At the top of his list were Katie Farney and Mary Paul. At that precise moment in 1954, the group of women had a combined total of 185 years of service at the headquarters. Rebok clearly knew from his brief experience as GC Secretary<sup>42</sup> that the secretaries and stenographers were crucial to the work of the Church, even if it was seldomly pointed out and seldomly mentioned in the Church's history books. Those holding the fort, so to speak, at the GC headquarters were indeed in "responsible official positions", even if, like Zeidler, they did not necessarily realize that. While further research is needed, anecdotal oral evidence indicates that secretaries and stenographers, who today would be called office assistants or office managers or administrative assistants, would sometimes need to make decisions and judgment calls on behalf of their traveling bosses, especially in the days long before instant communication via cell phone, email, and text.

Yet the labor of these women has largely, though not entirely, been obscured and forgotten over time even as that labor has had a deep impact on the Church and on its history. As far as is known at present, none of these vitally important women left behind much archival evidence which indicates what they thought or felt about their careers, their lives, or the world around them. While there is a Zeidler Collection at the General Conference Archives, it is material Zeidler produced on how to be a good secretary. This is, of course, useful historical evidence for how secretaries at the GC were expected to function, but in some ways it lacks that sense for who Zeidler was as a person. From what evidence that does exist—largely the pages of the periodical of the Keepers of the Keys—scholars can glean small details like Zeidler grew roses, that Farney was an avid walker, that sometimes most of the secretarial staff were laid up in the Washington Sanitarium with the flu, or that they cheered each other on through welcome parties and

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<sup>41</sup> Denton E. Rebok, "The Secretaries' Report", *ARH* May, 26, 1954, 13.

<sup>42</sup> Rebok was GC Secretary during 1952-1954. For more on him, see Dennis Pettibone, "Rebok, Denton Edward (1897-1983)", *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=8JEX>.

farewell parties and social get-togethers in between. The sort of histories that are waiting to be written depend upon an archival record which makes them hard to find, even though they are crucial to the records' existence.

After all, much of what is in the archives was produced and preserved by them. Without people like Elizabeth Zeidler, Mary Paul, and Katie Farney (as well as their sister workers), there were no minutes kept, no correspondence typed, copied, or filed, no articles and books fact-checked and proofread, no envelopes labeled and stuffed and sorted and sent. The creation of the General Conference Archives in 1973 would have still happened, but without the previous work done by the secretaries, stenographers, and office assistants, it would have been more difficult to make sense of the records that had built up over the decades. This is not to say that men cannot organize records—they can and do all the time—but in Adventist history (and, one suspects, in broader fields of history), secretarial labor in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has often been the province of women and thus less studied.

Women's work—all sorts of women's work—underpins the making of Adventist history. These women seldom made history in part because they were, in another sense, making history. Their labor tilled the field in which Adventist history grew. And the women of Seventh-day Adventist history should be studied. Yes, its metaphorical Antinomians and witches, its outliers and its firsts and its onlys, as well as its quote-unquote well-behaved women, should be studied. Historians should look at the history they are doing and ask themselves where the women are and remember that Adventist history *is* women's history—they just have not been seeing it that way, or treating it that way, or writing it that way. The historiography on Adventist women has been lacking. That is something which should change.

## Israel Dammon, Millerism, and Religious Intolerance in Nineteenth- Century America<sup>1</sup>

by  
Kevin M. Burton

### Introduction and Historiographical Overview

In 1983, Seventh-day Adventist historian Frederick Hoyt found an article in the March 7, 1845, issue of the Dover, Maine, *Piscataquis Farmer*, titled, “Trial of Elder I. Dammon: Reported for the Piscataquis Farmer.”<sup>2</sup> Though Dammon was a Millerite, he never became a Seventh-day Adventist. The report of his trial, however, featured two founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church—James White and Ellen Harmon (later, White)—in the midst of enthusiastic religious activity portrayed as fanatical and alarming. Hoyt chose not to disclose his findings for about four years because he was shaken by what he read.

In the meantime, Bruce Weaver, an independent researcher, also found the *Piscataquis Farmer* article on July 15, 1986, without prior knowledge of Hoyt’s discovery. This launched Weaver into an intense period of research and by November 1986 he had completed a draft of the first studied article on Dammon’s trial and sent it to Douglas Hackleman for publication in *Adventist Currents*. A few days later, Weaver also sent a copy of the *Piscataquis Farmer* article to Walter Rea, author of *The White Lie*, strictly instructing

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<sup>1</sup> I wrote the first draft of this article in 2016 and many people have helped sharpen it as it has developed into its final form. I wish to particularly thank Don Casebolt, John Corrigan, Denis Fortin, Ron Graybill, Kevin Morgan, and Bruce Weaver for their feedback.

<sup>2</sup> “Trial of Elder I. Dammon: Reported for the Piscataquis Farmer,” *Dover (ME) Piscataquis Farmer*, March 7, 1845, p. 1, cols. 3-6, and p. 2, cols. 1-3. Since this document is referenced copiously in this paper I have chosen to not cite it again in a formal capacity. Rather, to more easily assist future researchers, I simply state something like, “See the testimony of person x.”



him not to share this information until his forthcoming article was published. Rea, however, broke Weaver's trust, and promptly sent the article to Robert Olson, director of the Ellen G. White Estate, William G. Johnsson, editor of the *Adventist Review*, and Neal C. Wilson, president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. In his letter, Rea did not give Weaver credit for his discovery and made it appear as though he himself had found a sensational document that would expose Ellen White as a liar and a fraud. A short time later, Rea sent his letter to Olson and a transcription of the *Piscataquis Farmer* article to John B. Craven, editor of *LimboLine*, for publication. In January 1987, Craven broke the story when he published Rea's letter, Ellen White's statements about Dammon in *Spiritual Gifts*, and a transcript of the *Piscataquis Farmer* article.<sup>3</sup>

*LimboLine* did not have a wide readership, but Rea's maneuvers did increase his credibility as an Ellen White critic within renegade Adventist circles. Several months later, in August 1987, *Spectrum* reprinted the *Piscataquis Farmer* article along with a fourteen-page transcription of a taped conversation about the document between Hoyt and three other historians. This brought more widespread attention to Israel Dammon and his association with the young Ellen Harmon and gave Hoyt credit for first making this significant discovery.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, in April 1988, Weaver's study of Dammon's trial appeared in *Adventist Currents*.<sup>5</sup> Though the *Piscataquis Farmer* was primarily concerned with Israel Dammon, Weaver's article focused its attention on Ellen G. White, who was been the focus of Dammon's trial ever since even though she was not in the courtroom when the trial elapsed. Since this account of White had not yet been systematized into the corpus of other critiques of

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<sup>3</sup> Bruce Weaver, email messages to author, April 1, 2024; "Evidence Links James and Ellen White to Fanatical and Bizarre Events in Early Days," *LimboLine*, January 31, 1987, 1–24; Douglas Hackleman, "A Question of Character," *Adventist Currents* 3, no. 1 (April 1988): 3.

<sup>4</sup> Rennie Schoepflin, ed. "Scandal or Rite of Passage? Historians on the Dammon Trial," *Spectrum* 17, no. 5 (August 1987): 37–38.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce Weaver, "Incident in Atkinson: The Arrest and Trial of Israel Dammon," *Adventist Currents* 3, no. 1 (April 1988): 16–36.

Seventh-day Adventism,<sup>6</sup> former Adventists refer to the discovery of the *Piscataquis Farmer* article as “the SDA historical discovery of the century!”<sup>7</sup>

The details and interpretation of Israel Dammon’s trial that were shared in the 1980s sent shock waves throughout the Adventist Church, primarily because the document showcased young Ellen Harmon in the midst of fanatical activity and complicated her own written account of the incident. Understandably, Adventists reacted to this news in different ways. On one end of the spectrum, some accused the directors of the Ellen G. White Estate of “studiously ignor[ing]” what was perceived to be “candid history,”<sup>8</sup> while others dismissed the document as wholly irrelevant, claiming ardently that “testimony given by a local farmer [James Rowe] and others that Dammon was a disturber of the peace [and vagrant] was false.”<sup>9</sup>

Several scholars have commented on the Israel Dammon trial since the 1980s,<sup>10</sup> but in 2004 James R. Nix wrote the first detailed

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<sup>6</sup> Michael W. Campbell, “Miles Grant, D. M. Canright, and the Credibility of Ellen G. White: A New Perspective on the Israel Dammon Trial,” *Reflections* 45 (January 2014): 5.

<sup>7</sup> “The Arrest and Trial of Israel Dammon,” The Interactive Bible, accessed December 8, 2016, <http://www.bible.ca/7-arrest-trial-israel-dammon.htm>.

<sup>8</sup> Hackleman, “A Question of Character,” 3.

<sup>9</sup> Bob Pickle, “Enthusiastic Early Adventists,” *Ministry* 65, no. 2 (February 1992): 29; Adriel Chilson, “Pentecostalism in Early Adventism: Demonstrations Both Strange and Wonderful Visited the Churches of the 1800s,” *Adventist Review*, December 10, 1992, 19 (cf. Ron Graybill, “Adventists and Pentecostalism,” *Adventist Review*, March 4, 1993, 2).

<sup>10</sup> Jonathan M. Butler, “Prophecy, Gender, and Culture: Ellen Gould Harmon [White] and the Roots of Seventh-Day [sic] Adventism,” *Religion and American Culture* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 20-21; Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds., *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1993), 227-240; Herbert E. Douglas, *Messenger of the Lord: The Prophetic Ministry of Ellen G. White* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press, 1998), 473-475; Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 158-161; (cf. Ann Taves, “Visions,” in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, edited by Terrie Dopp Aamodt, Gary Land, and Ronald L. Numbers (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 40-43); Merlin D. Burt, “The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White’s Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849” (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2002), 132-140; Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White*, 3rd ed., Library of Religious

apologetic analysis on behalf of the Ellen G. White Estate.<sup>11</sup> Though many have written on this trial, much of the discussion has revolved around Ellen G. White and her character. This limited focus has led many aspects regarding the event to be overlooked and it is the purpose of this article to fill in these lacunae. I will (1) place the *Piscataquis Farmer* article in the context of the history of court reporting; (2) provide relevant background information about Millerism in the United States and the family dynamics in the South Dover-Atkinson community in Maine; (3) establish a chronological reconstruction of the February 15, 1845, Millerite meeting in Atkinson, Maine, that led to Dammon's arrest; (4) analyze the trial vis-à-vis relevant aspects of Maine law; and (5) argue that Dammon's trial is an example of religious intolerance in America.

Since scholars have noted that emotion played a key role in these events,<sup>12</sup> I will incorporate some theoretical aspects regarding emotion that prove useful in analyzing Dammon's trial in relation to religious intolerance. These theoretical tools help to highlight the concern of citizens in the South Dover-Atkinson community: mainline Christians were not just upset about heretical doctrines or legal matters, they were also disturbed by the emotional performances of their Millerite neighbors and family members.

Emotion theory is an important component to my argument and it is therefore necessary to understand three technical terms used within this paper. I refer to William M. Reddy's concepts of "emotional regimes" and "emotional refuges," and Arlie Russell Hochschild's construct known as "feeling rules." Emotional regimes are defined as "the codes of expression and repression created and enforced by societies and governments."<sup>13</sup> Entities of power,

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Biography, Mark A. Noll, Nathan O. Hatch, and Allen C. Guelzo, eds. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), 326-343.

<sup>11</sup> James R. Nix, "Another Look at Israel Damman," n.p., [2004], [1]. This document is available on the Ellen G. White Estate website at [http://www.whiteestate.org/issues/pdf/israel\\_damman.pdf](http://www.whiteestate.org/issues/pdf/israel_damman.pdf). The date for this document is provided in Timothy L. Poirier, Kenneth H. Wood, and William A. Fagal, eds., *The Ellen G. White Letters & Manuscripts with Annotations*, vol. 1, (Hagerstown, Maryland: Review and Herald, 2014), 941.

<sup>12</sup> Merlin D. Burt, "The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849," 132; Schoepflin, ed. "Scandal or Rite of Passage?," 46.

<sup>13</sup> Susan J. Matt, "Current Emotion Research in History: Or, Doing History from the Inside Out," *Emotion Review* 3, no. 1 (January 2011): 119.

therefore, establish and enforce emotional regimes for the purpose of regulating emotional performance, often through means of repression. Emotional refuges are created and maintained in contrast to regimes and are “spaces—physical and social—which offer opportunities for emotional expressions not sanctioned by the dominant regime.”<sup>14</sup> Through organizations, relationships, or rituals, individuals find an escape from emotional regimes “with or without an ideological justification.”<sup>15</sup>

Emotional regimes and refuges operate upon different sets of feeling rules. According to Hochschild, feeling rules are the “standards used in emotional conversation to determine what is rightly owed and owing in the currency of feeling.”<sup>16</sup> In other words, these are the unwritten rules that implicitly require people to feel and emotionally perform in certain ways on a daily basis, whether it be at home, work, school, church, or any other social place.

These three concepts of emotion theory help to complicate the notion that Israel Dammon was arrested, tried, and convicted on the primary basis of community concern for someone suspected of vagrancy. It has been argued that “[t]he principal reason the court and public officials prosecuted Dammon was the fear that . . . [he, and others like him,] would consume the property of their Adventist citizens and leave them in poverty and thus a burden to society.”<sup>17</sup> Though this interpretation accurately fits the legal charge brought against Dammon in February 1845 (and other Millerites around this time), further analysis reveals that he was apprehended primarily for reasons of religious intolerance—the vagrancy charge simply provided a legal precedent for an emotional regime to evict Dammon from a community that considered the preaching and bodily actions of Adventists to be heretical.<sup>18</sup> The leading citizens of the South Dover-Atkinson area wanted to crush the Millerite’s

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 55, 128-129.

<sup>16</sup> Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2012), 18.

<sup>17</sup> Merlin D. Burt, “The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White’s Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849,” 132.

<sup>18</sup> John F. Sprague, “James Stuart Holmes, the Pioneer Lawyer, of Piscataquis County,” *Bangor Historical Magazine* 4, nos. 1-2 (July and August 1888): 34.

emotional refuge in their community and any fear of Dammon becoming a town charge was secondary.

### **Court Reporting and the Report of the Trial for the *Piscataquis Farmer***

Since Israel Dammon’s trial is primarily known from only one source, it is necessary to understand the type of document Hoyt and Weaver discovered in the 1980s. The report in the *Piscataquis Farmer* has been called “a newspaper account,”<sup>19</sup> “the report of the arrest and trial . . . first printed in the *Piscataquis Farmer*,”<sup>20</sup> “[t]he court proceedings . . . loosely transcribed in a local newspaper,”<sup>21</sup> “the court records,”<sup>22</sup> “trial records,”<sup>23</sup> “a reporter’s transcript,”<sup>24</sup> “the published (but long forgotten) transcript of a trial,”<sup>25</sup> “the court transcript,”<sup>26</sup> and “a 124-column-inch abridgment of the court reporter’s transcript” filled with “verbatim reporting.”<sup>27</sup>

Scholars have suggested that this document is a “transcript” because the writer stated that he had “abridged” the testimony of the witnesses “as much as possible” and that “the most unimportant part[s]” were omitted for the sake of space. Since the reporter also thanked “the Court and Counsel for the use of their minutes,”<sup>28</sup> it has been assumed that the report printed in the *Piscataquis Farmer* was an abridged version of the court transcript. Numerous scholars have searched for the “original” court transcript in the courthouse and state archives, but to no avail.<sup>29</sup> According to Frederick Hoyt,

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<sup>19</sup> Campbell, “Miles Grant, D. M. Canright, and the Credibility of Ellen G. White,” 5; Nix, “Another Look at Israel Damman,” [1]; cf. James R. Nix, “Damman (also Damon, Dammon), Israel,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, (2014), 358.

<sup>20</sup> Merlin D. Burt, “Ellen G. White and Religious Enthusiasm in Early Adventist Experience,” in *The Ellen G. White Letters & Manuscripts with Annotations*, 925.

<sup>21</sup> Butler, “Prophecy, Gender, and Culture,” 20.

<sup>22</sup> Jonathan M. Butler, “Introduction: The Historian as Heretic,” in *Prophetess of Health*, 3rd ed., Numbers, 37-38.

<sup>23</sup> Ronald L. Numbers and Janet S. Numbers, “Ellen White on the Mind and the Mind of Ellen White,” in *Prophetess of Health*, 3rd ed., Numbers, 274.

<sup>24</sup> Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions*, 159; cf. Taves, “Visions,” in *Ellen Harmon White*, 41.

<sup>25</sup> Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, xiii.

<sup>26</sup> Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, Indian: Indiana University Press, 2007), 388 n. 57.

<sup>27</sup> Weaver, “Incident in Atkinson,” 16, 23.

<sup>28</sup> See the reporter’s preface to the report of Dammon’s trial.

<sup>29</sup> James R. Nix, e-mail message to author, August 31, 2016.

“The only surviving legal document of the trial is a legal recording of the trial and sentencing.”<sup>30</sup>

The confusion is cleared up when the *Piscataquis Farmer* article is set in the context of the history of court reporting. In the United States, court reports did not contain verbatim or paraphrase testimony from the witnesses until after the Civil War.<sup>31</sup> Such action was not possible because reporters prior to this time did not have the ability to write down words at the rate of speech. Although English shorthand had been around since Timothy Bright published *Characterie; An Arte of Shorte, Swifte and Secrete Writing by Character* in 1588, none of the methods of shorthand developed prior to 1837 improved the speed of writing significantly.

Court reporting eventually became reliant upon Isaac Pitman’s new form of shorthand called phonography—a word that combines two Greek words (*phóné* and *graphé*) and literally means, “sound writing.”<sup>32</sup> Before Pitman’s invention in 1837, shorthand writers simply replaced the letters of the alphabet with different symbols, which did little to increase speed. After Pitman, however, all shorthand techniques were based upon phonetics and symbols were used to represent “the sounds of words, thus omitting the representation of all silent letters.”<sup>33</sup>

News of Pitman’s new shorthand system reached the United States in 1842<sup>34</sup> and two years later a few American booksellers

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<sup>30</sup> Rennie Schoepflin, ed. “Scandal or Rite of Passage? Historians on the Dammon Trial,” *Spectrum* 17, no. 5 (August 1987): 39.

<sup>31</sup> For example, see the reports of John L. Wendell for the Supreme Court in John L. Wendell, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and in the Court for the Correction of Errors of the State of New-York*, vol. 25 (Albany, New York: Charles van Benthuysen, 1842).

<sup>32</sup> Pitman’s phonography should not be confused with the work of John Jones, who published a book, titled, *Practical Phonography* in 1701. Rather than articulate a method of shorthand, Jones produced a work that was “chiefly a spelling-book.” Eilert Ekwall, ed., *Dr. John Jones’s Practical Phonography*, Neudrucke Frühneuenglischer Grammatiken, Band 2 (n.p.: Hallie A. S., 1907), XIII.

<sup>33</sup> H. Edson Rogers, *The Rogers Compendium of the Graham System of Shorthand: A Practical, Synthetic Method* (Lansing, MI: Hammond Publishing, 1905), 33; cf. Julius Ensign Rockwell, *Shorthand Instruction and Practice* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), pp. 5, 11.

<sup>34</sup> “Phonography,” *Washington (DC) Daily National Intelligencer*, August 12, 1842, p. 3, col. 1; “Phonography,” *Philadelphia (PA) Public Ledger*, August 15, 1842, p. 2, col. 4.

began selling copies of Pitman's *Manual of Phonography*<sup>35</sup> and a Pitman-based textbook written by Stephen Pearl Andrews.<sup>36</sup> This new art began to grow in popularity in the early-to-mid 1850s when Benn Pitman (Isaac's brother) emigrated from Great Britain to the United States. In 1853, Benn Pitman established the Phonographic Institute in Cincinnati, Ohio, which functioned as America's first phonographic school and publishing house. In 1855, the first phonography textbook to become popular in the United States rolled off the press in order to "exhibit the Phonographic system of Isaac Pitman" and make the art "as widely known and practiced as it deserves to be."<sup>37</sup>

About a decade later phonography began to be used in courtrooms in the United States. According to Lynette R. Eggers and Laqueta Soule, "The first known use of shorthand in a United States court system took place in 1866, when the verbatim handwritten notes of author Philander Deming were used to establish what was said in a court case in Albany, New York." Prior to this time, "United States courts had been following the practice in England of relying on the judge's notes to keep a record of what happened during a trial."<sup>38</sup>

This overview of the history of court reporting in the United States is instructive on two points. First, as the reporter admitted that he was an inexperienced "laboring man" and that his report was "imperfect," it is evident that he was not an experienced phonographer or court reporter. Only a handful of people in America had knowledge of phonography in 1845, let alone the skill to use it effectively. The reporter flubbed, however, when he claimed to "have preserved the language of the witnesses as much

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<sup>35</sup> Wiley & Putnam, "New Scientific Works, Received Per Hibernia," *New York Evening Post*, May 11, 1844, p. 2, col. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Rockwell, *Shorthand Instruction and Practice*, 38.

<sup>37</sup> Benn Pitman, *Manual of Phonography* (Cincinnati, OH: Phonographic Institute, 1855), v.

<sup>38</sup> Lynette R. Eggers and Laqueta Soule, "Court Reporting Education in the United States National Court Reporters Association, Vienna, Virginia," in *International Steno Education Essay Collection*, edited by the Education Committee of the Intersteno Congress (China: Intersteno Congress, 2011), 116. Phonography was used in a military court shortly before this time, when Benn Pitman took down the verbatim testimonies of those who conspired to kill Abraham Lincoln. Edward Steers Jr., ed. *The Trial: The Assassination of President Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2003).

as possible.”<sup>39</sup> Though he surely tried, this was virtually an impossible task at the time, especially for a laboring man in a small town in Maine.

Second, it is clear that the presiding justices did not produce a verbatim report of Israel Dammon’s trial either. At this point in history, judges wrote notes of summation, which the reporter correctly referred to as “minutes.” Though the reporter did his best to be as accurate as possible, the words found in the *Piscataquis Farmer* (and those written in the non-extant minutes) are not the words of the witnesses themselves—they are the words of the reporter, printed from his handwritten notes. Nevertheless, it seems he did a good job in his approximations and the general details found in the *Piscataquis Farmer* are reliable even though the document is not an abridgement of a verbatim court transcript.

The reporter and justices did their best to take down notes during Dammon’s trial in the midst of a lively and entertaining spectacle. One observer commented that the trial was filled with “distracting sounds,” including laughter, “praying, singing of hymns, plaintive and exhilarating as only the old style Millerites could sing, shouting, jeers, groans and applause.”<sup>40</sup> This event drew a large crowd because the Adventists in the South Dover-Atkinson community had raised public ire in recent months. Many observers in the courtroom were genuinely curious, some sympathetic toward Millerites, and others hateful toward the religious movement. Though the reporter for the *Piscataquis Farmer* balanced the testimony of the prosecution and the defense, his public report provided motivation for further acts of religious intolerance.

### **Millerism and Religious Intolerance in America**

In the fall of 1831, a rural farmer from Low Hampton, New York, named William Miller began to preach that the world would end and that Christ would return around the year 1843. As a movement developed around this doctrine, followers urged Miller to make his calculation more precise and he eventually set this time period to between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844.<sup>41</sup> Millerites

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<sup>39</sup> See the reporter’s preface to the report of Dammon’s trial.

<sup>40</sup> Sprague, “James Stuart Holmes, the Pioneer Lawyer, of Piscataquis County,” 34.

<sup>41</sup> David L. Rowe, *God’s Strange Work: William Miller and the End of the World*, Library of Religious Biography, Mark A. Noll, Nathan O. Hatch, and Allen C. Guelzo, eds. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), 176.



were disappointed in April 1844 when Christ did not return. Nevertheless, the believers were encouraged when Samuel S. Snow pointed out why Miller was wrong. According to Snow, Christ would actually return on the Jewish Day of Atonement in the fall, which he calculated to be October 22, 1844.<sup>42</sup> Most Millerites accepted this precise prediction and about 100,000 people experienced a Great Disappointment on the specified date.

John Corrigan and Lynn S. Neal have stated that, “Conflicts between traditional Protestant denominations and new religious groups was constant in the nineteenth century.”<sup>43</sup> Not surprisingly, most other Christians railed against the Millerites in the mid-nineteenth century because of clashing worldviews. At times, Millerite worship services were disrupted<sup>44</sup> and their meetinghouses burned or destroyed.<sup>45</sup> At minimum some 170 Adventists were placed in insane asylums,<sup>46</sup> and some were accused of killing children.<sup>47</sup> Such acts and screeds of intolerance led one Millerite to ask, “[I]s this the land of the pilgrim fathers, where religious liberty has been planted and nourished on every hill, and in every valley?”<sup>48</sup>

Millerism had made inroads into Maine by early 1839<sup>49</sup> and the people in this state were perhaps more intolerant of Adventists than any other northern state. Numerous reports circulated that claimed to reveal the atrocities of Millerism. The Advent doctrine purportedly caused a woman to commit suicide,<sup>50</sup> enticed a man to

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<sup>42</sup> George R. Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press, 2010), 159-163. William Miller was one of the last to embrace a specific time, but eventually did so on October 6. “Bro. Miller’s Letter, on the Seventh Month,” *Advent Herald*, October 16, 1844, 88.

<sup>43</sup> John Corrigan and Lynn S. Neal, *Religious Intolerance in America: A Documentary History* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 100.

<sup>44</sup> Albert Stowe, “[Letter from Brother A. Stowe],” *Advent Herald*, December 25, 1844, 159.

<sup>45</sup> Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism*, 188-189.

<sup>46</sup> Ronald L. Numbers and Janet S. Numbers, “Millerism and Madness: A Study of ‘Religious Insanity’ in Nineteenth-Century America,” in *The Disappointed*, 98.

<sup>47</sup> H. V. Teall, “Reports and Rumors,” *Advent Herald*, November 6, 1844, 98.

<sup>48</sup> I. H. Shipman, “Letter from Br. I. H. Shipman,” *Advent Herald*, November 27, 1844, 122.

<sup>49</sup> “The Second Coming of Christ,” *Augusta (ME) Gospel Banner*, March 9, 1839, p. 2, col. 2.

<sup>50</sup> “Suicide from Millerism,” *Hallowell (ME) Cultivator and Hallowell Gazette*, October 7, 1843, p. 3, col. 2.

slit his wife's throat,<sup>51</sup> and turned a woman into "a raving maniac," which resulted in her death.<sup>52</sup> By March 1843, L. Ray, superintendent of the Maine Insane Hospital, claimed that five patients at his facility were made insane by Millerite preaching.<sup>53</sup> A year later, reports circulated that some Millerite women around Bangor, Maine, had "been thrown into . . . trances," which resulted in odd recitations of disturbing poetry.<sup>54</sup>

Reports of this nature caused mainline Christian denominations to be fearful of Millerites and led some to vow to "banish and drive away" all traces of Millerism within their churches and communities.<sup>55</sup> In 1845, some Baptists in the South Dover-Atkinson area reacted in this manner and sought to repress unwanted citizens through means of legal justification.

### **Millerism in the South Dover-Atkinson Community**

Paul Lambert and James Rowe cleared a 500-acre section of land in the South Dover-Atkinson area and established a new community there in 1808–1809. In 1811, Joel Doore, Sr., joined these pioneers and helped to form the society that organized around the Baptist meetinghouse in "the Lambert neighborhood." Aside from the Free Will Baptists, who shared the meetinghouse with their Baptist brethren, no other religious body met within this locality.<sup>56</sup> James Rowe was installed as deacon of this church and held that position until his death on November 5, 1845.<sup>57</sup> Rowe had

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<sup>51</sup> "Effect of Millerism," *Hallowell (ME) Cultivator and Hallowell Gazette*, March 4, 1843, p. 3, col. 1.

<sup>52</sup> "More Fruits of Millerism," *Augusta (ME) Age*, March 10, 1843, p. 4, col. 5.

<sup>53</sup> "Millerism and Insanity," *Hallowell (ME) Cultivator and Hallowell Gazette*, April 8, 1843, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

<sup>54</sup> "Millerism—Trances—Poetry," *Bangor (ME) Daily Whig and Courier*, July 15, 1844, p. 2, col. 2.

<sup>55</sup> "Millerism," *Bangor (ME) Daily Whig and Courier*, July 28, 1843, p. 2, col. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Amasa Loring, *History of Piscataquis County, Maine: From its Earliest Settlements to 1880* (Portland, Maine: Hoyt, Fogg & Donham, 1880), pp. 46, 52, 236-237.

<sup>57</sup> Cemetery Hopper, "James Rowe," Find a Grave, accessed December 14, 2016, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=23695176&ref=acom>. It is worth noting that the executors of James Rowe's will included two of Paul Lambert's sons (Ebenezer and Stephen) and Thomas Proctor, who testified vehemently against the Millerites at Dammon's trial. Maine Wills and Probate Records, 1584-1999, Estate Files, Docket No O-77 to O-132, 1845-1848, in Ancestry.com, accessed December 15, 2015.

the reputation a being a staunch religious and civil leader, willing to make great sacrifices to keep his community pure. In 1829, a group of counterfeiters surfaced in nearby Exeter. One of these men, a certain “Mr. Hills, came up to South Dover, and bought Dea. Rowe’s mare, paying him seventy-five dollars” in counterfeit currency. Once Rowe found out he had been defrauded, he mounted his horse and took off after Hills. He tracked the criminal back to Exeter, but learned that Hills was headed for Canada. According to county historian Amasa Loring, Rowe “passed into New Hampshire and Vermont, where, in strictly legal proceedings, Rowe had no authority to arrest the culprit. But,” Loring, mused, “the deacon knew but little, and cared less about, legal technicalities, if he could catch the rogue.” Though Hills made it to Canada, Rowe was in hot pursuit and, with the aid of the local sheriff, apprehended the criminal and brought him to trial back in Maine. Justice was Rowe’s only reward and he was satisfied that “he had broken up one of the most daring bands of villains that had ever infested” his community.<sup>58</sup>

A decade later, Rowe witnessed another “daring band” form within his community—a religious band that united around the doctrine of the imminent return of Jesus Christ. Perhaps most distressing to Rowe was the fact that Joel Doore, Sr., one of his relatives and a fellow pioneer in the South Dover-Atkinson area, joined the Millerite movement with his family. Rowe apparently believed that Millerite Adventists were as dangerous as counterfeiters and, in February 1845, sought to break up the “Advent Band” by bringing them to court.

Though citizens in Rowe’s parish had been concerned about Adventist activity since it emerged in the late-1830s, they became more distressed as the year 1844 ended and the New Year began, presumably because the Millerites were learning to cope with the fact that Christ had not returned in 1844.<sup>59</sup> The primary Adventist

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<sup>58</sup> Loring, *History of Piscataquis County, Maine*, 46-48.

<sup>59</sup> It seems evident that it was difficult for the Millerites in the South Dover-Atkinson area to welcome the New Year since Jesus had not returned in 1844. In the trial, James Rowe said something like, “I have been acquainted with the prisoner 20 or 30 years ; his character was good until recently.” John Bartlett was more specific, and stated something like, “I have been acquainted with Elder Dammon seven years—his character was always good until within about 6 weeks.” These two testimonies affirm that Dammon began to act in a more extreme manner around the New Year. Citizens in the surrounding area noticed this change and

leader in this sector of Maine was a 34-year-old “Freewill Baptist-turned-Millerite preacher”<sup>60</sup> named Israel Dammon, whom James Rowe had known personally since he was young boy.<sup>61</sup> Dammon was an active itinerant minister most of his life and a lively preacher, known as “one of the most noisy and unaccountable of men” who garnered attention by “shouting and jumping” during his sermons.<sup>62</sup> Dammon’s actions had stirred up citizens in the South Dover-Atkinson community, but excitement was particularly raised in mid-February because word had spread that a young visionary from Portland, Maine, would be present at the next Millerite gathering on Saturday evening, February 15. This woman’s name was Ellen Harmon, and Dammon was bringing her to town to share a vision she had received in December 1844. (Harmon had a second major vision a day or two before she arrived in Atkinson, but it seems that no one knew about it until after she arrived in town).<sup>63</sup> In total, around fifty Adventists came to this meeting from Atkinson, and surrounding towns—some traveling over forty miles by sleigh to get there.<sup>64</sup>

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some began to infiltrate Dammon’s meetings. Ebenezer Blethen and Jeremiah B. Green attended a meeting held on February 2, 1845. J. W. E. Harvey went to six different meetings (“two days and four evenings”). But was apparently confused in his testimony when he told the prosecution that the first meeting “lasted eight days,” but when cross-examined lengthened that period to “a fortnight.” Joseph Knights described a meeting held in Garland, Maine, presumably in January or February 1845. Plyn Clark witnessed a gathering held on February 12 or 13.

<sup>60</sup> Nix, “Damman (also Damon, Dammon), Israel,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, (2014), 358.

<sup>61</sup> See the testimony of Dea. James Rowe.

<sup>62</sup> Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People* (Yarmouth, Maine: I. C. Wellcome, 1874), 350.

<sup>63</sup> Ellen G. White to Joseph Bates, July 13, 1847, LT 003, 1847. Loton Lambert said something like, “Dammon said a sister had a vision to relate—a woman [Ellen Harmon] on the floor then related her vision.” James Ayer, Jr. stated something like “I understood sister Harmon had a vision at Portland, and was travelling through the country relating it.” Joshua Burnham said something like, “the meeting Saturday night . . . was appointed for the lady [Harmon] to tell her visions.” These reports coincide with Ellen White’s own recollections. Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2 (Battle Creek, Michigan: Steam Press, 1860), 35-48. Though Dorinda Baker also had visions previously in Orrington, Maine, none of the witnesses at the trial stated that the meeting on February 15 was held so that she could relate messages to the people.

<sup>64</sup> Thirty-two Millerites were known to be present at this meeting, most of them by name: Atkinson (and surrounding area): James Ayer, Jr., Abel Ayer, Joel Doore, Sr., Joel Doore, Jr., Levi M. Doore, two of John H. Doore’s daughters, George S.

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Though the Millerite band tried to keep their meetings a secret, word leaked out to some anti-Millerites within the community.<sup>65</sup> The South Dover-Atkinson Adventists did not have a prophet that resided in their midst and anti-Millerites were jolted by the fact that one was on its way to town. The Millerites in this area were already very charismatic, but citizens probably feared that if a seer were added to the mix the religious services would be even more corrupting. Since other Christians within the community shunned them, the Adventists usually met privately in the home of James Ayer, Jr.<sup>66</sup> This home was an emotional refuge for Millerites and served as a protection from the regime that governed life outside its borders. It was not very easy to meet in private, however, because several families in the towns surrounding South Dover-Atkinson were intermarried with Millerites, most notably the Lambert, Rowe, and Doore families.<sup>67</sup>

Joel Doore, Sr., and James Rowe were both connected with the Hussey family of Lebanon, New York—Hannah Hussey (1750-1835) was Joel Doore, Sr.'s, mother and James Rowe married a different Hannah Hussey (1774-1843). To make it even more confusing, Joel Doore, Sr., also married a woman named Hannah Hussey (1780-1833) who was from New Hampshire. Not only did Rowe and Doore

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Woodbury, Jane F. Woodbury, Isley Osborn, Susan Osborn, Abel S. Boobar, Joshua Burnham. Garland: Jacob Mason. Dover: John Gallison and one of his daughters. Milo: James Boobar. Exeter: Israel Dammon, Job Moody. Palmyra: James White (traveled with Dammon and Harmon from Exeter). Orrington: Newell W. Wood, Dorinda Baker. Portland: Ellen Harmon (traveled with Dammon and White from Exeter). In addition to other family members likely in attendance, but not mentioned in any records, five more people were apparently present: Atkinson: James Ayer, Sr. Orrington: William T. Hannaford, H. A. Hannaford, D. S. Hannaford, and Ruth W. Wood. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2, 300-301. Four anti-Millerites from the South Dover-Atkinson area were also present: Loton D. Lambert, Leonard Downes, William C. Crosby, and James Rowe. Several people not present at the meeting on February 15, 1845, mentioned in court the name of another Millerite, a certain “elder Hall,” but there is no evidence that he was at the meeting in February.

<sup>65</sup> See the cross-examination of Isley Osborn.

<sup>66</sup> See the testimony of James Ayer, Jr.

<sup>67</sup> Ebenezer Blethen testified that some of the members of his family were attending Millerite meetings. The Lambert family was also intermarried with the Fish family (Stephen Fish was a Millerite). Paul Lambert's daughter, Meriba Lambert, married Ephram Fish in the 1830s (1850 U.S. Census, Piscataquis County, Maine, town of Dover, pp. 286-287 (printed), lines 42 and 1, Ephram Fish and Maribah [sic] Fish, in Ancestry.com, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.ancestry.com>, NARA microfilm publication M432, Roll 267).

have wives with the same name, but also in 1812 Joel and Hannah Doore had a son that they named Ira Rowe Doore, apparently after James and Hannah Rowe's son, Ira.<sup>68</sup> The Lambert family was closely connected with the Doore family as well. Loton D. Lambert, the 23-year-old grandson of community pioneer Paul Lambert,<sup>69</sup> was a nephew of John H. Doore (one of Joel Doore, Sr.'s, sons).<sup>70</sup> The Lambert and Rowe nuclear families were not Millerites, but Joel Doore, Sr., converted and regularly attended Adventist meetings with his sons and their families.

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<sup>68</sup> Maine Marriage Records, 1705-1922, James Door [sic] and Hannah Hussey, August 3, 1769, Maine State Archives, Augusta, Maine, Pre 1892 Delayed Returns, Roll: 30; Cemetery Hopper, "James Rowe," Find a Grave, accessed December 18, 2016, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=23695176&ref=acom>; Maine Marriage Records, 1705-1922, Joel Door [sic] and Miss Hannah Hussey, February 5, 1800, Maine State Archives, Augusta, Maine, Pre 1892 Delayed Returns, Roll: 30. Intermarrying continued after 1845. On June 20, 1852, James Rowe's son, Hartford J. Rowe, married Paulina Cushing (Maine Marriage Records, 1705-1922, Hartford J. Rowe and Mrs. Paulina Norton, June 20, 1852, Maine State Archives, Augusta, Maine, Pre 1892 Delayed Returns, Roll: 89). Cushing had two sisters that had already married into the Doore family: Elizabeth married Ira Rowe Doore on April 13, 1834 (Maine Marriage Records, 1705-1922, Ira R. Doore and Elizabeth Cushing, April 13, 1834, Maine State Archives, Augusta, Maine, Pre 1892 Delayed Returns, Roll: 30), and Sarah ("Salley") married Joel Doore, Jr. on November 27, 1834 (Maine Marriage Records, 1705-1922, Joel Doore and Salley N. Cushing, Maine State Archives, November 22, 1834, Augusta, Maine, Pre 1892 Delayed Returns, Roll: 30; "Seventy Years of Married Life," *Greene (IA) Iowa Recorder*, November 23, 1904, p. 1, cols. 3-4). In 1858, non-Millerite Jacob Martin had a daughter, Sarah J. Martin, who married Joel Doore, Sr.'s, grandson, Cyrus H. Doore (Alice Louise McDuffee, *Lineage Book*, vol. XCV [Washington, D.C.: National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1927], 242).

<sup>69</sup> Loton D. Lambert was born on December 9, 1821, to Samuel and Judith Lambert. He died on November 9, 1853. Cemetery Hopper, "Loton D. Lambert," Find a Grave, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=23695348>.

<sup>70</sup> Lambert mentioned that at least two of his cousin's (the phrases "my cousin" and "her sister" appear in his testimony) were present at the meeting on February 15, 1845. A comparison of the testimonies of Loton Lambert, John H. Doore, and John Gallison reveals that the specific cousins Lambert mentioned were John H. Doore's daughters. Also note that several Lambert and Doore family members lived very close to each other at the time, as evidenced by the fact that their names are listed next to each other on the same page of the 1840 federal census. 1840 U.S. Census, Piscataquis County, Maine, town not stated, p. 329 (printed), lines [15] and [25], Saml. Lambert and John Doore, in Ancestry.com, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.ancestry.com>, NARA microfilm publication M704, Roll 150.

Though close connections caused tension between sectors of the family that held different religious views, these ties also provided avenues for exchanging information between Millerites and non-Millerites in the community. In particular, it is possible that Loton Lambert heard that Ellen Harmon was coming to town through one of his cousins who attended the Millerite meeting on February 15. If he did, then he might have been the one who informed others that a prophet would be in town and that the next Millerite meeting would be especially entertaining.

If Lambert was the informant, he might have told his 18-year-old friend, Leonard Downes,<sup>71</sup> first, but word soon got around to Deacon James Rowe (who could have also received information directly from the Doore family). Though Rowe apparently “knew but little” about the law, he was acquainted with another anti-Millerite in town who was an expert in legal matters—a 38-year-old attorney named William C. Crosby, Esq.<sup>72</sup> As a lawyer, Crosby knew that chapter 178, section 9, of the *Revised Statutes of the State of Maine* prohibited prophetic activity and realized that Harmon’s visit might provide an opportunity to end Millerite activity in the area. As a result, by the time she arrived in the South Dover-Atkinson area, Lambert, Downes, Rowe, and Crosby had agreed to attend the meeting as observers. If things transpired as they expected, they had a plan to try to legally put a stop to further Millerite activity within the sacred borders of their community.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Leonard Downes was born on August 15, 1826, and died on May 13, 1902. Cemetery Hopper, “Leonard Downs [sic],” Find a Grave, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=23695272>; cf. 1850 U.S. Census, Piscataquis County, Maine, town of Dover, p. 287 (printed), line 34, Leonard Downs [sic], in Ancestry.com, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.ancestry.com>, NARA microfilm publication M432, Roll 267.

<sup>72</sup> William Chase Crosby was born on December 2, 1806, and died on February 21, 1880. Dale & Patti, “William Chase Crosby,” Find a Grave, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=57723939&ref=acom>; Bruce Weaver, “Incident in Atkinson: The Arrest and Trial of Israel Dammon,” *Adventist Currents* 3, no. 1 (April 1988): 17.

<sup>73</sup> I suggest that Lambert, Downes, Rowe, and Crosby plotted to have Dammon arrested before they attended the meeting on Saturday, February 15, 1845, for the following reasons: (1) The testimony of all four men reveals their antagonism toward the Millerites. (2) These men knew of the meeting before it took place even though it was meant to be private. Many members of Loton Lambert’s extended family were Millerites, which provided him with an inside source to gain advance knowledge of Ellen Harmon’s visit. (3) The testimony of these four men indicates

The meeting on the evening of February 15 began in a peaceful manner. As Millerites arrived, they greeted one another with a hug and a kiss.<sup>74</sup> Shortly after the service began, the worshippers stood and sang with great enthusiasm and various bodily expressions. As the band continued to sing, unwanted visitors began to arrive. Lambert and Downes entered the Ayer home as lively Millerite hymns filled the room. Once the singing was over everyone sat down.<sup>75</sup> Since the house was crowded, most of the men sat on the floor so that the women could have the chairs.<sup>76</sup> There were not enough chairs for all of the women, however, so some of them sat on the floor amongst the men. When everyone was seated (Lambert and Downes remained standing), Israel Dammon, the presiding

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that they had not attended other Millerite meetings at the Ayer home prior to February 15, 1845. (4) It is clear that none of these men visited the Ayer home that Saturday evening because they were curious or seeking conversion. Gathering information to prosecute Dammon in court provides a convincing motive for their presence at the meeting. (5) The Millerites at the meeting felt threatened by the presence of these outsiders and believed that they were there for the purpose of driving them out of town. (6) Deacon James Rowe had taken the law into his own hands to keep his community pure on previous occasions and had the religious motivation to eradicate Millerism from the South Dover-Atkinson area. (7) Hartford J. Rowe, James Rowe's son, was the one who submitted a formal complaint requesting that Dammon be arrested. Since Hartford J. Rowe's formal complaint quoted from chapter 178, section 9, of *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, it is evident that he learned of this legal precedent from someone prior to Dammon's arrest. William C. Crosby, Esq. had the legal knowledge and ability to formulate a plan to legally convict Israel Dammon on the basis of this section of Maine law (*The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine, Passed October 22, 1840; to Which are Prefixed The Constitutions of the United States and the State of Maine, and to Which are Subjoined the Other Public Laws of 1840 and 1841, with an Appendix* [Augusta, Maine: William R. Smith & Co., 1841], 739-740). (8) Crosby and Rowe left the meeting early (around 9 p.m.). Since Dammon was arrested a few hours later, and since Rowe's son made the formal complaint, it seems evident that Crosby and Rowe left early to fetch an arresting officer.

<sup>74</sup> Jacob Mason gave the most important testimony regarding this point, stating that the hug and kiss were greetings of salutation. Loton Lambert and Leonard Downes both testified that they saw kissing during the meeting, but it was apparently kept to a minimum while the meeting was in progress. All of the defense witnesses, as well as William C. Crosby, testified that they did not see any kissing, aside from a few people who saw Dorinda Baker and Joel Doore kiss and one witness who thought Israel Dammon and Jane F. Woodbury might have kissed. See the testimonies of James Ayer, Jr., Isley Osborn, Job Moody, George S. Woodbury, and the cross-examination of William C. Crosby.

<sup>75</sup> Loton Lambert indicated in his testimony that everyone was standing when they sang, and that they sat down afterward.

<sup>76</sup> Compare William C. Crosby's cross-examination with Levi M. Doore's testimony.



elder, introduced Ellen Harmon to the Millerite band and informed them that she had two visions to share with them relevant to the Great Disappointment: the first was about “the travail of the Advent band and midnight cry” and the second was “about the Bridegroom’s coming.”<sup>77</sup>

About this time Crosby entered the Ayer home and was shocked to see Ellen Harmon lying on the floor with her head on a pillow, occasionally sitting up, to relate her visions. Harmon probably lay on the floor because she was frail and sickly at the present time, unable to stand.<sup>78</sup> The Millerites were not bothered by Harmon’s position in the room, but the anti-Millerites found this to be inappropriate. They were also disturbed by the Millerites’ exuberant response to Harmon’s messages. The noise level was very high and bodies comported as worshippers shouted at the top of their lungs in religious fervor. Once Harmon finished sharing her previous visions, Dammon stood up to speak. It became quiet<sup>79</sup> as he launched into a diatribe apparently inspired by his interpretation of Harmon’s Bridegroom vision.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Ellen G. White to Joseph Bates, July 13, 1847, LT 003, 1847; cf. Loton Lambert’s testimony.

<sup>78</sup> Ellen White later stated, “My health was so poor that I was in constant bodily suffering, and to all appearance had but a short time to live. I was only seventeen years of age, small and frail, unused to society, and naturally so timid and retiring that it was painful for me to meet strangers.” Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White . . .* (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press, 1915), 69; cf. Ellen G. White, *A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White* (Saratoga Springs, New York: James White, 1851), 6.

<sup>79</sup> See the testimony of William C. Crosby.

<sup>80</sup> Only two witnesses (Loton Lambert and William C. Crosby) described Ellen Harmon relating her previous visions in some detail. Loton Lambert is credited to have said that after the singing finished, “Dammon said a sister had a vision to relate—a woman on the floor then related her vision.” According to this statement it is clear that Harmon was not in vision, but relating a previous vision to the people. Similarly, William C. Crosby said something like, “There was a woman on the floor who lay on her back with a pillow under her head; she would occasionally arouse up & tell a vision which she said was revealed to her.” When re-examined, Crosby added something like, “After the visionist called them up she told them they doubted. Her object seemed to be to convince them they must not doubt.” James R. Nix explains that this phrase in Crosby’s testimony coincides with Ellen Harmon’s first vision, which she received in December 1844. Nix, “Another Look at Israel Damman,” [13]. Merlin D. Burt has persuasively demonstrated that Harmon also shared her second vision at the meeting on February 15, because it became a source of inspiration for Israel Dammon’s polemical sermon about “the shut door” and strong opposition to other Christians. Merlin D. Burt, “The ‘Shut

James Rowe arrived about this time<sup>81</sup> and the Adventists felt especially threatened now that four “intruders” were in the room.<sup>82</sup> Dammon tried to protect his flock and told his followers that as long as he stood there in the room, none of the infiltrators—or the “demons” they brought with them—could harm them.<sup>83</sup> Though the four men came to silently observe, the Millerites feared that they might physically disrupt their private meeting—an unlawful act in the state of Maine.<sup>84</sup> As a result, Dammon jumped and flailed around the room as he lashed out against the four men, calling them hogs and other offensive names.<sup>85</sup> At one point he looked and pointed at Crosby directly and told him that he, as a lawyer, was not able to drive the Millerites out of town, adding that if he owned the house, he would drive out all “invaders” from his emotional refuge. Dammon also read some excerpts from the Millerite *Day Star*, pointing out how Adventists around the country were being persecuted—and some killed—by anti-Millerites.<sup>86</sup> He then stated that other Christians were wicked and doomed to destruction because they did not believe that the world would end by the end of the week, or at most, within two months.

After Dammon had finished his polemic, Crosby and Rowe left. It was about 9 p.m. and Rowe, who was now in his seventieth year of life, probably went directly home to inform his son, Hartford J.

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Door’ and Ellen White’s Visions,” in *The Ellen G. White Letters & Manuscripts with Annotations*, 48-49; Merlin D. Burt, “The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White’s Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849,” 136-137.

<sup>81</sup> Rowe was only at the meeting “a short time” and only described Dammon’s sermon in his testimony in court, which implies that he did not see Ellen Harmon relate her visions prior to that time or witness her in vision after Dammon’s sermon.

<sup>82</sup> John Gallison stated something like, “I could not see ahead to see the devil’s rabble coming, but since they have come, I am certain we did just right.”

<sup>83</sup> See the testimony of James Rowe.

<sup>84</sup> Chapter 160, section 23, of the *Revised Statutes* specified, “If any person, on the Lord’s day, or at any other time, shall willfully interrupt or disturb any assembly of people, for religious worship, within the place of such assembly or out of it, he shall be punished by imprisonment in the county jail, not more than thirty days, or by fine, not exceeding ten dollars.” *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, 688.

<sup>85</sup> See the testimony of William C. Crosby and Loton Lambert.

<sup>86</sup> See the testimonies of William C. Crosby, James Ayer, Jr., and Job Moody.

Rowe, about what had taken place that evening.<sup>87</sup> Subsequently, Hartford Rowe filed a formal petition for Dammon's arrest and sought a law enforcement officer willing to take care of this problem immediately. Rowe probably approached Selectman Benjamin Smith first, but Smith wanted to wait until Monday morning to arrest Dammon.<sup>88</sup> Undeterred, Rowe sought out Deputy Sheriff Joseph Moulton, who agreed to apprehend Dammon immediately, despite the fact that it was already quite late. Meanwhile, the Millerite meeting continued in the Ayer home and Lambert and Downes remained until after midnight to gather as much information as they could for the trial that they expected would soon take place.

At some point after Crosby and Rowe left, Ellen Harmon fell into a new vision.<sup>89</sup> In vision, Harmon saw that the Millerites

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<sup>87</sup> It is possible that Hartford J. Rowe attended the meeting personally, but doubtful since he did not testify in court and since his complaint did not refer to the activities that took place the night of February 15, 1845.

<sup>88</sup> See the testimony of Benjamin Smith.

<sup>89</sup> Crosby left around 9 p.m. after Dammon finished his heated sermon and the testimony of all other witnesses present indicates that Harmon went into vision after that point. Loton Lambert described Harmon in vision after Dammon's sermon, stating something like, "imitation of Christ [Harmon] told Mrs. Woodbury and others, that they must forsake their friends or go to hell. Imitation of Christ, as they called her, would lay on the floor a while, then rise up and call upon some one and say she had a vision to relate to them, which she would relate . . ." Similarly, James Ayer, Jr., made a similar remark—that he "[s]aw the woman with a pillow under her head"—after describing Dammon's sermon. After Job Moody described Dammon's sermon, he stated something like, "Sister Harmon would lay on the floor in a trance, and the Lord would reveal their cases to her, and she to them." Isley Osborn made a similar comment after he described Dammon's sermon, saying something like, "They [Harmon and Baker] lose their strength and fall on the floor. The Lord communicates to them through a vision, so we call it the Lord." More specifically, after Jacob Mason described Dammon's sermon, he stated that Harmon's vision took place and around that time Dorinda Baker needed help to the back bedroom—something that took place after Crosby had left the meeting. Mason stated something like, "I saw elder White after sister Baker went into the bed-room, near sister Harmon in a trance—some of the time he held her head. She was in a vision, part of the time insensible." As with the other witnesses, Joel Doore, Sr., testified about Dammon's sermon, and then mentioned that Harmon was in vision, stating something like, "The vision woman would lay looking up when she came out of her trance—she would point to some one, and tell them their cases, which she said was from the Lord. She told a number of visions that evening." In addition to these complimenting testimonies, it is important to point out that Dammon did not interrupt Harmon while she was in vision so that he could preach a vigorous sermon. William C. Crosby, stated that Dammon rose to

present were about to experience a test of faith.<sup>90</sup> Dammon's standoff with Crosby and Rowe provided impetus for such a message and since Lambert and Downes were still present, Adventists had sufficient grounds to remain fearful and expectant of this prophecy's soon fulfillment. In addition to this, Harmon was shown the cases of several Millerites in the room. Specifically, she mentioned two girls by name in her vision, the daughters of John Gallison and John H. Doore, and stated that they needed to be baptized to save their souls before Jesus Christ's soon return.<sup>91</sup> Harmon was also shown the case of Jane F. Woodbury, and advised that she reform her character in preparation for the Second Coming. In response, Woodbury and Israel Dammon got down on their hands and knees and crawled across the floor to demonstrate that they were humble and had child-like faith.<sup>92</sup>

These events caused great excitement and the Millerites shouted in the Spirit exuberantly throughout the vision and recitations. Another young visionary, a 27-year-old woman visiting from Orrington, Maine, named Dorinda Baker,<sup>93</sup> was overcome with emotion when she saw Harmon in vision and fell to the floor in order to follow suit. Rather than land in vision, however, Baker apparently touched down in dizzied confusion. Susan Osborn recognized that Baker needed assistance and led her into the back bedroom and helped her onto the bed to rest and recover. Osborn then came out of the room and shut the door behind her. A short time later, a loud noise came from the bedroom and Newell W. Wood<sup>94</sup> and James Ayer, Jr., went in to investigate. Baker had

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speak after Harmon ended the presentation of her previous visions. Furthermore, James Rowe apparently did not see Ellen White in vision and only described Dammon's tirade, which indicates that the events did not occur simultaneously.

<sup>90</sup> White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2, 39-40; cf. Jacob Mason's testimony.

<sup>91</sup> Many commented on this topic, but the most important testimonies were given by Loton Lambert, John H. Doore, and John Gallison.

<sup>92</sup> Compare the testimonies of George S. Woodbury and Loton Lambert. Though some other witnesses mentioned creeping and rolling on the floor, Dammon and Woodbury were the only ones stated to have crawled on the evening of February 15. See the testimonies of John H. Doore, John Gallison, and Abel S. Boobar.

<sup>93</sup> Dorinda Baker was born on August 1, 1817, to Joseph Baker and Hannah Fowler. Burt, "The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849," 134.

<sup>94</sup> The unnamed "brother Wood" can be identified as Newell W. Wood upon the following basis. First, James Ayer, Jr., stated that Wood was from Orrington and Newell W. Wood lived in Orrington (1850 U.S. Census, Penobscot County, Maine,

travelled with the Woods from Orrington to attend the meeting that evening and N. W. Wood probably felt a sense of responsibility for her well-being. As a result, he helped her off of the bed and put his arm around her to help her walk out of the room. As she emerged, she looked distressed and said she had received a vision for Loton Lambert and Joel Doore, Sr., one of Lambert's relatives and one of the town's pioneers.<sup>95</sup>

Baker apparently approached Lambert first, and told him that he was the devil and doomed to destruction. Ayer then grabbed Lambert and told him that if he had come to disturb their peaceful, albeit emotionally exuberant, meeting then he would eject him from his home. Lambert informed him that he had not come to disturb the meeting and Ayer was apparently pacified. Baker then looked at

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town of Orrington, p. [428] (penned), line 9, Newall [sic] W. Wood, in Ancestry.com, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.ancestry.com>, NARA microfilm publication M432, Roll 264). Second, Laura A. Ayer was living with the Wood family in 1850 (ibid.). Third, Wood married Ruth W. (Ayer?), who signed a statement in 1860 affirming Ellen White's statements regarding Israel Dammon's arrest and trial (Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2, 300-301). Fourth, N. W. Wood was a Millerite ("Receipts for the Week Ending Sept. 26," *Advent Herald*, September 29, 1849, 64.).

<sup>95</sup> This paragraph was constructed on the basis of the testimonies of Loton Lambert, James Ayer, Jr., and Jacob Mason. I have interpreted Dorinda Baker's fall and dizzied spell as an attempt to mimic Ellen Harmon in vision for the following reasons. First, James Ayer, Jr., said something like, "Saw the woman with a pillow under her head—her name is Miss Ellen Harmon, of Portland. I heard nothing said by her or others about imitation of Christ. I saw Miss Baker laying on the floor. I saw her fall. Saw Miss Baker and sister Osborn go into the bed-room—sister Osborn helped her onto the bed, came out and shut the door." According to Ayer's testimony both Harmon and Baker were on the floor, but only Baker is said to have fallen to the floor at this time. (No witness explicitly testified that Ellen Harmon fell at any point at the February 15 meeting. Though Isley Osborn generally stated that both women would lose their strength and fall on the floor, no other witness specifically stated that Harmon fell. Rather, the witnesses agreed that she lay on the floor throughout the entire meeting.) Directly after she fell, Baker was apparently in trouble and needed to lie down in the back bedroom and needed assistance to get there. It is evident, therefore, that she did not fall in vision as expected, but fainted and was in need of care and attention. Second, Ayer's testimony was fully supported by Jacob Mason's testimony, and was not contradicted by other witnesses. He said something like, "I saw elder White after sister Baker went into the the [sic] bed-room, near sister Harmon in a trance—some of the time he held her head. She was in a vision, part of the time insensible." This confirms that Harmon was in vision at the time that Baker fell (Harmon was not relating a previous vision) and that she had probably fainted, rather than land in vision.

Lambert's uncle, Joel Doore, Sr., and urged him to be rebaptized to save his soul and then told him that he had harbored ill feelings toward her. Doore acknowledged that she was correct and they hugged and kissed each other in friendship.<sup>96</sup>

As Ellen Harmon continued to lay in vision, Dammon, Baker, and others became more insistent that the two girls be baptized immediately.<sup>97</sup> One of these girls was Loton Lambert's cousin, and it seems that, with the aid of the girl's sister, he tried to convince her not to convert to the Advent faith. When Dammon saw Lambert and the girl's sister talking with the potential neophyte, he became upset, stopped their conversation, and called them the devil.<sup>98</sup> In spite of apparent opposition, the girls accepted the Advent faith and Dammon and some of the other Millerites left Harmon in vision on the floor, exited the warm house, slushed their way through the snow, and found some icy water in which to baptize the girls. This occurred at some point shortly after 11 p.m.<sup>99</sup> and when the Millerites returned to the Ayer home, they continued their lively worship while Harmon lay on the floor in vision. Around 12:30am Harmon came out of her vision and Lambert and Downes decided that it was time to leave.<sup>100</sup>

As Ellen Harmon shared her new vision with the Millerite band during the early hours of the morning, she saw two men looking in

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<sup>96</sup> Compare the testimonies of Loton Lambert, James Ayer, Jr., and Joel Doore, Sr. Aside from this kiss, the only other kiss that might have transpired during the meeting on February 15 (aside from kisses of greeting and salutation that took place before and afterwards) would have been between Dammon and Jane Woodbury. See the testimonies of William C. Crosby (his re-examination), James Ayer, Jr., Job Moody, Isley Osborn, Jacob Mason, and George S. Woodbury.

<sup>97</sup> Loton Lambert was credited with the following statement: "there was one girl that they [i.e., various Millerites present] said must be baptised that night or she must go to hell." Isley Osborn stated something like, "We believed her [Harmon], and brother Dammon and I advised them [the two girls] to be baptised," in his cross-examination.

<sup>98</sup> I have interpreted this event in this manner for the following reasons: (1) Loton Lambert mentioned this conversation with his cousin in his testimony immediately prior to mentioning the baptism. (2) The conversation was obviously upsetting to Dammon. (3) Lambert clearly disliked Millerism and would not have wanted his cousin to convert.

<sup>99</sup> Loton Lambert stated that Harmon did not go to the baptism, but lay on the floor until about 12:30 a.m. James Ayer, Jr., noted that the baptisms occurred shortly after 11 p.m.

<sup>100</sup> Loton Lambert and Leonard Downes left between 12 a.m. and 1 a.m. Sunday morning, before Dammon's arrest.

through a window. A few moments later, Deputy Sherriff Moulton burst into the house with Thomas Proctor<sup>101</sup> and two other men and cried out, “In the name of the State of Maine, lay hold of this man.” There was resistance, however, and Moulton was unable to extract Dammon from the room. Some of the men went out for reinforcements and upon their arrival, they made a second attempt. After this failure, a second wave of reinforcements was called and with the assistance of eleven other men, Moulton was finally able to apprehend Dammon. The total process took about forty minutes and during this time the Millerites shouted continually in great excitement.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> See Thomas Proctor’s testimony.

<sup>102</sup> This event is controversial because Ellen White claimed that God was the agent that resisted the deputy sheriff while Moulton himself attested that this resistance came from several men and women who jumped on top of Dammon to hold him in place. Nevertheless, James R. Nix has demonstrated that White and Moulton’s accounts agree on several significant points (Nix, “Another Look at Israel Damman,” [19-21]). Despite any agreement, the two accounts pose irreconcilable problems. Acceptance of White’s recollections requires a belief in miracles and supernatural manifestations, while Moulton’s account raises unanswerable questions. First, why did Moulton refrain from using force when arresting Dammon? Though Moulton stated that men and women pinned Dammon to the floor, there is no evidence that any of them resisted with weapons. Therefore, it seems conceivable that Moulton could have taken Dammon by force, without the need to call for reinforcements. Second, if several men and women did resist as Moulton stated, why were none of them arrested along with Dammon? According to chapter 158, section 26, of the *Revised Statutes*, stated, “If any person, being required, in the name of the state, by any sheriff, deputy sheriff, coroner or constable, shall neglect or refuse to assist any of them in the execution of their office . . . shall be punished by imprisonment in the county jail.” *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, 681. Therefore, Moulton had the legal responsibility to arrest anyone who helped Dammon resist. As a result, the statements of White and Moulton leave questions unanswered.

It is worth noting that this event has an interesting analogue. About a year after Dammon’s arrest, Otis Nichols wrote out an account involving Ellen Harmon, stating, “God has signally protected her [Ellen Harmon]; at one time a sheriff[f] and a number of men with him had no power over her person for an hour & an half, although they exerted all their bodily strength to move her, while she or no one else made any resistance. What I have here written I have a knowledge of & think I can judge correctly. Sister E[llen] has been a resident in my family much of the time for about 8 months.” Otis Nichols to William Miller, April 20, 1846. Ellen White affirmed that this event took place, stating in a private interview in 1906, “But I never was shut up [in jail]. I never had a man’s hand laid on me to harm me, and the promise was [that] it never should be. They tried once. They tried to hold me, and the brethren felt terrible. The officers of justice got hold of me, and said I, ‘Brethren, do not worry about me. The light has come to me that no man’s hand

Once Dammon was apprehended, he was carted off to the local hotel where he was placed under guard. The prisoner remained exceedingly joyful, however, and sang, prayed, and shouted praises to God all night. The guard became exasperated with his prisoner's behavior and quit his post. Since no one was willing to guard Dammon, Moulton apparently let him go after making him promise to show up for his trial the next day. Dammon then sought refuge, probably back at the Ayer home, and waited for the judicial proceedings.<sup>103</sup>

### **Israel Dammon's Trial**

Dammon was arraigned in the Universalist Church on the morning of February 17, 1845.<sup>104</sup> Hartford J. Rowe's formal complaint was then read in the presence of the presiding justices, Moses Swett, Esq. and Seth Lee, Esq. The complaint specified that Dammon was charged with being "a common railer or brawler" who disturbed "the peace of the State of Maine," neglected his ordinary calling and employment, misspent his earnings, and did "not provide for the support of himself [or] family."<sup>105</sup> Dammon plead not guilty to these charges and then the court adjourned for lunch.

When the hearing resumed at 1 pm, Charles P. Chandler and H. G. O. Morison were appointed as plaintiff attorneys for the State of Maine and James S. Holmes voluntarily took up the defense for Israel Dammon.<sup>106</sup> Chandler opened this session of court by reading chapter 178, section 9, of the *Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, which stated:

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should be laid upon me to hurt me, and so you need not have any fears.' Then these men would turn white, and the very men that they were trying to get hold of, they could not hold them. The power of God was upon His people and evidence of it was given." Ellen G. White, Portion of Narrative Related by E. G. White; Historical Remembrances Regarding Hewitt and Turner, 1906, MS 131a, 1906; cf. Ellen G. White to J. N. Loughborough, August 24, 1874, LT 002, 1874. These two accounts, Dammon's arrest and the attempted arrest of Ellen Harmon, indicate that this Millerite band sincerely believed that God would protect them from any potential foe, even, if necessary, from the law of the land.

<sup>103</sup> White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2, 39-42.

<sup>104</sup> Sprague, "James Stuart Holmes, the Pioneer Lawyer, of Piscataquis County," 34.

<sup>105</sup> See Hartford J. Rowe's complaint in the *Piscataquis Famer* article.

<sup>106</sup> Sprague, "James Stuart Holmes, the Pioneer Lawyer, of Piscataquis County," 34; cf. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2, 41.



101 – *Burton: Dammon, Millerism, and Religious Intolerance*

Any justice of the peace, within his county, on complaint under oath . . . may send and commit to the said house [of correction] to be kept, employed and governed, according to the rules and orders thereof, all rogues, vagabonds and idle persons, going about in any town or place in the county, begging, or persons using any subtle craft, juggling or unlawful games or plays, or, for the sake of gain or emolument, feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or for the like purpose, pretending that they can tell destinies or fortunes, or discover where lost or stolen goods may be found ; common pipers, fiddlers, runaways, common drunkards, common night walkers, pilferers, persons wanton or lascivious in speech or behavior, common railers or brawlers, such as neglect their callings or employments, mispend [sic] what they earn, and do not provide for the support of themselves and their families.<sup>107</sup>

Hartford J. Rowe's formal complaint quoted from the final lines of this section of Maine law, but the prosecution also sought to capitalize on other phrases within this section of the law. After Chandler finished reading this passage from the law books, the court adjourned and everyone moved to the Dover Courthouse to proceed with the formal trial.

Ebenezer Blethen was the first witness to be called. Blethen did not attend the meeting on February 15, but did go there briefly that night to extract some of the members of his family from the lively gathering. Previous to this time, he had been in the Ayer home on three occasions, but specified that he had not seen Dammon act in an unusual manner. Blethen then began to comment on the activities of the people he had seen at previous meetings. He was cut short, however, by an objection from the defense. Holmes demanded that the witness confine his remarks to the prisoner himself, as the activities of the others were irrelevant to the case. The prosecution then countered by getting Blethen to state that Dammon was the elder who presided at these meetings. After Blethen affirmed that Dammon was the leader, Chandler and Morison addressed the court, arguing that since Dammon had control of the meetings, he was accountable for the activities that took place. Therefore, the prosecution sought to convince the court that Dammon was guilty of vagrancy, in large part, by the conduct

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<sup>107</sup> *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, 739-740.

of his congregants. The court agreed with the prosecution and Holmes' objection was overruled.<sup>108</sup>

Although thirty-eight witnesses were called—twenty for the prosecution and eighteen for the defense—only eighteen of them had attended the meeting on February 15—four witnesses for the prosecution and fourteen for the defense.<sup>109</sup> In spite of this, the trial revolved around this gathering, which launched three unsuspecting persons, who were not present at the trial, to the forefront: Ellen Harmon, Dorinda Baker, and a 23-year-old Millerite elder named James White.

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<sup>108</sup> See the discussion surrounding Ebenezer Blethen's testimony.

<sup>109</sup> The four witness for the prosecution included: William C. Crosby, Loton Lambert, Leonard Downes, and Deacon James Rowe. The fourteen witnesses for the defense included: James Ayer, Jr., Job Moody, Isley Osborn, Jacob Mason, Joel Doore, Sr., George S. Woodbury, John Gallison, Abel S. Boobar, Joshua Burnham, Levi M. Doore, Joel Doore, Jr., Abel Ayer, James Boobar, and Israel Dammon. Two other witnesses for the prosecution were present for Dammon's arrest, Thomas Proctor and Joseph Moulton, and Ebenezer Blethen stopped by just to retrieve his family. These three men did not witness the worship service, however.

It is necessary to make a few comments regarding prosecution witness, J. W. E. Harvey. Some might assume that Harvey was present at the meeting on February 15 because he mentioned the name of James White. Harvey was not present on this occasion, however, and this is clear for a number of reasons: (1) Harvey specified that he had attended six different meetings, but did not state that he was present on February 15. (2) Harvey stated that elders Dammon, White, and Hall had charge of all of the meetings he attended—not a particular meeting. Though Dammon and White were present on February 15, no other witnesses stated that elder Hall was present on this occasion. Dammon and White did not live in Atkinson, but did reside within thirty miles of the town (in Exeter and Palmyra, respectively), which was close enough to preside over meetings on a regular basis. Also, it is evident that the Millerites in the South Dover-Atkinson area knew White from previous encounters because they spoke about him in the trial with frank familiarity and were even able to describe specific clothing (color and style) that he wore on February 15. (3) The events that Harvey described do not fit with the statements given by the witnesses present at the February 15 meeting: (a) Harvey observed that the Millerites regularly utilized the back bedroom, but all other witnesses affirmed that this only occurred once on the night of February 15; (b) Harvey was the only witness who observed a women sitting between Dammon's legs while he put his arms around her; (c) Harvey was the only person who described Dammon laying and on the floor and jumping up in excitement; (d) Harvey was also the only witness to describe the actions of elder Hall, which included many women kissing his bare feet. If other witnesses had observed these (mostly sexual) actions, the prosecution would have brought it out in court; this did not happen. (4) Finally, Harvey did not mention anything about visions, Ellen Harmon, or Dorinda Baker—something he would have done if he had observed them in a meeting.

The prosecution sought to demonstrate, according to chapter 178, section 9, of the *Revised Statutes*, that the people present at Dammon's meetings were "wanton or lascivious in speech or behavior." The most alarming accusation involved the back bedroom of the Ayer home. According to J. W. E. Harvey, who was present at six different Millerite meetings (but not the one on February 15), members of the Advent band would frequently go in and out of that room during their worship services. Harvey did not specify that men and women went into this room together, however, but once Loton Lambert took the witness stand, all fears of possible lasciviousness seemed confirmed. Lambert testified that on February 15 James White had taken Dorinda Baker into the back bedroom, helped her onto the bed, turned out the lights, stayed in the room, and then closed the door. This testimony was patently refuted by the defense witnesses, however, who clarified that Susan Osborn had helped Baker into the room and closed the door after she left and that Newell W. Woods and James Ayer, Jr. had helped her come out while the door was open.<sup>110</sup>

In addition, Chandler and Morison attempted to capitalize on the topic of lasciviousness by getting defense witness James Ayer, Jr., to testify that Israel Dammon had a spiritual wife. Dammon denied this claim, however,<sup>111</sup> and Levi M. Doore supported him by acknowledging that Dammon did not preach against the marriage covenant. The prosecution apparently sought to demonstrate that Dammon had an unlawful wife because such an act could land him in prison for up to five years,<sup>112</sup> but these charges did not stick.<sup>113</sup>

The prosecution also tried to demonstrate that the Millerites were guilty of blasphemy. Loton Lambert accused Dammon and his congregants of addressing Ellen Harmon by a blasphemous name—the Imitation of Christ—and claimed that one man, Joel Doore, Sr., had knelt and prayed before her. Such actions were not only

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<sup>110</sup> Compare the testimonies of James Ayer, Jr., Levi M. Doore, James Boobar, Isley Osborn, Jacob Mason, Joel Doore, Sr., George S. Woodbury, and Abel S. Boobar.

<sup>111</sup> White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2, 42.

<sup>112</sup> See chapter 160, sections 5 and 9, in *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, 685-686.

<sup>113</sup> Though Dammon apparently did not have a spiritual wife, news that he did circulated widely in newspapers throughout the country, which led some Millerite leaders, such as Joshua V. Himes, to believe it to be true. Cf. George R. Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press, 2010), 218-219.

considered an insult to the holy name of God and a reproach of Jesus Christ, but were also illegal in the state of Maine and punishable with up to a two-year prison sentence.<sup>114</sup> Leonard Downes was the only other witness to affirm Lambert's claims, however, and defense attorney Holmes demonstrated that none of the Millerites had called Harmon the Imitation of Christ and that no one was guilty of kneeling and worshiping before a human idol.<sup>115</sup>

Aside from these specific charges and refutations, the Dammon trial revolved around the topic of fanaticism. Non- and anti-Millerites defined fanaticism as any emotional performance or ritual act that did not meet with community approval or that occurred in (or on) a "profane" space. These acts included, shouting, energetic bodily comportments, hugging and kissing, foot washing ordinances, immediate baptisms, and inappropriate activity on the floor—such as men and women sitting amongst each other or adults creeping on their hands and knees. These activities were common in Millerite meetings, but none of these things were illegal in the state of Maine. Despite this, the emotional regime in the South Dover-Atkinson area believed that the Millerites were guilty of breaking the unwritten feeling rules of the community, and prosecution attorneys Chandler and Morison sought to demonstrate Dammon's guilt by tacitly showing that Millerites did not adhere to the community's unspecified laws.

Millerite activities were despised in part because the Christian community believed that the fruit of the Spirit was not manifested in charismatic religious services; rather, meetings should be characterized by dignified love, august joy, and tranquil peace (cf. Gal. 5:22).<sup>116</sup> Though non- and anti-Millerites justified their criticisms on a biblical basis, the Advent band also claimed biblical support for their actions. As with shouting Methodists and revivalists from the First Great Awakening, Millerites argued that

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<sup>114</sup> See chapter 160, section 21, in *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, 685-686.

<sup>115</sup> James Ayer, Jr., stated something like, "Did not hear her called imitation of Christ" and "The reason or our kneeling, I consider an object of humiliation." Isley Osborn was credited with these words: "Do not call sister Harmon imitation of Christ." Jacob Mason said something to the effect of, "Sister Harmon was not called imitation [of] Christ to my knowledge. I think I should have heard it if she was." John Gallison affirmed with words similar to these: "Did not hear her called Imitation of Christ. I know she won't, for we don't worship idols."

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Taves, *Fits, Trances & Visions*, 150.

the Bible commanded shouting and bodily movement (cf. 1 Sam. 4:5; 2 Sam. 6:14), hugging and kissing (cf. Rom. 16:16), foot washing (cf. John 13:5; Luke 7:38), immediate baptisms (cf. Acts 8:36; Mark 16:16), falling to the ground in the Spirit (cf. Ezek. 21:7, 14-5; Isa. 66:16), and—something perhaps unique to Millerism—creeping or rolling across the floor “very decently” like a little child (cf. Matt. 18:3).<sup>117</sup>

Chandler and Morison called witnesses to describe Millerite activity for the purpose of showing that Dammon had a debauched character. This also provided support for two other charges of fanaticism that were illegal—outlined specifically in the section of Maine law read at the commencement of the trial. The first of these charges related to “pretending . . . [to] tell destinies or fortunes.” Harmon and Baker both had visions on February 15, and Chandler and Morison tried to demonstrate that they had foretold the future of other people present. The key phrase associated with these visions was, “go to hell.” Again, Loton Lambert initiated this charge and accused all, or at least most, of the Millerites of damning at least one person to hell.<sup>118</sup> Though it cannot be determined that these exact words were spoken at the Saturday evening meeting in Atkinson,<sup>119</sup> Chandler and Morison presumably found it necessary

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<sup>117</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 107-114. See also the testimonies of James Ayer, Jr., Job Moody, Isley Osborn, Joel Doore, Sr., John Gallison, and Israel Dammon.

<sup>118</sup> Note the use of Lambert’s all-inclusive “they” in the following statement accredited to him: “there was one girl that they said must be baptized that night or she must go to hell ; she wept bitterly and wanted to see her mother first ; they told her she must leave her mother or go to hell—one voice said, let her go to hell.”

<sup>119</sup> Ellen Harmon was already a Conditionalist by this time and, therefore, did not believe in a literal hell. Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White . . .* (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1915), 48-49. She later patently denied the charge that she used condemning language of this nature, stating, “I never have stated or written that the world was doomed or damned. I never have under any circumstances used this language to anyone, however sinful.” Ellen G. White to J. N. Loughborough, August 24, 1874, LT 002, 1874. James R. Nix has verified this claim by showing that such strong language never appears in any of White’s writings, either public or private. Nix, “Another Look at Israel Damman,” [4-5]. It is worth noting that in the 1840s, specifically, Ellen White spoke against the notion of damning. She wrote in early 1849, “I saw that the mysterious knocking in N.Y. [connected with the Fox sisters] was the power of Satan clothed in a religious garb to lull the deceived to more security and to draw the minds of God’s people, if possible, to look at that and cause them to doubt the teachings of God among His people. I saw that Satan was working through agents in a number of ways. He was at work through ministers who had rejected God’s truth, and had been given over to strong delusions *to believe a lie*

to demonstrate that Harmon and Baker had used the phrase, “go to hell,” because it provided a specific location to which people could be destined.<sup>120</sup> Though Dammon did not personally engage in fortune telling, he associated with visionaries like Harmon and Baker and, according to the prosecution’s argumentation, was guilty because he did not prevent pretended destiny-telling.

A final charge related to the fanatical Millerite “no-work doctrine.” Israel Dammon declared in court that Jesus would return before the end of February, but some of his followers apparently thought this event would occur on a newly calculated date: April 23, 1845.<sup>121</sup> Since the Millerite band had the necessary provisions to survive until that time, Dammon preached to his congregation on several occasions (though evidently not on February 15) that to work would be a denial of Christian faith.<sup>122</sup> He admitted, however, that if he were wrong about Christ’s soon return, then all of the members of the Advent band should return to their work together.<sup>123</sup> Though some community members probably feared that Dammon’s Millerites would become town charges, Adventists who accepted this doctrine typically relied on the generosity of other Millerites for survival.<sup>124</sup> Nevertheless, the court was

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*that they might be damned.* While they are preaching or praying some would fall prostrate and helpless; not by the power of the Holy Ghost, no, no; but by the power of Satan breathed on these agents and through them to the people.” Emphasis is mine. Ellen G. White, *The Open and Shut Door*, March 24, 1849, MS 001, 1849. According to this statement, White believed it was a lie from Satan to believe that someone might be damned.

<sup>120</sup> See the testimonies of Loton Lambert, William C. Crosby, Isley Osborn, and George S. Woodbury.

<sup>121</sup> See the testimonies of Israel Dammon and George S. Woodbury; cf. Burt, “The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White’s Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849,” 133.

<sup>122</sup> See the testimonies of Ebenezer Trundy, Job Moody, Isley Osborn, Jacob Mason, and George S. Woodbury; cf. Burt, “The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White’s Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849,” 132.

<sup>123</sup> See the testimony of Ebenezer Trundy.

<sup>124</sup> For example, Lewis B. Stowell (1793-1886) kept his home, but “sold his farm at a sacrifice,” before the coming of the Lord in October 1844. After the Great Disappointment, Stowell returned to work and took on the responsibility of taking care of other Millerites who chose not to do so. According to his daughter, Marion, “there were several large families that . . . [he] had to supply with everything. He

convinced that even though Dammon worked as an itinerant minister, he was unable to provide support for himself or his family and through his influence others might end up in the same predicament.

Israel Dammon's trial elapsed over two days; it began Monday morning and ended Tuesday afternoon, February 18. Chandler and Morison concluded their argument by re-reading chapter 178, section 9, of the *Revised Statutes*, but also drew attention section 10, which dealt with sentencing. According to Maine law, justices Swett and Lee had the authority to place Dammon in jail for up to thirty days with potential extensions.<sup>125</sup> Though the sexual and blasphemy charges were refuted, Dammon was pronounced guilty on the basis of illegal fanaticism at his meetings—Harmon and Baker's pretended destiny-telling and his continual preaching of the "no-work doctrine." The justices were lenient, however, and gave Dammon a light sentence of ten days' confinement in the house of correction. Defense attorney Holmes appealed to have the case reviewed by the district court,<sup>126</sup> which was scheduled to convene on March 25, 1845.<sup>127</sup> Before March, however, "the warrant was quashed" and Dammon was "acquitted without date."<sup>128</sup> Although pardoned, Dammon was re-arrested in Garland, Maine, in April 1845 for similar charges but again released a short time later.<sup>129</sup>

### Conclusion

Joseph D. Brown was in the crowd of observers who sat in the Dover Courthouse for Dammon's trial. Though not a Millerite himself, he recognized that what transpired was really a battle between the "followers of Wm. Miller" and the "leading citizens and members of other churches." Amidst the cacophony of sounds and activity, Brown was deeply impressed with defense attorney

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would purchase eight barrels of flour at a time." M. C. Stowell Crawford to Ellen G. White, October 9, 1908.

<sup>125</sup> See chapter 178, sections 9-12, in *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, 739-740.

<sup>126</sup> See the very end of the report in the *Piscataquis Farmer*.

<sup>127</sup> The district court only convened twice in Dover each year, on the fourth Tuesday of March and the second Tuesday of September. See chapter 178, section 27 in *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, 404.

<sup>128</sup> Israel Dammon to Samuel Snow, May 28, 1845, published in *Jubilee Standard*, June 5, 1845, 104.

<sup>129</sup> Nix, "Damman (also Damon, Dammon), Israel," in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, (2014), 359.

Holmes. Holmes gave an “eloquent argument for religious freedom and toleration and the right of every person to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, under his own vine and fig tree.” After more than forty years had passed, Brown stated, “I remember it as one of the grandest defenses of religious toleration and freedom, that it has ever been my pleasure to listen to or read of.”<sup>130</sup>

The Israel Dammon trial stands as a clear case of religious intolerance in America. Prior to Ellen Harmon’s arrival in town on February 15, 1845, the townsfolk were already fearful of the Millerite band. Non-Adventist families were intermingled with Adventist members and the harmony “of many a peaceful and respectable family” was threatened.<sup>131</sup> This gave Loton Lambert, Leonard Downes, Deacon James Rowe, and William C. Crosby, Esq. the motivation to infiltrate the Ayer home on February 15 and gather information about Dammon and the female visionary he had brought to town. These men were not curious or seeking conversion. Unlike other witnesses for the prosecution who had previously attended multiple Adventist meetings, these four men had apparently never been to a Millerite gathering prior to this time. It is evident from their testimony that they wanted all Adventist activity within the South Dover-Atkinson area to end and it is likely that they formulated a plan to arrest Dammon before they reached the Ayer home on that eventful Saturday evening.

Dammon was not tried upon the basis of his actions alone; rather, the prosecution sought to demonstrate his guilt upon the basis of the deeds of others. Most of the activities that occurred on February 15 were legal. Though moderators of religious meetings did have the legal “power to preserve order,” Maine law did not specify that charismatic religious acts were illegal or that moderators were required to prevent such actions from occurring.<sup>132</sup> Nevertheless, the emotional regime in the South

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<sup>130</sup> Sprague, “James Stuart Holmes, the Pioneer Lawyer, of Piscataquis County,” 34; cf. “The Millerites in Maine,” *Sprague’s Journal of Maine History* 10, no. 1 (January–March 1922): 1-6.

<sup>131</sup> “The Horrors of Millerism: Trial of Israel Dammon,” *Portland (ME) Eastern Argus*, March 13, 1845, p. 1, cols. 2.

<sup>132</sup> See chapter 18, section 5, in *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine*, 174. Note that chapter 160, section 25, of the *Revised Statutes* did specify that rude and indecent behavior was prohibited in a “house of public worship” on “the Lord’s day.” Though the court might have ruled that the Millerite activities on February



Dover-Atkinson area sought to oppress Millerite believers with their unwritten feeling rules, apparently concerned that non-Millerites might contract what John Corrigan has called, “the virus of promiscuous feeling.”<sup>133</sup> Many of the allegations were shown to be false, but a key component of Dammon’s conviction was Harmon and Baker’s illegal act of pretended destiny-telling—even though Dammon did not receive or relate any visions himself. Therefore, while the actions of the Millerites were the primary focus of the legal proceedings, most of the testimony was technically irrelevant to Dammon’s case.

The charge of vagrancy was also suspect. Selectman Benjamin Smith did testify that the citizens in the South Dover-Atkinson area had told him that they were concerned that Dammon was in danger of becoming a town charge, but Dammon was a licensed itinerant minister, not a vagrant. Though he preached the “no-work doctrine,” he sincerely believed that the world would end within weeks. If he was wrong about Christ’s advent, he planned to supplement his ministerial labor with extra work. He was not a town charge or ward of the state; he was supported by his followers—something not atypical for a Christian minister. As a result, it seems that the charge of vagrancy was primarily levied against Dammon so that the Millerites could be stopped through legal means.

The *Piscataquis Farmer* printed its lengthy report of Dammon’s trial on March 7, 1845. Within less than a week, the Portland, Maine, *Eastern Argus* printed a condensed version of this article with additional commentary, titled, “The Horrors of Millerism: Trial of Israel Dammon.” Over a three-month period this abridged article was printed, in full or in part, in numerous newspapers and religious periodicals throughout the northeast, and at least as far west as Indiana and as far south as North Carolina. In his commentary, the editor of the *Eastern Argus* compared the Millerites with Jacob Cochran (1782–1836), who had organized a group of followers in Maine decades earlier around the doctrine of spiritual wifery, and stated that the account of Dammon’s trial in

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<sup>15</sup> were indecent, this law could not apply because they were not assembled in a public house of worship and the bulk of their meeting took place on Saturday. *Ibid.*, 688.

<sup>133</sup> John Corrigan, *Business of the Heart: Religion and Emotion in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2002), 102.

the *Argus* had to be shortened because the fuller version from the *Piscataquis Farmer* was “to[o] gross for publication.” This claim was just a scare tactic, however, as the *Argus* (and subsequent papers) retained all of the “grossest” details mentioned at the trial, including Loton Lambert’s allegation that James White and Dorinda Baker were in the back bedroom alone, his claim that Ellen Harmon “was blasphemously called the *Imitation of Christ*,” his charge that the two visionaries’ used damning language in reference to baptism, the accusation that Israel Dammon had a spiritual wife, and all the details about creeping, foot washing, hugging, and kissing, etc.<sup>134</sup> In reality, this article removed most of the details given by defense witnesses that challenged anti-Millerite claims. As a result, Millerites were truly cast in a “horrible” light, which contributed to further acts of intolerance (especially in Maine) as the news spread throughout the country.

According to Bruce Weaver, “Piscataquis County was the first to bring serious civil intervention to the fanatical Millerites of

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<sup>134</sup> Emphasis is in original. “The Horrors of Millerism: Trial of Israel Dammon,” *Portland (ME) Eastern Argus*, March 13, 1845, p. 1, cols. 2-3; cf. “The Horrors of Millerism—Trial of Israel Dammon,” *New York (NY) Herald*, March 16, 1845, p. 1, col. 5; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Newark (NJ) Daily Advertiser*, March 17, 1845, p. 2, col. 5; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Philadelphia (PA) Public Ledger*, March 17, 1845, p. 4, cols. 1-2; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Albany (NY) Evening Journal*, March 18, 1845, p. 2, col. 4; “The Horrors of Millerism—Trial of Israel Dammon,” *Baltimore (MD) American Republican and Baltimore Daily Clipper*, March 18, 1845, p. 1, cols. 2-3; “Millerism,” *Alexandria (VA) Gazette*, March 21, 1845, p. 2, col. 6; “Extracts of the Trial of Elder I. Dammon,” *Manchester (NH) Gleaner*, March 22, 1845, p. 1, cols. 2-5; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Sunbury (PA) American*, March 22, 1845, p. 2, col. 1; “The Fruits of Millerism,” *New York (NY) Observer*, March 22, 1845, p. 3, col. 1; “Millerism,” *Washington D.C. Daily National Intelligencer*, March 24, 1845, p. 2, col. 3; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Brooklyn (NY) Evening Star*, March 25, 1845, p. 1, cols. 1-2; “The Horrors of Millerism—Trial of Israel Dammon,” *Indianapolis (IN) State Sentinel*, March 27, 1845, p. 3, col. 3; “The Horrors of Millerism: Trial of Israel Dammon,” *Boston (MA) Liberator*, March 28, 1845, p. 4, cols. 3-4; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Jamestown (NY) Journal*, March 28, 1845, p. 2, col. 3; “Millerism,” *St. Albans (VT) Messenger*, April 2, 1845, p. 1, col. 3; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Asheville (NC) Messenger*, April 4, 1845, p. 1, cols. 3-4; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Poughkeepsie (NY) Journal & Eagle*, April 12, 1845, p. 1, col. 5; “Millerism in Maine,” *St. Johnsbury (VT) Caledonian*, April 14, 1845, pp. 1, 2, cols. 5, 1; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Norwalk (OH) Huron Reflector*, April 15, 1845, p. 1, cols. 6-7; “Trial of Israel Dammon,” *Cincinnati (OH) Catholic Telegraph*, April 24, 1845, p. 127, cols. 2-3; “Millerism,” *St. Albans (VT) Messenger*, April 2, 1845, p. 1, col. 3; “Millerism,” *Hillborough (NC) Recorder*, April 24, 1845, p. 2, col. 5.

Maine. This precedent was soon followed by arrests, trials, and imprisonments or guardianships in Orrington, Bangor, Paris, Norway, Poland, Woodstock, and Portland.<sup>135</sup> The situation also remained tense in the South Dover-Atkinson area after the trial. During Dammon's trial, Thomas Proctor (a close friend of James Rowe and one of those who assisted in Dammon's arrest) stated something like, "I have said I wished they [the Millerites] were broken up, and wished somebody would go and do it. I have said elder Hall [one of the Millerite leaders not present at the February 15 meeting] ought to be tarred and feathered if he was such a character as I heard he was." Dammon's trial did not stop the Advent band in Atkinson and Dammon continued to hold meetings in the town, baptizing fourteen new converts in late March.<sup>136</sup> In a rage of fury, citizens from the surrounding area (possibly including some of the anti-Millerites who testified at Dammon's trial) responded by disguising themselves as Indians and raiding the Ayer home. After forcing their way into the house they "seized and carried off several persons not supposed to belong to the town and threatened to tar and feather the [A]dventists if they held any more meetings."<sup>137</sup> A few days later, a raiding party of forty men—this time "disguised as negroes"—broke into another home in a neighboring community where Millerites were gathered and forced them to take an oath (something that went against the convictions of many Millerites) that they would never preach about Christ's second coming and then, "one after the other . . . hustled [them] out of the house."<sup>138</sup>

Acts of religious intolerance continued for the rest of the year in various places, particularly in Maine. By the end of the summer of 1845, James White stated, "We have passed through keen suffering in Maine, as a people. We have been brought before magistrates—publicly whipped—put in the jail—workhouse, and

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<sup>135</sup> Weaver, "Incident in Atkinson," 16. Kevin Morgan has found an earlier Millerite trial in Maine. "Trial of Elder Start and Mansfield," *New York Spectator*, February 1, 1845, p. 2, col. 5; Ephraim Grant, et al., "Brethren Start and Mansfield," *Advent Herald*, February 12, 1845, 8.

<sup>136</sup> "Millerism," *Brooklyn (NY) Daily Eagle*, March 28, 1845, p. 2, col. 5.

<sup>137</sup> "Atrocious Conduct," *Bangor (ME) Daily Whig and Courier*, March 31, 1845, p. 2, col. 3; cf. "Odds and Ends," *Boston (MA) Daily American Eagle*, April 3, 1845, p. 3, col. 5.

<sup>138</sup> "A Millerite Meeting Broken Up," *Newark (NJ) Daily Advertiser*, April 12, 1845, p. 2, col. 4.

families torn asunder—all to prevent us from following the Lamb.”<sup>139</sup>

Americans were fearful of Millerites long before and after Israel Dammon’s trial. In reality, the religious intolerance manifested in the South Dover-Atkinson community in the 1840s was not unique, but, to some degree, representative of similar activity around the country as a whole. Other acts of intolerance in Maine were rooted in the Israel Dammon trial, which established a legal precedent and inspired fearful citizens to take the law into their own hands.

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<sup>139</sup> James White, “Letter from Bro. White,” *The Day-Star*, September 6, 1845, 17.

## **Transcription, Translation and Contextual Presentation of the Albert Vuilleumier Correspondence available at the Historical Archives of French- speaking Adventism**

by  
**Benjamin Calmant**

### **Albert Vuilleumier, Pioneer of European Adventism**

The Historical Archives of French-speaking Adventism (HAFA) is a documentation center dedicated to the history of Adventism in France, Switzerland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. They are located on the Campus Adventiste du Salève, which also houses the Adventist Faculty of Theology that trains pastors and future leaders of the French-speaking Adventist world. The HAFA holds a number of manuscripts dating back to the early days of the Adventist work in Europe. Among these manuscripts are eight letters addressed to Albert Vuilleumier.

Albert Vuilleumier was a significant figure for both Swiss and global Adventist history. Originally from Tramelan, Switzerland, he is considered one of the three founding members of the Sabbath-keeping Adventist community in Switzerland, predating the arrival of John N. Andrews. In 1865, the independent Polish missionary Michael B. Czechowski settled in Switzerland after a fourteen-month stay in the Italian Piedmont.<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 1866,

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<sup>1</sup> For an in-depth study on the journey of Michael B. Czechowski, refer to the works available in French : Alfred Vaucher, *M.-B. Czechowski* (Collonges sous Salève: Fides, 1976) and in English: Rajmund L. Dabrowski, Bert B. Beach (éd.), *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876, Results of the Historical Symposium about his life and work held in Warsaw, Poland, May 17-23, 1976, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of his death* (Warsaw: Znaki Czasu, 1979). The primary sources used to establish the journey of Michael B. Czechowski are his own

Czechowski evangelized the commune of Tramelan, in the canton of Bern.<sup>2</sup> He met with great success there, and three families quickly decided to form a group and observe the Sabbath. These families were the Dietschy, the Guenin, and the Vuilleumier.<sup>3</sup> But in 1868, as tensions arose between the community and the missionary<sup>4</sup>, and during his absence, Vuilleumier discovered a copy of the *Review and Herald* in the vacant room of Czechowski. The people of Tramelan then realized they were not alone in observing the Sabbath and awaiting the return of Jesus. Correspondence began, ultimately completing the separation of the young community from

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periodical, *L'Évangile Éternel*, which regularly features brief missionary reports, as well as the American Adventist periodicals *Voice of the West* and *World Crisis*, to which he frequently sent letters that were published along with his missionary accounts.

<sup>2</sup> The missionary himself reports his arrival in Tramelan: Michael B. Czechowski, "Notre journée, n° 5", *L'Évangile Éternel*, September 5, 1866, 19.

<sup>3</sup> On New Year's Eve in 1866, eight individuals decided to observe the Sabbath and gather together to celebrate this day. According to Jean Vuilleumier (son of Albert Vuilleumier), those present at this meeting included Jules-Henri Guenin, Edouard Vuilleumier (Albert's brother-in-law and co-owner of the house), Lina Vuilleumier (Albert's sister and Edouard's wife), Alcide Vuilleumier (an unknown individual, possibly Edouard's brother), Luc and Abel Vuilleumier (Albert and Lina's first cousins), Albert Vuilleumier, and "Mina," his wife. See: Jean Vuilleumier, "Souvenirs intéressants sur l'origine du message adventiste en Suisse", *Le Messager*, June, 1905, 63-64. Jean Vuilleumier reaffirms this narrative about New Year's Eve in an unpublished manuscript that traces the life of his father, Jean Vuilleumier, "Albert Vuilleumier, 1835 - 1923", s.d., HAFA, boîte 1CP1, chemise n° 4, fourre n° 1, doc. 05.

<sup>4</sup> Several issues appear to have caused turmoil within the community, including matters related to money and morals. The Polish missionary incurred debts totaling several thousand francs owed to various residents of Tramelan. The HAFA holds five certificates of indebtedness as well as a telegram from Michael B. Czechowski addressed to the residents of Tramelan. See: "Dettes MBC envers AV de 500.- CHF", 16 août 1867, HAFA, DP08, "Dettes MBC envers AV de 500.- CHF", 20 juin 1867, HAFA, DP09; "Dettes MBC envers AV de 80.- CHF", 05 août 1867, HAFA, DP11, "Dettes MBC envers AV de 20.- CHF", 28 octobre 1867, HAFA, DP13 and "Télégramme MBC à AV", 06 février 1867, HAFA, DP03. In addition, he met Wilhelmine Schirmer, a German speaker who became his secretary and with whom he departed for Hungary, leaving his family in Switzerland. Jean-David Geymet, his first collaborator who came to Switzerland from Italy with Michael B. Czechowski, commented on this woman, without naming her, stating that she would cause great harm to the work. For further details, refer to Jean-David Geymet, "Petits commencements : 2e partie", *Revue Adventiste*, May 15, 1922, 118.

the missionary who departed for Hungary the following year, leaving his new converts behind in Tramelan.<sup>5</sup>

Albert Vuilleumier's house served as a meeting place and center for evangelism in Tramelan. After he sold it to his brother-in-law, the latter subsequently sold it to Jean-Georges Roth, who built the first Adventist chapel in Europe on the site. This chapel was dedicated by Ellen G. White.<sup>6</sup>

That is to say, Vuilleumier should be recognized as one of the figures through whom Seventh-day Adventism became a global movement. In 1872, the names of Albert Vuilleumier, Jules-Etienne Dietschy, and Jules-Henri Guenin are jointly signed on a letter preserved in the General Conference Archives, where a formal and explicit request to send a missionary is made on behalf of their Swiss community. This request signifies their desire to fully integrate into the Seventh-day Adventist family and move beyond mere correspondence.<sup>7</sup> The response came on August 15, 1874, during the 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Session of the General Conference, where a vote decided:

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<sup>5</sup> Jean Vuilleumier, “Premiers jours de l’oeuvre en Europe [partie 4]”, *Revue Adventiste*, June 15, 1939, 7, Jean Vuilleumier, “Albert Vuilleumier, 1835 - 1923”, 1CP1, ch. 4, f. 1, doc. 05. As early as 1883, this story is recounted in *Historical sketches of the foreign missions of the Seventh-day adventists, with reports of the European missionary councils of 1883, 1884, and 1885, and a narrative by Mrs E. G. White of her visit and labors in these missions* (Bâle: Imprimerie polyglotte, 1886), 11.

<sup>6</sup> We have the sermon of Ellen G. White's dedication dated December 25, 1886, see Ms 49, 1886. Regarding the house, we consulted the State Archives of Bern, which preserves the archives of the Courtelary district, including the land registry records relevant to our period of interest. The original house is currently located at Grand-rue 160. The land was acquired by Frédéric-Henri Vuilleumier, Albert's father, in 1838, and the house was built in 1842. Part of the land associated with this house was transferred to Albert and Edouard Vuilleumier for them to build their own house, a bakery, and a watchmaking workshop. The original house, located just across the street, was occupied by the father and his daughter Sophie, who was married to Jules-Etienne Dietschy. In 1872, Albert and his family moved and settled in the vicinity of Neuchâtel. There is a record of an advertisement for the sale of the house in the *National Suisse*. It appears that Edouard Vuilleumier eventually bought the house entirely from his brother-in-law. It was in 1876 that Jean-Georges Roth acquired it. He subsequently established his business there.

<sup>7</sup> Albert Vuilleumier, Jules-Etienne Dietschy, Jules-Henri Guenin, “Bien aimés frères en notre Seigneur Jésus !”, 29 novembre 1872, General Conference Archives, box 13721D.

RESOLVED, That the General Conference, feeling the same interest in the Swiss Mission that has been expressed in former sessions, instruct the Executive Committee to send Elder J. N. Andrews to Switzerland as soon as practicable<sup>8</sup>

That same year, Andrews departed for Switzerland and stayed with Vuilleumier in La Coudre, near Neuchâtel.<sup>9</sup> Vuilleumier also left a legacy to global Adventism through his son, Jean Vuilleumier, who significantly influenced the history of the Church. He served as an assistant to Andrews and was a pioneer in Argentina and Uruguay, where he advanced the publication work in Spanish. Upon returning to Europe, he worked as an evangelist and, notably, as the editor-in-chief of *Le Messager* and later *La Revue adventiste*. He also served as the director of the Adventist Bible School before it relocated to Collonges-sous-Salève.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the name of Albert Vuilleumier is intrinsically linked with the inception and expansion of Adventism in Switzerland, Europe, and worldwide.

### **Brief Biography of Albert Vuilleumier**

The HAFA in Collonges-sous-Salève holds the Vuilleumier collection (catalog number 1CP1), which primarily consists of documents concerning Jean Vuilleumier, Albert's son. Jean Vuilleumier took care to preserve documents about his father, including producing a typescript based on his father's notes, which

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<sup>8</sup> "Transcription of minutes of GC sessions from 1863 to 1888", Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, accessed april 29, 2024, <https://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/GCSessionBulletins/GCB1863-88.pdf>.

<sup>9</sup> For more details on John N. Andrews' arrival in Switzerland and his reception by the Vuilleumier family, refer to the chapter "A Rookie Missionary in Neuchatel: 1874-1876" in Gilbert M. Valentine, *J. N. Andrews, Mission Pioneer, Evangelist and Thought Leader* (Nampa: Pacific Press, 2019), 535-567. The chapter begins with the arrival of the American missionary in Swiss territory. Gilbert M. Valentine makes a slight error regarding the composition of the Vuilleumier family. Luc ("Lukas") is the brother of Adémar, not his father. Both are second cousins of Albert. This means that Albert's father (Frédéric Henri Vuilleumier) and Luc and Adémar's father (Benoit Vuilleumier) share the same grandfather (Abraham Vuilleumier). We reconstructed the Vuilleumier family tree through marriage and birth records provided by the ExpoActes database, made available by the *Cercle généalogique de l'ancien Evêché de Bâle* for its members.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Gerber, "Jean Vuilleumier", *Revue Adventiste*, January 15, 1957, 9, and 14-15.



recounts his life. The following biographical elements are primarily derived from this typescript.<sup>11</sup>

Albert Vuilleumier was born on May 8, 1835, in Tramelan, to Frédéric-Henri Vuilleumier and Elisabeth Joly. In 1848 and 1849, at the age of 13, he went to the German-speaking part of Switzerland to perfect his knowledge of Goethe's language, a customary practice in the region. He traveled to the countryside around Basel. During his childhood, he was bitten by a spider, causing him to suffer from intermittent fevers. He also participated in the local brass band as a trumpeter. Later, he performed his military service and attained the rank of sergeant major. Albert became a watchmaker and worked with his father.<sup>12</sup>

On October 4, 1862, he married a woman named Wilhemine, affectionately known as Mina. According to his son, he met his future wife on a day when he visited the farmer with whom he had stayed during his youth to improve his German. She opened a bakery in the house that Vuilleumier and his brother-in-law Edouard built, opposite his father's house. Their first son, Jean, was born on September 5, 1864.

Albert was a parishioner of the Reformed Church of the Canton of Bern, also known as the National Church. However, he is said to have participated in meetings at the Swiss Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in London. According to Anna De Prato and Jean Vuilleumier, Albert had just returned from a trip to England immediately before the Polish missionary arrived in Tramelan. According to Anna De Prato, he was "troubled by the discussions between the National Church and the Free Church<sup>13</sup>". His son recounts that, following this trip, Albert decided to abandon dancing and dedicate himself to reading the Bible. Albert was thus

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<sup>11</sup> Jean Vuilleumier, "Albert Vuilleumier, 1835 - 1923", 1CP1, ch. 4, f. 1, doc. 05.

<sup>12</sup> The Davoine directory is a periodical listing various trades, including the watchmaking sector, in Switzerland. The mention of Vuilleumier-Joly appears as early as 1851, and Albert Vuilleumier is listed starting in 1865, alongside Edouard Vuilleumier, his brother-in-law and business partner.

<sup>13</sup> The early 19th century was a tumultuous period for religion in Switzerland. The first Revival in Geneva began in 1815, and in 1845, the Free Church of the Canton of Vaud was established, separating from the National Church. Historians refer to the religious movements within Swiss Protestantism during this period as "fractures." For further reading, see Jean-Pierre Bastian, Christian Grosse, Sarah Scholl (éd.), *Les fractures protestantes en Suisse romande au XIXe siècle* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2021).

on a spiritual journey and was questioning his faith at that time.<sup>14</sup> All of this occurred shortly before the summer of 1866, when a stranger arrived in Tramelan.

Albert meets Michael Czechowski in the summer of 1866 through his other brother-in-law, Jules-Etienne Dietschy. He participates in and hosts several study and prayer meetings with the Polish missionary in his house and watchmaking workshop, and attends debates. Along with other families in Tramelan, he decides to form a Sabbath-keeping group by New Year's Day 1866. He was baptized on Saturday, August 3, 1867, in Lake Neuchâtel. On September 15, 1867, Vuilleumier was ordained to the ministry.<sup>15</sup>

Vuilleumier also became a generous supporter of the Polish missionary's ministry. The HAFA holds certificate of indebtedness, five of which are addressed to Vuilleumier totaling 1,500 CHF. This was a significant amount considering that a worker in the watchmaking sector earned about 1.30 CHF per day of work during that time in that region.<sup>16</sup> This financial support likely played a role in the dynamics of distrust between the young community and the missionary when he was unable to pay back.

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<sup>14</sup> Anna De Prato, "Origine du 'sabbatisme' ou plutôt de l'Adventisme du septième jour en Europe", *Revue Adventiste*, December 1, 1922, 304, and Jean Vuilleumier, "Premiers jours de l'oeuvre en Europe [partie 2]", *Revue Adventiste*, May 15, 1939, 2. Albert returned from England "a few months before September" 1866, according to Jean Vuilleumier.

<sup>15</sup> Michael B. Czechowski, "Mission, n° 50", *L'Evangile Eternel*, September 20, 1867, 50 and Michael B. Czechowski, "Mission Letters from Switzerland : Number Nineteen", *World Crisis*, October 23, 1867, 22.

<sup>16</sup> According to an article in the *Revue syndicale suisse* citing "Dr. Schuler's" 1905 factory inspection report, which includes a table listing wages for 10 to 11-hour workdays in Eastern Switzerland in 1893-94, 60% of workers in the watchmaking sector earned up to 2.- CHF per day, while 27% earned between 2.- and 4.- CHF. Refer to "Les salaires en Suisse avant 1900", *Revue syndicale suisse : organe de l'Union syndicale suisse* 1 (1909): 103. Additionally, according to the table "Indices des salaires par secteur (agriculture, industrie), branches (industrie) et canton (Zurich, Glaris, Bâle-Ville), de 1815 à 1890: estimations de Bernegger et de H. Ritzmann" provided by *Statistique historique de la Suisse*, in 1867 were approximately 60% of those in 1890. See "Tab. G.2 : Indices des salaires par secteur (agriculture, industrie), branches (industrie) et canton (Zurich, Glaris, Bâle-Ville), de 1815 à 1890: estimations de Bernegger et de H. Ritzmann", *Statistique historique de la suisse* hssso, 2012, accessed April 29, 2024, [hssso.ch/2012/g/2](https://hssso.ch/2012/g/2). Therefore, it is estimated that the average daily wage was around 1.30 CHF during that period.

Between January and July 1868, Vuilleumier discovered a copy of the *Review and Herald* in the vacant room of Czechowski, who had been absent for some time. Albert decides to write to the American brethren, initiating a correspondence much to the dismay of the independent missionary who now has to explain himself. In 1869, he was invited to come to the United States to attend a general conference. With his wife pregnant at the time, he decides to yield his place to a young recently converted missionary whom he had baptized, Jakob Erzberger.

Between 1868 and 1874, Vuilleumier's life experienced several upheavals. Jacques Frei mentions the bankruptcy of the bank Vuilleumier was associated with, resulting in significant financial losses for him. According to Jacques Frei, this explains Albert's desire to seek reimbursement and the end of his support for the Polish missionary.<sup>17</sup> Vuilleumier also faced the bankruptcy of his bakery, which he had closed on Saturdays due to his new religious conviction.<sup>18</sup> Alongside the bank's bankruptcy, which caused substantial financial setbacks, this likely contributed to his decision to leave Tramelan and settle in Neuchâtel.

Beyond financial concerns, Albert's personal life was also challenging. On August 4, 1869, he lost his fourth child, Myrte, at the age of two. Another child, Jacques, was born two weeks later, but he too passed away at the age of two in 1871. The following year, another son named Jacques was born, but he also died before reaching the age of one in 1873. So between 1869 and 1873, Albert experienced the deaths of three young children.<sup>19</sup> In 1872, he moved to the canton of Neuchâtel, where he would host and accommodate Andrews two years later.

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<sup>17</sup> Rajmund L. Dabrowski, Bert B. Beach (éd.), *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876*, 226. Cependant, Jacques Frei does not provide any sources to substantiate this claim regarding the bank's bankruptcy.

<sup>18</sup> An article in the *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâtoise de Généalogie* asserts that the business did not survive this decision. See Jean-Philippe Vuilleumier, "Trois parcours Vuilleumier", *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâtoise de Généalogie* 22 (2024): 37.

<sup>19</sup> See *below*, letter dated April 15, 1879 (DP 31), John N. Andrews addresses Albert Vuilleumier shortly after he buried his daughter. He mentions that he knows Albert understands what he is going through at this moment, most likely referring to the children Albert himself had to bury.

On September 23, 1885, Vuilleumier was officially ordained as a pastor of the church. Ellen White was present at this ceremony. In a letter from 1885 addressed to George Butler, she states, "I believe him to be an excellent man".<sup>20</sup> In 1886, he was listed in the *Yearbook* as a member of the Executive Committee of the Foreign Mission Board in Switzerland.

He then worked for four years in Geneva. On September 29, 1896, he departed for the United States and remained there for eight years. In October 1904, he returned to Europe and settled in Gland in April 1905. His wife passed away in December 1906. In 1907, he moved to Geneva to live with Elise, his eldest daughter. In April 1910, he returned to Gland and passed away in 1923.<sup>21</sup>

### **The Correspondence of Albert Vuilleumier**

The HAFA therefore possesses eight letters addressed to Albert Vuilleumier. Here is the list of manuscripts:<sup>22</sup>

- Michael B. Czechowski (MBC) to Albert Vuilleumier (AV), February 6, 1867, DP06
- MBC to AV, March 31, 1867, DP04
- Wilhemine Schirmer (WS) to AV, December 13, 1867, DP14
- MBC to AV, July 5, 1868, DP02
- MBC to AV, December 15, 1868, DP07
- John N. Andrews (JNA) to AV, January 15, 1878, DP32
- JNA to AV, April 15, 1879, DP31
- Uriah Smith (US) to AV, February 28, 1895, 1CP7, Ch. 1, f.

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<sup>20</sup> Ellen G. White, Lt 23, 1885. For Ellen G. White's presence at Albert's ordination, refer to Ms 24, 1885. Jacques Frei errs in his chapter on Michael B. Czechowski in Europe when he mentions Ellen White criticizing the character of Albert Vuilleumier. He confuses Albert with Adémar, as the letter refers to "brother A. Vuilleumier." However, this actually pertains to Adémar, as indicated by the context of the individual who spent several weeks with the Whites. See Rajmund L. Dabrowski, Bert B. BEACH (éd.), *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876*, 262.

<sup>21</sup> All these details are sourced from the notes of Jean Vuilleumier, "Albert Vuilleumier, 1835 - 1923", boîte 1CP1, ch. 4, f. 1, doc 05 and Albert Vuilleumier, "Diverses datations en notes manuscrites", 1910, HAFA, boîte 1CP1, chemise n° 4, foure n° 2, doc 07.

<sup>22</sup> The last bibliographic element corresponds to the document reference number at the HAFA.

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We propose, in this article, to present each of these manuscripts in chronological order and in the following manner:

- Transliteration of the letter
- Translation of the letter (when it is in French)
- Presentation of the individuals involved and the context
- Brief commentary on its content
- Interest of the letter for historical research

At the end of the article in the Appendix, the originals scanned by the Hafa will be included. During the transliterations, we were not able to completely decipher words that either appear in a difficult-to-read script or on a letter damaged by time. We rely on our archival and historical colleagues to enlighten us or correct us in this work. The transcription is done line by line to easily identify the text in the original if necessary. Thus, we indicate the corresponding line number that we refer to on the scanned original.

**MBC to AV, February 6, 1867, DP06**

*Transliteration of the letter*

- 1 St Blaise le 6 fev. 1867
- 2 Cher frère Vuilleumier
- 3 Vous voyez la réponse indigne qu'il m'ont
- 4 envoyé [ce soir] de Bâle. Pour ne pas perdre
- 5 le temps je prie la liberté de vous envoyer
- 6 télégramme même soiré pour me prêter les
- 7 400 francs que je vous rembourserai en 6 mois
- 8 avec l'intérêt, avec un aide de Dieu, pour le
- 9 [sure] : et je vous serez obligé tant que je [vivrai]
- 10 [pour votre] bonté de pouvoir m'aider de
- 11 sauver la cause de l'Eternel ainsi que

12 ma pauvre famille souffrante.  
13 Aussitôt donc que vous m'enverrez de  
14 l'argent je partirai, Dieu voulant, moi  
15 même à Bâle pour choisir des caractères  
16 et de payer pour. Ils ont confiance aux  
17 mechants, voilà pourquoi ils font des faillites.  
18 J'ai [calculé] de partir vendredi matin, si je  
19 puisse recevoir vous de l'argent au plutôt;  
20 car vraiment il me est impossible de con-  
21 -tinuer plus longtemps imprimer notre jour-  
22 -nal par des pauvres mercenaires.

23 Pardonnez vous moi mon importune  
24 et recevez mes les plus xxxxxx salutations  
25 de votre fidèle frère en Christ  
26 M.B. Czechowski

*English translation*

1 St. Blaise, February 6, 1867

2 Dear Brother Vuilleumier,

3 You see the unworthy response they have  
4 sent me this evening from Basel. To not waste  
5 time, I take the liberty of sending you a  
6 telegram the same evening to ask you to lend me  
7 400 francs, which I will repay in 6 months  
8 with interest, with the help of God, for  
9 sure: and I will be obliged to you as long as I live  
10 for your kindness in helping me to  
11 save the cause of the Lord as well as  
12 my suffering poor family.  
13 As soon as you send me  
14 Some money, I will leave, God willing, myself  
15 to Basel to choose the characters  
16 and pay for. They trust in the  
17 wicked, that's why they go bankrupt.  
18 I intend to leave Friday morning, if I  
19 can receive the money from you as soon as possible;  
20 for truly it is impossible for me to con-  
21 -tinue printing our re-

- 22 -view any longer with poor mercenaries.
- 23 Forgive me for my intrusion  
24 and accept my most xxxxxx salutations  
25 from your faithful brother in Christ,  
26 M.B. Czechowski

*Context and individuals*

Dated February 6, 1867, this letter is part of the context of the publication *L'Évangile Éternel* launched in June 1866. According to Jean Vuilleumier, initially Czechowski had his weekly printed by several printing companies. Then, starting from February 20, 1867, with issue number 26, the printing was done directly in Saint-Blaise.<sup>23</sup> This is precisely where the letter comes into play.

On January 15, 1867, a missionary report was published by the Polish missionary in the columns of *Voice of the West*. It mentions a donation of 600.- CHF given to him by some of his converted followers from Tramelan to enable him to print his journal independently rather than through printers. In his own periodical around the same time, he refers to 'three brothers from Tramelan' who visited him and made a donation. It is likely that these events are connected, explaining why Czechowski turns to Vuilleumier to resolve his issue<sup>24</sup>.

Czechowski reportedly traveled to Basel to order the plates necessary for printing. However, he believed that he would not be required to pay immediately. An accompanying letter to the present one details what the printer demands from Czechowski. The foundry insists that their client provide either a guarantee from a

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<sup>23</sup> According to Jean Vuilleumier, *L'Évangile Éternel* was first printed in Grandson until September 26, 1866, then at Neuville, at Guebhardt's, from October 3 to December 19 of the same year, and finally at the mission's printing press in Saint-Blaise from February 20, 1867, to December 25, 1868. See Jean Vuilleumier, "Premiers jours de l'œuvre en Europe [partie 2]", 7.

<sup>24</sup> Michael B. Czechowski, "Notre journée, n° 7", *L'Évangile Éternel*, September 19, 1866, 27. The names of the three individuals from Tramelan are not known. However, considering that (1) Albert Vuilleumier and Jules-Etienne Dietschy are recognized as financial supporters, (2) Jules-Henri Guenin is a subscriber to the weekly publication, (3) these three individuals are consistently mentioned, and (4) Jules-Etienne Dietschy is referred to earlier in the article along with his "brother-in-law" (i.e., Albert Vuilleumier), it is highly likely that the "three brothers from Tramelan" are none other than Albert, Jules-Etienne, and Jules-Henri.

solvent individual or payment of half the amount in advance, which is 300.- CHF. It is this demand that the missionary laments in his letter to Vuilleumier.

The AHAF also possess a telegram dated February 6<sup>th</sup> requesting Vuilleumier to send 400.- CHF.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, Czechowski requests a significant amount of money via telegram and sends a letter composed of the foundry's letter along with his own explanations and commitment to pay back.

In the letter, he mentions a repayment period of six months, which roughly corresponds to July 1867. However, during this period, it is actually four more certificate of indebtedness that will be signed by Czechowski for a total amount of 1,500.- CHF.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Brief commentary*

The letter is very short with highly approximate French, which does not resemble Czechowski's usual writing. We know he usually had his work proofread. However, in this urgent context, the French errors betray the missionary's stress.

This is also the first letter that gives us a glimpse of the miserabilist style the author tends to adopt when events do not turn in his favor. Here, he victimizes himself, calling the merchants "wicked" and wishing them bankruptcy. He fails to understand the fairness and justice of his interlocutors' demands. It seems that Czechowski deals with adversity through emotion and exaggeration.

When he says "I will be obliged to you as long as I live" and that Albert's help will save him and his family, he falls into the register of pity, trying to elicit sympathy from his reader. This style of exaggeration and victimization appears in several letters. In the one from July 5, 1868, he reproaches Vuilleumier for contacting America, and in the one from December 15, 1868, he recounts a pitiful journey, shunned by all the villages. There is also a letter

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<sup>25</sup> Michael B. Czechowski, "Télégramme de M.B. Czechowski à Albert Vuilleumier", DP03.

<sup>26</sup> "Dette MBC envers AV de 500.- CHF", DP08, "Dette MBC envers AV de 500.- CHF", DP09; "Dette MBC envers AV de 80.- CHF", DP11, "Dette MBC envers AV de 20.- CHF", DP13. In addition to these acknowledgments of debt, there is the "Télégramme MBC à AV", DP03 as well as the letter from Wilhemine Schirmer dated December 13, 1867 (DP14) which discuss loans of money. In total, it amounts to 2,000 CHF.



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written from Zurich to Anna Butler five days before her death, in which he claims to be her only friend and persecuted by the Tramelots.<sup>27</sup>

*Interest of the letter for historical research*

This letter documents the beginning of Czechowski's debt spiral in Switzerland. It is also an additional document in the accusations of mismanagement that have been made against him since his ministry in America. Through this letter, we can assess how he dealt with the problems he likely created himself due to his naivety in business matters.

**MBC to AV, March 31, 1867, DP04**

*Transliteration of the letter*

1 St Blaise le 31, mars, 1867

2 Très cher frère Vuilleumier,

3 En revenant ce soir d'une assem-  
4 -blée à Fleurier j'ai eu le bonheur de recevoir votre  
5 lettre fraternelle, à laquelle je répond à l'instant.  
6 1° Que nous, comme un vrai peuple de Dieu, nous  
7 devons suivre strictement les commandements qui  
8 nous sont présentés par le souverain Roi des rois  
9 dans sa Sainte Parole. Voilà pourquoi je ré-  
10 -pète que, comme la vraie Eglise de Dieu nous  
11 devons prendre garde à tous les genres de fan-  
12 -atismes qui [corrompent] les sectes par les faux  
13 prophètes qui faussent les Ste Ecritures et ex-  
14 -posent ainsi la vraie religion de l'Eternel au  
15 ridicule et à la haine.

16 Comme Peuple de Dieu nous devons suivre  
17 sa Sainte Parole comme elle nous est présenté  
18 "Ayant une conduite honnête de ... (Voyez 1 Pierre,  
19 chap. II, 12-17.) Et comme témoignage, lisez  
20 tous les textes que j'ai vous mentionne ici à

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<sup>27</sup> Lettre MBC à AEB, 18 août 1868, AHAF, DP05.

21 la hâte : 2 Cor, II, 23 ; XI, 31 ; Rom, I, 9 ; IX, xxx ;  
22 Gal, I, 20 ; Philip, I, 8 ; 1 Thess, II, 5, 10 ; 1 Timo, V, 21 ;  
23 2 Timo, IV, 1. Vous verrez par ces textes, qu'il est  
24 permis de prêter serment pour dire la vérité.

25 La Parole du Seigneur, qui nous enseigne dans  
26 l'évangile selon St Matthieu, chap V, 33-36, n'a  
27 aucune connexion avec le serment que nous  
28 devons faire devant les tribunaux pour éta-  
29 -blir la vérité. Le Seigneur dit [positivement]  
30 au verset 33 : "Vous avez aussi appris qu'il a  
31 été dit aux anciens : ..."tu ne parjureras  
32 point xxx, ... Quel parjure faisaient-ils  
33 les anciens ? (Voyez la réponse dans le Nombre  
34 XXX, 3 ; Deut, XXIII, 23). Les deux témoignages  
35 nous prouvent que les anciens faisaient des  
36 voeux par toute sorte de chose, et qu'ils  
37 n'étaient pas capable de garder. De cette façon  
38 ils [réglèrent] leur serment.

39 Ainsi donc, le Seigneur nous apprend dans  
40 St Matthieu V, qu'il nous est défendu de faire  
41 de tels voeux ou serments, car si ce texte de St  
42 Matthieu nous fait commettre un péché, alors

[page 2]

1 St Paul s'est rendu extrêmement coupable.

2 Ma conclusion donc est que notre très cher frère  
3 A.- et chacun des membres de la vraie  
4 Eglise de Dieu, aussi longtemps que nous serons  
5 citoyens de cette terre, il nous est permis de  
6 rendre hommage à la vérité comme il convient  
7 à une conscience pure et honnête.

8 Profitant de cette occasion, j'ai l'honneur  
9 d'ajouter, pour la consolation de l'Eglise  
10 notre mission dans le village de Foug où je  
11 donne des séances tous les lundis soir, est  
12 abondamment béni de Dieu.

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13 Ces champs de la vigne du Seigneur  
14 ont été ouvert par frère Geymet, qui travaille  
15 maintenant dans les environs de Lucens.  
  
16 Priez Dieu pour ce nouvel endroit, et pour  
17 nous. Milles salutations à tous les élus  
18 de Dieu et principalement à votre épouse et xxx.  
  
19 Votre affectionné frère en Jésus C.  
20 M. B. Czechowski

*English translation*

1 St. Blaise, March 31, 1867  
  
2 Very dear Brother Wuilleumier,  
  
3 Returning this evening from a meet-  
4 -ing in Fleurier, I had the joy of receiving your  
5 fraternal letter, to which I am responding immediately.  
6 1° That we, as a true people of God, must  
7 strictly follow the commandments  
8 presented to us by the sovereign King of kings  
9 in His Holy Word. That is why I re-  
10 -peat that, as the true Church of God, we  
11 must beware of all kinds of fa-  
12 -naticism that corrupt the sects through false  
13 prophets who distort the Holy Scriptures and thus ex-  
14 -pose the true religion of the Eternal to  
15 ridicule and hatred.  
  
16 As the People of God, we must follow  
17 His Holy Word as it is presented to us  
18 “Having your conversation honest among ...” (See 1 Peter,  
19 chap. II, 12-17.) And as a testimony, read  
20 all the texts I have mentioned to you here in  
21 haste: 2 Cor, II, 23; XI, 31; Rom, I, 9; IX, xxx;  
22 Gal, I, 20; Phil, I, 8; 1 Thess, II, 5, 10; 1 Tim, V, 21;  
23 2 Tim, IV, 1. You will see by these texts that it is  
24 permitted to take an oath to tell the truth.

25 The Word of the Lord, which teaches us in  
26 the Gospel according to St. Matthew, chap. V, 33-36, has  
27 no connection with the oath we  
28 must take before the courts to estab-  
29 -lish the truth. The Lord says positively  
30 in verse 33: "You have also heard that it was  
31 said to the ancients, '... you shall not forswear  
32 xxxxx ...'" What perjury did the  
33 ancients commit? (See the answer in Numbers  
34 XXX, 3; Deut, XXIII, 23). The two testimonies  
35 show us that the ancients made  
36 vows by all sorts of things which they  
37 were not able to keep. In this way,  
38 they regulated their oath.

39 Therefore, the Lord teaches us in  
40 St. Matthew V, that it is forbidden to make  
41 such vows or oaths, for if this text from St.  
42 Matthew made us commit a sin, then

[page 2]

1 St. Paul would have been extremely guilty.

2 My conclusion, therefore, is that our very dear brother  
3 A.- and each member of the true  
4 Church of God, as long as we are  
5 citizens of this earth, it is permitted for us to  
6 pay homage to the truth as befits  
7 a pure and honest conscience.

8 Taking this opportunity, I have the honor  
9 to add, for the consolation of the Church,  
10 that our mission in the village of Foug, where I  
11 hold meetings every Monday evening, is  
12 abundantly blessed by God.

13 These fields of the Lord's vineyard  
14 were opened by Brother Geymet, who now works  
15 in the vicinity of Lucens.

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16 Pray to God for this new place, and for  
17 us. A thousand greetings to all the elect  
18 of God and especially to your wife and xxx.

19 Your affectionate brother in Jesus Christ,  
20 M. B. Czechowski

*Context and individuals*

The letter begins with Albert Vuilleumier's name written as "Vuilleumier." Both spellings are attested, but the form "Vuilleumier" is the more modern and enduring one.<sup>28</sup> The letter also mentions "brother A.-". The construction of the sentence in French is surprising. On page 2, line 5, we would expect an action verb. However, Czechowski introduces a third-person pronoun here. This is likely a mistake in French. It should rather be read as "Ma conclusion est donc pour notre très cher frère A.- et chacun des membres ... qu'il nous est permis" ("My conclusion is therefore for our dear brother A.- and each of the members... that it is allowed for us"). Thus, the "dear brother A.-" would be none other than Albert Vuilleumier himself.

The entire letter seems to be a response to a question we do not have. It concerns the issue of swearing an oath. In fact, Vuilleumier seems to pose the same question to Uriah Smith in his letter dated February 28, 1895 (see *below*, 1CP7). It is possible to assume that if he is concerned with this question, it is probably due to personal relationships he may have with Mennonites. Indeed, this movement, stemming from the Radical Reformation, Anabaptism, in its peaceful version promoted by Menno Simons, is characterized, among other things, by the refusal to take oaths.<sup>29</sup> It turns out that very early on, the Anabaptists and the Mennonites

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<sup>28</sup> According to a work by a certain A. Vuilleumier, pastor and descendant of the Vaud branch of this family, the surname was originally written as Williomier, Vuilliomier, Vuillomier, and finally Vuilleumier "with the V or the W." See A. Vuilleumier, "Recherche généalogique sur la branche d'Allaman des Vuilleumiers", s. d., HAFA, 1CP1, Chemise n° 4, fourre n° 2, doc. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Pierre Bühler, article "Mennonisme", in *Encyclopédie du protestantisme*, 2e éd. rev., corr.augm. (Paris: PUF, Genève: Labor et Fides, 2006), 882. See also Lukas Vischer (éd.), *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : une perspective oecuménique* (Genève: Labor et Fides, Fribourg: Saint-Paul, 1995), 110-111.

found refuge in what was then called the *Evêché de Bâle* ("Bishopric of Basel"), fleeing persecutions from Zurich and Bern.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of the letter, Czechowski mentions the village of Faoug, a small village in the canton of Vaud on the other side of Lake Neuchâtel from Grandson and Saint-Blaise. By following his missionary reports, it is possible to trace the missionary journey in this region. In a letter dated March 8, 1867, and published in *World Crisis*, the missionary also mentions Jean-David Geymet working near Lake Murten. In another letter dated May 16, 1867, again published in *World Crisis*, he explicitly mentions the village of Faoug.<sup>31</sup>

This missionary tour will not be without consequence for the rest of his ministry, as it is on this occasion that he meets Wilhemine Schirmer. In the letter dated May 16, 1867, he mentions her and describes her as "a young lady, a teacher from the city of Cassel (...) of noble character and excellent abilities, well educated in the German and French languages." This is not the impression that Jean-David Geymet will retain. He reports:

There was a German teacher, Miss S., who accepted the truth. Of an exalted character, she believed she was called to do great things and became Brother Czechowski's associate, which led to his downfall.<sup>32</sup>

#### *Brief commentary*

This reply-letter uses the term 'testimonies' to refer to arguments supporting the defended thesis. Here, we see the restorationist vocabulary of the early Adventists.

However, perhaps the most interesting passage is when he mentions the 'true Church' in opposition to 'fanaticisms' and 'sects'. This discourse is surprising and may be somewhat unaware. He is in Protestant land where churches are national. The very fact that he is in Switzerland and freely preaching his message naturally categorizes him as a dissenter and sectarian. From the established

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<sup>30</sup> Charles-A. Simon, *Le Jura protestant de la Réforme à nos jours* (Porrentruy: Ed. Jurassiennes de "La Vie Protestante", 1951), 192-207 and Roland Stähli, *Histoire de Tramelan, Le village qu'ils aimaient*, vol. tome 1 (Tramelan: Commune de Tramelan, 1978), 139.

<sup>31</sup> Michael B. Czechowski, "Italy", *World Crisis*, April 3, 1867, 10 and Michael B. Czechowski, "Mission Letters from Switzerland : Number Sixteen", *World Crisis*, June 19, 1867, 54. He writes "Foug" instead of "Faoug."

<sup>32</sup> Jean-David Geymet, "Petits commencements : 2e partie", 117.

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Church's point of view, he is a fanatic. Ernest Marti, a Reformed pastor and historian, for example, wrote:

“(…) The Sabbatarians and various perfectionist sects openly display a hostile attitude towards the National Church (...) [and] seek to impose themselves by all means necessary. This includes young women infiltrating among the sick, disturbing them with various discourses, and not hesitating to shout certain words to the dying and demanding a confession of sins, even from elderly patients.”<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, Pastor Charles-A. Simon, also historian of protestant church in Jura, holds the view that: “Some principles of Protestantism (...) foster the creation of independent religious groups on the margins of the majority Church, which appear alongside it as dissident movements or sects (...)”<sup>34</sup>

We must remember that we often perceive others as more sectarian than ourselves. Czechowski may demonstrate naivety or ignorance by labeling other communities as sects, without fully appreciating how institutional churches perceive his own ministry. This could betray a personality trait that could be described as arrogant.

*Interest of the letter for historical research*

This letter reveals one of the important aspects of the Polish missionary's work. Both in the columns of *L'Évangile Éternel* and in private correspondence, he serves as a teacher and apologist. He receives questions and takes the time to respond to them. In doing so, these responses provide us with more details about his theology and his method of interpreting the Bible.

**WS to AV, December 13, 1867, DP14**

*Transliteration of the letter*

1 Très cher frère Albert

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<sup>33</sup> Ernest Marti, *Le pays bernois et son église, Rapport sur la vie ecclésiastique, religieuse et morale de l'Eglise nationale bernoise de 1910-1920* (Neuveville: Ed. Beerstecher, 1922), 131.

<sup>34</sup> Charles-A. SIMON, *Le Jura protestant de la Réforme à nos jours*, 329.

2 Pour ma part je vous remerci de la  
3 bonté que vous avez eu en nous en-  
4 -voyant le billet de cinq cents francs  
5 pour nous sortir d'inquiétude [et] faire  
6 honneur à la signature de notre cher  
7 frère ; Mais il me fallait une bonne  
8 signature pour pouvoir l'escompter  
9 n'étant pas connue à Neuchâtel, et  
10 je vous assure que ça n'a pas été sans  
11 peine. [Satan] fait tous ses efforts, et  
12 par tous les moyens possibles, il nous  
13 veut [nuirent]. Mais grâce à Dieu  
14 j'ai put payer <sup>les 450 frs</sup> dus le 11 à Mre [Lambelet].  
15 Ludomir était avec moi.  
16 Nous avons tous été heureux et moi  
17 la première d'avoir de vos nouvelles  
18 par frère Jean. Je [crois] cher frère  
19 qu'il sera très important et très nécessaire  
20 que vous nous donniez un jour ou deux

[page 2]

1 quand [vos] affaires [vous] le permettrons.  
2 Dieu a confié dans nos faibles mains  
3 une mission grande et très solennelle  
4 et chacun de nous petits et grands doit  
5 y travailler chacun en son rang ; Et Dieu  
6 nous en redemandera compte [comment]  
7 nous aurons pris soin de la gloire de  
8 son grand Nom ; il est donc très  
9 important que toutes nos affaires  
10 dans nos maisons se fassent et se  
11 passent toutes pour la gloire de  
12 Dieu, quand toutes choses nous [soyons]  
13 lumière au monde. Il nous faut  
14 commencer par les enfants qui sont  
15 un sujet bien important dans la  
16 maison. Surtout Michel qui [avec]  
17 son mauvais caractère, subit encore  
18 la mauvaise influence de sa mère  
19 que tout le bien que nous voulons



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20 faire est détruit par le mal que  
21 leur malheureuse mère leur fait.  
22 Je ne finirai pas ma lettre si  
23 je voulais entrer dans les détails  
24 que je n'ai pas le temps de vous  
25 donner ; Dieu sait et [connait]

[page 3]

1 que mon besoin est grand pour désire(r)  
2 de tout mon cœur que les  
3 choses soient autrement, car  
4 je souffre beaucoup ! Nous  
5 avons un grand besoin de vous voir.

6 Saluez je vous prie de  
7 notre part tous les frères  
8 et sœurs cordialement.

9 Recevez cher frère en  
10 particulier mes bonnes  
11 salutations de votre soeur  
12 en Jésus Christ

13 St Blaise le 13 décembre  
14 67

15 Très à la hâte

*English translation*

1 Very dear Brother Albert  
  
2 For my part, I thank you for the  
3 kindness you showed in send-  
4 -ing us the five hundred franc note  
5 to alleviate our worries and to  
6 honor the signature of our dear  
7 brother. But I needed a good  
8 signature to be able to cash it  
9 as I am not known in Neuchâtel, and  
10 I assure you it was not without

11 difficulty. Satan exerts all his efforts, and  
12 by all possible means, he wants  
13 to harm us. But thanks to God  
14 I was able to pay the 450 francs due on the 11th to Mr.  
Lambelet.  
15 Ludomir was with me.

16 We were all delighted and I  
17 the most to have news from you  
18 through Brother Jean. I believe, dear brother,  
19 that it will be very important and very necessary  
20 for you to give us a day or two

[page 2]

1 when your affairs permit it.  
2 God has entrusted to our weak hands  
3 a great and very solemn mission  
4 and each of us, young and old, must  
5 work on it each in our own way; And God  
6 will ask us how we  
7 have cared for the glory of  
8 His great Name; it is therefore very  
9 important that all our affairs  
10 in our homes be conducted  
11 for the glory of  
12 God, so that in all things we  
13 may be light to the world. We must  
14 start with the children, who are a  
15 very important subject in the  
16 household. Especially Michel who,  
17 with his bad character, still suffers  
18 the bad influence of his mother  
19 to the extent that all the good we want  
20 to do is destroyed by the harm  
21 their unfortunate mother does to them.  
22 I would not finish my letter if  
23 I were to go into details  
24 that I do not have time to  
25 give you; God knows and understands

[page 3]

1 that my need is great and I desire  
2 with all my heart that things  
3 would be different, for  
4 I suffer greatly! We  
5 have a great need to see you.

6 Greet, please,  
7 all the brothers  
8 and sisters cordially on our behalf.

9 Receive, dear brother, in  
10 particular my kind  
11 greetings from your sister  
12 in Jesus Christ

13 St. Blaise, December 13,  
14 67

15 In great haste

*Context and individuals*

The letter is written by Wilhemine Schirmer. We have already discussed her background—a German-language teacher residing in the village of Faoug during the evangelistic efforts of Czechowski and Jean-David Geymet in the region between March and May 1867. She was baptized during the third baptism session on April 27, 1867.<sup>35</sup> Jean-David Geymet remembers her with bitterness and considers her one of the factors that diverted the missionary from his mission. Eventually, Czechowski left his wife and child in Switzerland to go away with Wilhemine Schirmer, who had become his assistant in the meantime.

The letter mentions two sons of Czechowski: Ludomir and Michel. From what is known for certain, the Polish missionary had five children with his wife Marie Virginie: Ludomir (born on May 14, 1852), Anna Sophie (born on May 9, 1854), Michel (born on

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<sup>35</sup> His name is explicitly mentioned in a letter sent and published by *World Crisis*, see Michael B. Czechowski, “Mission Letters from Switzerland : Number Sixteen”, 54.

June 1, 1856), Victor Emmanuel (born on August 2, 1860), and Claudia (born on February 1, 1865)<sup>36</sup>. At the time of the letter, Ludomir is therefore 16 years old and Michel is 12 years old.

The letter is a thank-you note for Vuilleumier's generosity. It mentions a "billet de cinq cents francs" ("500 franc note") and a payment of 450.- CHF. There is no existing certificate of indebtedness for this amount, so it could potentially be added to the long list of debts owed by the missionary to Vuilleumier. This idea is reinforced by the fact that on the fourth page, originally blank, there is a handwritten note by Vuilleumier. He wrote "frs 500 . 10 Xbr [read: December] 1867," which could correspond to the date he sent the money. Therefore, he noted this date on the letter and kept it as a certificate of indebtedness. It is unclear what purpose Wilhemine requested this amount for. The name "Lambelet" mentioned in the letter is unfamiliar, but it is a common and significant name in the Neuchâtel region. It is likely related to a sum of money associated with the house in Saint-Blaise. This property was subject to negotiations between Czechowski and the Adventists of Battle Creek, possibly indicating difficulties in repaying its price.<sup>37</sup>

In this letter, Wilhemine Shirmer complains about the behavior and influence of the Polish missionary's wife. Jacques Frei reports that Marie Virginie was illiterate and not of great help to her husband, nor deeply invested in faith<sup>38</sup>.

Upon reading the letter, it appears that Czechowski is no longer present in the house, as Wilhemine Schirmer suggests to Vuilleumier that he visit to witness his struggles, particularly with the missionary's wife and children. Several missionary reports published months later attest to his extensive missionary journey

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<sup>36</sup> Rajmund L. Dabrowski, Bert B. BEACH (éd.), *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876*, 234.

<sup>37</sup> In July 1869, the General Conference proposed to provide funds to settle the debts of Michael B. Czechowski, primarily with the aim of reclaiming the house in Saint Blaise. One of the conditions was that the house would become the property of an association comprising the "Swiss brothers." The Polish missionary refused to comply with this demand, and as a result, the house was eventually seized., see John N. Andrews, "The Case of Eld. M. B. Czechowski", *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, July 8, 1873, 29.

<sup>38</sup> Rajmund L. Dabrowski, Bert B. Beach (éd.), *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876*, 266.

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through Italy, Geneva, Vaud, and Germany.<sup>39</sup> During this time, Anna Butler had already left the house in Saint-Blaise and was residing with Vuilleumier.<sup>40</sup>

One last detail concerns the mention of "Brother Jean." A handwritten note by Vuilleumier indicates that this refers to Jean-David Geymet. It is likely that Jean-David came to the house in Saint-Blaise either to inquire about the situation or to collect evangelistic materials, following a visit to Tramelan for which there is no record. Wilhemine Schirmer mentions that Jean-David provided updates about Vuilleumier, indicating they had already met prior to this encounter.

*Brief commentary*

The final part of the letter constitutes a direct accusation against Czechowski's wife. Wilhemine complains about her influence over the children, particularly Michel. According to the German teacher, the missionary's wife is seen as a hindrance to her husband's ministry. Several individuals inhabited this household: Czechowski, his children, and ultimately three women. These included the missionary's wife Marie Virgnie, Anna Butler, and Wilhemine Schirmer. Jean-David Geymet reports that the group was referred to as "Mormon libertines" in the region. This term implies accusations of polygamy against Mormons. Obviously, a man living in a house with three women and several children could have appeared to be associated with the Mormons.<sup>41</sup>

*Interest of the letter for historical research*

This letter provides an intriguing glimpse into the private life of Czechowski. Whether Wilhemine's description of the missionary's wife's behavior is accurate or not, it underscores the tension that must have existed within that household.

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<sup>39</sup> Michael B. Czechowski, "Mission Letters from Switzerland : Number Twenty-one", *World Crisis*, April 22, 1868, 22 and Michael B. CZECHOWSKI, "Mission Letters from Switzerland : Number Twenty-two", *World Crisis*, June 17, 1868, 54.

<sup>40</sup> Jean Vuilleumier asserts that it was during his father's baptism on August 3, 1867, that he first met Anna Butler. Upon observing her health condition, he offered her to come and live with him. It is at his residence that she passed away on August 23, 1868. She was subsequently buried in Tramelan. See Jean Vuilleumier, "Albert Vuilleumier, 1835 - 1923", boîte 1CP1, ch. 4, f. 1, doc. 05.

<sup>41</sup> Jean-David Geymet, "Petits commencements : 2e partie", 117.

Furthermore, this letter helps to narrow down the period during which the residents of Tramelan first made contact with Battle Creek. It indicates that as of December 13, 1867, Michael Czechowski had already left Switzerland. Therefore, the correspondence between Tramelan and Battle Creek occurred between this date and the letter of July 6, 1868.

**MBC to AV, July 5, 1868, DP02**

*Transliteration of the letter*

1 Bâle le 5 juillet 1868

2 xxx xxx n° 40

3 Cher frère Vuilleumier :

4 Voyant par votre seconde lettre que  
5 vous êtes décidé à ne point me répondre fran-  
6 -chement aux questions que j'ai été forcé  
7 de vous poser, après votre première lettre  
8 afin qu'il fut possible de vous répondre  
9 clair et convenablement à ce que vous me  
10 demandiez je dirai simplement en  
11 réponse à votre seconde lettre, de bien  
12 vouloir vous rappeler ce que je vous an-  
13 -noncé en le comparant à l'article de foi  
14 de l'Association de "Seventh Day Adventist"  
15 de Battle Creek et d'examiner si mes en-  
16 seignements ont été conforme avec les leurs  
17 et si jamais j'ai [dis] un mot contre l'associa-  
18 -tion excepté qu'ils n'ont pas voulu aider,  
19 dont je vous ai dit la raison.

20 Je vous envoie ci-inclus deux pièces qui  
21 vous montreront qu'il y a de grande et grosse  
22 erreur dans l'enseignement donné par  
23 votre correspondant d'Amérique, et que  
24 malgré que [tout en] que mes ennemis  
25 personnelle xxx la jalousie ont pu vomir  
26 contre moi, je me trouve en parfaite

27 unité de foi devant Dieu, avec les vrais enfant  
28 de Dieu et l'Eglise de Battle Creek.

[page 2]

1 Même que l'autorisation de la principale colonne  
2 de cette Eglise, notre très cher frère [Cornell] par  
3 le ministère dans lequel j'ai été [ajouté] et baptisé dans  
4 cette Eglise, ne me manque ni les prières ni [l'am-  
5 -our] avec de l'intérêt parle à la mission dont  
6 l'Eternel Lui même m'a chargé (visible déjà  
7 par le simple fait qu'eux non pas pensé à  
8 l'europe) et que je suis seul à y travailler  
9 sans que l'association n'a voulu accordée [un sous]  
10 ou envoyer un autre pour proclamer le 3e  
11 Ange message. J'ai rien à confesser devant cette  
12 Eglise, autrement je serai un hypocrite. C'est  
13 à nos ennemis de confesser leur péché.

14 Du reste, Dieu a donné assez de visions à Sr  
15 White pour qu'il n'y ai plus besoin d'autres  
16 témoignages xxx pour leur démontrer ma  
17 cause. Je vous dirai seulement que vous  
18 ne connaissant point au fonds les xxx  
19 vous avez très mal agi en envoyant pour m'a-  
20 -vertir xxx il aurait fallu attendre même quelque temps. Aussi  
21 vous avez montré par cela  
22 que votre affection pour moi depuis quelque temps  
23 est tout à fait secondaire et le mal qui  
24 en est résulté pour moi est très difficile à [répa-  
25 -er]. Mes ennemis s'élevant déjà, et, c'est à  
26 cause de cela je xxx j'ai reçu de graves re-  
27 -proche de "Advent Herald" de Boston, et qui  
28 a publié un article contre moi, et d'argent  
29 que mes amis ont dépensé dans son [bureau]  
30 pour notre mission , il est très probable  
31 que je ne le verrai jamais. Je ne doute pas que  
32 les amis de "Crisis" et de "Voice" le suivront,  
33 car leur plan (en m'aidant) fut que notre

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1 mission porte le nom d'une Européenne  
2 Advent Mission et que le but de mes travaux  
3 devrait consister d'unir un jour tous les  
4 la branches ensemble des croyants dans un même corps.  
5 Mais vous ne connaissant pas l'esprit des  
6 américains, il vous aurez fallu avertir votre frère, et il  
7 vous aurait montré la lettre ci-joint (et les autres que  
8 je réserve encore) et prouver par cela qu'il n'est  
9 nullement en division avec les saints, et qu'il n'a  
10 point la [presomption] dont-[on] la présent association  
11 de Battle Creek l'accuse. Mais puisque vous  
12 avez commencés, chers frère, il faut que vous  
13 continuez. Vous pouvez leur demander de vous  
14 envoie un autre messenger xxxxxxxxxxxx  
15 qu'il le soutient, puisque vous leur avez montré que  
16 les enfants que Dieu avait donné la grâce d'en-  
17 -gendrer par la foi et la vérité présente se méfient  
18 de moi et qu'ainsi vous n'avez pas craint de me  
19 deshonorer devant eux et tous les autres Chrétiens  
20 de l'Amérique qui se sont montrés amis de l'U-  
21 -nion, agissant en bons samaritains vis-à-vis de  
22 vous et de moi, et, auxquels vous devez la reconnaiss-  
23 -ance de ce que vous connaissez la parole de vérité  
24 du Seigneur. Quant à moi, chers frères, je sais  
25 que le Seigneur prendra soin de mon minis-  
26 -tère ainsi que de ma famille affligée, que je puisse  
27 accomplir ma tâche devant lui fidèlement.  
28 Vous voudrez bien, après lecture faite, me  
29 renvoyer ces deux pièces et d'être assuré que  
30 le but de ma vie et de mes souffrance continuelles  
31 est celui d'être un fidèle ouvrier du Seigneur  
32 et d'un vrai membre non d'une l'Eglise humaine

[page 4]

1 mais de la vraie Eglise de Dieu partout où elle  
2 se trouvera durant les xxx ans de prospérité .....  
3 Je conclu donc que je reconnais l'Eglise  
4 de Battle Creek et son association comme  
5 cherchant la vérité, mais qu'il leur manque



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6 c'est à dire à quelques uns la principale  
7 chose, c'est la charité, et que ceux là, en  
8 gardant le Sabbat, ne se gênent point  
9 de violer celui qui dit : tu ne diras point  
10 [de faux] témoignages contre ton prochain".  
11 Concernant ma lettre, cher frère, je prie  
12 l'Éternel [je] travaille pour pouvoir trouver  
13 la [somme] nécessaire pour vous [satisfaire]  
14 au plus tôt possible et si je la [trouve]  
15 pas bientôt je vais [décider] de vendre la  
16 maison comme je pourrais et finir mes  
17 jours dans les dxxx  
18 Cela me suffit d'être avec mon  
19 Sauveur Jésus Christ  
20 Recevez mes meilleurs voeux pour  
21 votre prospérité temporelle et [éternelle]  
22 de votre dévoué frère  
23 M. B. Czechowski

*English translation*

1 Basel, July 5th 1868

2 xxx xxx n° 40

3 Dear brother Vuilleumier :

4 Seeing from your second letter that  
5 you are determined not to answer me fran-  
6 -kly to the questions I was forced  
7 to ask you, after your first letter  
8 so that it would be possible to answer you  
9 clearly and appropriately to what you  
10 asked I will simply say in  
11 response to your second letter, to please  
12 remember what I told you  
13 and compare it to the article of faith  
14 of the "Seventh Day Adventist" Association  
15 of Battle Creek and examine if my tea-  
16 -chings have been consistent with theirs  
17 and if I ever said a word against the associa-  
18 -tion except that they did not want to help,

19 which I told you the reason for.

20 I am sending you enclosed two documents that  
21 will show you that there are great and significant  
22 errors in the teaching given by  
23 your correspondent in America, and that  
24 despite all that my personal enemies  
25 and jealousy have spewed  
26 against me, I find myself in perfect  
27 unity of faith before God, with the true children  
28 of God and the Church of Battle Creek.

[page 2]

1 Even the authorization from the main pillar  
2 of this Church, our very dear brother Cornell through  
3 the ministry in which I was added and baptized into  
4 this Church, I lack neither prayers nor love  
5 with interest speaking to the mission which  
6 the Lord Himself has entrusted to me (visible already  
7 by the simple fact that they did not think of  
8 Europe) and that I am alone working there  
9 without the association willing to grant a penny  
10 or send another to proclaim the 3rd  
11 Angel's message. I have nothing to confess before this  
12 Church, otherwise I would be a hypocrite. It's  
13 up to our enemies to confess their sin.

14 Furthermore, God has given enough visions to Sr  
15 White so that there is no longer a need for other  
16 testimonies to demonstrate my cause to them.  
17 I will only say that you  
18 not knowing the background very well  
19 you acted very poorly by sending someone to warn me  
20 xxx it would have been better to wait a while. Also, by doing so,  
21 you have shown  
22 that your affection for me for some time  
23 has been quite secondary and the harm  
24 resulting from this for me is very difficult to repair.  
25 My enemies are already rising,  
26 and because of that I have received serious reproaches

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26 from the “Advent Herald” of Boston, which  
27 published an article against me, and the money  
28 my friends spent at its office  
29 for our mission, I will probably  
30 never see. I have no doubt that  
31 the friends of “Crisis” and “Voice” will follow,  
32 because their plan (by helping me) was for our

[Page 4]

1 mission to bear the name of a European  
2 Advent Mission and that the goal of my work  
3 should be to unite all the  
4 branches of believers into one body someday.  
5 But you do not know the spirit of the  
6 Americans; you should have warned your brother, and he  
7 would have shown you the attached letter (and the others I  
8 still reserve) and proved by that that he is  
9 in no way in division with the saints, and that he  
10 does not have the presumption of which the present association  
11 of Battle Creek accuses him. But since you  
12 have started, dear brother, you must  
13 continue. You can ask them to  
14 send you another messenger xxxxxxxxxxxx  
15 to support him, since you have shown them that  
16 the children whom God had given the grace to  
17 beget through faith and the present truth distrust  
18 me and that you have not hesitated to  
19 dishonor me before them and all the other Christians  
20 in America who have shown themselves friends of the Union,  
21 acting as good Samaritans towards  
22 you and me, and to whom you owe your  
23 knowledge of the word of truth  
24 of the Lord. As for me, dear brothers, I know  
25 that the Lord will take care of my ministry  
26 as well as my afflicted family, so that I may  
27 fulfill my task before Him faithfully.

28 After reading, please  
29 return these two documents to me and be assured that  
30 the purpose of my life and my continuous sufferings

31 is to be a faithful worker of the Lord  
32 and a true member not of a human Church

[page 4]

1 but of the true Church of God wherever it  
2 is found during the xxx years of prosperity ...  
3 I conclude by acknowledging the Church  
4 of Battle Creek and its association as  
5 seeking the truth, but what they lack,  
6 that is, some of them, is the main  
7 thing, which is charity, and those who,  
8 while keeping the Sabbath, do not hesitate  
9 to violate the commandment that says: "You shall not bear  
10 false witness against your neighbor."  
11 Regarding my letter, dear brother, I pray  
12 to the Eternal and work to find  
13 the necessary sum to satisfy you  
14 as soon as possible, and if I do not find it  
15 soon, I will decide to sell the  
16 house as I can and end my  
17 days in the xxx  
18 It is enough for me to be with my  
19 Savior Jesus Christ.  
20 Receive my best wishes for  
21 your temporal and eternal prosperity  
22 from your devoted brother,  
23 M. B. Czechowski

#### *Context and individuals*

This letter is written to Albert Vuilleumier in the context of his initial contact with the Adventists of Battle Creek. Between January 1868 and July 1868, most likely between January and April, Vuilleumier found a copy of the *Review and Herald* in the vacant room of Czechowski. He then took the initiative to contact this church, of whose existence he was previously unaware. The Americans responded, and the Polish missionary was informed. In summary, we can say that there were at least six exchanges:

1. Letter from Albert Vuilleumier to the *Review and Herald* office
2. Letter from Battle Creek to Albert Vuilleumier

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3. First letter from Albert Vuilleumier to Michael B. Czechowski
4. Response from Michael B. Czechowski to Albert Vuilleumier
5. Second letter from Albert Vuilleumier to Michael B. Czechowski
6. Response from Michael B. Czechowski to Albert Vuilleumier (DPO2)

Of these six correspondences, only the last one has been preserved. The first letter from Albert to Battle Creek, which was translated by a Canadian from Quebec, has not been kept by either the General Conference or any Canadian administration, according to our investigation.<sup>42</sup>

We do not know how Michael Czechowski became aware of the situation. Whether Vuilleumier informed him directly, as suggested in the letter, or through other means remains unclear. In his letter, Czechowski refers to a critical article by Joshua V. Himes, editor of the *Advent Herald*. It is implied that non-Sabbatarian Adventists, upon learning that Czechowski was preaching the Sabbath, terminated their collaboration with him. The Polish missionary seems to hold Vuilleumier responsible for this decision. Nonetheless, the letter dated July 5, 1868, is written to Vuilleumier in this context. Contact was established between the Sabbatarian Adventists of Tramelan and the Seventh-day Adventists of Battle Creek. Other non-Sabbatarian Adventist organizations also appear to be aware of this situation. Czechowski writes to his followers to express his disapproval.

The letter mentions three American periodicals: *Advent Herald*, *World Crisis*, and *Voice of the West*. *Advent Herald* is the successor to Joshua V. Himes' *Sign of the Times*, launched in 1840.

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<sup>42</sup> We have corresponded with the Archives of the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and they informed us that these letters are not part of their collection. Alfred Vaucher, during his time, also attempted to locate these letters without success. Refer to Rajmund L. Dabrowski, Bert B. Beach (éd.), *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876*, 144. He stated: "Neither this first letter, nor the letter from Battle Creek have been found." We have also contacted archivists from Canadian administrative bodies, as Jean Vuilleumier mentioned that the translator of his father's letter in 1868 was a Quebecois named Jean or John Daigneau. Unfortunately, they do not possess any archives related to this individual who could have provided guidance.

It was renamed in 1844 after the Great Disappointment and became the primary publication for non-Sabbatarian Adventists. At the time of Czechowski, it was edited by Josiah Litch.<sup>43</sup> *World Crisis* was launched in 1854 as a competitor to the *Advent Herald* to disseminate conditionalist ideas. This magazine became a reference point among non-Sabbatarian Adventists, and one of its editors, Miles Grant, was a staunch opponent of the Sabbath.<sup>44</sup> *Voice of The West* was launched in 1864 by Joshua V. Himes, a prominent figure in the Millerite revival<sup>45</sup>. These three magazines served as intermediaries for Czechowski, who received donations from their readers.<sup>46</sup>

#### *Brief commentary*

In terms of language quality, the letter reveals Czechowski's frustration, and his French is sometimes very poor, especially when it comes to translating English expressions or idioms, such as “The third angel message.”

But the most remarkable aspect of this letter is the tone of misery employed by the missionary. This is quite characteristic of him, and this tone can be found in several of his letters.<sup>47</sup> While the residents of Tramelan caught him in what they perceived as a deception akin to a lie, Czechowski plays the victim. His use of expressions such as “you have shown by this that your affection for me for some time is quite secondary” and “you did not fear to dishonor me before them”, reveal a kind of emotional manipulation.

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<sup>43</sup> Milton Hook, article “Advent Herald (1840–1877)” in *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, 2023, accessed June 17, 2024, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=B8SX>.

<sup>44</sup> Denis Fortin, “Adventism in Quebec : One hundred fifty years of work among the French population”, *Adventist Review*, April 28, 2005, 177 and Denis Fortin, article “Grant, Miles (1819-1911)” in *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, accessed April 30, 2024, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=C9DI>.

<sup>45</sup> Douglas Morgan, article “Himes, Joshua Vaughan (1805–1895)” in *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, accessed April 30, 2024, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=49HD>.

<sup>46</sup> Alfred Vaucher, *M.-B. Czechowski*, 5.

<sup>47</sup> See notably *before* the letter of February 6, 1867 (DP 06) concerning the printing plates, as well as *below* the letter of December 15, 1868 (DP 07) which recounts his pitiable journey through the French Jura.

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This somewhat darkens the portrait of the character, already tarnished by his departure from America without the approval of his colleagues. Such a letter does not present him as a mature administrator who takes responsibility for his decisions. Adding to this are the issues of debts, his ambiguous relationship with Wilhemine Schirmer, and his family relations. It is understandable why the residents of Tramelan would choose to distance themselves.

In this text, there is also an evocation of Ellen White that is somewhat unclear in its meaning. There is a form of cynicism and irony in the statement. It appears to be critical of her, implying that "Sr. White" knows everything and he lacks the means to defend himself against her. What stands out is that this mention of Ellen White suggests that Albert Vuilleumier is familiar with her. In such a short time (between January and July), he would have become aware of her existence and ministry.

Another mentioned figure is "Brother Cornell". According to Alfred Vaucher, this refers to Merritt E. Cornell, a pioneer who significantly contributed through his tent evangelism efforts and theological insights on the gifts of the Spirit<sup>48</sup>. Czechowski is said to have encountered Adventism and the Sabbath through him. He claims that Cornell baptized him and refers to him as a "pillar of this Church", likely a reference to Galatians 2:9 which mentions "James, Cephas, and John". By this mention, Czechowski seeks to assert that he is not insignificant among Adventists and cannot be accused of poor teaching, as he learned the truth from one of the most esteemed members of the community at that time.

One last element is the mention of "two documents" that supposedly prove "a great and serious error in the teaching given by your correspondent". This likely does not refer to doctrinal error, as Czechowski repeatedly asserts throughout the letter that he is in harmony with Seventh-day Adventists. It more likely pertains to errors concerning him personally. Unfortunately, these documents are not in our possession.

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<sup>48</sup> Brian E. Strayer, article "Cornell, Merritt Eaton (1827–1893)" in *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, accessed May 22, 2024, <https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=4962>. Alfred Vaucher mentions him in connection with the conversion of Michael B. Czechowski, Alfred Vaucher, *M.-B. Czechowski*, 11. But this information is not found in Rajmund L. Dabrowski, Bert B. Beach (éd.), *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876*.

*Interest of the letter for historical research*

It is likely the most significant letter in the Hafa, not so much because of its author and recipient, but because it documents a pivotal moment in the history of global Adventism where a community as marginal as that of Tramelan opens the door to the Seventh-day Adventist Church worldwide.

This letter is also crucial for dating the moment when the Sabbatarian Adventist community of Tramelan first made contact with the United States. Despite the famous correspondence that followed the discovery of the *Review and Herald* issue being considered central in global Adventist history, there is no trace of Vuilleumier's letter or Battle Creek's response. Hence, it is challenging to pinpoint exactly when this exchange took place. What is certain is that Czechowski embarked on a mission to Italy in December 1867, and by July 1868, several exchanges and repercussions had already occurred.

With the letter dated July 5, 1868, we can therefore conclude that Vuilleumier sent his letter between December 1867 and June 1868. But considering (1) the postal delay between Europe and the New World, (2) the mention of a "correspondent" and thus a response in this present letter, (3) that Czechowski is referring to a second letter from Vuilleumier, (4) the event seems to have circulated among American Adventist associations, and (5) that Czechowski had already written a letter, it is more probable that Vuilleumier sent his letter between January and March. This aligns with the period when the missionary returned from one journey before departing on another, as mentioned in this letter where Albert warned him. This letter thus better delineates this pivotal event, so fundamental in constructing the chronology of global Adventism.

The interest of this letter also lies in the perception of the relationship between Czechowski and the Seventh-day Adventist organization he refers to as "the Association." He appears not to reject the Church's doctrines but rather criticizes its behavior. In a contrasting comparison, he condemns the hypocrisy of Seventh-day Adventists who observe the fourth of the Ten Commandments but fail to display love. More than ten years after leaving America, the Polish missionary still harbors a form of bitterness, not towards the spiritual movement itself, but its administration.



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**MBC to AV, December 15, 1868, DP07**

*Transliteration of the letter*

1 Salins, France, le 15 décembre 1868

2 Cher frère Vuilleumier:

3 Votre honorée lettre du 22 Nov. ne m'est  
4 parvenue malheureusement que cette semaine dernière, vu  
5 que je suis obligé d'être continuellement en chemin, mais  
6 quoique  
7 un peu tard, je m'empresse de vous répondre et de vous  
8 remercier  
9 de vos nouvelles. J'ai bien reçu une lettre de [W<sup>m</sup>] avec 2000  
10 frs  
11 avec les quels je pu écraser beaucoup de mes dettes et cela m'a  
12 soulagé mon coeur affligé. Que Dieu le bénisse. J'ai donné  
13 l'ordre  
14 de [rature] [donner] de vous xxx le 80 frs que vous aviez la  
15 bonté  
16 de me prêter. Mr Dr de [Morgenthal] a envoyé un certificat a  
17 [W<sup>m</sup>]  
18 déclarant que le [tumeur] dans le [stomac] fut percé et cela a  
19 produit  
20 le vomissement et la mort. Depuis là, je traversé les montagnes  
21 et travaillé beaucoup en Alsace. Arrivé un soire à Colmar où  
22 personne n'a voulu me recevoir pour la nuit, je fut obligé d'aller  
23 plus loin, malgré les tenebres de la nuit et le vent accompagné  
de forte  
pluie. En sortant de cette ville, portant un gros sac sur le dos,  
j'ai  
trouvé deux chemins larges devant moi, mais n'ayant personne  
pour demander la direction, j'ai pris celle qui se trouva à ma  
droite, et, au milieu des ténèbres de la nuit et d'un orage  
terrible  
j'ai poursuivi cette route jusqu'à ce qu'il me fut impossible de  
continuer, et que je dus repousser chemin, vu que je me trouvé  
dans un desert inhabitable au milieu d'eaux et la bout.

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1 La pluie continuait donc il n'était pas possible de passer la nuit  
là  
2 et il a fallu de retourner sur mes pas. En traversant les champs,  
et après  
3 une long et très fatiguant travers, je trouvais afin l'autre  
chemin,  
4 et vers minuit j'arrivai dans un village ou il y avait encre quelqu'  
5 lumières. Son nom est St Croix! Trempé dans l'eau et la bout  
jusqu'  
6 au genoux, je frappé donc à la porte où il y avait encore la  
lumière, mais  
7 ils me répondirent qu'ils ne pouvaient pas me donner  
l'hospitalité. Dans la  
8 seconde maison la même refus. La troisième qui fut un hôtel,  
pas non  
9 plus de miséricorde. Ni la prière au nom du précieux sang de  
Jésus,  
10 ni aucune autre supplication n'a pas pu toucher le coeur de  
l'aub-  
11 -ergiste qui me répondait par la fenêtre. Enfin, Dieu par sa  
miséricorde  
12 toucha le coeur d'un homme de police qui m'ouvrit la porte de  
la  
13 xxxxx, et quoi qu'elle fut excessivement sale, j'y trouvais  
néanmoins  
14 un poêle chaud, et je fut soulagé en séchant un peu mes habits  
char-  
15 -gés de pluie et de bout, et pu passer le reste de la nuit sur une  
planche  
16 près du feu. Je fais dans cette soirée mémorable 40 km sans  
17 souper. Le lendemain matin, je poursuivis ma route, et après  
avoir  
18 fait 15 kil. j'arrivais à l'auberge dans laquelle je pu prendre une  
bonne  
19 tasse de café. Afin je reussi de faire encore 30 kil. et me trouvé  
dans  
20 la ville de Mulhouse chez un frère où je me suis reposé. Ensuite,  
21 je visité [des] village et [des] villes jusqu'à Pontarlier ou je fut  
béné de la  
22 part du Seigneur. Je pursui ma route par la xxxx Bourgogne  
etc.

23 ou plusieurs ames catholiques Dieu m'a donné la grâce de  
gagner a son  
24 St Evangile. Les braves familles ont jamais vu la Bible, et  
n'ayant  
25 point à leur donner, je fut obligé de passer les montagnes  
jusqu'à  
26 Nyon où j'[en] acheté une. Je eu aussi le bonheur de placer ma  
fille Anna

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1 et Michel à la pension chez soeur Rolland ou ils sont tout à fait  
sur  
2 une protection maternelle, et après cela je retournai à  
Champagnole  
3 pour délivrer ma Bible promise la quelle fut reçu avec une  
grande  
4 joie. J'ai travaillé jusqu'à aujourd'hui dans les environs et  
trouvé  
5 du blé parmi les ivrais. A Dieu soit la gloire Amen ! Je passe  
6 aujourd'hui de nouveau en Suisse pour quelques temps. Ma  
maison  
7 est couvert, mais il me faut comxx encore beaucoup jusqu'à que  
8 je puisse trouver plus d'argent pour vous rembourser ce que je  
9 vous doit, très cher frère. Ayez la patience, et Dieu vous récom-  
10 -pensera votre bonté. Je voulu vendre tout, mais il m'est  
impossible  
11 de donner en moitié prix et ainsi jetté l'argent du Snr dans la  
12 bout. Donc il faut que je travail, pour sauvé entièrement.  
13 Ditte à frère Jaques qu'il vend les cartes comme il pourra et  
qu'il  
14 tienne compte. Il peu prendre des brochures de Mr Bonfantini  
15 tant qu'il pourra [disposer] x pour la mission et pour lui.  
16 Sur les brochures, nous ne pouvons pas diminuer le prix ;  
Quant  
17 aux cartes je peux faire un sacrifice. Fr Geymet a passé par St  
Blaise  
18 et il est maintenant à Piedmont. Voilà tout ce que je peux vous  
dire  
19 en très grand hâte en vous priant de me croire l'expression  
20 de mon amour fraternelle et de toute mon affection chrétienne

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21 pour vous tous priant sans cesse que Dieu vous bénisse  
abondamment.

22 Votre fidèle frère en Christ  
23 M. B. Czechowski

*English translation*

1 Salins, France, December 15, 1868

2 Dear Brother Vuilleumier:

3 Your honored letter of November 22nd only  
4 reached me unfortunately last week, since  
5 I am obliged to be constantly on the move. Although  
6 a little late, I hasten to respond and thank you  
7 for your news. I did receive a letter from [Wm] with 2000  
francs  
8 with which I was able to settle many of my debts, and it  
9 relieved my afflicted heart. May God bless him. I gave the order  
10 to [*erasure*] [give] you the 80 francs you kindly  
11 lent me. Mr. Dr. de [Morgenthal] sent a certificate to [Wm]  
12 stating that the [tumor] in the [stomach] was pierced, causing  
13 the vomiting and death. Since then, I crossed the mountains  
14 and worked a lot in Alsace. Arriving one evening in Colmar  
where  
15 no one wanted to receive me for the night, I was forced to go  
16 further, despite the darkness of the night and the wind  
accompanied by heavy  
17 rain. Leaving that town, carrying a heavy bag on my back, I  
18 found two wide paths before me, but with no one  
19 to ask for directions, I took the one on my  
20 right, and in the midst of the night's darkness and a terrible  
storm,  
21 I followed this path until it became impossible to  
22 continue, and I had to turn back, finding myself  
23 in an uninhabitable wilderness amidst water and mud.

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1 The rain continued, making it impossible to stay there  
overnight,

2 and I had to retrace my steps. Crossing the fields, and after  
3 a long and very tiring journey, I finally found the other path,  
4 and around midnight, I arrived in a village where there were  
still some  
5 lights. Its name is St. Croix! Soaked with water and mud up to  
6 my knees, I knocked on the door where there was still a light,  
but  
7 they answered that they could not offer me hospitality. At the  
8 second house, the same refusal. The third, which was a hotel,  
showed no  
9 mercy either. Neither the prayer in the name of the precious  
blood of Jesus  
10 nor any other supplication could touch the heart of the inn-  
11 -keeper who responded through the window. Finally, God in  
His mercy  
12 touched the heart of a policeman who opened the door of the  
13 xxxxx, and although it was exceedingly dirty, I nonetheless  
found  
14 a warm stove, and I was relieved to dry my clothes a bit  
15 rain- and mud-soaked, and could spend the rest of the night on  
a plank  
16 near the fire. That memorable evening, I walked 40 km without  
17 supper. The next morning, I continued my journey, and after  
18 15 km, I arrived at an inn where I could have a good  
19 cup of coffee. Finally, I managed to walk another 30 km and  
found myself in  
20 the town of Mulhouse with a brother where I rested. Then,  
21 I visited villages and towns until Pontarlier where I was blessed  
by the  
22 Lord. I continued my journey through xxxx Burgundy, etc.,  
23 where God granted me the grace to win several Catholic souls  
to His  
24 Holy Gospel. The brave families had never seen the Bible, and  
having  
25 none to give them, I had to cross the mountains to  
26 Nyon where I bought one. I also had the joy of placing my  
daughter Anna

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1 and Michel in the boarding school of Sister Rolland where they  
are entirely under  
2 maternal protection, and after that, I returned to Champagnole  
3 to deliver the promised Bible which was received with great  
4 joy. I have worked until today in the surroundings and found  
5 wheat among the tares. To God be the glory, Amen! I am  
6 returning today to Switzerland again for a while. My house  
7 is covered, but I still have much to do until  
8 I can find more money to repay you what I  
9 owe you, dear brother. Be patient, and God will re-  
10 -ward your kindness. I wanted to sell everything, but it is  
impossible for me  
11 to give it away at half price and thus throw the Lord's money  
into  
12 the mud. So I must work to save completely.  
13 Tell Brother Jacques to sell the cards as he can and  
14 keep account. He can take brochures from Mr. Bonfantini  
15 as much as he can use for the mission and for himself.  
16 On the brochures, we cannot reduce the price; as for  
17 the charts, I can make a sacrifice. Br Geymet passed through  
St. Blaise  
18 and is now in Piedmont. That is all I can tell you  
19 in great haste, asking you to believe in the expression  
20 of my fraternal love and all my Christian affection  
21 for you all, praying continually that God blesses you  
abundantly.

22 Your faithful brother in Christ  
23 M. B. Czechowski

*Context and individuals*

Two of the children of Czechowski, Anne and Michel, are mentioned in the letter. The son, Michel, is specifically mentioned by Wilhemine Schirmer in her letter dated December 13, 1867 (DP14). Given that the missionary's wife is not mentioned, it is possible that Czechowski and Wilhemine Schirmer are already preparing their departure. They would leave in March 1869, three months after this letter. It is plausible to hypothesize that the new couple could not or did not want to have the children with them for this journey. This should be why Anna and Michel were placed in boarding school in Nyon.

On page 3, he makes a fallacious statement by saying, "My house is covered." We know this is not true since it would eventually be seized<sup>49</sup>. This letter raises several financial issues, particularly the repayment to Vuilleumier, but not exclusively. Could it be that the missionary's tearful narrative in the rain, framed by financial matters, serves to delay the legitimate requests of his creditors?<sup>50</sup> If so, there would be a form of manipulation and spiritual abuse to denounce here.

The "Brother Jacques" mentioned in this letter is a person involved in evangelism and mission work. This is very likely Jakob Erzberger, who converted to the new message during this period. According to Jean Vuilleumier, Erzberger's conversion is more the result of the efforts of Jules-Etienne Dietschy and Albert Vuilleumier.<sup>51</sup> Czechowski likely met him, but Erzberger should probably not be considered among the adherents of the Polish missionary; rather, he was a member of the young Sabbatarian Adventist community in Tramelan. In this letter, there is a discussion about authorizing Jakob Erzberger to sell brochures without negotiating prices. This seems to be because there is some form of deposit with these publications. As for the "charts," which are the prophetic posters he promotes in each issue of *L'Évangile Éternel*, he has probably already paid for them and can therefore afford to sell them off cheaply. A few lines earlier, he mentions the idea of selling everything at half price to alleviate his debt pressure. However, he refuses to do so, considering it to be throwing the Lord's money into the mud.

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<sup>49</sup> Jacques Frei indicates that on July 20, 1870, the house was put up for auction. See Rajmund L. Dabrowski, Bert B. Beach (éd.), *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876*, 266. Michael B. Czechowski's wife died two days later in Saint-Blaise.

<sup>50</sup> We make this hypothesis due to the structure of the letter. It begins by discussing money and the donations he has received, and at the end of the letter, it again addresses his debts to Albert and the possibility of selling the house. Why not associate these two themes? In between, the main body of the letter is dedicated to his narrative, describing the great misery in which he lives and emphasizing that his only expenses are those made for his mission, such as the purchase of a Bible.

<sup>51</sup> In a letter dated September 12, 1868, published in *World Crisis*, Michael B. Czechowski reports a baptism performed by Albert Vuilleumier, Michael B. Czechowski, "Mission Letters from Switzerland : Number Twenty-three", *World Crisis*, October 6, 1868, 34-35. According to Jean Vuilleumier, the first person baptized by his father was Jakob Erzberger. See Jean Vuilleumier, "Souvenirs intéressants sur l'origine du message adventiste en Suisse", 64-65.



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The core of the letter concerns a missionary journey undertaken by Czechowski in France and Switzerland. He starts from Alsace, without specifying the exact location. He travels down to Colmar and then reaches Sainte Croix, 10 km further south. He continues south another 30 km to Mulhouse. He mentions distances that are surprising and seem to double the actual length of his route. After Mulhouse, he states that he arrived in Pontarlier, which is more than 140 km away. The next stage is Champagnole, currently in the Jura department. This is on the other side of the mountain from Nyon, and it is where he heads. He drops off his children there, buys a Bible, and returns to the Jura to deliver it. This involves a round trip of 100 km. It is difficult to determine if the journey is realistic, but the distances mentioned are impressive. This might be the intended effect on the reader.

At the beginning of the letter, he also mentions a sick person who apparently passed away. He refers to Dr. Morgenthal, who issued a certificate concerning a perforated stomach tumor. The letter also mentions a certain William who made a donation of 2,000.- CHF. According to Alfred Vaucher, this is William Butler<sup>52</sup>, the brother of Anna Butler, who died on August 23, 1868. Therefore, the sick person referred to in the certificate would be Anna Butler.

Regarding the debts owed to Vuilleumier, he mentions an amount of 80.- CHF. The HAFA holds only one debt certificate of this amount, dated August 5, 1867 (DP11). This is the second certificate of indebtedness in HAFA's possession and the third debt contracted. However, it is not his last debt.<sup>53</sup> It is impossible to know if Czechowski repaid the subsequent debts. The fact that the HAFA still holds the certificate of indebtedness and that Vuilleumier experienced financial difficulties suggests that he did not.

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<sup>52</sup> Alfred Vaucher, *M.-B. Czechowski*, 36. To support this assertion, Alfred Vaucher cross-references the information with a letter published on October 7, 1868, in *World Crisis*, which reports the same events as in the letter addressed to Albert Vuilleumier. He mentions William Butler and his arrival to take care of his sister's affairs.

<sup>53</sup> After this certificate of indebtedness, there is a debt of 500.- CHF contracted on August 16, 1867 (DP08), another debt of 20.- CHF contracted on October 28, 1867 (DP13), and a final debt of 500.- CHF mentioned by Wilhemine Schirmer in her letter dated December 13, 1867 (DP14).

*Brief commentary*

We have already mentioned that both in its character and structure, this letter appears to deliberately employ exaggeration and a portrayal of misery to evoke a sense of pity from its reader. This tactic is reminiscent of his earlier letter dated February 6, 1867 (DP06), also centered around financial discussions. Particularly notable is the stark contrast in tone between this letter and his last letter dated July 5, 1868 (DP02). In that letter, he was vindictive and aggressive towards Vuilleumier. It seems that six months after making contact with the Americans, Czechowski had mellowed. Perhaps this change is due to his ongoing need for money to repay his debts, necessitating a more amicable relationship with what appears to be one of his primary creditors.

*Interest of the letter for historical research*

This letter continues to reflect the style and character of Czechowski, along with his ongoing financial concerns. It also provides a unique testimony regarding his relationship with his family, as he mentions the placement of two of his children while omitting any reference to his wife, whom he would leave behind a few months later when he departs for another location.

**JNA to AV, January 15, 1878, DP32**

*Transliteration of the letter*

1 68 Mullerweg Bâle Suisse Jan. 14 1878

2 Dear Brother Vuilleumier :

3 When at Morges I wrote

4 you concerning the sickness of sister Bourdeau and

5 asked on or two questions which I hoped you would

6 answer. But it appears from a letter that I have received

7 from Bro. Bourdeau that you did not get any letter

8 I learn that you decided to sell that piece of

9 ground. I think this was a wise decision under

10 the circumstances. I hope the way will open for you

11 to give yourself to the cause of God without hindrance.

12 I know very well the difficulties in your

13 way and I will do the best in my power to help

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14 remove them. I said to you a long while ago  
15 that I would give [500] francs xxx helping you  
16 to enter the work. I have nor forgotten the promise.

17 Just as even as possible I will fulfill it. This I  
18 mean to do out of my own means as soon as  
19 I can raise the money. I shall also do what I can  
20 to find means for your help from the cause.

21 I am very actively at work to get an office  
22 of our established. We shall bring this xx-  
13 -xxx within a few days. As soon as the next  
14 number is printed we shall take everything from  
15 the hands of M. Krüsi and shall do our own  
16 work all except the press work. We can save enough  
17 thus to xxx our expenses for the living of two family.

18 I will consider what can be done for Victor x.  
19 I fear that a printing office would not do for

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1 for him in his present state of health for he  
2 seems to be threatened with consumption. But  
3 I will say thus that [whatever] is necessary to be  
4 done to care for him. I will meet a just share  
5 of the expense and will do whatever is suitable  
6 and proper as to his working in the type setting.  
7 At the present moment we have to struggle  
8 hard with poverty, but I trust God will  
9 help us in all our necessities.

10 I wish to have some meetings for tracts  
11 and missionary work in each place where  
12 our brethren live. If you have time that you  
13 could spend with me in such a work I  
14 should be extremely glad of your help.

15 Yours in Christ  
16 J.N. Andrews

*Context and individuals*

The main theme of this letter is the financing of missionary work in Switzerland. Gilbert Valentine, in his dedicated work *J. N. Andrews: Mission Pioneer, Evangelist and Thought Leader*, provides a thorough background of the situation, enhancing our understanding of the context of this letter.<sup>54</sup>

When J. N. Andrews arrived in Switzerland, members of the community, primarily Vuilleumier and his family, had embarked on a watchmaking enterprise that was very demanding in terms of funds and time. The group had acquired a workshop with land and vineyards. The idea behind this initiative was precisely to fund the mission. However, it appears that the plan did not work out as well as hoped. Due to the significant debts incurred for this project, members were occupied with making it minimally viable, which diverted their time and money away from the mission. Thus, a significant part of Andrews' work upon arrival was to restructure the mission's finances.

This context sheds light on why Andrews' letter expresses his joy upon learning that Vuilleumier intends to sell the land. He adds that this action will allow Albert to fully commit himself to "the cause of God." Towards the end of the letter, Andrews even proposes to accompany Albert on a tour to distribute brochures together. It seems Andrews always wanted to see Vuilleumier fully engaged in the cause full-time, and he even mentions funding him with a donation of 500.- CHF as soon as he is able to obtain them. Unfortunately, Andrews did not live to see this come to fruition, but in 1885 Vuilleumier did indeed become a Seventh-day Adventist pastor.

*Brief commentary and Interest of the letter for historical research*

What emerges from this letter is a genuinely precarious financial situation for the American missionary. He speaks of a "struggle with poverty" and of economizing on the production of evangelistic materials. Andrews is not seeking money so much for himself as for the cause and even for others. This reflects a characteristic trait of a man for whom the cause has always been the singular priority.

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<sup>54</sup> Gilbert M. Valentine, *J. N. Andrews, Mission Pioneer, Evangelist and Thought Leader*. See particularly the chapter "A Rookie Missionary in Neuchatel: 1874-1876", 535-567.

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Moreover, one can also discern in this letter, as in others, a marked interest of Andrews in Vuilleumier. Like Czechowski before him, he sees in this member of the Tramelan community a potential worker for the mission. However, the latter experienced setbacks before fully committing, much to the great disappointment of the American missionary.

**JNA to AV, April 15, 1879, DP31**

*Transliteration of the letter*

1 Battle creek, Mich. April 15 1879

2 Very dear brother Vuilleumier : A long time  
3 has elapsed since I last wrote you. I have been  
4 feeble for most of the time and have been obliged to  
5 get others to write my letters for me. But I have  
6 not forgotten you nor your affairs. I have made  
7 it one of my principal objects this winter to find  
8 some way to relieve you so that you can be  
9 free to give yourself to the cause of God. My first  
10 effort have been to open a market for your watches.  
11 In this I find great difficulty. The country  
12 is filled with watches from the factories at [Elgin]  
13 and Watchman and in other places. These are sold  
14 very cheap and they have a good reputation.

15 But there is another difficulty. The Swiss  
16 watchmakers send over their watches in separ-  
17 -ate pieces, not wholly finished, and they have  
18 their agents in this country who take these and

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1 finish and set them up. By this mean, they  
2 get their watches into the country without paying  
3 much money for duties, while you who send  
4 your watches all finished and set up have to  
5 pay full duties. So it is that the other dealers  
6 can send their watches here and sell them at  
7 a less cost than you. I talked this over very  
8 fully with William P. Butler in Boston. We

9 could not see how to remedy the matter. Bro  
10 Haskell has offered to take a small quantity  
11 of your watches and try to sell them as he  
12 goes over the country and then if he has  
13 success he will take a larger quantity. But  
14 this is a slow way to help you.

15 I have made a great effort to find some  
16 means to help you by begging or borrowing  
17 money of our brethren in different parts of the  
18 country. I have been as far east as Boston and  
19 have made the best in my power to  
20 get money. I can get money after a while but  
21 it seems impossible to get any now.  
22 Our brethren have got in debt to establish and  
23 maintain the institution at Battle Creek and  
24 at Oakland in California and much means  
25 must be raised to help these institutions still

[page 3]

1 further. It has given me great pain to find  
2 such hindrances in the way. I have however  
3 still a few persons to visit from whom I hope  
4 to obtain means. But I cannot get any  
5 thing now I shall get something by and  
6 by. I have done the utmost that I could  
7 and I beg you will not think that I have  
8 not made an earnest effort to help you.  
9 I have waited before writing to you hoping  
10 that I could report good success. I have  
11 not [last] all hope but still cannot promise  
12 much for the present. Perhaps God will open  
13 my way to help you at this conference.

14 Brother and sister White have insisted that  
15 I should remain till this conference. They said  
16 that my state of health was such that I must  
17 [not] get set out for Europe. I have been

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1 very reluctant to thus delay my return but  
2 have seen it to be necessary. I hope that I have  
3 gained a little in strength! You can [realize] I  
4 think something of the great affliction which I  
5 have suffered. It is very much as though I  
6 have buried my wife the second time. But I  
7 cannot murmur for many went down with so  
8 much of the blessing of God that it was a great  
9 privilege to be with her in her last days. She  
10 wished me to send her photograph to Elise and  
11 I will enclose it in the letter if it does not [make]  
12 the postage [double].

13 I hope I shall see you now in a very short  
14 time. Faites bien mes amitiés à soeur Vuilleumier  
15 et à tous nos amis  
16 Votre frère en Jésus-Christ  
17 J. N. Andrews

*Context and individuals*

The letter is written from Battle Creek while Andrews has returned to the United States to try to heal his daughter, who unfortunately passed away. At the time of writing the letter, the funeral has already taken place. In this letter, John mentions Elise, the daughter of Vuilleumier, and talks about a photograph he must bring back, which indicates the friendship that must have developed between the two girls.

Andrews also has this meaningful sentence: 'You can [realize] I think something of the great affliction which I have suffered.' Indeed, John is very likely aware that his correspondent has recently experienced loss. On August 4, 1869, he lost his fourth child at the age of two, named Myrte. Another child was born two weeks later, Jacques. However, he also passed away at the age of two in 1871. The following year, another son was born, also named Jacques, but he too passed away in 1873, before reaching the age of one. Albert thus experienced the deaths of three young children between 1869 and 1873.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> These pieces of information were acquired through the birth registry as well as from personal records preserved in the Vuilleumier collection, including

In his letter of January 15, 1878 (DP32), Andrews already addressed the issue of the failing watchmaking enterprise. Fifteen months later, it appears that the matter has yet to be resolved. Indeed, this letter is particularly interesting as it reveals a new facet of Andrews: that of a marketing specialist. This time, the letter illustrates how Andrews attempted to facilitate Vuilleumier's efforts to sell his watches in the United States. Advertisements to this effect have already appeared in the columns of the *Review and Herald*,<sup>56</sup> and Czechowski himself undertook the promotion in other Adventist journals.<sup>57</sup>

*Brief commentary*

In this letter, we find Andrews' almost relentless determination to see Vuilleumier freed from the watchmaking enterprise to focus on God's work. In his effort to relieve him of this burden, Andrews attempted to find a commercial outlet for Swiss watches in America. However, the watchmaking value chain across the Atlantic does not follow the same model as Switzerland, and customs duties present a barrier. It is intriguing to observe Andrews' investigative approach in formulating his conclusions, and the meticulous detail with which he outlines them in this letter.

This attitude also reveals what emerges clearly from the letter: a genuine friendship between the two men. Vuilleumier welcomed the American missionary early on, and their personal journeys seem intertwined through shared hardships. Beyond themselves, their children also seem to have formed strong bonds. Additionally, considering that Charles Andrews, the son of the American missionary, married the daughter of Jules-Etienne Dietschy and was thus the niece of Vuilleumier, Andrews must have felt closely connected with Tramelan's families. This also explains why Jean

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handwritten notes : Albert Vuilleumier, "Diverses datations en notes manuscrites", 1CP1, ch. 4, f. 2, doc. 07.

<sup>56</sup> See James White, "Swiss Watches", *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January 3, 1871, 24.

<sup>57</sup> In June 1869, an appeal from Michael B. Czechowski appeared in the columns of *World Crisis*, encouraging American Adventists to purchase watches from Albert Vuilleumier. This initiative likely reflects the Polish missionary's efforts to generate income, having departed Switzerland without settling his debts. See Michael B. Czechowski, "Mission Letters from Hungary", *World Crisis*, June 28, 1869, 80.



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Vuilleumier became a close collaborator of the American. Andrews did not merely come to deliver a message, he came to forge relationships.

The letter concludes with a sentence in French, translated here: "Please give my warm regards to Sister Vuilleumier and to all our friends. Your brother in Christ."

*Interest of the letter for historical research*

This letter provides additional testimony to the history of mission funding, both in the missionary's efforts to secure funds and in the originality of the means explored. John N. Andrews reveals another aspect of his personality here. Beyond demonstrating his ability to analyze texts, he displays competence as a market analyst and marketer by studying the entire watch value-chain.

Furthermore, this letter sheds light on John N. Andrews' personality and the strong bonds he forged with the individuals he came to assist in evangelizing.

**US to AV, February 28, 1895, 1CP7, Ch. 1, f. 4**

*Transliteration of the letter*

1 Battle Creek, Mich., Feb. 28, 1895  
2 Mr. A. Vuilleumier,  
3 Geneva, Switzerland  
4 Dear Brother:-Your letter of February 14 received, and I  
5 answer by letter, as you will thereby get the answer much  
6 sooner  
7 than if left to go into the Review.  
8 I do not understand that the Scriptures oblige anyone to  
9 sign any kind of a pledge in reference to eating or drinking;  
10 and if a church member is temperate, it would make no  
11 difference  
12 in regard to his standing and character whether his name is  
13 attached to a pledge or not.  
14 I know of no Scriptures which forbid our abstaining entirely  
15 from every kind of meat. We are to be governed by the question  
16 of  
17 its healthfulness. Some kinds of meat, like pork, we know are  
18 not conducive to health under any circumstances, while other  
19 meats, fowls and fish, in a healthy condition, are not so

17 objectionable. Milk and eggs are used freely in this country  
18 by even the most radical vegetarians  
19 Very truly yours,  
20 Uriah Smith  
21 Dictated

*Context and individuals*

There is very limited information available to establish the context of this correspondence. By 1895, Vuilleumier had been a pastor for 10 years, and for the past 4 years, he had been working in Geneva, where the letter is sent. The contents of the letter resonate with those of Czechowski on April 31, 1867 (DP04), particularly regarding the issue of oaths.

*Brief commentary*

The letter addresses two subjects as responses: (1) taking an oath in relation to eating and drinking, and (2) abstaining from meat, milk, and fish. Uriah Smith's response is very direct and seeks not to persuade but to convey a position, unlike Czechowski. The approach is markedly different. The Polish missionary sought reader adherence through "testimonies," whereas the American conveys knowledge and expects the reader to align with it. To illustrate this, Uriah Smith does not cite any biblical texts.

One can also infer from Smith's letter in 1895 that diet is viewed primarily as a health issue before being considered a spiritual and biblical matter. Furthermore, veganism had not yet gained traction within the community at that time.

*Interest of the letter for historical research*

The significance of this letter lies in documenting, albeit partially, the introduction of the health reform issue into European missions. It seems certain that Czechowski did not address this topic during his evangelism efforts<sup>58</sup>. Indeed, it does not

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<sup>58</sup> According to a study by Jacques Frei on the doctrinal content of his publication *L'Évangile Éternel*, Michael B. Czechowski primarily focused on the interpretation of Daniel and Revelation with what is now considered a traditional Seventh-day Adventist approach. Jacques Frei notes that the missionary left the United States while the health reform movement was still in its infancy, primarily addressing tobacco and alcohol. Czechowski himself reportedly welcomed a gift of ham with

prominently feature in the discussions he conducted, particularly in the columns of *L'Évangile Éternel*. Therefore, it is likely that Jakob Erzberger and later Andrews facilitated the development of this issue in Switzerland. This letter bears witness to the questions and challenges associated with this subject.

### **The Role and Importance of this Correspondence**

This epistolary body addressed to Albert Vuilleumier and preserved in the HAFA holds significant importance in the global history of Adventism, particularly in Europe. It documents the lives of key pioneers and central figures of the early movement such as Michael B. Czechowski, John N. Andrews, and even Uriah Smith. Importantly, it contextualizes known events and establishes timelines for occurrences whose exact dates were previously unclear.

The primary focus is to document the life of Albert Vuilleumier. These letters portray him as a generous and relentless donor to the ministry of Michael Czechowski as well as to the emerging Adventist church. He is also recognized as a pillar of the young community, even in the conflict that arose between him and the Polish missionary. John N. Andrews' letters further illustrate the struggle and perhaps the despondency Albert experienced with his watchmaking enterprise, intertwined with his desire to enter the pastoral ministry.

This corpus is crucial for gaining insights into the development of the first Sabbatarian-Adventist community in Switzerland and Europe. It reveals the challenges, particularly financial, as well as the theological questions that animated its members.

These documents should assist the Church in producing more historical sources and better documenting this sometimes fragmented history. Notably, there is at present no entry in the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists* for Albert Vuilleumier, nor is there a dedicated work on the early members of this community. Thus, this article partially fills, constrained by the available sources, the gap that exists in the study of our history which is too often focused on Michael Czechowski and J. N.

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joy during his stay in the Valdenese Alps. See Rajmund L. Dabrowski, Bert B. Beach (éd.), *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876*, 456.

Andrews, while the lives and contributions of other lesser known European pioneers are also rich with valuable lessons.

Appendix with Photoscans of the Documents

Michael B. Czechowski to Albert Vuilleumier, February 6, 1867, DPO6

1 St. Blaise le 6. Fev. 1867.

2 Cher frère Vuilleumier:

3 Vous voyez la réponse indigne qu'il m'ont  
4 envoyé ce soir de Bâle. Pour ne pas perdre  
5 le temps je prie la liberte de vous envoyer  
6 l'elogramme même ce soir pour me prêter les  
7 400. francs que je vous rembourserai en 6 mois  
8 avec l'intérêt, avec un aide de Dieu, pour le  
9 sur; et je vous seray obligé tant que j'existerai  
10 pour ~~vous~~ l'bonne bonbee de pouvoir m'aider de  
11 sauver la cause de l'Éternel ainsi que  
12 ma pauvre famille souffrante.

13 Aussitôt donc que vous m'invoyez de  
14 l'argent je partirai, Dieu voulant, moi  
15 même à Bâle pour choisir des coracteurs  
16 et de payer pour, Ils ont confiance aux  
17 mechants, voila pour quoi ils font des faillites.  
18 J'habille de partir benedict matin, si je  
19 puisse recevoir vos de l'argent au plus tot;  
20 car vraiment il me est impossible de con-  
21 tinuer plus long temps imprimer notre jour-  
22 nal par des pauvres mercenaires.

23 Pardonnez donc moi mon in-portance  
24 et recevez mes les plus cordiales salutations,  
25 de votre fidele frere en Christ  
26 M. B. Czechowski

Michael B. Czechowski to Albert Vuilleumier, March 31, 1867, DPO4

1 Poissy le 31, Mars, 1867.

2 Très cher frère Vuilleumier:

3

4 En revenant ce soir d'une assem-

5 blée à Fleurbaey, j'ai eu le bonheur de recevoir votre

6 lettre fraternelle, à laquelle je réponds à l'instant.

7 Que nous, comme un vrai peuple de Dieu, nous

8 devons suivre strictement les commandements qui

9 nous sont prescrites par le V. V. dans sa sainte parole.

10 Voilà pourquoi, j'ai

11 dû prendre garde à tous les genres de fa-

12 natives qui corrompent les sceaux par les faux

13 prophètes, qui faussent les S<sup>ts</sup> Ecritures, et ex-

14 posent ainsi la vraie religion de l'Éternel au

15 ridicule et à la haine.

16 Comme peuple de Dieu, nous devons suivre

17 sa sainte parole, comme elle nous est prescrite

18 "ayant une conduite honorable etc." (Coyez 1<sup>re</sup> Pétr.

19 Chap. II, 12-14.) Et comme témoignages, lisez

20 dans les textes que j'ai vous mentionnés ici à

21 la hâte: 2<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>re</sup> Cor. I, 23; Act. 31; Rom. II, 9; 1<sup>re</sup> Tim.

22 Gal. I, 20; Philip. I, 8; 1<sup>re</sup> Thess. II, 5, 10; 2<sup>o</sup> Tim. 4, 21.

23 2<sup>o</sup> Tim. IV, 1. Vous voyez par ces textes qu'il est

24 permis de prêter serment pour dire la vérité -

25 La parole du Seigneur, qui nous enseigne, dans

26 l'Évangile selon S<sup>t</sup> Matthieu Ch. V. 33-36 n'a

27 aucune connexion avec le serment que nous

28 devons faire devant les tribunaux pour éta-

29 blir la vérité. Le Seigneur dit positivement

30 au verset 33: "Mais avec aussi, apposez qu'il a

31 été dit aux anciens: "Tu ne jureras

32 point, etc." - Justes jurures faisaient

33 les anciens à (Coyez la réponse dans le volume

34 XXX, 3; Apoc. XXIII, 23). Les deux témoignages

35 nous prouvent que les anciens faisaient les

36 vœux par leurs serments, et qu'ils

37 n'étaient pas capables de garder. De cette façon,

38 ils violaient leur serment.

39 Or, donc le Seigneur nous apprend dans

40 S<sup>t</sup> Matthieu V, qu'il nous est défendu de faire

41 de tels vœux ou serments, car, si ce texte de S<sup>t</sup>

42 Matthieu nous fait commettre un péché, alors



1 St-Paul s'est rendu extrêmement coupable.  
2  
3 Ma conclusion donc est, que notre très cher  
4 frère St. - et chacun des membres de la vraie  
5 Eglise de Dieu, aussi longtemps que nous serons  
6 citoyens de cette terre, tel usage est permis de  
7 rendre hommage à la vérité, comme il convient  
8 à une conscience pure et honnête.  
9 Profitant de cette occasion, j'ai l'honneur  
10 d'ajouter, pour la consolation de l'Eglise  
11 notre mission dans le village de Foley, au jés  
12 donne des seances tous les lundis soir, est  
13 abondamment benis de Dieu.  
14 Ces champs de la signe du Seigneur  
15 ont été arpentés par père Jeymet, qui travaille  
16 maintenant dans les environs de Lucens.  
17 priez Dieu pour ce nouvel arpent et pour  
18 nous. Mille salutations à tous les élus  
19 de Dieu et principalement à votre chère  
20 Epouse et tous -  
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Wilhemine Schirmer to Albert Vuilleumier, December 13, 1867,  
DP14

1 de M<sup>lle</sup> Schirmer

2 Très cher frère Albert

3 Pour ma part je vous remercie de la  
4 bonté que vous avez eu, en nous en-  
5 voyant le billet de ling. lents francs  
6 pour nous sortir d'inquiétude et faire  
7 honneur à la signature de notre cher  
8 frère. Mais il me fallait une bonne  
9 signature pour pouvoir l'escompter  
10 n'étant pas connue à l'Établissement, et  
11 je vous assure que ça n'a pas été sans  
12 peine. Selon tout ses efforts, et  
13 par tous les moyens possibles, il nous  
14 veut nuire. Mais grâce à Dieu  
15 j'ai pu payer le 11 <sup>us 450 f. dus par</sup> M<sup>re</sup> Lambollet  
16 Ludomire était avec moi.

17 Nous avons tous été heureux et moi  
18 la première d'avoir de vos bonnes nouvelles  
19 par frère Jean. Je crois cher frère  
20 qu'il sera très important et très nécessaire  
21 que vous nous donniez un jour ou deux



1 quand vos affaires vous le permettront.  
 2 Dieu a confié dans nos faibles mains  
 3 une mission grande et très solennelle  
 4 et chacun de nous petits et grands doit  
 5 y travailler, chacun en son rang; et Dieu  
 6 nous en redemanderà compte. Comment  
 7 nous aurons pris soin de la gloire de  
 8 son grand nom. il est donc très  
 9 important qu'toutes nos affaires  
 10 dans nos maisons se fassent et se  
 11 passent toutes pour la gloire de  
 12 Dieu quand toutes choses nous sont  
 13 livrées au monde. Il nous faut  
 14 commencer par les enfants qui sont  
 15 un sujet bien important dans la  
 16 maison. Surtout Michel qui avec  
 17 son mauvais caractère, subit encore  
 18 la mauvaise influence de sa mère  
 19 que tout le bien que nous voulons  
 20 faire est détruit par le mal que  
 21 leur malheureuse mère leur fait  
 22 Je ne finirais pas ma lettre si  
 23 je voulais entrer dans des détails  
 24 que je n'ai pas le temps de vous  
 25 donner; Dieu sait et connaît

1 que mon besoin est grand pour  
2 <sup>(v)</sup>desire de tout mon coeur que les  
3 choses soient autrement, car  
4 je souffre beaucoup. Nous  
5 avons un grand besoin de  
6 vous voir

7 Saluez je vous prie de  
8 notre part tous les freres  
9 et soeurs bien cordialement.

10 Recevez cher frere en  
11 particulier mes bonnes  
12 salutations votre soeur  
13 en Jesus Christ

14 St Pleuse le 12 Decembre

15 tres a la hâte 67  
16

Ms 500 . 12 X<sup>12</sup> 1867



175 - Calmant: Albert Vuilleumier, Pioneer in Europe

Michael B. Czechowski to Albert Vuilleumier, July 5, 1868, DP02

DP 2

1 Bâle le 5<sup>e</sup> juillet 1868.  
2 Palau-Guyon N<sup>o</sup> 40.

1 Cher frère Vuilleumier:  
2  
3 N'ayant par votre seconde lettre que  
4 vous été décidé à ne point me répondre fran-  
5 chement aux questions que j'ai été forcé  
6 de vous poser, après votre première lettre,  
7 afin qu'il fut possible de vous répondre  
8 clair et convenablement à ce que vous me  
9 demandiez, je vous dirai simplement en  
10 réponse à votre seconde lettre, de bien  
11 vouloir vous rappeler ce que je vous au-  
12 noncé, en le comparant à l'article de foi  
13 de l'Association de "Seventh Day Adventists"  
14 de Battle Creek, et d'examiner si mes en-  
15 seignement ont été conformes avec les leurs  
16 et si jamais j'ai dit un mot contre l'Associa-  
17 tion, excepté, qu'il m'ont pas voulu aider,  
18 dont je vous ai dit la raison.  
19 Je vous envoie en-enclos deux pièces qui  
20 vous montreront qu'il y a de grands et graves  
21 erreurs dans le sens également donné par  
22 votre correspondant d'Amérique, et que  
23 malgré que tant et que mes ennemis  
24 personnelle par le jalousie ont pu vomir  
25 un tel de foi, devant Dieu, avec les vrais enfants  
26 de Dieu de l'Eglise de Battle Creek.

1 Même que l'autorisation de la principale balonne  
 2 de cette Eglise, notre très cher frère Cornucille par  
 3 le ministère de quel j'ai été baptisé et baptisé dans  
 4 cette Eglise, ne me manque ni ses prières ni l'au-  
 5 ances de l'intérêt qu'il porte à la mission dont  
 6 l'Esprit-Saint même, m'a chargé (visible déjà  
 7 par le simple fait, qu'aux non pas pensée à  
 8 l'Europe) et que je suis seule à y travailler  
 9 sans que l'Association m'a voulu accorder un loan  
 10 ou envoyer un quaker pour prêcher le 3<sup>e</sup>  
 11 Age Message. J'ai rien à confesser devant cette  
 12 Eglise, autrement je serais un hypocrite. C'est  
 13 à mes ennemis de confesser leur péchés. —  
 14 Du rest, Dieu a donné assez de visions à V<sup>r</sup>  
 15 White pour qu'il n'y ait plus besoin d'autres  
 16 témoignages humains pour leur démontrer ma  
 17 cause. Je vous dirais seulement, que vous  
 18 ne connaissez point au fond les choses,  
 19 vous avez très mal agi, en irritant, sans m'au-  
 20 vertir, <sup>et il aurait fallu attendre même quelque temps,</sup> aussi, vous avez montré, par cela,  
 21 que votre affection pour moi depuis quelque  
 22 temps est haut-à fait secondaire, et le mal qui  
 23 en est résulté pour moi, est très difficile à répa-  
 24 rer. Mes ennemis s'élevaient déjà, et, c'est à  
 25 cause de cela, je pense j'ai reçu de graves re-  
 26 proches de "Advent Herald" de Boston, et j'en  
 27 a publié un article contre moi, et d'argent  
 28 que mes amis ont versé dans son bureau  
 29 pour notre mission, il est très probable que  
 30 je ne le verrai jamais. Si n'encore pas que  
 31 les amis de "Prophet" et le "Voice" le suivront,  
 32 car leur parti (en m'aidant) fut que notre



1 mission porte le Nom d'une Européenne  
 2 Advent mission, et que le but de mes travaux  
 3 ~~doit être~~ consister à unir en jour tous les  
 4 branches ensemble des croyant dans un même  
 5 corps. Mais vous me connaissait pas l'esprit des  
 6 américains, il est arrivé par votre frère, et il  
 7 m'a montré la lettre si jointe (et les autres que  
 8 je réserve encore) et prouvent par cela qu'il n'est  
 9 nullement en division avec les saints, et qu'il n'a  
 10 point la présomption dont on la présente association  
 11 de Ball's Breth l'accuse. — Mais puisque vous  
 12 avez commencé, chers frères, il faut que vous  
 13 continuiez. Vous pouvez leur demander quel pour  
 14 envoi un autre message par lequel vous leur  
 15 qu'il le contient, puisque vous leur avez montré que  
 16 les enfants que Dieu s'est donné la grâce d'en-  
 17 tendre par la foi et la vérité, présent se méfient  
 18 de moi, et que vous n'avez pas craint de me  
 19 déshonorer devant eux et tous les autres Chrétiens  
 20 de l'Amérique qui se sont montré amis de l'U-  
 21 nion, agissant en bons Samaritains vis-à-vis de  
 22 vous et de moi; et au quel vous devez la recomman-  
 23 sance de ce que vous connaissez la parole de vérité  
 24 du Seigneur. Quant à moi, chers frères, je crai-  
 25 que le Seigneur prendra soin de mon minis-  
 26 tère ainsi que de ma famille affligée, que je puisse  
 27 accomplir ma tâche devant lui fidèlement.  
 28 Vous voudrez bien, après lecture faite, me  
 29 renvoyer ces deux pièces, et d'être assuré que  
 30 le but de ma vie et de mes souffrances continuées  
 31 est celui d'être un fidèle serviteur du Seigneur,  
 32 et d'en être membre, non d'une Eglise humaine.

1 mais de la Vraie Eglise de Dieu partant où elle  
 2 se trouvera dans cent les dix ans des pros-  
 3 perité. . . . .  
 4 Je soule donc, que je reconnais l'Eglise  
 5 de Ballie Creek et son association comme  
 6 cherchant la verité, mais qu'il leur manque  
 7 c'est à dire à quelques uns la principale  
 8 chose, c'est la charité; et que ceux là, en  
 9 gardant le Sabbat, ne se gardent point  
 10 de violer celles qui dit: "Tu ne diras point  
 11 faux témoignage contre ton prochain". -  
 12  
 13  
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Je soule donc, que je reconnais l'Eglise  
 de Ballie Creek et son association comme  
 cherchant la verité, mais qu'il leur manque  
 c'est à dire à quelques uns la principale  
 chose, c'est la charité; et que ceux là, en  
 gardant le Sabbat, ne se gardent point  
 de violer celles qui dit: "Tu ne diras point  
 faux témoignage contre ton prochain". -  
 Je soule donc, que je reconnais l'Eglise  
 de Ballie Creek et son association comme  
 cherchant la verité, mais qu'il leur manque  
 c'est à dire à quelques uns la principale  
 chose, c'est la charité; et que ceux là, en  
 gardant le Sabbat, ne se gardent point  
 de violer celles qui dit: "Tu ne diras point  
 faux témoignage contre ton prochain". -  
 Cela me suffit d'être avec mon  
 Sauveur Jésus Christ.  
 Recevez mes meilleurs vœux pour  
 votre prospérité temporelle et éternelle  
 de votre dévoué père  
 M. B. Zeehauer Sr.



179 – Calmant: Albert Vuilleumier, Pioneer in Europe

Michael B. Czechowski to Albert Vuilleumier, December 15, 1868, DP07

1 Salins, (France), le 15 Decembre 1868.

2 Cher frère Vuilleumier:

3 Notre honorée lettre du 22 Nov. ne m'est

4 parvenue malheureusement que cette semaine dernière, vu

5 que je suis obligé d'être continuellement en chemin, mais quoique

6 un peu tard, je m'empresse de vous répondre et de vous remercier

7 de vos nouvelles. J'ai reçu une bonne lettre de M<sup>me</sup> avec 2000 frs

8 avec les quels je pu éteindre beaucoup des mes dettes et cela m'a

9 sauvé mon cœur affligé. Que Dieu le benigne. J'ai donné l'ordre

10 de M<sup>me</sup> de vous expédier le 80 frs que vous aviez la bonté

11 de me prêter. M<sup>re</sup> D<sup>e</sup> de Mogenenthal a envoyé un certificat à M<sup>me</sup>

12 déclarant que le Scierum dans le stomac est pericé, et cela a produit

13 le vomissement et la mort. Depuis là je traversé les montagnes

14 et travaillé beaucoup en Suisse. Arrivé un soir à Colmar ou

15 personne n'a voulu me recevoir pour la nuit, je fut obligé d'aller

16 plus loin, malgré les tenebres de la nuit et le vent accompagné de forte

17 pluie. En sortant de cette ville, portant un gros sac sur le dos, j'ai

18 trouvé deux chemins larges devant moi, mais n'ayant personne

19 pour demander la direction, j'ai pris celle qui se trouva à ma

20 droite, et, au milieu des tenebres de la nuit et d'un orage terrible

21 j'ai poursuivi cette route jusqu'à ce qu'il me fut impossible de

22 continuer, et que je dus reprendre chemin, vu que je me trouvois

23 dans un desert inhabitable au milieu d'eau et la boue.

1 La pluie continuait donc il n'était pas possible de passer la nuit là.  
 2 et il a fallut de retourner sur mes pas. En traversant les champs, et après  
 3 une long & très fatigant travers, je trouvai afin l'autre chemin,  
 4 et vers mi-nuit j'arrivai dans un village où il avait encore quelques  
 5 lumières. Son nom est St Croix ! Frappé dans l'eau et la boue jusqu'<sup>aux</sup>  
 6 genoux, je frappi donc à la porte où il y avait encore la lumière, mais  
 7 ils me répondirent qu'ils ne pouvaient me donner l'hospitalité. Dans la  
 8 seconde maison la même refus. La troisième qui fut un hôtel, pas non  
 9 plus de mi'séricorde. M' la prière au Nom du précieux sang de Jésus,  
 10 ni aucune autre supplication n'a pas pu touché le cœur du t'antre.  
 11 geste qui me répondi par la fenêtre. Enfin, Dieu par sa mi'séricorde  
 12 toucha le cœur d'un homme de palice qui m'ouvrit la porte de la  
 14 garde, et quelques minutes fut excessivement sale, j'y trouvai néanmoins  
 15 un poêle chaud, et je fus sauvé en séchant un peu mes habits et  
 16 par de pluie et de boue, et pu passer le reste de la nuit sur une planche  
 17 près du feu. Je fais dans cette soirée mémorable 40 kilomètres sans  
 18 souper. Le lendemain matin, je poursuivis ma route, et après avoir  
 19 fait 15 kil. j'arrivai à l'auberge dans laquelle je pu prendre une bonne  
 20 tasse de café. Enfin je réussis de faire encore 30 kil. et me trouvai dans  
 21 la ville de Muthouse chez un frère où je me suis reposé. - Ensuite  
 22 je visitai des villages et des villes jusqu'à Pontarlier où je fut bien reçu  
 23 par du Seigneur. Je poursuivis ma route par la vieille Bourgogne etc. ..  
 24 au plusieurs âmes catholiques Dieu m'a donné la grâce de gagner à son  
 25 St Évangile. Les braves familles ont jamais vu la Bible, et n'ayant  
 26 point à leur donner, je fut obligé de passer les montagnes jusqu'à  
 27 Lyon où j'étais allé. Se en aussi le bonheur de placer ma fille et mes



181 - Calmant: Albert Vuilleumier, Pioneer in Europe

1 A Michel à la pension chez Sœur Rolland au il sont tant fait sur  
2 une production maternelle et après cela je retournerai à Champagnat  
3 pour délivrer ma noble promesse la quelle fut veur avec une grande  
4 joie. J'ai travaillé jus qu'à aujourd'hui dans les environs d'Araucó  
5 du ble parmi les ivraies. A Dieu soit la gloire Amen! Je parte  
6 aujourd'hui de nouveau en Suisse pour quelques temps. Ma maison  
7 est couvert, mais il me faut combats encore beaucoup jusqu'à que  
8 je puisse trouver plus d'argent pour vous rembourser et que je  
9 vous aie, très chers frères. Ayez la patience, et Dieu vous recom-  
10 pensera toute bonté. Je vaudrais vendre tant, mais il m'est impossible  
11 de donner en meilleur prix et ainsi j'elli l'argent de S<sup>r</sup> dans la  
12 bonté. Donc il faut que je travaille, pour la sauve-entièrement.  
13 Ditte à frère Jacques qui vend les cartes comme il pourra et qui  
14 tiennent compte. Il peut prendre des brochures de M<sup>r</sup> Bonfantini  
15 tout qui pourra disposer à pour la mission et pour lui.  
16 Sur les brochures nous ne pouvons pas diminuer le prix; quand  
17 aux cartes je fait un sacrifice. Fr. Gaynet à passé par St Blaise  
18 et il est maintenant à Piedmont. Voilà toute ce que je peu vous dire  
19 en très grand Kate en vous priant de me croire à l'expression  
20 de mon amour paternelle et de toute mon affection chrétienne  
21 pour vous tous priant sans cesse que Dieu vous benisse abondamment.

22 Père fidèle frère en Christ  
23 M. B. Frechausk

John N. Andrews to Albert Vuilleumier, January 15, 1878, DP32

1 68 Mullerweg, St. Louis, Jan. 15 1878  
2 Dear Brother Vuilleumier:  
3 When at Merges I wrote  
4 you concerning the sickness of sister Bourdieu and  
5 asked one or two questions which I hoped you would  
6 answer. But it appears from a letter that I have received  
7 from Bro. Bourdieu that you did not get my letter.  
8 I learn that you decided to sell that piece of  
9 ground. I think this was a wise decision under  
10 the circumstances. I hope the way will open for you  
11 to give yourself to the cause of God without hinder-  
12 ance. I know very well the difficulties in your  
13 way and I will do the best in my power to help  
14 remove them. I said to you a long while ago  
15 that I would give five times towards helping you  
16 to enter the work. I have not forgotten the promise.  
17 Just as soon as possible I will fulfill it. This I  
18 mean to do out of my own means, as soon as  
19 I can raise the money. I shall also do what I can  
20 to find means for your help from the cause.  
21 I am very actively at work to get an office  
22 of our own established. We shall bring this to  
23 pass within a few days. As soon as the next  
24 number is printed we shall take every thing from  
25 the hands of Mr. Küssi and shall do our own  
26 work all except the press work. We can save enough  
27 thus to pay our expenses for the living of the family.  
28 I will consider what can be done for Victor C.  
29 I fear that a printing office would not do for

183 - Calmant: Albert Vuilleumier, Pioneer in Europe


1 for him in his present state of health - for he  
2 seems to be threatened with consumption. But  
3 I will say this that whatever is necessary to be  
4 done to care for him I will meet a just share  
5 of the expense and will do whatever is suitable  
6 and proper as to his working in the type setting,  
7 At the present moment we have to struggle  
8 hard with poverty, but I trust God will  
9 help us in all our necessities.  
10 I wish to have some meetings for tracts  
11 and missionary work in each place where  
12 our letters lie. If you have time that you  
13 could spend with me in such a work I  
14 should be extremely glad of your help.

15 Yours in Christ  
16 J. N. Andrews



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John N. Andrews to Albert Vuilleumier, April 15, 1879, DP31



ESTABLISHED NOVEMBER, 1850.

OFFICE OF THE

**REVIEW & HERALD.**

Book and Job Printing, Book Binding,  
ELECTROTYPING AND STEREOTYPING.

MAIN BUILDING,  
Cor. Main and Washington Sts.


1 Battle Creek, Mich. April 15 1879

2 Very Dear Brother Vuilleumier: A long time  
3 has elapsed since I last wrote you. I have been  
4 feeble the most of the time and have been obliged to  
5 get others to write my letters for me. But I have  
6 not forgotten you nor your affairs. I have made  
7 it one of my principal objects this winter to find  
8 some way to relieve you so that you can be  
9 free to give yourself to the cause of God. My first  
10 effort has been to open a market for your watches.  
11 In this I find great difficulty, ~~in this~~. The country  
12 is filled with watches from the factories at Elgin  
13 and Waltham and in other places. These are sold  
14 very cheap and they have a good reputation.  
15 But there is another difficulty. The Swiss  
16 watchmakers send over their watches in separ-  
17 ate pieces, not wholly finished, and they have  
18 their agents in this country who take these and

1 finish and set them up. By this means they  
2 get their watches into the country without paying  
3 much money for duties, while you who send  
4 your watches all finished and set up have to  
5 pay full duties. So it is that the other dealers  
6 can send their watches here and sell them at  
7 a less cost than you. I talked this over very  
8 fully with William P. Butter in Boston. We  
9 could not see how to remedy the matter. Bro.  
10 Haskell has offered to take a small quantity  
11 of your watches and try to sell them as he  
12 goes over the country and then if he has  
13 success he will take a larger quantity. But  
14 this is a slow way to help you.

15 I have made a great effort to find some  
16 means to help you by begging or borrowing  
17 money of our brethren in different parts of the  
18 country. I have been as far east as Boston and  
19 ~~but~~ have made the best effort in my power to  
20 get money. I can get money after awhile but  
21 it seems impossible to get any now. Our  
22 brethren have got in debt to establish and  
23 maintain the institutions at Battle Creek and  
24 at Oakland in California and much means  
25 must be raised to help these institutions still

(2) ESTABLISHED OFFICE OF THE NOVEMBER, 1860.



**REVIEW & HERALD.**

Book and Job Printing, Book Binding,  
ELECTROTYPING AND STEREOTYPING.

Cor. Main and Washington Sts. Battle Creek, Mich. 187

1 further. It has given me great pain to find  
2 such hindrances in the way. I have however  
3 still a few persons to visit from whom I hope  
4 to obtain means. But if I cannot get any  
5 thing now I shall get something by and  
6 by. I have done the utmost that I could  
7 and I beg you will not think that I have  
8 not made an earnest effort to help you.  
9 I have waited before writing to you hoping  
10 that I could report good success. I have  
11 not lost all hope but still I cannot promise  
12 much for the present. Perhaps God will open  
13 my way to help you at this conference.  
14 Brother and Sister White have insisted that  
15 I should remain till this conference. They said  
16 that my state of health was such that I must  
17 not yet set out for Europe. I have been  
18



187 - Calmant: Albert Vuilleumier, Pioneer in Europe

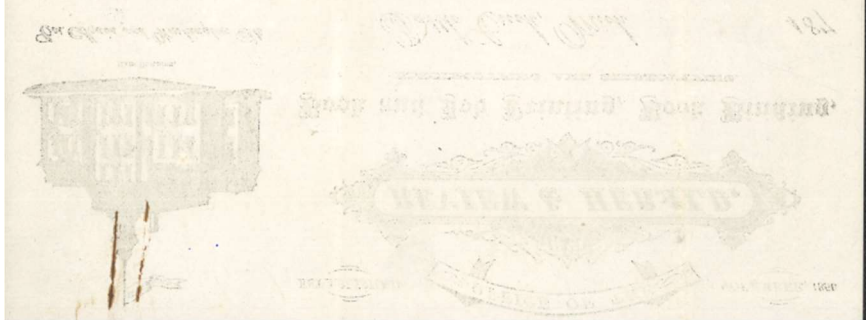
1 very reluctant to thus delay my return but  
2 have seen it to be necessary. I hope that I have  
3 gained a little in strength. You can realize I  
4 think something of the great affliction which I  
5 have suffered. It is very much as though I  
6 had buried my wife the second time. But I  
7 cannot murmur for Mary went down with so  
8 much of the blessing of God that it was a great  
9 privilege to be with her in her last days. She  
10 wished me to send her photograph to Elise and  
11 I will enclose it in this letter if it does not make  
12 the postage double.

13 I hope I shall see you now in a very short  
14 time. *Faites bien mes amities à saeur Vuilleumier*  
15 *et à tous nos amis.*

16 *Votre frere en Jesus-Christ*

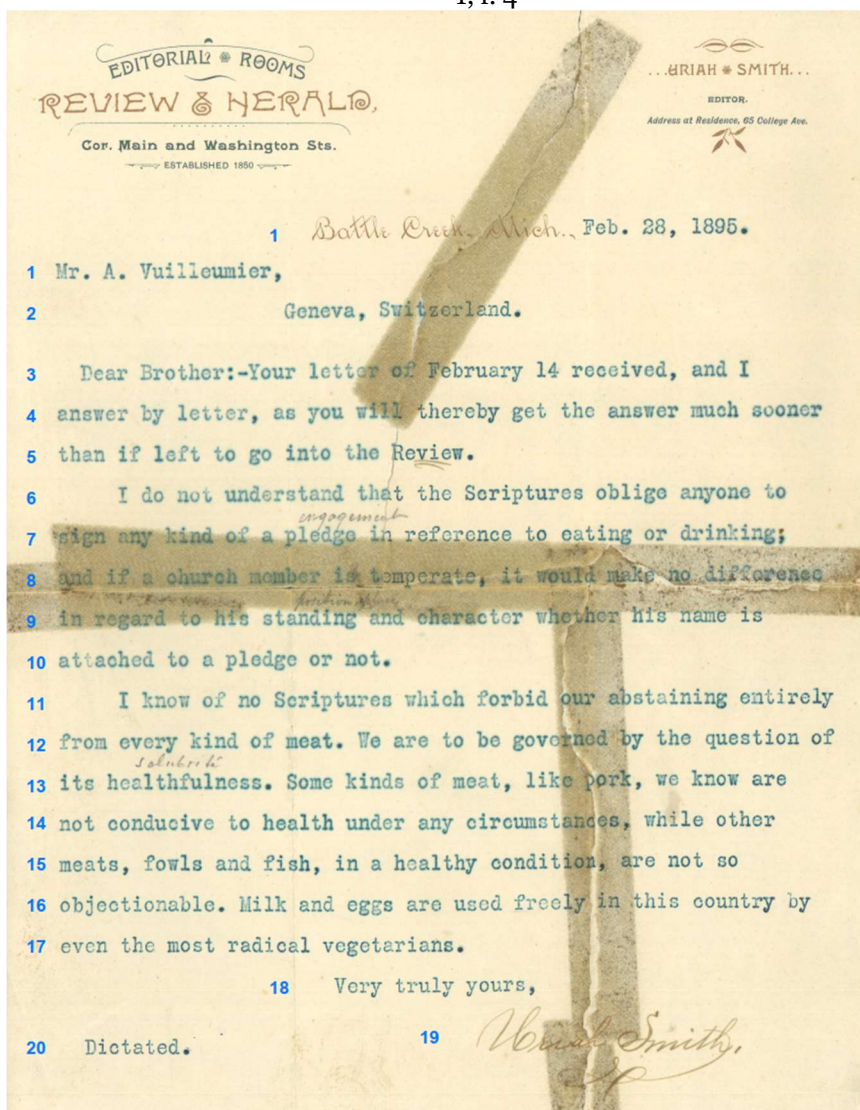
17 *J. N. Andrews*

15 avril 1879



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Uriah Smith to Albert Vuilleumier, February 28, 1895, 1CP7, Ch.  
1, f. 4





## **Archival Updates and Book Reviews**

## **Archival Accreditations, 2023–2024**

**by**  
**D. J. B. Trim**

The last twelve months have seen several institutions had their archives and records centers accredited by the General Conference Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research (ASTR). First, in November, the South Pacific Division Heritage and Archives Department, located at Avondale University, in Cooranbong, New South Wales, Australia, was accredited at the second-highest level, of “Approved”. The present author chaired a team that, at the South Pacific Division officers’ request, carried out an evaluation of the division’s archives, heritage collections, and museums in 2018; the difference in the way materials are treated, conserved, and made accessible in the intervening five years was prodigious. The archives will be building on its success to seek “Center of Excellence” accreditation this coming September. At the time of publication, there is only one Center of Excellence (the Center for Adventist Research at Andrews University) so it would be good to see another added to the list of accredited institutions.

In March, a team made up of the author and the executive secretary and assistant secretary of the Southern Asia-Pacific Division carried out two accreditations, of the East Indonesia Union Conference, in Mindanao, and the West Indonesia Union Conference, in Jakarta. Both passed their accreditations at the level of “Recognized”: the EIUC unconditionally, the WIUM conditionally, but the condition was subsequently met and so both are now “Recognized” by GC ASTR. A tremendous amount of work had clearly gone into preparing for the accreditations and the EIUC’s level of documentation in particular was a model for any archives or records center seeking accreditation.

Later in March, the author inspected the archives and records centre of the East-Central Africa Division, near Nairobi, Kenya. These had been informally evaluated by two ASTR staff in 2023

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and recommendations made to ensure the division could successfully move forward with accreditation in 2024. In the end, there were some minor issues, but accreditation was awarded for the archives at “Emerging” level and for the records centre as “Recognized”.

In August, the author visited the West-Central Africa Division for a reaccreditation inspection. The division had originally been accredited as “Recognized” in 2019 by an ASTR team consisting of Roy Kline and Kenrie Hylton. Further improvement in the archives and records center had taken place since 2019, and both were reaccredited as “Recognized”.

In September, the author visited the South Pacific Division Adventist Heritage Centre, which acts as both the archives and records center for the division and also has a large collection of historic manuscripts and photos. Located at Avondale University, the Centre had been accredited last November as “Approved” but sought upgrading to “Center of Excellence.” This was achieved, making the Adventist Heritage Centre only the second accredited “Center of Excellence,” after the Center for Adventist Research at Andrews University.

## **New Acquisitions at the Center for Adventist Research**

**by**  
**Kevin M. Burton**

### **Introduction**

The Center for Adventist Research (CAR) at Andrews University strives to collect everything by, about, against, and related to Seventh-day Adventism from around the globe. Though this is a virtually impossible task, CAR aspires to this goal so that undergraduate and graduate students on campus and researchers from around the world can access to this rare and unique material. Collectively, all Adventist archives make the writing of history possible and serve as the foundation for Adventist identity and our mission.

CAR possess more than four hundred manuscript collections, most of which are available for research. This article briefly highlights some of the collections that have recently been processed and are now accessible as well as some of CAR's most recent acquisitions.

### **Recently Processed Collections**

Several notable collections have recently been processed and are now available for research. Among these are the Jasper Wayne Papers (Collection 377), which CAR acquired in 2021. Wayne (1850–1920) was a lay entrepreneur and is best known as the “Father of Ingathering.” This small collection (.075 linear feet) contains Wayne's correspondence from 1904 to 1914 and some letters sent to his wife after his death (thirty-six letters) as well as one of Wayne's unfinished manuscripts, titled, “Start of the Harvest Ingathering Work.”

The Eric A. Beavon Papers (Collection 384) is of interest as well. Beavon (1898–1987) was an Adventist educator, missionary,

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pastor, and administrator for more than 65 years who worked in the United States, Canada, England, and Kenya. In addition to his service for the church, Beavon was also imprisoned at Dartmoor during World War I as a conscientious objector. Beavon's collection (1.25 linear feet) contains his poetry, his correspondence between 1919 and 1926 (187 letters), photographs, and his seventeen diaries from 1915 to 1920 that relate his experiences as a "Conchie" during the war.

The Dudley U. Hale and Family Papers (Collection 318) are now available for research. Hale (1865–1949) was an early missionary to Ghana and helped establish the first Adventist mission in West Africa. Hale also served in British Guyana and was president of the Missouri, Southern Missouri, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Northern New England conferences. This collection (1.67 linear feet) contains various biographical documents relating to Hale as well as his personal papers, correspondence, photographs, and diaries for 1897 and 1903. It also contains the papers of his wife, Ida, and their daughters, Lila and Worthy.

The Anti-Saloon League Records (Collection 208) have been at the Center for Adventist Research for many years but are now accessible. This rich collection (2 linear feet) contains extensive correspondence and publications from 1893 to 1912 that James L. Ewin preserved. The national Anti-Saloon League was founded in Oberlin, Ohio, and had significant influence within United States politics between 1893 and 1933. Though it was not an Adventist organization, it is significant for contextualizing the Adventists' support for temperance and vital for understanding the national history of this cause during the Progressive Era.

CAR has recently processed the Louis Bernard Reynolds Papers (Collection 323). Reynolds (1917–1983) was a leading black Adventist minister, editor, and administrator. He edited *Message* magazine from 1945 to 1959 and from 1978 to 1980 and was author of the path-breaking book, *We Have Tomorrow: The Story of American Seventh-day Adventists with an African Heritage* (Review and Herald, 1984). Reynolds' collection (2 records center boxes) contains personal items, correspondence, writings, photographs, and topical files from the 1940s to the 1980s.

The Ellen G. White Compilation Collection (Collection 140) has been stored in the vault at CAR for many decades but is now available for research. This collection (3.3 linear feet) was preserved and collected by several people, the most notable of

whom was Minnie Violet Hawkins, one of Ellen White's secretaries. It contains Ellen G. White's letters and manuscripts (including some holographs) as well as the correspondence of William C. White and Herbert White. This unique collection documents and illustrates many things about Ellen White's life and work not available elsewhere, most notably revealing how Ellen White's office produced her publications in the 1890s and 1900s.

The Branch Davidians of Waco, Texas, Documents (Collection 399) will interest many scholars. In 1993, the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) laid siege to David Koresh's followers at Mount Carmel. After fifty-one days, the FBI stormed the compound with tanks and tear gas, resulting in a fire that killed eighty-two Davidians (including children). The Davidian documents at CAR date from the late 1980s and early 1990s and came from one of the buildings on the Davidian compound not selected for document retrieval after the raid. One of the demolition workers grabbed these papers out of the dumpster and kept them in storage until his death. In 2023, his children sold these documents to a rare book dealer, who then sold them to CAR. This collection (.21 linear feet) contains diary fragments, sermon drafts, prophetic timelines, drawings, and a fragment with Koresh's signature. Much of this collection is devoted to the seven seals of Revelation 6, a document possibly written by Koresh himself. There is also one homily that was written on March 21, 1993, during the siege.

Ronald L. Numbers, a distinguished historian of medicine and science as well as Seventh-day Adventism, donated his papers to CAR in 2022. The Ronald L. Numbers Papers (Collection 379) contains forty-eight records center boxes of material totaling about 60 linear feet. This collection is broad in scope and includes materials from Numbers' personal and professional life. The finding aid, which is 175 pages in length, details the rich material available in this collection, the most notable being Numbers' extensive correspondence from 1965 to 2023.

In 2022, CAR acquired the largest known collection of Joseph Wolff materials. Wolff was a contemporary of William Miller known for his extensive missionary journeys and prediction that Jesus Christ would return in 1847. He is prominently featured in Ellen G. White's *Great Controversy*. The Joseph Wolff Papers (Collection 381) contains about one thousand pages of

### *195 – Burton: New Acquisitions at CAR*

handwritten material, including over 150 letters and Wolff's Bible with extensive handwritten notes. Now that this material is available, it is possible to write a scholarly biography of Wolff.

#### **Recently Acquired Collections**

The Center for Adventist Research has also recently acquired many substantial manuscript collections that are not yet available for research. Once these collections are organized, they will be accessible. Interested parties can contact CAR for updates regarding the availability of these materials. The following are the most notable recently acquired collections:

##### English Professors

- Dorothy Minchin-Comm (1929–2017), former Professor of English at La Sierra University (23.75 linear feet).

##### Nurses, Doctors, and Scientists

- Ella D. Dorsey (1881–1902), a former nurse at the Battle Creek Sanitarium who died tragically in a boating accident on Lake Goguac in 1902 (approximately 300 pages of correspondence)
- George B. Replogle (1966–1955), a medical doctor and missionary who served nearly twenty-eight years at the River Plate Sanitarium in Argentina (0.67 linear feet)
- Ariel A. Roth (1927–), an Adventist zoologist, former professor at Andrews University and Loma Linda University, and past director of the Geoscience Research Institute (85 linear feet).

##### Theologians and Missiologists

- Edward W. H. Vick (1929–2024), an Adventist teacher, preacher, and author of about thirty books (1 linear foot).
- Gottfried Oosterwal (1930–2015), former professor at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary and founder of the Institute of World Mission (6.88 linear feet).
- Edwin H. Zackrison, Sr. (1941–2022), former Professor of Theology at La Sierra University (8.75 linear feet)
- Norman R. Gulley (1933–2022), a systematic theologian, author, and professor at Southern Adventist University (31.25 linear feet).

- Russell L. Staples (1924–), Professor of World Mission, Emeritus, at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary (45 linear feet).
- Peter M. van Bemmelen (1934–), Professor of Theology, Emeritus, at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary (73 linear feet).

### Historians

- Floyd Greenleaf (1931–2022), an Adventist historian, administrator, and author who taught at Southern Adventist University from 1966 to 1997 (1.42 linear feet)
- Benjamin McArthur (1951–2017), an Adventist historian, administrator, and author who worked at Southern Adventist University from 1979 to 2017 (4.5 linear feet).
- Mark Peach (1957–2022), an Adventist historian who taught at Southern Adventist University for thirty-five years (5 linear feet)
- Bert Haloviak (1937–2022), former director of the General Conference Office of Archives and Statistics (13.75 linear feet).
- Gary Land (1944–2014), an Adventist historian and author who worked at Andrews University from 1988 to 2010 (15 linear feet of additions to the papers CAR had previously received)
- George R. Knight (1941–), leading Seventh-day Adventist historian and Professor of Church History, Emeritus, at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary (63.75 linear feet).
- Dennis Pettibone (1941–2023), an Adventist historian and author who spent most of his career working at Southern Adventist University (73 linear feet).

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, I will end with a personal anecdote that illustrates the rare danger that can accompany archival management work. In January 2024, Jim Ford and I completed a long archival collecting trip in which we picked up materials in Oregon, California, Arizona, and New Mexico. On January 11, we stopped in Elfrida, Arizona, about 30 minutes from the U.S.-Mexico border, to retrieve the papers of the late Dennis Pettibone.



Upon our arrival, his widow, Rebecca, told us that we had a problem—there were snakes in her garage! Our hearts started to race because, like Indiana Jones, neither Jim nor I like snakes. Though we never knew exactly how many snakes surrounded us, we did find two large specimens coiled up underneath Pettibone’s dissertation files. One of these snakes was non-venomous, but the other was a Mojave Green Rattlesnake, renowned for its debilitating and potentially deadly neurotoxic and hemotoxic venom. Considering this real danger (the nearest hospital was over an hour away), Jim jokingly asked if Pettibone’s dissertation files were worth saving. When I replied that his research dealt with Seventh-day Adventists who faced legal oppression for violating blue law, we both realized that we had to face the reptiles.

We waited as long as possible. After loading all the boxes from the house (during a mild, but obnoxious, dust storm) we began to formulate our plan of “attack.” Fortunately, the weather was on our side; it was in the 40s and too cold for the snakes to move quickly. Therefore, we decided to push, with a shovel, some folded-up camp chairs in front of the snakes to box them in, to some degree. Then, with a careful eye on our “friends” below, I grabbed the roughly six boxes that were on the shelf (easily within the snakes’ striking zone) as quickly as I could and passed them to Jim. To our relief, the snakes never moved, and we completed our mission unscathed. However, our cautious paranoia compelled us to open and inspect every box before we loaded them onto the truck to ensure that no scaly stowaways infiltrated CAR, took up residence, and produced offspring. We found none and are comforted by the fact that whatever might have been there would have died in the newsworthy winter storm that we battled as we drove a truck-full of paper back to Berrien Springs. So, my dear friends, you are cordially invited to come to the Center for Adventist Research to study Adventist history—and we can guarantee that you can do so without risk to life and limb!

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David A. Hollinger, *Christianity's American Fate: How Religion Became More Conservative and Society More Secular*. Princeton, NJ & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2022. xvi + 200 pp. ISBN 978-0-691-23388-8.

This is the latest book by the distinguished historian David Hollinger, whose previous book, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), was a major contribution to missionary history and general American religious history. This new work purports to tell the story of how evangelical Protestantism became the dominant form of Protestantism in the twenty-first-century United States, replacing what in the U.S. are often called mainline Protestant churches, though Hollinger (following the historian Gene Zubovich) prefers to call them “ecumenical Protestants.” But Hollinger’s real concern is more pointed—how and why a majority of American Protestants came to support the Republican Party in general and former President Donald Trump in particular. This is a small book, but incisive and provocative. It is superbly written—though not constructed as a narrative as such, its analysis is pushed forward so lucidly and attractively that it is a page turner. Some of its arguments are compelling. Unfortunately, however, it is significantly flawed. I see three issues with the book.

First, there is a lack of terminological clarity. It is clear enough how Hollinger defines ecumenical Protestants: they are (and were) members of a number of specified Protestant American denominations (though in practice, Hollinger is really interested in the elite of those denominations, rather than the majority of members, who only appear in the book sporadically, often when Hollinger concedes that members did not share the views of the ecclesiastical and academic elite). However, there is never an attempt to clearly define evangelical in the same way, though certain hints emerge. For example, Hollinger comes perilously

close to defining evangelicals as those who wanted to remain Christian but also to remain racist (see p. 5: “Evangelicalism created a safe harbor for white people who wanted to be counted as Christians without having to accept what ecumenical leaders said were the social obligations demanded by the gospel, especially the imperative to extend civil equality to nonwhites”). Elsewhere, Hollinger is more or less categorical that evangelicals are just fundamentalists by another name. But this is a problem, and so is defining an evangelical as someone who voted for President Trump or applauded the insurgency at the Capitol on January 6, 2021.

There is, firstly, a whole historiography devoted to defining evangelicals. Hollinger recognizes David Bebbington’s celebrated “quadrilateral” definition, but more or less dismisses its significance for twentieth- and twenty-first-century American Protestantism, as only being significant for “the doctrinal history” of evangelicals (p. 114). This disdain for the scholarship of Bebbington and others is on the tendentious grounds that Bebbington’s definition “elides the entire history of fundamentalist and evangelical connections with business-friendly individualism” (which again underscores Hollinger’s tendency to conflate fundamentalist and evangelical) and ignores “the vibrant tradition of premillennial dispensationalism” which, Hollinger questionably suggests, makes “QAnon’s theories seem less strange than they otherwise would be” (pp. 114–15). Here by effectively defining evangelicals as those inclined to accept the bizarre conspiracy theories of QAnon (or InfoWars) Hollinger ignores the many evangelicals who find those conspiracy theories rightly absurd or bizarre (and the evangelicals who are not dispensationalist). Hollinger has defined evangelicals so that he can disregard the “doctrinal history,” even though, for a denomination, doctrines are rather important. By defining evangelicals as he does, as people who support right-wing (and often extreme right-wing) politics, Hollinger discounts the longer-term history of evangelicals that most scholars believe goes back to the nineteenth if not the late-eighteenth century. Hollinger undoubtedly knows that there were Protestants who were called evangelicals in the nineteenth century, but effectively discounts the lineage and regards modern American evangelicalism as a simple rebranding of fundamentalism, even though scholars have

highlighted that in post-War America, there were clear lines of division between fundamentalists and evangelicals.

Hollinger himself, secondly, sends out mixed messages over whether there is a long history of evangelicalism or not. On p. 120 he writes of how “Evangelical support for the unabashedly ‘immoral’ Trump ... fits with the culture of American evangelical Protestantism, the long-term history of which has been cogently summarized by the historian John Fea.” So Hollinger here is in no doubt that there is a long-term history of evangelicalism. The lengthy quotation from Fea that follows is to the effect that a series of evangelical fears about progressive causes in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries were essentially similar to those of evangelicals in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (with an implication that all were equally unnecessary). This conversion to belief in a long-term history allows Hollinger to make a polemical point about how evangelicals have always been opposed to progressive causes.

There is, thirdly, no doubt that there are evangelical denominations in North America that include substantial African American or Latinx memberships and which are therefore skeptical about Trumpism or radical Republicanism. Seventh-day Adventists are one such denomination; some might question whether Adventists *are* evangelicals, but elsewhere in the book Hollinger accepts this (and as to whether he is right, it would depend on how one defines evangelical—something, as already noted, he does not do). There are also African American churches which are theologically evangelical. Hollinger minimizes the significance of this in his assertion that “[e]ven those African Americans whose theological opinions could be credibly classified as evangelical according to the ‘quadrilateral’ are not typically allied with white evangelicals in public affairs” (p. 154). But is this the most important point? Surely theological opinions cannot be so easily discounted, when one is dealing with Christian denominations. But again, what Hollinger is really concerned with is American Protestants who support President Trump, the Republican Party, and anti-Progressive forces. This is a legitimate subject of discussion—but whether such Protestants are best conceived of as “evangelicals” is a good question. Hollinger has decided that they are, and thus there is a circularity to his analysis.

The second significant issue with the book is that this is in some ways not much of a religious history at all; rather, it is really

an intellectual history—a history of ideas. Of course, it is a history of religious ideas and so one would not want to deny it its place in religious historiography. But Hollinger is primarily and overwhelmingly interested in certain ideas. And he is not really interested even in doctrines, or not what we might call first-order doctrines, but rather in religious ethics, what might be called second-order doctrines, or (often more accurately) the workings-out of first-order doctrines. Certainly, he has no place for spirituality in his analysis. Yet this is a critical weakness.

An important part of the story Hollinger tells is of the rise of “post-Protestants”—those who answer “none of the above” when in surveys they are asked to identify a religion, but who have often emerged out of Protestant churches. This relates to the part of his title about society becoming more secular. He suggests that most post-Protestants emerged from ecumenical Protestantism. He also suggests (perhaps unsurprisingly for one who, as he acknowledges at the start, is a post-Protestant himself) that “ecumenical Protestantism” could rightly “take some pride in facilitating post-Protestantism” (pp. 130–31). It never seems to occur to him to enquire why millions of Americans still cling to their ecumenical version of Protestantism and do not wish to become post-Protestants. There is no enquiry about what it means to be ecumenical (other than the ideas of a few top-level theologians and church leaders), much less an evangelical, of the kind demonstrated so well in, for example, Alec Ryrie’s *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). If Hollinger were to treat spirituality, as opposed to elite ideas, he might see, for example, why a Lutheran or Episcopalian, despite the liberal theology they hear from their respective pews, might find incredible meaning in the celebration of the sacraments that is so important in their respective faith traditions. When it comes to evangelicals, he does not give (or even attempt to give) anything like a coherent account of what they believe, much less of what their spiritual-life practices are like. Although he never says so explicitly, it seems pretty clear that, for him, among the chief characteristics of an evangelical are racism and misogyny. This also leaves open as to why so many people (including, as he acknowledges, many evangelicals who reject extreme-right politics, racism, etc.) find meaning in the ranks of the evangelical denominations. In sum, this is hollowed

out religious history, with the spirituality (and even much of the theology) removed. In consequence, it lacks explanatory force.

The third significant issue is that, although this book wants to tell a story about how evangelicals supplanted ecumenicals, it really does not tell that story. It is instead a history of ecumenical Protestantism, with very little to say about evangelicals. Hollinger analyses the development of ecumenical Protestant thought himself, and does so very capably and persuasively. But he almost never actually examines evangelical Protestant thought. He has a few quotations in passing (e.g., quoting Billy Graham espousing racist views, part of a general attempt to discredit evangelicals), but there is no proper analysis of the kind he provides for ecumenical Protestants. He periodically cites and summarizes the scholarship of others on evangelicals, but not only is there not even very much of this, in contrast to the space given to the ecumenicals, but also the contrast between his careful analysis of ecumenical Protestants and his summative treatment of evangelicals is striking. There is an important part of the story missing here; and this is a major reason why, in the end, Hollinger does not do justice to the evangelical side of his equation.

A final question that readers of this journal will ask: How do Adventists appear in its pages? First, it is welcome to note that they appear at all (at pp. 13, 65, 83, 102 and 142). But there is not much about Seventh-day Adventism. In all but one of the cited instances, Adventists are mentioned in passing, as indicative of a trend true of several denominations, with Adventism listed as one of the examples. Still, it is nice to be part of the American religious story, as opposed to being left out, as often happens in general histories of American religion. There is a more substantial treatment (p. 142, which is not included in the index reference for Seventh-day Adventists) when Adventists are singled out for highlighting as an evangelical denomination that split between its Global North and Global South wings, over the question of women's ordination. Hollinger gets some details wrong, but the essentials are right.

In sum, this book is well worth reading by the scholar of American religious history, but for historians of evangelicalism there is a lot that will lead to tut-tutting and headshaking. The book's small size and sparkling style may make it appealing to use for college courses on American religious history, but the students will need to be forewarned about the kinds of pitfalls identified

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above—and perhaps ultimately this book is best left for graduate students or professional scholars, who will be able to take the good points but recognize the flaws.

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Donald R. McAdams, *Ellen White & the Historians: A Neglected Problem and a Forgotten Answer*. 264pp. Westlake Village, CA: Oak & Acorn Publishing, 2022. 979-884-1-679-677.

In 1980, Donald McAdams wrote a piece for *Spectrum Magazine* called “Shifting Views of Inspiration: Ellen G. White Studies in the 1970s”, which he reprinted as this volume’s chapter two. In it, McAdams outlined three generations of people which he saw at that time in Seventh-day Adventism: the first generation whose movement had founded the denomination; the second generation who had established the denomination as an institution; and the third generation who were able to “commence the critical examination of the movement’s origins” through historical inquiry (170).

That third generation, of course, was his, and this book is in some ways an account of one of those critical examinations. While the volume is less of a monograph and more of a compilation of old and new materials on the same subject, the overarching (albeit barely articulated) argument of the conglomerated whole is that the results of these examiners’ inquiries were deliberately neglected and forgotten in the decades since 1980. Indeed, the thesis of the volume can be glimpsed in the main title McAdams chose for the volume: *Ellen G. White and the historians*. Set up as an all-or-nothing battle between the second generation and the third generation, the volume contains three chapters of material (two of which were written by Donald McAdams in the 1970s and 1980s and one which was penned by the late Benjamin McArthur in the early 2000s), and three chapters of new material, only one of which is authored by McAdams. The other two chapters are penned by historians Eric Anderson and Ronald Graybill. Additional explanatory notes (pages IV, 45-49) have been added to the older material. Such a construction warrants a response by chapter.



The first section (pages 1-168), called chapter 1 in the table of contents, is the longest portion of the volume, containing the text of both versions of McAdams's study from the 1970s of Ellen G. White's Huss manuscript and its equivalence to the history by James Wylie, then titled "Ellen G. White and the Protestant Historians". McAdams notes in his preface and his new explanatory material that, while the text of his paper and its content and argumentation have not changed, he did make "minor changes" to it, including "alter[ing] some confusing phrases, correct[ing] a few misspelled words, remov[ing] a few unnecessary commas, and add[ing] a few paragraph breaks", including standardizing Wylie's spelling (3, 46). Additionally, McAdams substituted the earlier version of *The Great Controversy* (1888) for the 1911 edition, which was used in his original 1974 study (45); this feels more than a "minor" change as the edition of *The Great Controversy* contributes to his overall arguments. Unfortunately, these edits do not include full citations for the archival materials referred to; while most, if not all, of the material can be presumed to be held by the White Estate, there is more than one archival repository within Seventh-day Adventism and citations that clearly identify location and repository are crucial for historians and other scholars.

McAdams has helpfully combined both his original 1974 paper and the resulting 1977 version, stemming from edits and suggestions made by Arthur White and agreed to with consent by McAdams, into one text, using formatting to indicate which text comes from which version (3). The use of bold text to indicate 1974 material deleted from the 1977 edition, and square bracketed and underlined text to indicate edited or new material in the final text from 1977, is of immense help to a reader. It makes for easier reading of the dense content rather than having to flip back and forth between different sections of the volume and is much appreciated by the reader.

This interlining also makes it easy to see that Arthur White's edits to McAdams' original text were to "soften the blow" (as McAdams says on page 3) of the text. This was achieved by reducing language with strong negative connotations. For example, in one place White suggested (and McAdams agreed) swapping "fraud" for "dishonest" (159); this edit does not change McAdams' overall argument, though it may metaphorically reduce a punch to a slap. Arthur White's changes also reduced some likely

unintentional sexism in the piece, suggesting that “Ellen” be referred to as “Ellen White” or “Sister White” or “Mrs. White” as the flow of piece allowed (see page 14 for an example). While this may be seen as a minor quibble, if W. C. White would not be referred to only as “Willie” in a scholarly text, then neither should his mother be referred to only as “Ellen”. This is true even today.

The second section of the volume begins with Chapter 2. However, as Chapters 2 and 4 are better discussed together, we will briefly look at Chapter 3 before moving onto Chapters 2 and 4. Chapter 3 (pages 191-208) is the reprint of an article written by Benjamin McArthur and published by *Spectrum* in 2008. In it, titled “Point of the Spear: Adventist Liberalism and the Study of Ellen White in the 1970s”, McArthur provided clearly stated and fully footnoted context for the scholarship of the 1970s. He achieved the tricky balance between acknowledgement of the perceived and known emotions around the events he covers with an evenhanded discussion of the process. Additionally, McArthur used archival sources to anchor his presentation of the facts, relying on the McAdams Papers held at the Center for Adventist Research (199). One hopes that the relevant records which McAdams still holds (207) will someday be deposited in that collection at the Center for Adventist Research.

Chapter 2 (pages 169-190) is McAdams’s piece from 1980. In it, he provides his retrospective on the ten previous years (1970 to 1980) of struggle and scholarship, touching on the debates held throughout the 1970s in the pages of *Spectrum* (focusing in on those about inspiration and on Ellen White); the publication of Ron Numbers’ *Prophetess of Health* in 1976 and the reactions to that book; the responses in 1977 and 1978 to the studies done by Walter Rea; and the publicization of the transcripts of the 1919 Bible Conference in 1979. Most of all, it is about the approach McAdams took regarding his own research comparing the text of *The Great Controversy* with the text of James Wylie’s history on Huss. McAdams asserted that the results of the then-recent scholarship had not yet been “widely accepted by Adventists” (188). While it was not overtly stated, it is clear that McAdams wanted the scholarship’s impact to widen and deepen within the Adventist community, both inside and outside of its scholarly circles. How this was to be achieved, he did not say, but was obviously expecting it to occur sooner rather than later.

Chapter 4 (pages 209-230) is McAdams's contemporary follow-up to his 1980 piece and is titled "Toward a Factual Concept of Inspiration: The Brethren of Experience Respond". In this chapter, one finds perhaps the strongest statement of the conclusions McAdams drew from his 1974 study. His argument is essentially that Ellen White's use of sources other than visions means that she cannot have had visions (229). This, to a degree, aligns with the text of both the 1974 and 1977 versions of his paper. He laments that the "re-education of the church on Ellen White as a historian" that he had expected did not take place, and that the response of the Adventist Church's leadership was in fact "inadequate" and "even misleading" and that "no second steps" were taken after his work with the White Estate (209). Although doing so without additional archival research, McAdams then detailed the production of Arthur White's "Toward A Factual Concept of Inspiration II" and the publication of three articles in the *Review* in 1979. These articles, McAdams claims, did "nothing new" to move the Adventist Church's official teachings regarding Ellen White's inspiration (226). However, one must remember that something which does "nothing new" for the scholar who did the studying may be rather a lot to the lay member with little previous knowledge of the subject. Has there ever been a study of how the average lay member in the 1970s reacted to these debates as they played out in the pages of Adventist periodicals, including the *Review* and *Spectrum*?

Seemingly disappointed by the perceived overall lack of response, and the fact that many of his critics addressed his footnotes rather than the content of his text, McAdams stated, "My critics still refuse to acknowledge errors" in this text from the 2020s; yet he immediately followed that with a 1979 statement from Arthur White (who died in 1991) affirming that it was possible for Ellen White to have allowed errors into her texts (227-228). In chapter 5, Ron Graybill provides a quotation from Arthur White's successor at the White Estate, Robert Olson (who died in 2013), which also positively affirmed (in 1975) that "Mrs. White made several erroneous historical statements about Huss" (239). Perhaps McAdams is not referring to Arthur White or Robert Olson but instead to critics operating today; however, this is not made clear in the text.

McAdams states that he "had hoped for more" in the Church's corporate response but does not describe what that "more" would

have looked like (228). Perhaps “more” would have included his study being singled out for mention in Arthur White’s response, which it was not (227). Perhaps it would mean the Adventist Church coming to “a consensus on a factual concept of inspiration”, even if “it might take some time to arrive” (228). Yet McAdams is adamant that those of the second generation “could not accept obvious facts” (228) when provided to them by those of the third generation. Yet if the Adventist Church still needs to come to a consensus on the subject, as McAdams reiterated, then perhaps the facts are not as obvious as McAdams believes.

McAdams also complains that relevant articles and papers are difficult to obtain, but this is blatantly inaccurate, as said articles and papers are, as of this writing in 2024, still freely and publicly available on the White Estate website (<https://ellenwhite.org>) or in the online archives of the General Conference Archives (<https://documents.adventistarchives.org>) (212). Certain documents from both sites even have links provided in McAdams’s text, though presumably the actual URLs were run through a link shortener by McAdams or an editor, as they are not explicitly listed in the text or in the footnotes (211). Effectively, the use of both websites is obscured in McAdams’s text. He also stated that he “encountered difficulties in [his] attempt to reprint” articles from the *Review* (211), articles which are freely and publicly available on the General Conference Archives’ online archives. Since McAdams goes on to exhort his readers to “read the entire documents online” (212), it is obvious that he knows that the materials are freely and publicly available (and, therefore, not difficult to obtain whatsoever to someone in possession of Wi-Fi and an Internet browser).

Chapter 5 (pages 231-246) was penned by Ronald D. Graybill and is titled “Of Visions, Dreams, and Errors: Another Look at McAdams’ *Ellen G. White and the Protestant Historians*”. Graybill does exactly that in this chapter, building upon McAdams’ original paper(s), incorporating some of the previously covered context, and discussing the research he did on the subject. He raises questions that some have asked about the nature of inspiration and how Ellen G. White experienced, asking if she saw “a succession of quick cuts, like a Hollywood movie?” and digging into W. C. White’s description of his mother having experienced “‘flash-light views’ views—meaning perhaps what would be seen in the flash of the explosive powder early photographers used or a

scene illuminated by a flash of lightning” (233). Graybill also examined the distinction between *visions* and *dreams* and which of what variety Ellen White reported as having had during the creation of *The Great Controversy* (233-235). He concludes, in accordance with McAdams, that “Ellen White used historian’s words not merely because they afforded ‘a ready and forcible presentation of the subject’ but because those words were the sole basis for all the history she was writing” (235). To bolster this, he expanded upon the work of Marian Davis, one of Ellen White’s literary assistants (235-236). Graybill then writes on the reaction to McAdams’s paper(s), briefly delineating the clash between Church administrators and what Graybill calls the “ultra-orthodox neo-fundamentalist Adventists” (239), with the historians caught in between. Graybill also engages with the scholarship that criticizes McAdams’ work, including the work of Pastor Jan Voerman and Pastor Kevin Morgan (240-241), something that McAdams does not do in his more recently written sections of the volume.

Chapter 6 (pages 247-256) was written by Eric Anderson and is titled “The Strange Death of the ‘New Orthodoxy’”. Anderson is insistent that McAdams’s work was “quickly shunted aside and ignored for decades” (248), despite McAdams’s own acknowledgement in the preface that more recent works from scholar George Knight and historian Gilbert Valentine “renewed interest in [his] paper” (xi). Of course, this may partially be due to the fact that one’s present is not distant enough in time for proper historical study; the 1970s and 1980s, while being of interest since they happened, are only now becoming ripe for re-examination. Anderson’s chapter most clearly expresses the felt rift between the Church’s leadership and its historians. The administrators, Anderson said, “found it easy to look beyond a handful of historians with their persistent questions and fussy standards of evidence” (252) and “with few exceptions, did not even try” to “craft an honest, affirmative response to the historians’ discoveries” (249). To Anderson, this was a betrayal of the “tacit obligation” church leaders had “to endorse and teach McAdams’ insights as their own” (252-253). Yet if an obligation was never stated, did that obligation exist?

In the chapter, Anderson also sketches a picture of what Seventh-day Adventism could look like if the Church had implemented “the compromise adumbrated in the discussions of

the late 1970s” and conveyed scholars’ findings to “the people in the pews” (253). This is despite the fact that nothing in the volume by any of the authors describes any sort of “compromise” on the subject, especially from McAdams and his insistence that the Church accept “obvious facts”. In Anderson’s imagined Adventism, which has implemented McAdams’s findings, “Adventist writers and preachers could drop any attempt to defend the indefensible—that is, the outrageously misleading claims about history borrowed from the Protestant historians of Ellen White’s day” (253), which would likely lead to a reduction of anti-Catholicism on the part of regular Adventists (254). Both “clergy and laity” could “approach the history of Christianity with greater nuance”, aware of flaws in Reformation “heroes” while “still affirming Protestant principles” (254). Reformation tours could include more than just what is in the pages of *The Great Controversy* (254), and Adventists could examine how the principles in Ellen White’s writings are relevant to the modern world and its issues rather being stuck in “the formulas of 19th century Protestants” (254). Imagining this, Anderson said, is “easy if you try” (254). For Anderson, McAdams’s work was not “primarily negative or destructive” (255), but instructive. Those who “take seriously [McAdams’s] approach to a forgotten problem need not back away in embarrassment from the distinctive message of the denomination” and may even reinforce the importance of Ellen White’s work in the modern Adventist Church. To not take it seriously would have the opposite effect (256).

Three of the authors (McAdams, Graybill, and Anderson) raise the question of whether Ellen White should be regarded as a historian. All three, along with Arthur White as well as this reviewer, all agree that Ellen White was not a historian. In “Toward a Factual Concept of Inspiration II”, Arthur White (as quoted by McAdams) wrote, “It is evident that Mrs. White had spiritual more than mere historical objectives in mind when she wrote *The Great Controversy*.” McAdams immediately followed this with “Indeed, my point exactly” (213). He also concluded that Ellen White’s statement from the introduction of *The Great Controversy* aligns with the results of his research and with Graybill’s research, meaning that Ellen White was “presenting history that is well known and universally acknowledged and that she [was] using the words of historians because they are doing what good historians do, grouping together events to afford a

comprehensive view and summarizing details in a convenient manner” (229). What, then, is the dilemma here? What is this fight between Ellen White and the historians? Who today is claiming that Ellen White *was* a historian and that her works were histories?

In some ways, that stance feels like a strawman argument set up to be knocked down by the results of McAdams’s (and others’) research. This reviewer, growing up in the conservative American Midwest during the 1990s, was never taught that Ellen G. White was a historian or that her works were works of history. While it is certainly possible that some around her believed (and perhaps still believe) that about Ellen White’s writings, it was not conveyed to the reviewer during her attendance at an Adventist academy or during her attendance at an Adventist university. What was taught was that Ellen White’s Conflict of the Ages series was inspired for the purposes of devotional uplift. Although anecdotal, if that represents a shift of views, then is it not possible that the scholarship of the 1970s has had more impact than McAdams and the others of his generation of examiners have perceived?

There is also a disconnect between how historians in Ellen White’s day did history and how modern historians do history, a disconnect which is not mentioned by any of the authors. In Michael Bentley’s *Modern historiography: An introduction* (Routledge, 1999), Bentley briefly explained the historiographical thinking during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The romantic mode of history, which was in vogue between 1830 and 1850, the time during which Ellen White (as well as the others of the founding generation) were growing up and as the Adventist movement began, borrowed literary conventions in order to meet “the need to hold attention and keep a reader reading” (Bentley, 26). In fact, “[t]he vehicle of romantic history was narrative; but it asked for imagination beyond the putting of events in chronological order along the lines that the eighteenth century had so frequently thought adequate” (Bentley, 28). Ellen White’s historical writings are more in line with this older historiographical mode rather than the modern mode (with its “fussy standards of evidence”, as described by Anderson in this volume), which McAdams reads into James Wylie’s handling of history in the late 1870s and early 1880s (47), although Wylie’s own training as a historian took place during this era of romantic emphasis. Additionally, Leopold van Ranke and his concept of *wie*

*es eigentlich gewesen* and his emphasis on archival primary sources was still new (and in German) in the 1830s and 1840s (Bentley 39, 41). What we see as the historical profession today was still very much in development throughout Ellen White's lifetime. Even if Ellen White had been a historian (and she was not), she would not have been a *modern* historian.

The core question under discussion throughout the volume, as articulated by McAdams in 1974, is, "If she was inspired, why was [using sources] necessary?" (20). The simple historical answer is that Ellen White only had three grades of education and was writing about subjects upon which she had not received formal or advanced education. Yet this is somehow not a satisfactory answer, and the question has churned within Adventist history, Adventist studies, and Ellen White studies ever since. Why? Adventist scholars have been using history to ask theological questions and to debate theological concepts rather than letting history be history.

On one level, this makes sense. Many Adventist historians and Ellen White scholars of old have often come to their profession through attendance at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, and it stands to reason that those who are studying theology would be asking theological questions about the denomination's past. It is intriguing, as someone born after all of the events covered in this volume, to note that many of the people involved in these fraught situations simply were not historians and had differing levels of education regarding historical labor; they were professors of English (171, 172), pastors (183, 205, 240), Master of Divinity students (174), book editors (185), and theologians (171, 172, 185, 204, 205, 252). Non-historians far outnumbered the historians involved, which is perhaps still the case.

The issue appears to be one of conflation. Theology and history are different areas of scholarship, and while their terminology, skillsets, and questions can and do overlap, they have different standards of evidence. For theologians, "faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Heb. 11:1, NKJV), but for modern historians, seeing is believing. As Graybill footnotes in his chapter, "[T]he activities of supernatural beings are not historical facts for they cannot be documented by any of the accepted canons of historical evidence" (237). This, of course, does not keep any individual historian from



personally believing in “the activities of supernatural beings”. What historians have is the physical process by which the book was made; that process may or may not provide insight into the spiritual process. Historians can critically examine the former, but the latter is a matter of theological interpretation. Yet Adventist historians have been trying for decades to answer a theological question because, for Adventist theologians, the answer is an obvious fact. Both the historians and the theologians have seemingly been talking past each other, with one side cast as being unable to face the “obvious facts” of Adventist history and the other side cast as refusing to believe in the “obvious facts” of Adventist theology. Both sides continually revisit the same question over and over again as the Adventist scholarly community tries to work toward a consensus on the theological question of the nature of inspiration.

But this continual focus of historians on this question may be a hindrance to the overall development of the Adventist subfield of history. The Latter-day Saint historian, Benjamin E. Park, said something relevant to this on a recent 2024 episode of the *Drafting the Past* podcast. After recounting the traditional story of Joseph Smith’s golden tablets, Park said, “Now, those outside the Latter-day Saint tradition are going to notice the fanciful nature of that story, and will expect the historian to at one point, at some point take off the mask and say, all right, what really happened here? Was he refashioning a thing of tin? Was it all just made up in his mind? Did he encounter printing plates that he’s now passing off as some antiquitous [*sic*] records? And I think that’s not outside the boundaries for a historian to cover, but I also think it can get distracting.”<sup>1</sup> Park’s solution is to grant “epistemic sympathy” to the people he’s studying and discussing the subject from their perspective, providing context for those engaging with the history to understand the broader questions. Similarly, historians of Adventism could—regardless of their personal beliefs about Ellen White’s inspiration—grant similar epistemic sympathy to her and other Adventists in Adventist history. This would mean setting aside the question of whether Ellen White “really” had

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<sup>1</sup> Taken from the transcript of the *Drafting the Past* podcast, <https://draftingthepast.com/podcast-episodes/episode-39-benjamin-park-stays-rooted/>. *Drafting the Past* is a podcast on the craft of history; its host interviews historians about their research and writing process.

visions and acknowledging that she and many of the people around her believed that she had visions and acted accordingly. It is not disingenuous for historians to acknowledge the beliefs of the people they study, even if those same historians cannot document whether those beliefs are based in “reality”. Those beliefs affected how the people who held them acted in, interacted with, and reacted to the world around them; those actions, interactions, and reactions can all be studied and documented by historians even if the source of the beliefs cannot be.

Anderson’s chapter also raises but does not ask the following question: who is best equipped to communicate historians’ insights to the Adventist community? Is the ecclesiastical leadership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, focused on teaching theology and conducting evangelism, best suited to communicate the Church’s history? Shouldn’t the actual work of communicating the facts, interpretations, and meanings of the Church’s past be part of the tasks that fall to those who actually examine and study the Church’s past? Why must, as Anderson seems to imply, historical knowledge be mediated to that Adventist public solely through its theologians and its educators? Historians, having produced their research, cannot wash their hands of the responsibility for sharing it. The Adventist public is one that must and can be reached by the historians of Adventism. Ideally, of course, this would be done in conjunction and coordination with its theologians and educators and be neither apologism nor antagonism but be thoroughly sourced (and footnoted) history placed in its broad historical context. Park’s epistemic sympathy can allow for such history to be undertaken. It does not lessen the importance of the questions of the 1970s and 1980s, but it would allow space for other questions to be asked.

After all, there are now more than the three generations McAdams outlined in 1980. The new historians of Seventh-day Adventism and of Seventh-day Adventists can build upon the foundations laid down by McAdams and others to move beyond asking only theologically oriented questions of the denomination’s past and to expand the parameters of the subjects they tackle. Just as McAdams and Anderson (and others) imagined, Adventists and Adventism could be set within their broader Christian history and within broader American and world history. Cultural, economic, and social history could blossom in the field of Adventist history. Those who study Adventist history would be free to critically

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grapple with not only the movement's origins, but also its progress.

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Michael W. Campbell, *1922: The Rise of Adventist Fundamentalism*. 133pp. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2022. 978-0-8163-6837-2.

Following his research on the landmark 1919 Bible Conference held by the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Michael Campbell's recent book, *1922: The Rise of Adventist Fundamentalism*, seeks to expound upon the long-term impact of the decisions Church leaders made during this critical period—from 1919 through to the important 1922 General Conference Session and the years following. A fairly concise book (133 pages), Campbell does bring together many historical trends and anecdotes to produce a fascinating window into an important time—which could be defined in no other way, given it was the immediate decade following Mrs. Ellen G. White's passing. That is to say, for the first time, our Church was forced to make decisions without the presence of our most influential founding pioneer whom we believe had special guidance from the Lord, and thus naturally the decisions we made at that time were impactful for years to come. And for this reason alone, it is worth taking the time to read this book. Campbell included a timeline of key events, some helpful Appendixes, as well as some artwork and photographs, all of which add value to his book.

To more fully grasp where Campbell is coming from, it would be helpful to have read his prior work, *1919: The Untold Story of Adventism's Struggle with Fundamentalism* (2019). That said, Campbell's present thesis can stand alone and is a provocative one, as he himself acknowledges (19). Did Adventists become *too* fundamentalist following after 1922? Campbell seeks to navigate his way through the many complexities surrounding such a question to answer in the affirmative (116), and to call for Adventists to engage 'modernism' in a more productive way. This is because he believes "Adventist *fundamentalism*, not modernism, has reliably been the key temptation that Adventism has struggled with" (116). Depending on how, precisely, one

understands his use of the terms (which he is forced to repeatedly explain throughout the book for different issues, as the definitions themselves are a difficult problem), it's easy to find some agreement with him. Campbell himself acknowledges repeatedly that some aspects of fundamentalism were good, and some aspects of modernism are bad, and that, ironically, "both sides would utilize the same kinds of outlooks about how to approach the world," and oftentimes "both sides were closer to one another than either would have ever admitted" (21). That said, there are some difficulties with how he proceeds to make his bold and challenging case.

First, a book like this is, in many ways, difficult to review, as its argumentation depends so much on the broader context—'fundamentalism' and 'modernism' are themselves moving targets not only inside but outside the Church, especially in the past few decades, making the contemporary relevance of his thesis perhaps questionable because it's next to impossible to accommodate all the varying meanings (e.g., what was "liberal" and what was "conservative" in 1930 is not the same as today). Furthermore and relatedly, whatever may be said of a certain string of thought leaders or intellectuals that may support or challenge Campbell's argument, this is separable from what the average Adventist may have believed, but it is next to impossible to get reliable statistics about that dimension of the history.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, one must step back and ask the question, so what? What I mean by this is, what if during this general time period the Church growth rate was greater, and its global missionary focus stronger, than later periods or locations when more modernism held sway? (Both of these are true, per *"We aim at nothing less than the whole world": The Seventh-day Adventist Church's Missionary Enterprise and the General Conference Secretariat, 1863-2019*, Trim, Chism, and Yunker (2021)). Would such "end-results" data challenge the significance of his argument, and in what ways? But these questions go unaddressed, although the threat of fundamentalism upon missions was touched upon (e.g., 32-34).

Proceeding with a brief evaluation of his book, after his Introduction, which helpfully delineated aspects of his project, such as the fact his book couldn't adequately address issues related to gender and race (25) and how they were affected by the divide, Campbell opens chapter 1, "Adventism Under Siege", by sharing

about why Adventism initially slid into fundamentalism. This is because Adventists felt they were under siege, so to speak, by the rising tide of critical thinking at the time, especially what we may call the influence of secular modernism, including such influence upon religious groups. Higher criticism and evolutionary theory were beginning to go mainstream, and influence even religious thought leaders in the Western world. All this served to elevate Reason over the Scriptures, and thus fundamentally challenge Adventism's worldview. Within broader Christianity, the so-called and self-labeled "Fundamentalists" stood tall to resist this tide, and Adventists felt obliged to take 'shelter' under their cultural wings. Serving as an explanation of what followed, Campbell is succinctly correct, I believe. And it is within this context that the most favorable use of fundamentalism may be appropriately applied to Adventists.

Chapter 2, "Muscular Adventism", is where Campbell suggests cultural norms associated with a much older conservatism began to make inroads into Adventism that damaged the healthy aspects of our progressive faith. Limiting the roles and presence of women in the Church, and idolizing secular political leaders like Theodore Roosevelt (39-43), created a masculinizing effect on the Church that retarded our movement's vitality. Although it is not clear how or why these developments are necessarily connected with the previous chapter, it is nevertheless true that these trends are evident in some manner.

In Chapter 3, "Defending Adventist Fundamentalism", Campbell proceeds to provide a brief synopsis of the key events that led to and surrounded the 1919 Bible Conference, both inside and outside the Church. Within the rapidly changing world context (WW1, rising secularism, etc.), Adventists felt obliged to more thoroughly define their faith, and thus the desire to create our own 'fundamentals' was strong. Evidence of the influence of non-SDA fundamentalists can be seen (52-53).

Chapter 4, "Baconian Adventism: The Price is Right", focuses on the important role that Adventists had in participating in the broader fundamentalist movement. This happened because of our important role in helping lead conservative Christian scientists to find 'scientific' ways to support our view of a recent Creation (57). This chapter touches on what is a very complex period of Adventist intellectual thought, as it is now known that some of the science our Creationist pioneers promoted was faulty. The interactions

between George McCready Price and other non-SDA fundamentalists, including the leading intellectual figure, William Jennings Bryan of the Scopes Trial, are illuminative and illustrative of a time when Adventists finally became a part of the public's eye. Much could be said of the philosophical issues related to science that were held at this time by many of the thinkers then, but suffice it to say that, from a contemporary perspective, we had much to learn. As it pertains to Campbell's book, he is correct to point out that we did not handle the issues as well as we could have (58-59), but, on the other hand, hindsight is 20:20. But in support of Campbell's argument, it was often the case that a connection was made between verbal inerrancy and recent Creationism that was unnecessary, and created a philosophical or hermeneutical problem beyond our desire to rightly defend a recent, literal, Creation (64-65). But the predisposition to entertain verbal inerrancy was not new to this time.

“Weaponizing Ellen White” is the title of Chapter 5, in which Campbell describes how certain unscrupulous individuals, such as Claude Holmes and Judson Washburn, among others, attempted to usurp influence over the Church's members by upholding Ellen White's writings as essentially superior to Scripture. Engaging in attacks against A. G. Daniells and others, these individuals do illustrate a sad side story of what has sometimes happened, and well beyond this decade. Verbal inerrancy is a temptation that every individual will face, in every generation. At the same time, overly liberal views of White's writings that dismiss her too much is an equal temptation, and one that is now on the rise, given how seldom the younger generations read her! The point is, one must take care to suggest this episode is what created fundamentalist Adventism, when, in fact, the Church leadership actually held a more balanced view (74).

Chapter 6, “Canonizing Ellen White”, describes the process by which Ellen White's writings were indexed, and the first post-White compilations were made. This is an important chapter in that most people do not realize the impact that the ‘searchability’ of her writings did provide to laypeople and pastors alike, which did much to promote the use of her writings, perhaps even in ways White would not have intended. Of course, as might be expected, this led to both increased criticism of her writings, as well as an

excessive use of her writings in ways that supported a 'fundamentalist' use of her as a virtual equal to Scripture.

Chapter 7, "Adventist Fundamentalism", is Campbell's key chapter. While highlighting the dangers of understanding inspiration simply as verbal inerrancy, a key point for many fundamentalists concerning Scripture, the other three points Campbell highlights underscore a different picture: the historical and literal fulfillment of prophecy, a literal Creation, and the defense of the historicity of the Bible through responsible geological and archaeological work, are fundamentalism of a different sort, and none of which require the problematic aspects of verbal inerrancy (96). I consider it perhaps unwise to equate the four points together, as if they necessarily rise and fall together.

The concluding chapter 8, "Trading Places", discusses the complex situation surrounding the 1922 General Conference Session. While the details are entertaining, and I enjoyed reading it, including the humility of William Spicer and his reluctance to accept the presidency, the role of fundamentalism here is unclear. Spicer is difficult to classify as a fundamentalist, if the label is being used as a criticism. Campbell acknowledges that that a "far gentler, and less militant, variety of Adventist fundamentalism had arrived" (108) alongside Spicer, but doesn't this work against his thesis if not more fully fleshed out? What exactly does he mean here? I don't think many other historians would consider Spicer a "fundamentalist" in any real sense beyond him genuinely supporting our fundamental beliefs.

In the epilogue, Campbell thoughtfully tries to walk through the complexity of the situation, acknowledging many aspects of fundamentalism were not bad. But then we ask, what does he mean by fundamentalism? This may be the weakness of his argument, if fundamentalism can't really be rigidly defined in a way that is easily understandable today, then why single it out for criticism? There seems to be only one real aspect of fundamentalism that is the actual target of Campbell's critique, and that would be verbal inerrancy and the philosophical presuppositions that come with it (111). Here, I agree, that he has identified a problem that needs to be given thoughtful attention for every new generation of Ellen White's readers.

In summary, Campbell's opening anecdote, that of students maliciously (through the encouragement of another



administrator!) placing a Jesuit piece of mail in a professor's mailbox, which led to him being fired, is not so much the story of fundamentalism vs. modernism, but one of simple maliciousness, a pernicious problem that invades all ideological camps. Thus, Campbell is on the right path, although he doesn't say it as such, to see that the real problem was not simply one of modernism versus fundamentalism, but one of legalism and incorrect philosophy that presupposed truth could be found through the rigidity of a specific methodology (e.g., the two sharp edges of verbal inerrancy and deterministic mathematical natural science). In his words, "both the modernists and fundamentalists shared similar assumptions and approaches to truth" (22). I believe he is incisively correct about this, and it is this problem which endures throughout the various 'evolutions' and revolutions of what is considered modernist or fundamentalist thought. In fact, it may have behooved him to reframe the entire discussion within a 'history of philosophy's influence upon theology' rather than the much more tenuous ground of fundamentalism versus modernism.

If one were to step back and look at the situation from a more missiological, rather than historical or theological, perspective, one can see a potential application of Campbell's thesis that may not have been expressly intended, but is actually valuable, and that is that the various contexts of the people we're trying to evangelize may need to experience either the more fundamentalist or more modernism side of Adventism to find our faith attractive. Time and place are always present and impact how our message is received.

Overall, I do recommend Campbell's book as an interesting contribution to an important era of our denomination's history. The details are subtle, however, and sometimes escape the limitations of the narrative he presents, but it is a window into a time gone by that we should still look through.

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