

John Byington

COVER PHOTO:

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John Byington, 1798-1887, a farmer-preacher from New York who became the first president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

Adventist Heritage





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T WO BUILDERS — John Byington (cover) and William Worth — are featured in this issue of Adventist Heritage.

Byington erected an Adventist church in Bucks Bridge, New York, in 1855, and later served as the first Seventh-day Adventist General Conference president.

John Waller had little interest in Byington until three years ago when he visited Bucks Bridge, the boyhood home of his wife's grandfather, Charles C. Lewis. Standing on the foundation stones of the old Adventist chapel, and finding the graves of two Byington daughters a few feet from the graves of his wife's great-grandparents, made him want to know more about the man.

His research took him to musty histories of St. Lawrence County in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and to the archives of Byington's pre-Adventist Wesleyan Methodist church, in Marion, Indiana. "Once I got into the old Wesleyan newspapers and began soaking up their uncompromising antislavery spirit," he remarks, "I was thoroughly hooked."

Waller finds Byington was a pastor of a Wesleyan Methodist congregation in Lisbon, New York, and he evaluates the Adventist myth of his involvement in the Underground Railroad. Most important to the story, he uncovers Byington's abandonment of postmillennial Wesleyan Methodism for the premillennial worldview of Adventism.

William Worth was another builder in Seventh-day Adventism. In the 1890's and early 1900's, Worth obtained patents on several pre-Henry Ford automobiles and numerous automotive parts.

George May came across Worth's career in Benton Harbor and Battle Creek while writing Michigan auto history. May received the Award of Merit of the American Association for State and Local History in 1970 for his two-volume *Pictorial History of Michigan*. His book on the origins of the auto industry in Michigan will be published in the fall.

Worth tinkered with several Worth-mobiles in advance of the Big Four automakers, but with considerably less success. In 1902, Ellen White visited his Chicago Motor Vehicle Company and took her first automobile ride in one of Worth's "rapid delivery" vehicles. Mrs. White's recollection of the jaunt added to May's information on the Worth enterprise.

Not intellectual or literary figures in early Adventism, both Byington and Worth are memorable as doers and builders.





Wayne Judd

Eric D. Anderson

Two assistant editors serve on alternate issues of the journal. Eric Anderson is a Ph.D. candidate in Reconstruction history at the University of Chicago, and will join the history department at Pacific Union College in the fall of 1975. Wayne Judd is presently writing secondary-level textbooks in religion. He will begin a Ph.D. program in religious education in the fall, and upon completing the degree will teach in the new graduate program in religious education at Andrews University.

Jonathan Butler



THE LIFE AND LOVE OF ANNIE SMITH

THE "ASCENSION ROBES" AND OTHER MILLERITE FABLES

MARCHING TO THE BEAT OF THE TEMPERANCE DRUM

PUBLISHING SECRETARY EXTRAORDINARY

The Pre-Adventist Years

JOHN BYINGTON OF BUCKS BRIDGE

John O. Waller 🗯

THE GRASS RIVER comes to a gentle bend at the former village of Bucks Bridge, New York. Local tradition, with sturdy disdain of punctuation rules, has banished the apostrophe, though the place was named for a bridge thrown across by the earliest settler, Isaac Buck, who came out from Vermont in 1803. Most of the settlers, early and less-early, came to St. Lawrence County, New York State's far north, from somewhere in Vermont.

The river flows under the present bridge, takes its bend, and continues past the vacant sites of former busy sawmills. There is not very much to see at "the Bridge" now — a few houses, some farms, a small burial ground, and one good old Methodist Episcopal chapel, built around 1837, no longer used weekly, though the local residents — old timers who fellowshiped there in happier days, or descendants of former members — hold a loving spring reunion one Sunday every year.

One who always attends likes to write about it: "The singing was hallelujah, and the old organ really bounced, and the 'brung-from-home' flowers were delightful."

Just across a small, now-surfaced road, once kept passable with planks, a few stones lie in intersecting rows among the grass and goldenrods, testifying that once a building stood there. These are all that is left of Bucks Bridge's "other church," the one that John Byington put up in 1855 for a company of fellow Saturday-Sabbathkeeping Adventists — either the first or the second church ever built by Seventh-day Adventists. (Battle Creek, Michigan, was erecting its

John O. Waller is chairman of the English department at Andrews University.

John and Catherine Byington (probably taken at the time he served as General Conference President)



 Remaining foundation stones of the Bucks Bridge Advent meetinghouse Byington built in 1855

▼ Corner-stone of the Bucks Bridge Advent meetinghouse, now at the entrance of the Canton Seventh-day Adventist Church

first one at about the same time. Which was completed first may never be known.)

The Byington home stood near the two churches, on the river-side (the Adventist chapel side) of the road.

John Byington, to become the first General Conference president of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, was active in raising the walls of the Methodist chapel, too, and its no-longer-standing parsonage. There can be no doubt of that, though definitive documentation is lacking. He may even have helped construct other Methodist churches in the vicinity. Looking back in 1853, from a new-found Adventist perspective, he briefly reviewed his contribution to Episcopal Methodism: "felt much interest in building Meeting-houses, and Parsonagehouses, thinking that when this was accomplished, religion would be prosperous."

Also, as we shall see, after Byington in 1843 withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church and joined with the new antislavery Wesleyan Methodists, he again became a leader in putting up THIS STONE WAS A CORNER-STONE OF THE FIRST CHURCH BUILT BY SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS AT BUCK'S BRIDGE. N. Y. 1855 buildings. He was active in constructing the Wesleyan chapel and parsonage in Morley, a tree-shaded village about two miles upstream from Bucks Bridge, and a now-vanished Wesleyan parsonage at Lisbon, some five miles farther away.

The two old buildings at Morley, planted to stay in 1844 and 1846, are still standing there, erect, strong, and spotlessly white, serving their original purposes for an active company of Wesleyans.

As it happened, there in Morley one Sunday evening in the fall of 1853, this same Wesleyan meetinghouse hospitably opened its doors to Byington and a crowd of Adventists who were holding a "conference" at Bucks Bridge. James White, who had come up from Rochester (Hiram Edson and J. N. Andrews had come, too), told about it in the *Review and Herald*. That Sunday at the Byington farmhouse "a convenient shade" had been "prepared" in front of the house, where some eighty "scattered saints," two having driven from sixty-five miles away, had "feasted on the bread of heaven."

Then that evening all had adjourned to Morley. "The spirit of God seemed to go with us. As the people were coming in, the brethren sung with the Spirit and the understanding also. The place was heavenly." J. N. Andrews, who in 1874 would become the first Seventh-day Adventist foreign missionary, preached "with freedom" on Titus 2:13 — "Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." "The congregation was large and attentive."

Within those walls that evening were the future first three presidents of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference (not to be incorporated until 1863) — John Byington, James White, and John Nevins Andrews.

John and Catherine Newton Byington, Vermontborn, lived at Bucks Bridge for a quarter-century or more. Five of their six children were born there, and two lie beneath one stone in the little cemetery.

Their granddaughter, Grace Amadon, whose mother, Martha, was twenty-four when the family moved to Battle Creek, wrote admiringly of her grandparents' self-sufficiency — how Catherine knitted the stockings and socks, wove all the cloth for dresses and shirts, made tallow candles from her own candlemold, and proudly baked her beans and brown bread in her great fireplace oven. The maple sugar came from the Byingtons' own "sugarbush," and the butter churned and sold from their farm left there bound for the tables of Boston and New York.

Catherine Newton had been a schoolteacher in her mid-twenties when in 1830 she married the recently widowered John, and became mother to his infant daughter. Long treasured in the family was a letter she received in 1854 from a former pupil, by then a professor of classics on the faculty of Hampden-



This Wesleyan meetinghouse in Morley, New York, built in 1844 with the help of John Byington, still stands

Sydney College in Virginia, remembering "how you used to whip me and made me get my lessons, and . . . I loved you better than any teacher I ever had in all my boyhood."

The Byingtons, an independent-minded lot, were also practical and mechanically adept. John's grandfather, David (b. 1734), was a manfacturer of wheels used in woolen factories. One of his sons, John's uncle Jared, patented the first steel pitchfork in the United States.

John, the sixth of ten children, was born in 1798, in Hinesburg, Vermont. His father, Justus Byington (1763-1839), was a Revolutionary War veteran, having enlisted at the age of sixteen and served for at least two years.

Justus, according to an obituary of John, written by George Amadon, John's son-in-law, had been a deist in early life because he could not accept predestinarian Calvinism. He was already thirty-seven when converted to "whosoever will" Methodism, about the year 1800, under the preaching of the dauntless eccentric wandering preacher Lorenzo Dow.

The official records of Episcopal Methodism show that Justus entered the ministry on trial in 1810. He was forty-seven, already a grandfather. John was twelve. Ordained in 1812, Justus spent six years pastoring successively at Fletcher, Charlotte, St. Albans, and Brandon, Vermont, and Plattsburgh, New York. The largest of his charges, Brandon, had 608 members.

Then, in 1818, something happened. The records say simply that during 1818 and 1819 he was "super-annuated," which meant "so worn out in the ...service as to be considered incapable of doing any efficient work as a minister." Then, in 1820, he was "located" — that is, no longer held responsible for active ministry.

Maybe it was just that simple — a middle aged man, bonetired, unable to function anymore. We may be forgiven some doubts, though, in light of the sequel. Through most of the 1820's there was a growing movement within the Methodist Episcopal Church protesting the supposed dictatorial practices of the hierarchy. Such movements attract men who feel they have been mistreated. Around 1827 the name of Justus Byington of Vermont shows up in the literature. By 1830 a brand-new denomination, the Methodist Protestant Church, was organized.

Entering this new church, the Rev. Justus Byington, a dozen years after being shelved as "worn-out," served again as a minister until well into his seventies. He became, in fact, at the age of sixty-seven, the president of the new Vermont Conference.

Maybe it was just a coincidence, but something happened, also, to young John Byington at about the time his father was shelved. John, according to his obituary, had been happily coverted in 1816, at a Methodist camp meeting in his father's district at St. Albans, finding "full pardon and peace," breaking away from old associations and beginning "the religious life in earnest." But "when about twenty-one ... his health completely failed." (He would have turned twenty-one in 1819, the year after his father was "super-annuated.") For over three years he was "a mere walking skeleton ... experienced great depression of spirits, doubted his conversion. ..."

Fortunately, after earnest prayer, John regained an even more striking manifestation of divine favor, "felt completely bathed in the ocean of God's love." He was restored to physical health, too, in part through a change of environment, when he "spent some time" on a mackerel-fishing vessel.

John, unlike his father, stayed in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Settled in the early 1830's at Bucks Bridge, he began to be a pillar in the Methodist The Wesleyan meetinghouse opened its doors to these Seventh-day Advent preachers: James White, Hiram Edson and J. N. Andrews

laity in that rapidly developing area. In 1833 his name appears among the trustees of a Methodist society formed at Potsdam, the town that included Bucks Bridge.

Church activity in those days was vigorous and emotionally all-encompassing. Revivals were frequent, intense. The church newspapers of Episcopal Methodism and, after 1843, of John's new faith, Wesleyan Methodism, ran frequent letters from Byington's part of St. Lawrence County telling about the latest revivals in the neighborhood.

Thus one letter in 1836 lets us feel the milieu in which the Byingtons lived. The local Methodist churches in the Potsdam district would begin quarterly meetings a day or two early and stay over, turning them into truly "protracted meetings," lasting from fifteen to twenty days, to seek "the direct influence of the Holy Spirit" and "urge the importance of present salvation" and "a radical change in sanctification and holiness." Between five and six hundred had recently been converted. Despite a persistent tradition to the contrary, John Byington was never a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Even before his death, the obituary of Catherine, written by Uriah Smith, asserted that at the time of their marriage John was "then in the Methodist ministry." But John himself, reviewing his experience back in 1853, had claimed only that "for many years" he had been a "class leader and exhorter in the church." Neither of these offices was that of a minister. The higher, the exhorter, was a layman who conducted prayer-meetings and encouraged other laymen to spirituality.

The Methodists kept meticulous records of all who had ever been received into their ministry, including every circuit and station in Vermont or upstate New York, and John Byington's name is not included. The new Wesleyan Methodist denomination, which he joined in 1843, took former Methodist ministers into their own ministry. Byington, as we shall see, was prominent among the Wesleyans in his area from the first, but specifically *as a layman*, until 1847, when the Wesleyans did receive him on trial as a minister.

A final piece of evidence recently passed through the present writer's hands, when a great-grandson of John Byington's generously loaned two yellowing old Methodist Episcopal *exhorter's licenses* issued to Byington in 1839 and 1840. Within less than three years, he would leave the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Into the Potsdam district was sent in 1829 a brilliant young Methodist preacher named Luther Lee, whose life would interestingly cross with Byington's in various ways over the next twenty years. The largely self-educated Lee gained a quick recognition for his relentless logicality and agility in debate.

It is certain that Lee lived for a time at Heuvelton when Byington was at Bucks Bridge, some ten miles away. He may have lived earlier at Bucks Bridge, though perhaps before Byington arrived. His autobiography speaks of his having lived at "a preaching place known as the Grass River appointment," which probably, though not certainly, was Bucks



Illustration for an article on William Miller's theory from the New York *Tribune* extra, March 2, 1843.

Bridge. In one revival at the Grass River appointment "some sixty persons, young and old, were converted and united with the Church." This could have been the impetus leading in a few years to the erecting of a meetinghouse at Bucks Bridge.

By 1836 Lee, then pastor at Fulton, Oswego County, was becoming involved with a crusade — the antislavery movement — that would soon bring him into a crisis with the Methodist Episcopal hierarchy. The Methodist leaders, anxious to avoid a rupture between Northern and Southern constituencies, tried increasingly, and ever more futilely, to interdict abolitionist activity among Methodist ministers. This growing rift would eventually lead, in 1843, to the wide-flung secession that formed the new Wesleyan denomination, which both Lee and Byington would join.

In 1838, Lee was sent by an insurgent group of antislavery Methodists to represent their viewpoint at a conference of Canadian Methodists in Prescott, Ontario. To avoid offending official U. S. Methodism, the Canadians declined to recognize Lee as a delegate. The incident sparked a dispute back in the States, Lee relating one version of the events, his opponents another.

The controvery peaked that summer, at a conference held in Lee's own pastoral district. Perhaps in spite, the Church leadership transferred Lee, who had a wife and six children, to a poverty-stricken district. Lee then asked to be "located" (dropped from the active ministry) and almost immediately went to work as a full-time lecturer for the New York State Antislavery Society.

Back at Bucks Bridge, three months later, Catherine Byington gave birth to her second son. He was named Luther Lee Byington. Byington's abolitionism became even more obvious in 1840, when he named his next son William Wilberforce Byington, after the great English emancipationist.

An 1836 resolution by the Vermont Methodist Protestant Conference was "*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Annual Conference the practice of holding our fellowmen in involuntary slavery is a sin, and ought to be abolished." The conference was running counter to the church leadership which, like the larger Methodist church, was trying to shun abolitionism. In 1843, an entire annual conference of Methodist Protestants voted itself out of Methodist Protestantism altogether and into the antislavery Wesleyan Methodist Conference to which John Byington belonged. Justus by then had died, in 1839; had he lived four years longer, father and son would have again been in the same denomination.

Probably the most passionately abolitionist of all the Byingtons was John's oldest brother, Anson (1788-1870), a Congregationalist, who lived most of his life at Williston, Vermont. Anson was among those convinced that the best way to fight slavery was to exert maximum political pressure, by starting abolitionist political parties. In religion there should be no fellowshiping with persons who would not oppose slavery, and in politics no voting for any candidates who would not renounce pro-slavery churches. He and a fellow-Willistonian, William H. French, who according to one account became Anson's sonin-law, were among the leaders in the Chittenden County Antislavery Society, and in establishing the new Liberty Party. French, running on the Liberty ticket, was elected to the State Legislature, and in 1846 ran unsuccessfully for Congress.

Though mainly a farmer, Anson was also a parttime antislavery lecturer. In 1845 he came out and lectured around Lisbon and Morley. In the confusing 1848 presidential election Anson was one of the handful in all the United States who voted for Gerrit P. Smith, the most radical of abolitionists (Smith polled only 2,545 votes in his own state of New York, out of a total of over 500,000 votes).

Anson's church at Williston was itself antislavery, but not in sympathy with his complaints against brethren who voted for insufficiently antislavery candidates. When in protest he absented himself from Communion, the church in 1849 tried and excommunicated him. His self-defense survives in a now very scarce pamphlet published by himself. But the most interesting aspect of Anson Byington's story is his documented activity in the Underground Railroad, in assisting fugitive slaves on their way to Canada. Joseph P. Poland, Montpelier abolitionist publisher, wrote years later how he and others at Montpelier had helped "scores and hundreds" of runaways, sending them on by one of three routes, one running through Williston, "whose agents were Amson [sic] Byington and William H. French." Williston became a sort of hub of the network, getting not only the "passengers" from Montpelier, but also many coming northward from Ferrisburgh.

Did John Byington himself have an Underground Railroad "station" at his farm in Bucks Bridge? On evidence now obtainable, final proof seems lacking. His granddaughter, Grace Amadon, a scholarly woman who could have had details from her mother, the venerable Martha, wrote simply, in one sentence, that he did. However, that was nearly a century later, in 1944. Byington's son-in-law had been silent on this point in Byington's obituary in 1887, though he wrote of Byington's sympathy for the slaves. But at least as early as the 1920's, perhaps earlier, the claim was being made in Seventh-day Adventist publications.

The Methodist Episcopal Church issued John Byington exhorter licenses which allowed him to conduct prayer meetings but did not license him as a minister.

This certifies that Brother John Byington a herely General to afficiente as an exhorter in the licenced to afficiente as an exhorter in the Methodis chief al Church John Surger P.C. of Canton It To all whom it may Concern. This is to Certify that John Baying ton is authorized to EXHORT, according to the order of the Methodist E. Church. Done at Mist TSatsclan and signed in behalf of the Quarterly Meeting Conference of Caritan Circuit this 25 in day of Than - 1340 Leuris of Whiteanh - P. E.

One consideration against the story is the absence of traditions in St. Lawrence County itself linking Byington with the Underground Railroad, although traditions survive of other stations close-by. Fewer stations, probably, would have been needed in that area than in Vermont, or central New York, or Ohio, which were along busier routes.

On the other hand, there is evidence that even some runaways passing through Vermont, and no doubt some others coming northward, did cross over to Canada at Ogdensburgh, on the St. Lawrence River some ten miles above Bucks Bridge. Perhaps some of Anson's "customers" may have even turned up at "the Bridge" for a last ride up to Ogdensburgh. In an interesting manuscript letter at the University of Vermont one man advises another that he is directing a fugitive, one Bill, to a "Mr. William French in your town" (Williston?) and that Bill had "probably better go by Ogdensburgh, thence by steamer."





From 1843 John Byington was, after all, a Wesleyan, and all good Wesleyans were committed to helping fugitive slaves if the opportunity presented itself. The historian William H. Siebert, who spent much of his life researching the Underground Railroad, wrote that "almost every neighborhood" having a few Wesleyans "was likely to be a station." Well, the Bucks Bridge-Morley-Lisbon area had the highest concentration of Wesleyans in northern New York.

As editor of the *True Wesleyan*, the new church newspaper, Byington's old friend Luther Lee openly advocated civil disobedience, especially in relation to fugitive slaves. In his*Autobiography* Lee later stated that while living at Syracuse, a key place in the network, from 1852 to 1855 he himself had assisted "as many as thirty fugitives in a month."

In the wake of the hated Fugitive Slave Law of 1852, Byington's St. Lawrence Conference of Wesleyans defiantly voted a resolution holding the law "in the deepest abhorrence" and vowing to "baffle the slave hunter whenever and wherever he makes his appearance among us, — and give succour to the flying fugitive, regardless of all Presidential proclamations, and governmental penalties."

Perhaps all that can be said for sure is that if any fugitives ever showed up at his Bucks Bridge farm,



ABOVE: In 1853 John and Catherine Byington were baptized in the Grass River at Bucks Bridge.

ABOVE LEFT: Martha Amadon, daughter of Catherine and John, lived until 1937 to the age of 103

LEFT: In 1852 the Byingtons buried two of their daughters

either accidentally or by pre-direction, the practical John Byington would have quietly helped them along. And if this happened only once or twice in his thirty years there, it would not be strictly untrue to say his place was an "Underground station."

Concerning the first nine years of Wesleyan Methodism (Byington's years) in St. Lawrence County, a fascinating small book could be constructed from the rich quarry of material in the *True Wesleyan* newspaper. It covered the national movement, but published letters and reports from local conferences as well, and the members in northern New York were not backward about writing in.

One of the most admirable features of Wesleyanism was its determination to tolerate no sort of discrimination in its churches against Negroes, no difference in seating, or in access to church or Sunday School offices. Those whites who hesitated to become Wesleyans out of reluctance to fellowship so fully with blacks were not encouraged to join, those already in the church who objected were not discouraged from withdrawing. One writer proudly called this policy the "reproach and cross of Wesleyan Methodism . . . [which] should be placed in the foreground and held up to . . . contemplation." However, to rural northern New York, where few if any blacks lived, this was not a practical problem.

The St. Lawrence area Wesleyans were probably the most outspokenly radical group in the whole movement, and the most conservative in their personal lives. They were quick to denounce all "rumsellers" along with slaveholders, to damn all churches that tolerated slaveholders as "consenting with thieves and partaking with adulterers," or (during the hated Mexican War) to deny church fellowship to "any person who engages in any military drill, or military parade...."

Conversely, it was the spokesmen for the Wesleyans of the St. Lawrence Conference who were most likely to vote resolutions against, or write letters against, advertisements for fancy Bibles with gilt edges and morocco bindings, or musical instruments in churches, or secular books on the courses of study for ministers on trial.

In 1841, shortly before the Wesleyan secession, the church at Bucks Bridge, where Byington.attended, was being pastored by Lyndon King, who would soon become the leader of Wesleyanism in the area. King was an uncompromising reformer who had been preaching abolitionism since about 1835. In May, 1841, however, he happily informed the newspaper of another revival at "Buck Chapel," where forty, "among the most influential and respectable class of community," had been added to the church.

Less than two years later, King, since transferred to Lisbon, was writing to Vol. I, No. 4 of the *True Wesleyan* urging all "Abolitionists in the M. E. Church" to "disconnect" from a corrupt organization which was lending its influence, pulpits, presses, "highest ecclesiastical councils," to supporting slavery, and depriving many of its own members (Negroes) "of the SACRED RIGHT of testifying in church trials, where their own most sacred interests are at stake, on account of their complexion." This same church was widely circulating published sermons "to sustain the foulest of all systems — and even try[ing] to prove that it is a divine institution, — I ask, ought not such Churches to be FORSAKEN by all the real friends of the poor, down-trodden American-made heathen?"

On March 3, 1843, the *True Wesleyan* ran another letter from King. At Lisbon all "our official members except one, and about sixty other members" had left the old church for the new. "There are probably less than a dozen with the 'Wesleyan Methodist Church." The Methodist Episcopal records for Lisbon largely confirm King's report; for 1842 a membership of 131, for 1843 a membership of 12, and for 1844 no church at all, only a "Lisbon mission."



For the Methodist Episcopal church at Bucks Bridge, the membership figures are harder to interpret. No separate Bucks Bridge figures are given for 1841 or earlier, leaving us with no starting point. In 1842, for whatever reason (possibly the slavery issue already), a new First Methodist and Free-Will Baptist Union Society had organized in nearby Morley, possibly cutting into the Bucks Bridge membership. The 1842 figure was 159. Then during 1843 the "Union" church at Morley evolved into a new Wesleyan church. At Bucks Bridge in 1843 the membership unaccountably rose to 166, and rose again for 1844 to 180 (energetic revivals perhaps, or some returning from the shifting around at Morley, or maybe a different principle of counting heads). Anyhow, for 1845, the year after the new Wesleyan meetinghouse was dedicated at Morley, the Methodist figure for Bucks Bridge plunged steeply to 123.

When the Wesleyan church was legally organized at Morley in September, 1843, John Byington was one of two laymen elected to preside at the meeting. Soon the meetinghouse was being erected, "a neat and commodious house of worship," as King described it.

The new Wesleyan discipline (modeled at this point on the Methodist Protestants) provided equal representation at all conference sessions between ministers and laymen. John Byington was a layman delegate to the annual conferences of both 1843 and 1844. At the latter he was elected a reserve delegate to the forthcoming orgainzational General Conference to be held at Cleveland, Ohio. As it turned out, Byington made the trip.

At Cleveland, Byington served on the important Committee on Revisals (to revise, as needed, the temporarily adopted organizational discipline of the Church), under the chairmanship of Luther Lee. During the session Lee accepted both the editorship of the *True Wesleyan* and the first presidency of the General Conference.

Lee was elected to the General Conference presidency when the *de facto* leader of the movement, the Rev. Orange Scott, declined to accept the honor. (The case would be similar in 1863, when Byington would become the first Seventh-day Adventist General Conference president because James White declined.)

The General Conference minutes, run serially for several weeks, do not reveal that layman-delegate Byington ever said anything from the floor, But sitting on a key committee and listening attentively to the floor debates, while a new denomination was being fashioned, this quiet, methodical man from northern New York was filing away observations and gaining invaluable insights that in later situations would give his word a quiet assurance.

One stern resolution passed at Cleveland was the one on "Sabbath-Keeping," urging all ministers "to prevent as far as possible, their people from light and worldly conversation, and from visiting or receiving formal visits from the friends" on Sunday; to "discourage the transporting of the mail, or taking out of papers and letters on the Sabbath, or filling any office which requires the violation of the holy Sabbath"; and finally, most uncompromisingly, not to "tolerate in any of our people the becoming stockholders in Sabbathbreaking companies or corporations."

Back in St. Lawrence County in the next few years the Wesleyan work went on. Frequent reports appear in the *True Wesleyan* of revivals in the area. At one, held in Morley in 1846, "a spontaneous influence burst in upon the congregation; sinners ran, backsliders wept, saints rejoiced, converts exhorted, until the audience arose to their feet, when in every direction you could see weeping and earnest solicitations emanating from the young and the old. . . ." That night the preacher rode by sleigh to Brother John Byington's to stay all night; "the Lord came down while in the sleigh, and, to complete all, we had an extraordinary time." One wishes he had the account as the less excitable Byington would have written it.

Maybe even more significant, for Bucks Bridge history, was another spirit-filled meeting held in 1847 "within two miles of this place" (Morley), where "cold-hearted Church members knelt before the congregation with broken hearts and tearful eyes, imploring forgiveness for their hostility to the cause of reform which has been manifested ever since our organization." Since Bucks Bridge is almost exactly two miles from Morley, it sounds much as if the Wesleyan minister may have been admitted to preach in the Methodist chapel at Bucks Bridge and melted the hearts of erstwhile anti-reform Methodists.

Continued on page 65



Nineteenth-century painting of the Bucks Bridge meetinghouse Byington helped build — Advent, left; Methodist Episcopal, right

[The Millerites attracted wide attention and comment from their contemporaries. John Greenleaf Whittier provided his impressions as a non-Adventist observer in the following essay reprinted from *The Writings of John Greenleaf Whittier*, Riverside ed., vol. 5: *Prose Works* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1889), pp. 419-27. The Whittier essay first appeared under the title "Father Miller," in *The Stranger in Lowell*, published July, 1845. —Eds.]

John Greenleaf Whittier

"Our Father Time is weak and gray, Awaiting for the better day; See how idiot-like he stands, Fumbling his old palsied hands!" Shelley's Masque of Anarchy.

"Stage ready, gentlemen! Stage for campground, Derry! Second Advent camp-meeting!"

Accustomed as I begin to feel to the ordinary sights and sounds of this busy city, I was, I confess, somewhat startled by this business-like annunciation from the driver of a stage, who stood beside his horses swinging his whip with some degree of impatience: "Seventy-five cents to the Second Advent campground!"

The stage was soon filled; the driver cracked his whip and went rattling down the street.

The Second Advent, — the coming of our Lord in person upon this earth, with signs, and wonders, and terrible judgments, — the heavens rolling together as a scroll, the elements melting with fervent heat! The mighty consummation of all things at hand, with its destruction and its triumphs, sad wailings of the lost and rejoicing songs of the glorified! From this overswarming hive of industry, — from these crowded treadmills of gain, — here were men and women going out in solemn earnestness to prepare for the dread moment which they verily suppose is only a few months distant, — to lift up their warning voices in the midst of scoffers and doubters, and to cry aloud to blind priests and careless churches, "Behold, the Bridegroom cometh!"

It was one of the most lovely mornings of this loveliest season of the year; a warm, soft atmosphere; clear sunshine falling on the city spires and roofs; the hills of Dracut quiet and green in the distance, with their white farm-houses and scattered trees; around me the continual tread of footsteps hurrying to the toils of the day; merchants spreading out their wares for the eyes of purchasers; sounds of hammers, the sharp clink of trowels, the murmur of the great manufactories subdued by distance. How was it possible, in the midst of so much life, in that sunrise light, and in view of all abounding beauty, that the idea of the death of Nature — the baptism of the world in fire could take such a practical shape as this? Yet here were sober, intelligent men, gentle and pious women, who, verily believing the end to be close at hand, had left their counting-rooms, and work-shops, and household cares to publish the great tidings, and to startle, if possible, a careless and unbelieving generation into preparation for the day of the Lord and for that blessed millennium, — the restored paradise, when, renovated and renewed by its fire-purgation, the earth shall become as of old the garden of the Lord, and the saints alone shall inherit it.

Powerful exhortations were directed to the earnest listeners with upturned faces

Very serious and impressive is the fact that this idea of a radical change in our planet is not only predicted in the Scriptures, but that the Earth herself, in her primitive rocks and varying formations, on which are lithographed the history of successive convulsions, darkly prophesies of others to come. The old poet prophets, all the world over, have sung of a renovated world. A vision of it haunted the contemplations of Plato. It is seen in the half-inspired speculations of the old Indian mystics. The Cumæan sibyl saw it in her trances. The apostles and martyrs of our faith looked for it anxiously and hopefully. Gray anchorites in the deserts, worn pilgrims to the holy places of Jewish and Christian tradition, prayed for its coming. It inspired the gorgeous visions of the early fathers. In every age since the Christian era, from the caves, and forests, and secluded "upper chambers" of the times of the first missionaries of the cross, from the Gothic temples of the Middle Ages, from the bleak mountain gorges of the Alps, where the hunted heretics put up their expostulation, "How long, O Lord, how long?" down to the present time, and from this Derry camp-ground, have been uttered the prophecy and the prayer for its fulfilment.

How this great idea manifests itself in the lives of the enthusiasts of the days of Cromwell! Think of Sir Henry Vane, cool, sagacious statesman as he was, waiting with eagerness for the foreshadowings of the millennium, and listening, even in the very council hall, for the blast of the last trumpet! Think of the Fifth Monarchy Men, weary with waiting for the long-desired consummation, rushing out with drawn swords and loaded matchlocks into the streets of London to establish at once the rule of King Jesus! Think of the wild enthusiasts at Munster, verily imagining that the millennial reign had commenced in their mad city! Still later, think of Granville Sharpe, diligentyy laboring in his vocation of philanthropy, laying plans for the slow but beneficent amelioration of the condition of his country and the world, and at the same time maintaining, with the zeal of Father Miller himself, that the earth was just on the point of combustion, and that the millennium would render all his benevolent schemes of no sort of consequence!

And, after all, is the idea itself a vain one? Shall to-morrow be as to-day? Shall the antagonism of good and evil continue as heretofore forever? Is there no hope that this world-wide prophecy of the human soul, uttered in all climes, in all times, shall yet be fulfilled? Who shall say it may not be true? Nay, is not its truth proved by its universality? The hope of all earnest souls *must* be realized. That which, through a distorted and doubtful medium, shone even upon the martyr enthusiasts of the French revolution, — soft gleams of heaven's light rising over the hell of man's passions and crimes, — the glorious ideal of Shelley, who, atheist as he was through early prejudice and defective education, saw the horizon of the world's future kindling with the light of a better day, — that hope and that faith which constitute, as it were, the world's life, and without which it would be dark and dead, cannot be in vain.

I do not, I confess, sympathize with my Second Advent friends in their lamentable depreciation of Mother Earth even in her present state. I find it extremely difficult to comprehend how it is that this goodly, green, sunlit home of ours is resting under a curse. It really does not seem to me to be altogether like the roll which the angel bore in the prophet's vision, "written within and without with mourning. lamentation, and woe." September sunsets, changing forests, moonrise and cloud, sun and rain, - I for one am contented with them. They fill my heart with a sense of beauty. I see in them the perfect work of infinite love as well as wisdom. It may be that our Advent friends, however, coincide with the opinions of an old writer on the prophecies, who considered the hills and valleys of the earth's surface and its changes of seasons as so many visible manifestations of God's curse, and that in the millennium, as in the days of Adam's innocence, all these picturesque inequalities would be levelled nicely away, and the flat surface laid handsomely down to grass!

As might be expected, the effect of this belief in the speedy destruction of the world and the personal coming of the Messiah, acting upon a class of uncultivated, and, in some cases, gross minds, is not always in keeping with the enlightened Christian's ideal of the better day. One is shocked in reading some of the "hymns" of these believers. Sensual images, semi-Mahometan descriptions of the condition of the



Between 1842 and 1844 the Millerites held over 100 camp meetings, preaching to thousands who were enchanted by the mood and the message.

"saints," — exultations over the destruction of the "sinners," — mingle with the beautiful and soothing promises of the prophets. There are indeed occasionally to be found among the believers men of refined and exalted spiritualism, who in their lives and conversation remind one of Tennyson's Christian knight-errant in his yearning towards the hope set before him:—

> "to me is given Such hope I may not fear; I long to breathe the airs of heaven, Which sometimes meet me here.

"I muse on joys that cannot cease, Pure spaces filled with living beams, White lilies of eternal peace, Whose odors haunt my dreams."

One of the most ludicrous examples of the sensual phase of Millerism, the incongruous blending of the sublime with the ridiculous, was mentioned to me not long since. A fashionable young woman in the western part of this State became an enthusiastic believer in the doctrine. On the day which had been designated as the closing one of time she packed all her fine dresses and toilet valuables in a large trunk, with long straps attached to it, and, seating herself upon it, buckled the straps over her shoulders, patiently awaiting the crisis, — shrewdly calculating that, as she must herself go upwards, her goods and chattels would of necessity follow.

Three or four years ago, on my way eastward, I spent an hour or two at a camp-ground of the Second Advent in East Kingston. The spot was well chosen. A tall growth of pine and hemlock threw its melancholy shadow over the multitude, who were arranged upon rough seats of boards and logs. Several hundred — perhaps a thousand people — were present, and more were rapidly coming. Drawn about in a circle, forming a background of snowy whiteness to the dark masses of men and foliage, were the white tents, and back of them the provision-stalls and cook-shops. When I reached the ground, a hymn, the words of which I could not distinguish, was pealing through the dim aisles of the forest. I could readily perceive that it had its effect upon the multitude before me,

"The preachers were placed in a rude pulpit of rough boards





"A tall growth of pine and hemlock threw its melancholy shadow over the multitude"

kindling to higher intensity their already excited enthusiasm. The preachers were placed in a rude pulpit of rough boards, carpeted only by the dead forest-leaves and flowers, and tasselled, not with silk and velvet, but with the green boughs of the sombre hemlocks around it. One of them followed the music in an earnest exhortation on the duty of preparing for the great event. Occasionally he was really eloquent, and his description of the last day had the ghastly distinctness of Anelli's painting of the End of the World.

Suspended from the front of the rude pulpit were two broad sheets of canvas, upon one of which was the figure of a man, the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly of brass, the legs of iron, and feet of clay, — the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. On the other were depicted the wonders of the Apocalyptic vision, — the beasts, the dragons, the scarlet woman seen by the seer of Patmos, Oriental types, figures, and mystic symbols, translated into staring Yankee realities, and exhibited like the beasts of a travelling menagerie. One horrible image, with its hideous heads and scaly caudal extremity, reminded me of the tremendous line of Milton, who, in speaking of the same evil dragon, describes him as

"Swindging the scaly horrors of his folded tail."

To an imaginative mind the scene was full of novel interest. The white circle of tents; the dim wood arches; the upturned, earnest faces; the loud voices of the speakers, burdened with the awful symbolic language of the Bible; the smoke from the fires, rising like incense, — carried me back to those days of primitive worship which tradition faintly whispers of, when on hill-tops and in the shade of old woods Religion had her first altars, with every man for her priest and the whole universe for her temple.

Wisely and truthfully has Dr. Channing spoken of this doctrine of the Second Advent in his memorable discourse in Berkshire a little before his death:—

There are some among us at the present moment who are waiting for the speedy coming of Christ. They expect, before another year closes, to see Him in the clouds, to hear His voice, to stand before His judgment-seat. These illusions spring from misinterpretation of Scripture language. Christ, in the New Testament, is said to come whenever His religion breaks out in new glory or gains new triumphs. He came in the Holy Spirit in the day of Pentecost. He came in the destruction of Jerusalem, which, by subverting the old ritual law and breaking the power of the worst enemies of His religion, insured to it new victories. He came in the reformation of the Church. He came on this day four years ago, when, through His religion, eight hundred thousand men were raised from the lowest degradation to the rights, and dignity, and fellowship of men. Christ's outward appearance is of little moment compared with the brighter manifestation of His spirit. The Christian, whose inward eyes and ears are touched by God, discerns the coming of Christ, hears the sound of His chariot-wheels and the voice of His trumpet, when no other perceives them. He discerns the Saviour's advent in the dawning of higher truth on the world, in new aspirations of the Church after perfection, in the prostration of prejudice and error, in brighter expressions of Christian love, in more enlightened and intense consecration of the Christian to the cause of humanity, freedom, and religion. Christ comes in the conversion, the regeneration, the emancipation, of the world." п



BNNST ICALCADET DRPS een By

Everett N. Dick

Everett N. Dick is research professor of American history at Union College.



Everett Dick. founder of the Medical Cadets, training officer during World War II and commanding officer during the Korean War





First company at attention, College of Medical Evangelists, 1936

W HEN WAR CLOUDS appeared on the horizon in the middle 1930's, the faculty of Union College (Lincoln, Nebraska) became concerned about military service for male students. World War I veterans with memories of the difficulties Seventh-day Adventist boys had encountered in that conflict, knowing that some had been court-martialed and imprisoned, felt that Adventist boys should be trained to serve in the medical department where major problems of bearing arms and Sabbath observance had not been encountered.

We asked the college president to urge the General Conference Missionary Volunteer department to initiate some sort of military training that would prepare Seventh-day Adventist young men to serve in the medical department in case of war. When the Missionary Volunteer department did not see the urgency of the matter, the faculty at Union College moved ahead. There was fear that our people would be frightened at the idea of military training, so we emphasized the medical aspect, and to avoid criticism we asked the Board of Trustees to validate the training before it was begun. Moreover, we always spoke of it as medical corps rather than military training.

My service in the armed forces in World War I stood me in good stead when the president of the college asked me to take charge. Major E. H. Burger, a Regular Army doctor in charge of training the Nebraska National Guard, offered to help us get started.

The training consisted of that given to medical department soldiers, such as close order drill, organization of the army, physical training, military courtesy, camp hygiene, litter drill, and first aid. It was an orientation that would help the recruit, who would otherwise be entering the service of his country at a handicap, to fit into a place where he could serve God and his country conscientiously. Above all it was hoped that the government would recognize this



Medical Cadets visit the White House





▲ First training camp, Union College, 1939

◄ Carlyle B. Haynes, General Conference Secretary of War Service Commission training by assigning these civilian trainees to the medical department.

Our first meeting occurred on January 8, 1934. The students were enthusiastic about this opportunity that their school was offering and I advised them to show their appreciation to the Major. They faithfully applauded at the close of each drill period as though they had been entertained for an hour. At first there was no uniform but shortly the corps spirit demanded one. At the depth of the Great Depression there was no money for a real uniform, so we adopted white shirt, white trousers, a black four-in-hand necktie, and a white cotton armband bearing a red cross. Insignia of rank were made of black and maroon felt, the school colors.

Two and a half years later, Major Cyril Courville and a group of reserve officers of the 47th General Hospital (formed of teachers in the College of Medical Evangelists), lead a military medical training company of about sixty men which was called the first company of the Medical Cadet Corps. This training program spread to other places in the Pacific Union Conference. Pacific Union College had a corps, and under the aggressive supervision of F. G. Ashbaugh, men not in school were also trained.

About two years after the 47th General Hospital started its training program, Washington Missionary College initiated training under the leadership of Captain C. R. Hyatt, USN, Retired. This unit and others were nurtured by Columbia Union Missionary Volunteer secretary C. P. Sorensen, who pushed the program with vigor. The men in the churches in the Washington area were organized into a unit of three hundred men and made public relations history by serving as first aid men where they were needed in the District of Columbia.

With war clouds more threatening by the month, the General Conference took note of the spontaneous movement, and at the autumn council held at Lincoln, Nebraska, in October, 1939, military medical training was discussed for the greater part of a day. On Sunday the members adjourned to the Union College campus, where Cadet Captain Orason Lee Brinker, my assistant, gave a demonstration drill. As a result of these discussions the General Conference voted to adopt the plan of military medical training, calling it the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Cadet Corps. At that time the program was going in a limited way in only three unions.

At the demonstration drill on the Union College campus, the president of Walla Walla College, George Bowers, asked Brinker to come to his institution and initiate military medical training in the North Pacific Union. A committee of three of us visited the United States Surgeon General's office and with official assistance worked out a unified curriculum for the whole country to take the place of the several that were somewhat at variance.

In the meantime, realizing the needs of the men who were not in college, I promoted a summer camp for non-collegians in June, 1939. This first military medical training camp in the denomination drew men from the Northern, Central, and Southwestern unions. The attendance of over fifty convinced us that a need was being met. Accordingly, the College authorized a second summer camp in 1940. George M. Matthews, educational superintendent of the Michigan conference, attended this camp and went home enthusiastic about the training. He immediately promoted a training program for the Michigan Conference. Carlyle B. Haynes, president of the conference, supported the idea readily.

The draft was then being argued in Congress, and the MCC movement took fire. Soon the project became union-wide. Under the leadership of the Lake Union Missionary Volunteer secretary, E. W. Dunbar, Grand Ledge became the assembly of the greatest number of men for military training in the history of the denomination. The Lake Union asked me to bring some Union College trained officers and





United States Army Colonel, Floyd Wergeland, examines the Congressional Medal of Corporal Desmond T. Doss. Elder Haynes and Colonel Dick look on.





▲ Women join ranks: Cadette units were formed in the U.S. and overseas

560 Cadets in the largest M.C.C. training program, one year before the attack on Pearl Harbor

staff to this camp that was projected to run for two weeks. Simultaneously, men were to drive in from all over the Lake Union to drill each Sunday in an intensive course running for several months. There were 230 men at the camp and 330 in the Sunday set-up, making a complement of 560 men on the field at the time of the camp's graduation exercises. Certain key men in the conferences and the churches attended the intensive camp for the purpose of taking officer training and going home to lead out in local training corps in their home areas. These men formed an officer training platoon of which I personally took charge. My Union College students who had had several years of military medical training served in key positions at the camp: Captain Walter Crawford, who was my second in command; Captain Clark Smith who, although yet a college student, had been loaned to President H. J. Klooster of Emmanuel Missionary College to start MCC training there; and Captain Edward Seitz, who was an efficient training officer.

The General Conference now decided to divide the United States into three sections. C. P. Sorensen took charge of promoting Medical Cadet training in the East; F. G. Ashbaugh fostered it in the West; and I promoted it in the mid- and southwest by holding



Housekeeping at Camp Carlyle B. Haynes



▲ Camp Almansask, Saskatchewan, 1951



▲ Medical Cadets of the North Brazil Union Camp demonstrate evacuation of wounded.

Major General George E. Armstrong and Major General Silas B. Hayes, Surgeon Generals of the United States Army who inspected Camp Desmond T. Doss



camps for officer training. In March I was asked to become General Conference Medical Cadet training officer, which enlarged my activities to include the entire nation, although the work-was going so well in the Pacific Union that I was not called into that field.

In the flush of an all-out war effort, the women also wanted to prepare for service. The first Medical Cadette unit was organized at Atlantic Union College; from there the movement spread to many lands.

When we started the Medical Cadet Corps training, we had hoped that the army would recognize our training and place Adventist boys in the medical department. Before long this was generally done, although occasionally an officer would bring courtmartial charges. Carlyle Haynes, who took charge of the War Service Commission in late 1940, investigated these cases and helped to clear up any misunderstanding. Generally speaking, Adventist boys who had had MCC training were placed in the medical department and made a reputation which led to all Adventist boys being placed in the medics.

When the war was over, the immediate incentive for the Medical Cadet Corps was no longer present, and in most places the training was dropped. A few schools continued to offer it, among them Union College. In the spring of 1950, however, Haynes, in view of the struggle brewing in Korea, urged the General Conference to reactivate the Medical Cadet training. Once more I was asked to take charge of the training. I went to Washington to confer with the Surgeon General's office as to the latest training program



Major General Silas B. Hayes



Prince Takamatsu, younger brother of the Emperor, and his wife inspect cadets and cadettes at Saniku Gakuin College, Japan. which they would use in case of war. From their materials I made a curriculum for our purpose, and that they endorsed. Their program was then our program and helped us to a good start. In fact, we adopted it before the government used it.

The General Conference then held a three-day meeting of union leaders, local conference representatives, and college and academy corps commanders on the Union College campus in early June, 1950, to organize a nation-wide training program. During World War II, training had grown up in various sections of the country, each with a different type of organization, ranking, uniform and insignia. Entire uniformity was voted at this meeting, and for the first time we had a unified program. Immediately, Havnes commissioned me Colonel to serve as the commanding officer of the new program. It was decided to hold the first national camp — Camp Carlyle B. Haynes at Beulah, Colorado, late in August. This was another step in unifying the movement, for all received the same officer training. With discussion the group arrived at uniform, workable procedures. At this camp, Clark Smith, MCC commander of the Pacific Union, and Walter A. Howe, of the Southwestern Union, became my right hand men and continued so for years.

Among others in attendance at Camp Haynes was the Missionary Volunteer secretary of the Canadian Union conference, L. E. Smart. He returned to Canada with the idea of introducing the training in Canada. I was invited to hold an officer training camp at Oshawa, Ontario, early in 1951. This posed a new problem for me as I was unfamiliar with the commands and movements of British drill, but Canadian Army officers were helpful, and World War II veterans taught me the drill. Corps were started at Canadian Union College and Oshawa Missionary College, and summer camps were held in Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

In the meantime the Korean War had broken out and the training proved very popular. About 3,000 took training during the academic year 1950-1951.

I inspected each corps during the school year and a national camp, Camp Desmond T. Doss, held at Grand Ledge, Michigan, each summer. The man for whom this camp was named was called to the colors in World War II while in the midst of his MCC training and had the distinction of winning the Medal of Honor, the only conscientious objector ever to win that decoration.

Among those who attended the officer training camp at Camp Doss were several from other world divisions of the church, particularly from Brazil, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic. These men returned to their fields and formed training units. Camps now sprang up in each of these countries. When I visited these camps, a new problem arose: I did not understand Spanish. Fortunately the drill in most of these countries was the same as the American drill and by learning the commands in



◄ Litter bearers demonstrate evacuation of the wounded at Taipei, Taiwan, 1953.

▼ Southeast Asia Medical Cadet Camp, Strait of Johore, Singapore





Improvised Ambulance

Spanish I could drill the troops. The attendance of Professor D. Peixoto de Silva at Camp Doss resulted in the beginning of a strong and permanent Medical Cadet Corps training work in Brazil. This, of course, was in the Portuguese language.

In 1953 the General Conference asked me to go to the Orient and visit our soldiers in Korea, but more urgent was the plan of starting MCC units in the Far East and elsewhere. Again in Japan I learned the Japanese commands, and since the drill was the same as that used in the United States, I made out satisfactorily. But in Korea where the war was on and our Korean men faced far greater difficulties than did American boys, I knew neither the drill nor the language and had to give up any active field work and depend on qualified Koreans for the drill instruction. The students at Clear Water Bay in Hong Kong eagerly took the training also. At that time (1953) Taiwan was in active warfare, and it was easy to find soldiers who had had recent service to lead out in drill and field training, although my leadership seemed to be appreciated in other matters.



Cadets practicing swift but careful rescue



Medical Cadet Corps training was established in many parts of the world, but by all odds the Philippines holds the greatest enthusiasm for the training. As early as World War II missionary leaders asked the leaders in the United States for instructions on starting the new training in the Philippines and China. Although this was outside my assignment at that time. I understand that it was started in both places. The renewal of the program in the Fifties was received in the Philippines with enthusiasm, and the numbers trained exceeded those in any other country in the world. Both colleges and academies installed the program, and my observation was that those who took the training in our officer training camps made excellent leaders. The result has been recognition and aid by the national government.

Medical Cadets in a Lebanese Red Cross Parade, 1959





Medical Cadets working along side the infantry must have equal courage **D**ENOMINATIONAL NICKNAMES were often derogatory labels. Shakers were named for their dance, Quakers for the alleged "quaking" of a Spiritfilled life, Methodists from a penchant for organizational method. The term "Millerite" was considered somewhat derisive, so early Sabbathkeeping Adventists preferred the simple designation "Adventist."

Before the Great Disappointment of 1844, the name "Adventist" was applied to those who followed William Miller's preaching on the imminence of Christ's second coming. The editor of the *Advent Herald* is credited by one popular writer on Adventism as the originator of this term for believers in the second advent and pure Bible interpretations. The name also appeared frequently in the early issues of the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* after it began publication in November, 1850. The fact that Sabbathkeepers did not remain with the larger body of followers of William Miller — the so-called "nominal Adventists" — may be a further reason they preferred "Adventist" over "Millerite."

The term "nominal Adventists" was used with some consistency by Sabbathkeeping Adventists to describe those who rejected their interpretation of the "third angel's message" (Revelation 14:9-11) along with the Sabbath teaching, but continued to espouse the advent hope. They are also referred to in this period as "First-day Adventists." In a *Review and Herald* editorial entitled "We are the Adventists" James White affirmed that the class of believers with which he was identified held to the doctrine of the second advent as proclaimed by William Miller regarding the judgment hour, and the message of the second angel which took them away from the different churches to which they had belonged.

Godfrey T. Anderson

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▲ A former Seventh day Baptist, Roswell F. Cottrell, strongly Opposed what he called "making us a name." courtesy Pacific Press Publishing Assoc.

M. E. Cornell believed that choosing a name was "a matter of propriety and necessity."



'Church of God' was the name J. B. Frisbie publicly advocated in 1854. courtesy Review and Herald Publishing Assoc.

James White supported the name 'Church of God' because it was "scriptural" and "appropriate." courtesy Review and Herald Publishing Assoc.



Before Sabbathkeeping Adventists officially chose the name "Seventh-day Adventists," they were referred to in a variety of ways, some of them almost anticipating the name finally chosen. There were references to them as "the remnant," "believers," and "the scattered flock." They were called "Seventh day people," "Sabbathkeeping Advent Believers," "Sabbathkeeping Adventists," "Seventh-day Brethren," "Advent Sabbathkeepers," "Seventh-day Doorshutters," "Church of God," "Seven Day Evangelists," "Sabbathkeeping Remnant of Adventists," and "Shut-door Seventhday Sabbath and Annihilationists."

The sentiment against choosing a name, or "making us a name" as R. F. Cottrell referred to it, was deep and widespread among both "nominal" and Sabbathkeeping Adventists at this period. It went along with the strong feeling that any type of organization was Babylon, a return to the fallen state of the churches from which they had come. A "nominal" Adventist writing in the Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate under the heading "Christian versus Adventist" argued that the term "Christian" was adequate to cover all who believed in Christ and his imminent return to earth. "A Christian is a follower of Christ," he wrote. "Are you something else? Then have another name: such an one as suits your profession and faith. . . ." He pointed out that if one were a little more or a little less than a Christian he might need another name. But if neither, then why, he asked, is another name needed? "But it is argued, 'We need some name to distinguish us.' Distinguish us! from whom pray? From the world? 'Christian' stands ever as a distinguisher from all classes of the world. ... Here lies the mischief. This result — schism in the body — always did, does, and will follow the adoption of names unauthorized by the Bible." The writer then stated his objection to the name "Adventist":

I object to the name "Adventist," because, 1st it is unscriptural. ... 2nd, I object to it because of its tendency to raise and perpetuate a party in the body of Christ. . . . 3d, I object to its use among us because of priority of use. ... Elder Himes and associates, years ago, adopted the name as an appelative [sic] of those who engaged with Wm. Miller in proclaiming the coming of the Lord, and certain other doctrines advocated by him; and out of it has grown an "Advent church," pledged to the "original doctrines of the Advent as taught by Bro. Miller," or as set forth in the Albany conference. . . . If you must have the name Adventists, at lease use an adjective to distinguish you from those already in use of the name. It might be "the second second Advent Church," or The "N. Y. Adventists," or "the Hartford Adventists" - any thing to distinguish you.

For similar and other reasons, Sabbathkeeping Adventists opposed with vigor the choice of any name. To the very last there were those who objected to choosing a name. So strongly did some feel about this and the larger question of church order and organization that they withdrew from the body when these steps were taken in Battle Creek from 1860 to 1863.

There were precedents dating from the early 1850's which suggested a name like "Seventh-day Adventist." One historian has written that when the name Seventh-day Adventist was proposed in 1860, this name "indeed had been applied to them as much as any other." With such terms as Seventh-day Baptists and First Day Adventists in common use, it appears likely that the designation Seventh-day Adventist might have suggested itself to some.

In 1853 the Seventh-day Baptists communicated with the editor of the Review and Herald, and came close to using the very term that was finally adopted as a name seven years later. The communication ran: "At the sitting of the Seventh-day Baptist Central Association in Scott, last month, it was 'resolved that we instruct our Corresponding Secretary to correspond with the Seventh-day Advent people and learn of their faith.'" This identical term was also used on a handbill to announce some meetings of the Adventist Sabbathkeepers in Hillsdale, Michigan, in 1856. J. N. Loughborough, who reported this at a later date, said, "This name [Seventh-day Advent people] I suppose was used in the handbill because everybody would know at once who it meant."

A letter from a believer in Vermont to the editor of the *Review and Herald* indicates that fourteen months before the name was adopted in Battle Creek in the fall of 1860, the precise name was in use by some. This writer stated, "I found no difficulty in deciding in favor of the seventh day Adventists."

A source of confusion about the first use of the name Seventh-day Adventists as applied to these early believers stems partly from the fact that almost all who have written about this period, including those who were participants and later reminisced about these early days, used the term Seventh-day Adventist as though it were an accomplished fact before the formal adoption of the name. This use does not establish that the name was widely used before 1860, but it does contribute to the impression that the name was in use before its official adoption by the group. J. N. Loughborough, for example, recalling his first contacts with Sabbathkeeping Adventists in 1852, wrote at a later time, "I had become prejudiced against the Seventh-day Adventists" In another place, referring to the publishing work in 1852, he stated that the Review and Herald "was printed on the press and with type owned by Seventh-day Adventists.'

The SDA Encyclopedia explains its use of the term in this way: "For convenience, this book employs the term 'Seventh-day Adventist' ... for in-

dividuals and groups who even before 1860 were developing and holding in common the doctrines that were to characterize the body now called by that name."

As the membership grew and the Sabbatarian Adventist cause matured, the need was increasingly felt, not only for some general plan of organization, but for a name for the developing body. The twenty-six members of the Parkville, Michigan, church early in 1860 took legal steps toward organizing a "Religious Society" so that they might in a lawful manner hold property. This group, in the Articles of Association which they signed, stated, "We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together as a church with the name of Parkville Church of Christ's Second Advent; taking the Bible as the rule of our faith and discipline."

The church at Fairfield, Iowa, organized in mid-summer, 1860, "by adopting articles of faith from the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice" and "sur-naming themselves "The church of the living God."

Influential leaders in the work such as M. E. Cornell were developing strong convictions that the choosing of a name was imperative. "I cannot find any scripture," he wrote in May, 1860, "that would forbid all the remnant being called by one name. ... Other churches are Babylon and in a fallen state, not because they have chosen various names but because they rejected the message God sent them." He concluded that "to have an appropriate name for the advent, commandment-keeping, Laodicean people, I now believe to be a matter of propriety and necessity."

The person who was to become the first president of the General Conference, John Byington, after first favoring the name "Church of God," endorsed the name "Seventh-day Adventist." He wrote:

As to a name, I have sometimes thought the plain Scriptural term "Church of God" was all that was necessary. But in reflecting more on this subject, I see that God has given to his people and to individuals names suitable to the time and circumstances under which they were placed. ... I would say to my brethren scattered abroad, I cannot see a reasonable or Scriptural objection to the name Seventh-day Adventist, as it is significant of the position the church of God must occupy at the end.

The historic conference which led to the adoption of a name for the church was called for the end of September, 1860. Prior to this the subject was discussed and debated at some length. In June, James White revealed his choice of a name. "We now suggest that we unanimously adopt the name *Church of God*, as a scriptural and appropriate name by which to be known." The term Church of God had been used for several years in the pages of the *Review*, presumably in a general sense, although at times it appeared capitalized as a proper noun. J. B. Frisbie, writing on Church Order in 1854, said that the name "The Church of God" is "the only name that God has seen fit to give his church"

The following year a statement signed by a committee of three which had been appointed to direct the operation of the *Review and Herald* sent out a message to the believers entitled "To the Church of God." It appears that not only James White but those at the *Review and Herald* office, and a number of others, were in favor of the name "Church of God" up to the very time of the conference in 1860.

In reporting a vision first published the year following the adoption of the church name, Ellen White wrote regarding the name "Church of God":

I was shown that almost every fanatic who has arisen, who wishes to hide his sentiments that he may lead away others, claims to belong to the Church of God. Such a name would at once excite suspicion; for it is employed to conceal the most absurd errors. This name is too indefinite for the remnant people of God. It would lead to the supposition that we had a faith which we wished to cover up.

Those who opposed the designation "Church of God" felt it meaningless, presumptuous, and too general. Also there were several other groups who were using this name at that time. In spite of this, certain individuals, like T. J. Butler of Ohio, held to the name "Church of God" even after it had been rejected. Eventually, Butler and several others withdrew from the company of believers, due to the name chosen and other reasons. There was some support for "Advent Sabbatarians" as "a name beautiful, significant, appropriate, natural and becoming."

The "general conference" which chose the name

J. H. Waggoner was a member of the committee appointed to recommend a name. courtesy Review and Herald Publishing Assoc.



was held at Battle Creek in late September and early October, 1860. Joseph Bates, who served as chairmán for almost all the conferences through this period of church organization, presided. His views on organization favored such a conference, and this, as well as the fact that he was the senior member of the group and presumably competent at the job of chairing such meetings, no doubt led to his being chosen for this position. Uriah Smith served as secretary of the meeting and the succeeding conferences on organization.

Some indication of the importance placed upon this particular conference can be seen in the rather complete report of the meetings published in three issues of the Review during the month of October. The discussions reflect the troublesome fact that there were still vestiges of the concept in the minds of many of the delegates that organization was Babylon. The most adamant in opposition seemed to be the delegates from New York and Ohio, among the five states represented. Some, like J. N. Loughborough and a Battle Creek layman, Ezra Brackett, strongly supported the move in favor of choosing a name. Others came with open minds to consider the matter. In the discussion of organizing so that the Review and *Herald* could be incorporated under the laws of Michigan, T. J. Butler, a consistent opponent of all organization, invoked the "higher law" above the law of the land. This probably reflected the debate going on among the anti-slavery leaders of the North regarding the "peculiar institution" against which they likewise invoked the higher law.

A committee of three (later enlarged) had been appointed to work out a plan of organization and to recommend a name, but they were unable to agree on a name. As J. H. Waggoner explained to the conference:

The first business that we designed to bring to the Conference was the adoption of a name; one that we might recommend to the local churches....But we have not been able to agree upon any name. Objections were raised in the committee to any name suggested. We shall have to leave that matter, therefore, to the Conference."

At the fourth session of the conference, on the morning of October 1, Ezra Brackett moved that a name be chosen. Another delegate touched on the objection that choosing a name would make of the group another denomination, but James White's response was: "... it is objected that we shall be classed among the denominations. We are classed with them already, and I do not know that we can prevent it, unless we disband and scatter, and give up the thing altogether."

James White further indicated in the afternoon session that at one time he had been fearful of adopting a name for the church. Earlier, he said, their numbers were comparatively few and there was no great necessity for such action. But now "large bodies of intelligent brethren are being raised up, and without some regulation of this kind will be thrown into

Consistently, J. N. Loughborough favored both organizing and choosing a name. confusion." He proceeded to review some of the experiences of the past decade, indicating that there were certain ones who opposed publishing a paper and pamphlets, and having an office for the *Review and Herald*. They were against church order and against having a power press. All of these things, however, were essential to the progress of the cause, and opposition to the choice of a name, he felt, was of the same character. One delegate in favor of choosing a name also suggested that to continue without a name would be like publishing books without titles, or sending out a paper without a heading.

When the question "Shall we adopt a name?" was brought before the members, the motion was carried without dissent, although several declined to vote. Then the discussion turned to the question of what name should be selected. The supporters of the name "Church of God" zealously advocated this as the name. In the morning session T. J. Butler of Ohio, who favored the name "Church of God," had said, "If God has named us as parents have a right to name their children, does it not denote a lack of modesty to try to slip out and take no name, or another?" The objections to the name "Church of God" were mentioned. Then the discussion turned to the desirability of having a name which would not seem presumptuous or objectionable to the world at large.

There were those who felt that the name should reflect the distinctive beliefs of the body. Seventhday Adventist was suggested as a name that was simple and descriptive of the beliefs and position of the group. Eventually, David Hewitt, Joseph Bates' first convert in Battle Creek a decade earlier, offered the resolution: "Resolved, That we take the name of Seventh-day Adventists." After some discussion and for some unknown reason, this motion was withdrawn. In its place another motion was presented which stated: "Resolved, That we call ourselves Seventh-day Adventists." Following further lengthy discussion this resolution was adopted, with T. J. Butler dissenting, and four others, including J. N. Andrews, not voting. After some further explanation, Andrews signified his assent to this name. Final action was taken on the motion, recommending this name "to the churches generally," and the motion was carried with only T. J. Butler dissenting.

In spite of James White's earlier favoring the name "Church of God," he supported majority opinion, and Mrs. White gave it her endorsement:

No name which we can take will be appropriate but that which accords with our profession and expresses our faith and marks us a peculiar people. The name Seventh-day Adventist is a standing rebuke to the Protestant world. Here is the line of distinction between the worshipers of God and those who worship the beast and receive his mark....

The name Seventh-day Adventist carries the true features of our faith in front, and will convict the inquiring mind. Like an arrow from the Lord's quiver, it will wound the transgressors of God's law, and will lead to repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Thus, after lengthy discussion and debate during the conference and prior to it, a name was chosen for the church, one that has continued without serious challenge to the present.

Roswell F. Cottrell, who had led out in a reasonable opposition to the whole idea of organization, accepted and supported the vote of the October conference on the choice of a name. Replying to criticism for his outspoken opposition to organization and a name, he wrote: "If any have been encouraged in a spirit of waywardness by what I have written, I am sorry for it. I did not intend it."

For the most part it appears that there was general support for the steps that were taken, including the selection of the name. Increasingly the new name appeared in the columns of the *Review* in connection with notices of meetings and of actions taken by various churches. Letters to the *Review* expressed satisfaction with the choice. One member wrote, "The



Joseph Bates chaired the Battle Creek Conference. courtesy Pacific Press Publishing Assoc.

designated by their locality I should like it is over, (ii) is the church worshipley on the second day in such and such places. Buo, WHITE, This is a point in which I am extremely interested. I do not see how we can

get along without some nime. If we do not take one, we shall have a variety applied to us. And it is not possible for us to hold property without a none. The law specifies upon this point. As to being reckone I a part of Riskylon, I have presched considerable about Babylon, but never Final any fault with them because they have a name. I see nothing unscriptural in their having a name. But it is objected that we shall be classed among the domainations. We are closed with them already, and I do not know that we can prevent it, unless we dishard and seatter, and give up the thing altogether.

BRO. CONNELL. There are three churches in lows, waiting to go forward immediately to build meeting-houses; but they are waiting the action of this Conference. Something should be done; it is expected. When the brothren speak of our going into Babylon because of the name, it seems to me they lose sight of the aid and assistance that God has given us as a people. The com-mandments of God and the faith of Josus, is a distinguishing feature between us and the other donominations; and so sure as they are Babylon, and in the enemy's hand, the enemy will stir them up to war against us. It looks to me too that the gifts of the church are lost sight of, and are not held in so important a light as they should be, if we give way to so much fear of our becoming Babylon merely by adopting a name. There is confusion in the names already chosen; and if something is not done here, churches will go on choosing different names still. A general name will bring us into unity and not confusion. BRD. BUTLER. The objections which formerly

had weight upon my mind, do not now have the weight they had. I think they may be surmount-What do we profess to be here? Is it not a See. fact that we profess to be, and are striving to be, that lively material that the apostle speaks of, striving to be built up a holy temple, &c. This be-ing the fact, what does the Lord himself, the great Framer and Deviser of this building, declare it to This same building is declared to be the church of God. 1f God has named us as parents have a right to name their children, does it not denote a lack of modesty to try to slip out and take no name, or another ?

The discussion on this subject was prolonged till cleven o'clock when it was Voted, To adjourn a hour.

FIFTH SESSION.

Monday, O. taker 1, 1860.

Meeting opened by prayer by Brn. White and the Chrisman. The question again brought be fore the meeting, "Shall we adopt some name?" Some who had previously been averse to such a step, here signified their change of opinion, and their readiness to co-operate with their brethren in this course.

BRO, SPERRY. It looks to me that it is per-BRO. SPERRY. It looks to use that it is per-fectly right and pleasing to the Lord, if we are not in harmony on this subject, to talk the matter over in the Spirit of the Lord. I have this con-fidence in the Spirit of the Lord that it will lead us into the same mind and judgment. And these brethrem that can see the matter clearly, are pre-med to whether we are been constant see it available. ared to enlighten us who cannot see it so plainly. believe that when we touch the right thing, and move in harmony with the Spirit of God, his blessing will follow our action. My mind was calightened somewhat this forenoon in regard to My prejudices have been great; but in order ŝt. it. My prejudices have been great; but in order to get light, I wish to lay my prejudices on the subject on the altar. I hope we shall not be has-ty in the matter, but help each other on these points as we did last night. I believe God will give wishem. I understand that at some time God's people will have a name; for John saw them having their Father's name on their fore-loads. heads.

Res Brins, Going and an anima would

in any space of the state of th for some α has sensitive particles α a key to $\beta < 1$ of a name. If shell been in the some position ment. In times part when we write contact views Interior. few, he did not see the necessary of one such steps. But now large holice of intelligate bestares are being raised up, and without source existent of this kind will be thrown into confusion. Ho then gave a review of the past, monthing the oppo-tion which had been manifested by some aid the way along, first against publishing a paper, then against issuing pamphlets, then against having an office, then against the sile of publications, they against church order, then against having a power press. It had been hard to bring the ninds of some of the brothren to the necessity of these things; but they had all been essential to the prosperity of the cance. He thought the opposition to the steps here proposed of the some nature precisely.

The question, Shall we adopt a name was then called for. The motion was put and curried. None dissented, though a few declined to vote.

Bro. Ingraham remarked that though he did not feel perfectly clear, he was so far inclined to the position taken, that if compelled to vote, he should vote in favor of a name.

Having voted to adopt a name, the discussion now turned on what that name should be. The name Church of God was proposed and zealously advocated by some. It was objected that that name was already in use by some denominations, and on this account, was indefinite, besides having to the this account, was indefinite, besides having to the world an appearance of presimption. Bro, White remarked that the name taken should be one which would be the least objectionable to the world at large. The name Seventh-day Advent-ists, was proposed as a simple name and one ex-pressive of our faith and position. After some further remarks, Bro. Hewitt offered the following half. resolution :-

Rendered. That we take the name of Seventh-

day Adventises. This resolution was freely discussed, but was finally withdrawa to unlike room for the following

Adventists. After a somewhat lengthy discussion, the ques-

tion was called for, and the resolution adopted, Bro. Butler dissenting, and Brn. Lawrence, Sper-ry, Andrews and Ingvalana not voting. On explanation that this resolution had reference only to those present, Bro. Sperry gave his vote in fa vor of the resolution, and Lizy. Andrews signified his assent, to the same.

Mored by Bro. Hull that we recommend the Marca by Bro. Full that we recommend the name we have chosen to the churches generally,— Carried, Bro. Butler dissenting. Marcal, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Advent Review.—Carried.

Moved, To adjourn, size die .- Carried.

JOSEPH BATES, Chairman, URIAH SMITH, Secretary.

A SIGNIFICANT DREAM.

Turs dream relates to an old lady who was professedly very pious, but, like thousands in the church, for many years allowed her devotions to her pipe to exceed her devotions to God. She was more sure not to forget her vows to this car nal appetite, than not to forget her closet for One night she dreamed of an aerial flight praver. to the regions of the spirit-world, where not only her oyes could feast on the beautios of elysian fields, but where she could converse with perfected spirits. She asked one of these to go and look for her name in the book of life. He com-plied; but at length returned with a sad countenance, saying it was not there. Again she hesought him to go and search more theroughly. After a more lengthy examination, he returned without finding it. She wept bitterly, and could not rest till a third search should be made. Affir a long and smanuts at some the massing of so terrord with a longhtened communities, saying that it had, after grant falser, for a found for the bar as do point it marking which grant of the a secondo had bid over 0. It was with const liftenty this is could be discovered. She are to and ham barrold provident with

Shows is and hand been it proves of weath near set is in at for not nonce whether increase when or was not any drains service is an this dramm; but is produced in the set late pr-portione, and a process resolution have reported by give must tick, but a divided, but, who has heart, sets start the ild as her fort, and by an increased her time, more y, nor with energies upon a mathematical data. it: unholy altar.

REMARKS ON SURIPTURS.

"I where may the churche but therephon, who have the have the presentimence along them, reserved us not. When the presentimence along them, primember the deeds that he deeds the past on acquired us with malicious words; and not content there-with, neither doth he receive the brothers, and forbiblich them that workly and ease the brothers, and of the church.²⁰ – 1 John iii, 2–10.

FREE VERSION.

I have written to the church of which you are a members—what I have written is intended for them; but Distrepties, who loves to put himself forward as a leader among them, does not receive us in a friendly manner for which, if I come, I will remember his conduct ; / with the anthority which the Lord Jesus has given me for editionion and not for destruction); for he keeps (dking about us with injurious words; and not content with this, neither does he give a friendly recept tion to the brethren, and hinders those who are willing to treat them kindly, and sends there away from the church to seek some place where they can preach the --spel without molestation.

can present the "seper writtent moleculation. Of Distrephene we know archive more than we are here told. Nor are we informed what injuri-out things he shill against the apseulies and the other hardbarn. But he no doubt had speciare preteness for his conduct. The distant third shey were presenters of the right stamp; and he would have it supposed that it was for the traffic solar that he consider them colly. Or he consider that he received them coldly. Or he opposed them because they david to have an opinion of their own different from his, which they could not possibly have if they were sound and urthodox Or he would insinuare that John was his rical, and that he and these he sent wished to put down. He thought it every way fitting that those who came to preach near where he was, and where he had done and was doing so much good, should fall in behind him, and work under him. If he took it into his head that some more distant brothtions it into nos mead that some nore and and broke or was his rival, and would not be governed by his opinions, he would try if he would not think of some friend in that brother's weighborhood, no of some traced in this income - and a strateging forme, whom he would write a friendly, flattering forme, taking cure to drop some hints prejudicial to the brother, which his special friend was so pared to use in the proper way. This he would keep himuse in the proper way. Thus he would keep him-self and others around him perpetually in her we-ter. When he not rid of one associate with when he was constantly quarreling, he would seen find another; for he would be all the time seen hing

his breachese. So the preseducts of the groupal elements to the elements in order that they might are God in the proped of his Son in poince $-\alpha x_0$ would like by back grow to some other downloads, had there been different den animal as the densch-in that day.—Preseduct of Productions.

THERE is not a pider housing on the king's wall hat hach its errors; there is not a serior that growth in the serior of the church-past but hash its purpose; there is not a single insert futtoring in the breeze but accomplishesh some divine decree; and I will never have it that (for created any man, especially any Christian man, to be a blank, and to be a nothing .- Spargeron.

On the third day of the conference the resolution was adopted to take the name Seventh-day Adventists. This was reported in the Advent Review and Sabbath Herald.

33

See.

name Seventh-day Adventist I dearly love. It expresses so eloquently the position of this people in regard to the Sabbath, and the soon coming of our blessed Lord."

One leading minister in registering approval of the church name cautioned the members to use it correctly.

... I wish to call attention here to an improper use of terms which seems to have become nearly universal with those in the world who speak of us, and which is encouraged, to a very large extent, by the practice of our own people. It is this: Very many of our brethren and sisters are in the habit of styling themselves Seventh-day 'Advents,' from which fact this custom has become general with those who do not belong to us.

The word "advent" signifies the event itself, while "adventist" refers to those who believe in that event.

There were pockets of resistance to the new name which persisted for some time. Referring to some of these James White wrote in the spring of 1861:

Because the body of believers in the third message do not egotistically assume the name Church of God, as though God had no other names in his great church book



Battle Creek's second meetinghouse where the name was adopted and the General Conference was organized. courtesy Review and Herald Publishing Assoc.

in heaven but theirs, is no reason why a few persons in Gilboa [Ohio] or anywhere else, should stir up a secession movement to make the name Church of God a test.

Almost twenty years later a writer in the *Review* stated:

Wherever we go we find some persons who are great sticklers for the denominational name. They ask us why we do not take the name of Christian church, church of God, or some Bible name, and say they could go with us if we had the right name.

The almost euphoric expressions of leaders regarding the unity and harmony of the 1860 meeting suggested that the name, once it was adopted, was not a significant issue with the members in general. J. N. Loughborough, who had consistently supported both organization in general and the choosing of a name, summarized what probably was the general attitude of the believers after these various decisive steps had been taken. "I think the name, 'Seventh-day Adventists,' is the most natural and appropriate name we could take."

When the General Conference was organized and a constitution drawn up in 1863, the first article stated: "This Conference shall be called the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists."

The ultimate endorsement of the church name came, at that time and in later years, from Ellen White. "We are Seventh-day Adventists. Are we ashamed of our name? We answer, No, No! We are not. It is the name the Lord has given us. It points out the truth that is to be the test of the churches." And in a letter written the following year she touched again on the subject:

We may claim to be Seventh-day¹ Adventists, and yet fail of realizing how exalted is the standard to which we must attain in order to deserve this name. Some have felt ashamed of being known as Seventh-day Adventists. Those who are ashamed of this name should never connect with those who feel it an honor to bear this name. And those who are Christ's witnesses, standing where the truths of the Bible have placed them, are worthy of the name they bear.

The choice of a name for the church, made in 1860, was a crucial one for a variety of reasons. Those who made the choice had no way of knowing at the time that it would in time be the official designation of a globe-encircling body of over two million members. World travelers today visiting the northernmost hamlets of the globe, find a Syvende-dags Adventkirken at Hammerfest above the Artic Circle, and those touching at Punta Arenas on the Strait of Magellan at the southern tip of South America find an Iglesia los Adventistas del Septimo Dia. And in between, East and West, North and South, in 557 languages, the name is the identifying mark of the descendants in the faith of those who chose the name Seventh-day Adventists at Battle Creek on October 1, 1860.

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JAMES WHITE, Publishing Committee

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Some hay til the law w serious difficu ter of Genesi the sacred hi his work which from all his w seventh day ar from all his wo part of this nur must be; and if the account whi may not deny or pecting the origin blessing and sane nection with the f so mentioned as Sabbath was then as the reason for its this reason existed institution. We con joined immediately a This opinion is co Scriptures, There a by sevens, Noah of

the raven and dove fi contract between Jaco for his father; and J seven days.

Nor is it in the sacre such facts are found. acquainted with the wo Egyptians, Indians, Ara the East, have in all age And we find that these that they regarded as hol fied as a Sabbath, althou of God. Homer, Hestod thy is holy." Theophilus day, " The day which all 1 that, " no city of Greeks or not acknowledge a seventh says, that " the Sabbath wa people or country, but so co be called a public and gener These authors, who lived in nations, cannot be supposed please the Jews, who were g and this universal reverence counted for upon any other vas instituted at the close of c

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Consequently, they itended. This is obind seventh days of lames, as a subject ited. In this place, ibbath. There can ich in the time of same in its weekventh day in Gen. th commandment in Gen. ii, 3, as plicable, that no nts that another ndment than the capecially since direct series of the subject is, h he commanch he rested at th day to keep the Lord thy nd earth, the oventh day: allowed it." that the day weekly reus against

and handed down by tra-lisame remark is applicable to the subject during the succeedthe Sabbath been lost, it was certainly restored; and the day acy from the true worship of God. Had the or time from the creation, by a might have

_ Zip _

Ellen White in Copennagen Ron and Gerte Graybill

Ellen White was 58 when she went to Europe. She spent two years the during which she visited Copenhagen three times.

A DVENTIST WORK in Denmark's capital city, Copenhagen, had barely begun when Ellen G. White made her first visit to the city in October of 1885. John G. Matteson had returned from America to his native Denmark in 1877 to begin the church's evangelistic efforts in Scandinavia. He had by this time established work in Oslo and Stockholm as well as a number of smaller places, and had entered Copenhagen only in the spring of 1885.

Then, on Thursday, October 6, Ellen White's train arrived after an overnight trip from Basel, Switzerland. Traveling with Mrs. White was her 31-year-old

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▲ Mrs. White saw a beautiful park-like area across from her apartment. She was surprised to learn it was a cemetery. Photo: Courtesy of Georg Bacher

The entrance to the building at 49 Oster Farimagsgade where Ellen White stayed in 1885, is just behind the white auto. Photo: Courtesy of Georg Bacher



▲ This view of Copenhagen was published in conjunction with Ellen White's account of her visit to the city in *Historical Sketches of S.D.A.* Foreign Missions, in 1886.



John G. Matteson launched Adventist work in Scandinavia in 1877. In the spring of 1885, he entered Copenhagen and established a small church there. Photo: Courtesy of Ellen G. White Estate

son, Willie, Sara McEnterfer, her secretary and nurse, and Cecilie Dahl from Norway who was serving as guide and interpreter. Matteson, along with Knud Brorson, were on hand to welcome the White party to Denmark's capital city.

Ellen White had been in Europe only two months — she would stay two years. Copenhagen was her first stop on her first tour of the church's work in Scandinavia, and like any visitor she was intrigued by the sights and sounds of the city.

Matteson took her to his sixth story apartment at 49 Oster Farimagsgade. Little wonder Ellen White, with her two bad ankles remarked: "Here we wound our way up long flights of stairs that seemed almost interminable. On the sixth story we found our friends. They were comfortably and pleasantly situated, though very high up in the world."

She soon started calling the apartment "our sky parlor," and from it she surveyed the city: "Just across the street were beautiful grounds which had the appearance of an extensive park or garden. We were somewhat surprised to learn that it was a cemetery. The tombstones were mostly concealed from view by trees and shrubbery....

"Toward the sea we saw the huge windmills used for grinding grain. A little to the right is the glistening dome of the Russian Orthodox church. This dome, we are told, is overlaid with gold."

Visitors to Copenhagen today can still find most of the buildings Mrs. White described, although the apartment building where she stayed has evidently been altered so that it no longer is six stories high. The Russian church is there, however, as well as the cemetery.

She was also very favorably impressed by Copenhagen's generous provisions for its poor: "A short distance from this is a hospital where the sick, wounded, and diseased are taken and provided with everything — room, food, bedding — for thirty cents per day. This is one of Copenhagen's great blessings, especially for the poorer classes, who must suffer with want of proper care and conveniences if it were not for this merciful provision."

Her second day in the city, Friday, was windy and rainy, but she walked a mile to visit a dentist, hoping to find some relief from a troublesome tooth. That night, she began her work for the little congregation in Copenhagen:

"We descend the many steps, turn the corner of the block, pass under an arch into a court and begin to ascend until we mount four pairs of stairs into the hall." There she found about 35 gathered to hear her preach a sermon on the parable of the figtree. About a dozen of these made up the Copenhagen church; the rest had been gathered in from companies nearby.



She was appalled by the condition of the hall. Cold and damp, the oppressive atmosphere made her lungs smart, but she was happy with the appearance of the people: "There was a little company assembled of intelligent, noble-looking men and women — Danes. They had accepted the truth through Brother Brorson's and Matteson's labors and many of them had received the truth under difficulties that our American brethren know nothing of."

Denmark was plagued with severe political and labor strife at this time. Hundreds were out of work, and for someone to become a Sabbathkeeper under such circumstances required more than a little courage. It was not easy to go to an employer and inform him one would no longer work on Saturdays. Jacob Estrup, the leader of one of the Danish political factions, would suffer an assassination attempt just one week after Ellen White's visit to the city.

Ellen White often saved time after her sermon for a



▲ Labor unrest plagued Copenhagen in the 1880's. Jacob Estrup, the leader of a Danish political faction, suffered an assassination attempt just one week after Ellen White's visit to the city.



testimony meeting, and the Danes took the opportunity to tell how much they appreciated the books and articles she had written. "It is an encouragement to me to see that the light given through the testimonies reaches hearts that never saw the instrument that the Lord has employed," she remarked.

As the daily meetings progressed, an effort was made to find a better hall. Since most of the halls were used for dancing and drinking, this was no easy task. A better place was found, but during one of her sermons, half-drunk youths gathered at the windows, talking and laughing. Some even thrust their heads through the windows, shouting into the room. Mrs. White took it all in good grace: "If it is necessary to speak in such places, we will do so cheerfully. If in this rich and beautiful city there is no suitable room where the truth can be presented to the people, we remember that there was no room in the inn at Bethlehem."

She remained in the city for a week on this first visit, and in addition to her full load of preaching and her continuous writing, she took time to do a little touring as well. One jaunt took her to an area which must have been near the present site of the Adventist sanitarium, Skodsborg, on the outskirts of the city: "Brother and Sister Matteson and Willie and myself rode ten miles on the cars into the country. We saw

much that was interesting — very fine houses, large fisheries, many nets hung to dry. We walked out upon the pier looking into the ocean. The water for a long distance was as clear as crystal. The bottom was purewhite sand, with some mounds of moss, which made the sight very beautiful. We walked to the park. It is a forest of beech trees principally, but there are some evergreens also interspersed. . . . This forest is four miles through. There are the most beautiful graveled roads, smooth as a floor, and the forest is kept like a very fine cultivated garden."

She spoke again that night and the next day visited a brand new Copenhagen attraction, the Panopticon. "Here are the great men of the kingdom in wax-like figures. They appear exactly as if alive," she explained. The Panopticon, located near Tivoli and the Circus, had opened with great fanfare just two months earlier. Its marble rooms had extravagant white and gold columns which separated the displays. Mrs. White must have seen the actors, actresses, poets, and politicians of the kingdom, but she commented only on the impressive royal display: "We saw the King of Denmark and his wife, the princess, the Prince of Wales and his wife. The King of Norway and his wife are noble looking, especially the king. The view was much better than to have seen them in life. All the historic men were dressed exactly as was the custom of their day and time. It seemed difficult to think that these were not living, breathing human beings before us. The expression of the eye and the countenance seemed so perfectly natural."

Well might have Ellen White been enchanted by this particular exhibit. It had cost 50,000 kroner, and the royal family had even cooperated by contributing locks of their natural hair to make it more lifelike.

On Thursday, October 15, she left Copenhagen, bound for Sweden. Eight months later she passed through Denmark again on her way to Sweden, but she stayed only a few hours in Copenhagen. Later in that same tour of Scandinavia she returned to Copenhagen for a 10-day visit, July 16-26, 1886.

By this time, Matteson had moved to Stockholm, so two rooms were rented on the third floor of a pension for Mrs. White, Sara, and Willie. The rooms must have been close to the place she had stayed on her previous visit, for she again mentions the hospital and the golden dome of the Orthodox church.

The little company in Copenhagen had prospered since her first visit, and had secured an excellent hall for their meetings. John Matteson was with her on this trip as well, along with O. A. Olsen who had just come from America to help in Scandinavia.

Copenhagen had made some progress of its own since Ellen White's last visit. A contract was out with a London electric company to generate the power needed to install the first electric lights in the city's stores. Meanwhile, Ellen White and the other church leaders set about to generate a different kind of



Ellen White visited Copenhagen's Round Tower. She appreciated the story she heard there about the Danish King and the Russian Czar. Photo: Courtesy of Ellen G. White Estate

power. On Monday, July 19, a training school for colporteurs was opened. Four meetings a day were scheduled: a devotional at 8:30, for which Ellen White often spoke, instruction in methods at 10:30, Bible study at 6:00 P.M. and a preaching service at 7:30.

Although the weekend meetings had been quite well attended, when Ellen White stood up to speak for the Monday morning devotional, only 24 were present. Mrs. White knew the reason why. "Fifteen hundred carpenters cannot get work now," she noted in a letter home to her son Edson. "Last winter there were uprisings and revolt and crime. Hunger is a hard master. It will lead to doing desperate things. Copenhagen is a stronghold of the militia. There is a long string of blocks, the soldier's barracks, and a strong force is on hand constantly to be called upon to put down any riot or quell any violence."

Ellen White's pension was near the soldier's barracks, and early every morning she could see the men marching through the streets with knapsacks and guns on their way to the parade ground for drill.

But there were more placid sights that invited her attention as well: "Directly opposite our windows is the city botanical garden. In this garden are many trees of every variety, and plants and flowers of every description. There are several large nursery buildings in the enclosure. There is an artificial lake and artificial hill where many rocks are gathered and classified. In this garden seats are arranged for the convenience of visitors and all may enter that choose. W. C. W[hite] and I have walked over the grounds nearly every day....

"The streets here are arranged upon a very liberal plan. The street which leads to our place of meeting is over 100 feet wide and is divided into seven parts with three rows of trees between them. The first is sidewalk, the second a place for carriages, this paved with stone; then comes a place for men on horseback; then a broad street for footmen; next another carriage way and then the sidewalk. This is all grand, safe, and convenient for all parties. But I look away from this in imagination to that city whose builder and maker is God, and whose broad streets are of pure gold as it were transparent glass."

The Botanical Gardens Ellen White mentions is still open to visitors in Copenhagen, as is another landmark which fascinated her — the Round Tower.

The tower was built in 1642 by Christian IV as an observatory for astronomers of the University Church, Trinitatis. Ellen White was intrigued by the fact that instead of stairs, the tower had a broad, gradual incline ramp winging to its top, nine stories high.



The guide informed the visitors that once Peter the Great and Frederick IV of Denmark rode to the top of the tower together. As they looked down from the dizzy height, Peter said to Frederick, "Which of us has soldiers who would prove their loyalty by throwing themselves down from here if the king required it?" Fred-

erick replied that he could not claim any such soldiers, but he was not afraid to sleep in the house of the poorest subject of his kingdom. "Noble man! Noble answer!" Ellen White exclaimed in a letter to her niece.

But as she gazed down on the great city, her thoughts turned from its noble past to its clouded future. Its broad avenues had called to her mind the beautiful streets of heaven, but now as the city lay before her, she entertained more troubling thoughts: "This city is given up to pleasure and worldliness," she said, "beer drinking and card-playing, dancing and reveling, absorb the attention of the people."

The people of Copenhagen, like the dwellers in Sodom, would wake only when it was too late, she said: "As the sun rose for the last time upon the cities of the plain, the people thought to commence another day of godless riot. All were eagerly planning their business or their pleasure, and the messenger of God was derided for his fears and warnings. Suddenly, as



W. C. White was only 31 when he went with his mother to Europe. He had already been manager of the Pacific Press and was a member of the General Conference Committee. Photo: Courtesy of Ellen G. White Estate

the thunder peal from an unclouded sky, fell balls of fire on the doomed capital. 'So shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.' "

Copenhagen was not all bad, however. Had Mrs. White gone shopping at the city's prestigious department store, *Magasin du Nord*, she would have been pleased to find the "Danish Reform Dress" on sale. Danish newspapers were heaping scorn on the stem-like waists of high society ladies, observing that the liver, lungs and stomach ought to be allowed to go to parties as well. The radical reformers wanted a divided skirt, but the moderate costume on sale at *Magasin* still reached to the floor. Its major health advantage was that its top was loose and roomy. Underneath, however, the ladies who wore it must certainly have sweltered inside four layers of cotton and wool undergarments.

The fact that the church was growing in Copenhagen gave her cause for optimism. She wrote to Uriah Smith, saying: "There are precious ones who believe, here in Copenhagen. There has been a good interest from outsiders to attend our meetings. The hall has been filled evenings. We were glad to see the spirit of labor upon some here newly come to the faith. Some expressed great anxiety for the work in this large city. They appealed to us not to leave them and let the present interest die away. They importuned for someone to remain who would continue to present the truth. We know this should be thus, but who?... This is a great city and how are they to be warned? This is the problem, with no more workers than we now have. It is a constant study, How shall we get the truth before the people in Europe? Why, we inquire, do not some of these nationalities who have received the truth in America become burned over their countrymen and become missionaries for God?"

By the time Ellen White came to the city for her third and final visit, June 1-8, 1887, Elder Edward G. Olsen, brother of O. A. Olsen, was stationed there to give direction to the work.

He was at the station to meet her when she arrived on Wednesday, June 1, but he was almost lost in a crowd of far more impressive dignitaries: "When we came to Copenhagen there were men dressed in scarlet who were brilliantly flashing everywhere." Someone said the Crown Prince of Denmark had been on the train! "A Brussels carpet was laid down from the car to the depot where he passed through an arched doorway and hacks were waiting with plumed soldiers to escort him to his palace."

Actually, the Crown Prince, later to be King Frederick VII had not been on the train, but he had been at the station. Riding on the train with Ellen White had been the Duchess of Chartres, mother of Marie, who was married to Valdemar, brother of the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince was there to meet his sister-in-law's mother along with Valdemar and Marie.

With all the confusing relationships of the Danish royal family at this time, it is little wonder Mrs. White was misinformed. The Danish king was known as the "Grandfather of Europe." The Crown Prince Frederick was married to a Swedish princess;



the oldest daughter, Alexandra, married the Prince of Wales, later Edward VII; the next son, William, became King George I of Greece; then came Valdemar; Dagmar, the next oldest sister, was married to Czar Alexander II of Russia; and finally, the youngest girl, Thyra, was married to the British Duke of Cumberland.

The royal entourage passed through an arched doorway to a carriage surrounded by plumed soldiers and was soon on its way to the palace. Ellen White followed in a hack to much more humble quarters in a hotel near where she had stayed during her previous visit.

On Friday, she took dinner with Elder Edward Olsen [she called him Edwin] and his wife Elizabeth. E. G. Olsen, had been in Copenhagen since the previous October. Under his ministry, the church had grown steadily until it now numbered more than 50 members. The Olsens had a new baby, just a week old, and when Mrs. White saw the mother up and working so soon, she was greatly concerned.

Elizabeth Olsen was not quite 30 years old, she had been married a little over 3 years, and this was her first child. With such important visitors, she did not want to be thought lazy, so she was up and about much earlier than was customary in her time. Ellen White gave her a "real lecture" about "trying to be too smart."

It was during this final visit to Scandinavia that Ellen White met a young Danish medical student, Carl Ottosen. "He is a promising young man," she noted in her diary, "and has fully decided to give himself to the work of the Lord." Ellen White talked at length to the young doctor about his plans. Ten years later, Ottosen would found the Skodsborg Sanitarium, now one of the largest and strongest Adventist institutions in Northern Europe.

During this final visit to Copenhagen, Ellen White was quite ill, and was able only to meet her daily speaking appointments. The rest of the time she kept busy with quiet work like knitting stockings for her granddaughter Ella.

Her own words summarize the progress she had witnessed in Copenhagen in the course of her three visits: "What a great change in Copenhagen since we first visited them! Our meetings were held in a little damp hall.... Next our meeting was transferred to a basement. Above was a dancing hall and there were saloons all around us. . . . Nearly a year ago - July 17 — I again visited Copenhagen. . . . We had a hall — an improvement upon the one we had on our first visit . . . and there were more than double the number when we were on our first visit, and some of the best quality of people. . . . And now, June 4, we see many who have been added to the numbers of Sabbathkeepers and our hearts were made glad to see a respectable, noble, intelligent class of believers assembled in the city of Copenhagen We could exclaim, 'What hath God wrought!'

"And in this great city the work may still progress if the workers will not get above the simplicity of the work but will keep humble and holy and dependent upon God."

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WILLIAM O.WORTH: ADVENTIST AUTO PIONEER



George S. May



SURPRISING ANNOUNCEMENT hit the newsstands of southwestern Michigan on November 26, 1895, when the Benton Harbor *PALLADI-UM* reported: "The horseless carriage movement has struck Benton Harbor with significant force." The

editor, one should hasten to point out, did not mean a traffic accident, at a time when there were no more than a couple of dozen or so motorized vehicles in operation at widely scattered points throughout the United States. No, he referred to something much bigger. "We are to have a full fledged factory for the manufacture of such vehicles, and the first one has already been produced ready for tests of speed, safety, convenience and practicability." The Benton Harbor Motor Carriage Company had been formed to handle this production, and the editor was optimistic that the city would "realize a valuable reputation when these motor carriages are turned out in quantities for the market." By the next day other papers had picked up this story and within a few week the pioneer automotive journals, Motocycle [sic] and Horseless

Author of a forthcoming book on the origins of the auto industry in Michigan, George S. May is professor of history at Eastern Michigan University. *Age,* both of which had only been founded in the fall of 1895, reported this development to their readers.

Surprisingly, the first attempt to manufacture gasoline-powered motor vehicles in Michigan came in a city that was then and still is located in one of the state's richest agricultural regions, and not in the Detroit industrial area. For that matter, in 1895 automobile manufacturing as an industry had scarcely begun anywhere in the United States. One of the principals in this pioneering effort was a Seventhday Adventist whose subsequent endeavors would directly involve two of the most famous names in Adventist history, White and Kellogg.

In few other areas can the time-honored expression that many are called but few are chosen be as convincingly demonstrated as in a study of the history of the automobile and its manufacture. No two authorities have ever agreed on the number of different makes of automobiles that have appeared in the United States, but a figure of three thousand seems reasonable. Estimates of the number of companies that have been involved in the production of these cars range from around a thousand to fifteen



hundred, of which only four survive today as major manufacturers of passenger vehicles. Everyone is familiar with the Big Four auto-makers and a few of the individuals who played an important role in the development of these companies. Men like Ransom Olds, William C. Durant, Charles Kettering, Walter P. Chrysler, and of course Henry Ford have achieved a permanent place in American history. But the many who tried and failed prove as interesting and as important to an understanding of this subject as the handful who succeeded. William O. Worth is one of the luckless multitude.

Unfortunately, biographical details on Worth are very difficult to locate. Some clues are to be found in the records of the United States Patent Office, where Worth for a quarter of a century appeared as a frequent applicant for patents on numerous engine and vehicular inventions. His name first crops up in 1889 when as a resident of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, he received two patents on steam engines, one of which he shared with J. D. Worth, also of Cedar Rapids, and presumably a relative. In later years he collaborated with William Worth on several other inventions.

In 1890, Worth received a patent on a governor for a steam engine while he shared jointly a patent on another steam engine with George and C. L. Swain of Cedar Rapids, and J. D. Worth, who had moved to Mason City. By 1891, however, Worth shifted his interests when he acquired a patent on a bicycle and a bicycle pedal, both of which he assigned to the Chicago Bicycle Company.

Between 1891 and 1895 William Worth moved to Benton Harbor, where in the summer of 1895 he applied for a patent on a traction engine, reflecting a continuation of his earlier concern with steam engines. At the same time, however, he applied for two patents on gas or hydrocarbon gas engines. This shift from steam power to gasoline power in Worth's career parallels almost exactly a similar development in the careers of Olds and Ford, while the interest that he showed briefly in bicycles is also typical of a number of the early automotive pioneers. Worth was of the same generation as Ford, Olds, Charles B. King, the Duryeas, the Dodges, Alexander Winton, and other automotive pioneers who were born in the 1860's and who grew up in the seventies when an awareness of the internal combustion engine that had been developed a few years earlier in Europe first began to spread among the mechanically minded in the United States. By the mid-1880's the Europeans Daimler and Benz had successfully built gasolinepropelled motor vehicles while Americans, with the necessary technical abilities, familiarized themselves with the new engine but retained a lingering affection for the long-time favorite power source, the steam engine.

Worth's "worthless," 1894 credit: Benton Harbor News-Palladium



8

Outwardly Worth's 1898 vehicle seems identical to an earlier Benton Harbor model, the body of which was presumably not Worth's design credit: James T. Allen. Digest of United States Automobile Patents from 1789 to July 1. 1899

By the early 1890's, the first successful experimental gasoline vehicles built in the United States began to appear. In the summer of 1895, sufficient interest had been aroused in this and other types of horseless carriages to lead the Chicago Times-Herald to announce that it would sponsor America's first real road competition for such vehicles in November, 1895. The race would be subsequently routed from Chicago's Jackson Park out to Evanston and back. The response to this announcement, prompted by the promise of cash prizes, astounded even those who thought they were well-informed as to the amount of experimental work then in progress. Hundreds of individuals who had been thinking along these lines were now spurred on to carry out their plans in the Times-Herald race. One of these was William Worth.

In the patent applications that he filed on June 17 and July 1 for his gasoline engines, Worth described the distinctive features of his engines, emphasizing in both cases fuel economy. In neither instance is any mention made of using the engine to power a carriage, but such was what Worth had in mind, if not prior to the announcement of the Chicago race early in July, then immediately thereafter. Worth took his ideas to Arthur and Louis Baushke, two brothers who for a decade or more had been operating a small carriage manufacturing business in Benton Harbor. Worth was later depicted by a fellow Seventh-day Adventist as a brilliant inventor who lacked business judgment. As a result, he had been victimized by "some professed Sabbath-keepers, and some who are not Sabbath-keepers, [who] have tried to take advantage of him, and have done so, and in that way have tried to rob him of his invention, which in every case has left him very poor." Whether this indictment applied to the Baushkes and whether in that case they were among the Adventist or non-Adventist victimizers of Worth is not clear. In any event the Baushkes later depicted Worth in guite a different light. According to them, Worth was a fast-talking promoter who had come to them in the summer of 1895 with one of his engine inventions which he assured them could be used to power a carriage. His "ideas were so exalted, his theories so plausible and his zeal and confidence so great" that the brothers agreed to work with Worth and to build the carriage as their part in the project. They also put up a



thousand dollars to help Worth to provide the motor and they ended up paying the men Worth had working for him, "he having no means."

Work on the motorized carriage proceeded without any publicity in the Baushke shop. Arthur Baushke directed the metal work on the carriage, Louis Baushke handled the wood parts, and Worth worked on the motor. All hoped to complete the job in time to enter the vehicle in the Chicago race. By late November, when news of what had been going on in the carriage factory first appeared in the papers, the vehicle was virtually completed.

> HE Benton Harbor Motor Carriage, as the Baushke-Worth vehicle was labeled, was very literally a horseless carriage, like all American cars at that time. The Baushkes had done their job skillfully, constructing a

two-seat carriage of one of the standard horse-drawn styles. William Worth's engine and its accompanying mechanism were completely out of sight, under the carriage, a customary practice with the early American automobile. American designers seem to have felt that the public would be more willing to accept this new form of transportation if it looked as much as possible like the horse-drawn vehicles to which they had always been accustomed. The noise of the engine, furthermore, was supposedly eliminated by "an ingenious arrangement," so that when in motion the machine would make no more noise than a horsedrawn carriage. The two-cylinder engine of sevenand-a-half horsepower, a powerful motor for the automobile of that period, propelled the vehicle under normal road conditions at speeds "of from 1 to $23\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour." The driver steered and controlled the carriage with a lever, as was customary in this period. "If the lever is raised the carriage goes backward; if it is moved back to a level position the brake is applied; if moved a little below the horizontal the carriage starts forward, gradually gaining in momentum as the lever is depressed." With enough fuel and water for a three-hundred mile run (probably a highly inflated figure), the total weight of the vehicle was about 1,050 pounds.

As these details began to appear in the press at the end of 1895 and the early weeks of 1896, there seemed reason to believe that Worth and the Baushkes had come up with something which at least would be competitive with anything anyone else was then ready to put on the market in America, if it was not, as they claimed, "different from horseless carriages of other makes in this and other countries." But within a few weeks the rosy optimism that had prevailed in November completely dissipated and the entire project ended in admitted failure.

The first inkling that something was wrong came when the local paper reported that in spite of roundthe-clock efforts, the Baushkes and Worth had been unable to complete the vehicle in time for the Chicago *Times-Herald* race on Thanksgiving Day. The *Times-Herald*, in its account of the race, won by an American-made Duryea in abominable weather conditions, declared that the Baushke-Worth machine had arrived in Chicago, but too late to compete in the event. If true, this was the only one of several Michigan-made cars entered in the race that even made it to Chicago. But the Benton Harbor *Palladium* clearly indicated that despite what the Chicago paper reported, the local entry never left the shop after efforts to put it in readiness for the race were abandoned on the day before Thanksgiving.

After this setback, Benton Harbor's fledgling auto manufacturers announced a test of their machine on the city's streets in the first week of December. During that week the Detroit *Journal* carried a dispatch from Benton Harbor reporting that the motor carriage was seen "rolling along the streets without the aid of man or beast," amazing the townspeople with "the easiness with which the carriage is operated and the remarkable good speed obtained." The watchful *Palladium* quickly scotched this story as pure fantasy, for the tests of the vehicle had been postponed once again, this time because of illness to one of the mechanics. Then December 20 was set as the date for the debut of the Benton Harbor Motor Carriage, but when that date arrived the tests were again cancelled, due to "the bad weather and the state of the roads." The excuse at least sounded plausible, since unseasonably heavy rains had in fact caused an eighteen-inch rise in the St. Joseph River, resulting in extensive flooding in Benton Harbor and numerous washouts of roads and bridges.

Finally, at the end of January, 1896, the *Palladium* reported that the "Benton Harbor 'horseless carriage'" actually went a short distance "the other night," but the editor was not yet ready to concede that the tests were a complete success. "We will give the inventors a chance to perfect [the machine] before writing it down a success, although we all join in sincere hope that it will be made practical." He praised Worth and the Baushkes for their "persistence" and "ingenuity," but he said that as yet the vehicle "had too much of the nature of a steam engine to be serviceable," a remark that unfortunately does little to explain the precise nature of the problems needing correction.

Then on February 8, the bubble burst. "Motor-Carriage a Failure," was the headline of a story in the *Palladium*, less than two-and-a-half months after the newspaper's heady assessment of the boost to Benton Harbor's reputation that this carriage was going to provide. The Baushkes laid the blame for the failure

Worth's traction engine may have prompted him to come to Battle Creek in an effort to interest engine manufacturers there in this invention. credit: James T. Allen Digest of United States Automobile Patents from 1789 to July 1, 1899



squarely on the shoulders of William Worth, who, they said, had failed to live up to his promise to produce a practical motor to propel their carriage. It now appeared that the earlier reports that the vehicle had been driven any distance at all were false, and that the machine had simply remained stationary in the factory, "a subject of ridicule and a spectacle of folly." In an unkind play on words, Worth's efforts were denounced as "worthless." Albert Baushke announced that he and his brother were looking around for someone else to provide a motor that would work so that the money they had sunk into this venture would not be a total loss.

> PPARENTLY the Baushkes never found anyone to take the place of William Worth. Instead they returned to the kind of work that they understood, horse-drawn carriages, which this Benton Harbor firm was still producing at least as late as

1920. Sometime after 1896 the one motor carriage

that had been built in the Baushke shop was purchased by the Haynes Motor Car Company of Kokomo, Indiana. Still later, in 1944, a photograph of this rare, if unworkable vehicle, appeared in the Benton Harbor *News-Palladium* with the notation that it was on display in Indianapolis. A second motor carriage, of a different body style, that the Baushkes and Worth were reported to be working on in December, 1895, apparently remained unfinished at the time of the breakup among the three men and was probably scrapped.

Albert and Louis Baushke later became involved with a far more notorious Benton Harbor development when they turned over their entire fortune, possibly as much as \$100,000, to finance the establishment of the House of David religious colony by Benjamin and Mary Purnell. Subsequent events indicated that in deciding to put their money on King Ben and Queen Mary the Baushkes showed far worse judgment than when they had decided to take a chance on William Worth in 1895.



Trim, graceful lines of the lightweight Oldsmobile runabout, the most popular car from 1901 to 1905, were a marked contrast to the cumbersome appearance of Worth's vehicles of this period. credit: Courtesy Oldsmobile Division, General Motors Corporation

William Worth, meanwhile, next emerged in Chicago in 1897. After being granted the gas engine patent that he had applied for in June, 1895 (the other engine patent that he had filed for in July, 1895, was finally awarded in 1898), he applied on September 22 for a patent on a motor vehicle. The drawings he submitted were a dead-ringer for the earlier ill-fated Benton Harbor Motor Carriage. When the patent was awarded on July 12, 1898, however, two-thirds of the patent rights were assigned by Worth to William R. Donaldson of Louisville, Kentucky, and Henry W. Kellogg of Battle Creek, Michigan.

Two possible explanations could be advanced to shed some light on the question of how Worth came into contact with someone from Battle Creek. That city, a short distance by railroad east of Benton Harbor, was a major center of the manufacture of steampowered farm equipment. One source in the mid-1890's claimed that Battle Creek "made more traction engines and threshing machinery than ... any other city in America." The Advance Thresher Company reportedly was second only to the J. I. Case Company in production of threshers, while the Nichols & Shepard Company, also of Battle Creek, had been making steam traction engines for many years. Sight of these machines, lumbering slowly along the highway under their own power in 1876, is said to have inspired young Henry Ford to think in terms of a practical road vehicle. When Worth, in May, 1897, received the traction engine patent for which he had applied two years before, he understandably would have gone to Battle Creek to interest one of that city's manufacturers in his invention.

Additionally, of course, for a Seventh-day Adventist, such as William Worth, Battle Creek had a special attraction since the denomination's headquarters were located there. By the late 1890's, the Kellogg name was one of the best known among Adventists in Battle Creek and elsewhere, primarily because of the medical work of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg at the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Dr. Kellogg and his brother, W. K. Kellogg, were also beginning to make Battle Creek famous for its prepared breakfast foods, an industry whose boom days lay just over the horizon. Henry Webster Kellogg was related to the famous Kellogg brothers, although an examination of the massive three-volume Kellogg family genealogy, published in 1903, makes it evident that the relationship was extremely distant. Henry Kellogg was born in Sutton, Quebec, in 1840, and at the age of fourteen he, together with his father (his mother was dead), was converted to the Adventist faith. A decade later, Kellogg married Ella Austin, and the couple settled down in Vermont. Beginning in 1870, at James White's request, Kellogg involved himself in the Adventist publishing work, and soon moved to Battle Creek where he was the manager and superintendent of the Review and Herald Publishing Association for some two decades. (To add to the confusion of Kelloggs that abounded in Battle Creek in these years, Moses Eastman Kellogg, who served as an editor for the Seventh-day Adventists in Battle Creek in the 1890's, was the brother-in-law of Henry W. Kellogg, while two of the latter's sons, Henry E. Kellogg and Dr. Herbert P. Kellogg, also became established in the city.)

Beginning in 1885, Henry W. Kellogg's work took him to Europe, to assist in establishing Adventist publishing houses overseas. It is possible that it was at this time, when gasoline-powered motor vehicles began appearing in Europe, that Kellogg first developed an interest in this subject. It would help to explain why he lent a sympathetic ear to William Worth when this fellow Adventist sought Kellogg's assistance on his automobile plans after earlier unfortunate experiences with the Baushkes and with a "Brother Eastman whom he took in company with him, and who sought to rob him of his invention a few years ago."

According to a letter written by the Adventist leader Stephen N. Haskell to Ellen White on December 12, 1899, Kellogg had helped Worth "to get through this invention," apparently the patent on the motor carriage that was awarded in 1898. In return, Worth had assigned an equal share in the patent rights to Kellogg and to Donaldson, who was also a Seventh-day Adventist. Whether by formal or informal agreement, the three men seem to have joined together to seek to capitalize upon this patent and upon other work Worth was carrying forward with automobiles. "The wealth of all this lies in patents, which they think they have perfected," Haskell informed Mrs. White. Worth and his associates did emphasize the importance of getting as many patents as possible, perhaps with a view to making money through the fees they could collect from others for the rights to manufacture or use these patented inventions rather than manufacturing themselves. By 1899 they began to flood the United States Patent Office with applications for patents, some of which were no doubt rejected but a good many of which were granted during the next four years, with Worth as the inventor and the patent rights in almost all cases shared with Kellogg and Donaldson. By 1903, in addition to the patents he had been awarded earlier in his career, Worth's list of patents included four more on motor vehicles, two more on engines, plus individual patents on a pump, a condensing coil, a speed regulator for explosive engines, an automatic lubricator, a carburetor, a piston, a tread-shoe for vehicle wheels, a "power-transmitting device," a heating system for motor vehicles on which Donaldson was listed as co-inventor, a motor vehicle controlling device, a valve mechanism, an ignitor for gas engines which someone in New Jersey had invented and which had been assigned to Worth, Donaldson, and Kellogg, a universal joint, and a frictional driving wheel. It was an impressive list, covering nearly all



the significant mechanical features of the automobile, although it should be pointed out that the mere fact the patents had been awarded was no proof that any of the patented items really worked or had any practical utility.

By the latter part of 1899, Henry Kellogg felt that he was on his way to becoming a wealthy man as a result of his connection with Worth. An opportunity arose at this time for Kellogg, Worth, and Donaldson to join forces with a carriage-manufacturing firm in Allegan, Michigan, which could provide the facilities needed to produce the Worth-designed motor vehicles. Although Adventists owned the company, the deal was somewhat involved, causing Kellogg, through Stephen Haskell, to ask Mrs. White "if such an arrangement would be in harmony with the light that you have as you view it. The income of this business, which would be very large, both in building [Worth's] carriages and the business that is already in operation," Kellogg and his associates had "pledged . . . to devote to the work of the truth."

What Ellen White's reaction to Kellogg's inquiry may have been is not known, but in any event the deal was not completed, possibly because the Allegan carriage makers, like the Baushkes in nearby Benton Harbor, developed doubts about the practical nature of William Worth's inventions.

Within a few months, however, Henry Kellogg, at age sixty, officially launched a career as an automotive executive. The Chicago Motor Vehicle Company, Limited, manufacturers of gasoline motor vehicles, had been organized with William Worth as president and chairman, William Donaldson as secretary and sales manager, Kellogg as treasurer and superintendent, and a fourth individual, J. E. Keith, as general manager. The company's offices were on Wabash Avenue in Chicago's loop while the factory, depicted on the company's letterhead as a large, sprawling plant, Letterhead — the "rapid delivery" was ahead of its time. credit: Ellen G. White Estate

was in the Chicago suburb of Harvey, Illinois. It was from the latter location that Kellogg wrote to Ellen White in November, 1900, to wind up some business relating to his work with Adventist publications, seemingly to indicate that he was taking an active part in the direction of the new, and totally unrelated, business venture.

> HE MOTOR vehicles that the Chicago firm planned to produce were to be called the Worth, indicating that William Worth shared with a host of other automotive pioneers the desire to achieve immortality by having his name appear on his creation. The first Worth

was, from outward appearances, seemingly intended to serve as a commercial, rather than a passenger vehicle, as had been the case with the Benton Harbor Motor Carriage. As shown on the company letterhead, this "rapid delivery" Worth was a covered van built on essentially the same Baushke-Worth chassis. Worth had applied for a patent on the new vehicle in August, 1899, although the drawing accompanying the application showed more window openings in the van than the sketch on the letterhead. The main feature that Worth emphasized in his application was the suspension system which would provide for "the passenger" a "sensation . . . of pleasure and comfort, similar in effect to that experienced when riding in heavy railway cars, such as parlor or sleeping coaches.'

The reference to passengers riding in the van indicates that these Worth commercial vehicles were not necessarily to be used as trucks but that instead they might be fitted up in a way that would have made them ancestors of the station wagon or minibus. It was in fact in a Worth model of the latter type that Ellen G. White had her first ride in an automobile. She had left California in November, 1901, to visit



Patent drawings for Worth's commercial vehicle show minor differences from his 'rapid delivery. credit: James T Alten Supplement to the Digest of United States Automobile Patents July 1899. to January 1902

New York City, where Stephen Haskell and E. E. Franke were engaged in Adventist work. She then went to the South to stay with her son Edson in Nashville and to look into various church activities in that area, before coming north in January, 1902, for a brief stop in Chicago to inspect the branch sanitarium John Harvey Kellogg had opened in that city nine years earlier. The train trip from Nashville to Chicago was a taxing one, especially for Mrs. White, who was not feeling well at the time anyway. Therefore, upon her arrival in Chicago on January 13, she was pleased, as she subsequently wrote to Henry Kellogg, to find "one of your automobiles waiting to take us to the Sanitarium. It was a covered carriage, shaped like a street-car, and I lay down on one of the seats running along each side. It was a great relief to me to be able to lie down."

Mrs. White's remarks add significantly to the very scant information previously known about the Chicago Motor Vehicle Company and the Worth vehicle. Her reference to the fact that she rode ip "one of [the company's] automobiles" would indicate that more than one of these vehicles was in existence, thus dispelling earlier suspicions of automobile historians that the Worth never got into actual commercial production. Furthermore, the company was longer lived than had previously been believed, since Mrs. White testifies in her letter to Kellogg that the firm was still going in January, 1902. "I was pleased to meet, while in Chicago, several of the members of the firm with which you are connected," she told her long-time associate in Adventist work.

There is no evidence, however, that production and sales of the Worth vehicles were large enough to keep the company in business. Other correspondence in 1901 and early 1902 between Worth and Mrs. White's son Willie indicates a possible shift in interest on Worth's part from automobiles to engines. He provided advice on gasoline engines that were needed at Avondale, the Adventist college in Australia, and also on marine engines that would be needed for church work in the Fiji Islands and possibly, although the subject was not specifically mentioned. for river boats to reach Negroes in remote areas of the South. Worth offered to help obtain such engines from engine manufacturers, but he might have manufactured some of them himself. If so, Worth would not have been the first automobile experimenter who turned to engine production as an easier field, with a safer, steadier market than that which had thus far developed for automobiles.

One recent compendium of information about American auto companies lists a Worth automobile that is said to have been produced in Chicago in 1902 by the J. M. Worth Gas Engine Manufacturing Company. Whether this is somehow connected with William Worth and reflects a combination of his engine and automobile interests is not known. But what does seem certain is the breakup of the partnership of

Worth, Kellogg, and Donaldson by sometime in 1903. In April of that year Worth received his last patent that includes Henry Kellogg in a share of the rights. William Donaldson's name appeared with Worth on three other patents awarded after April, the last of which was dated July 21, 1903. Thereafter the rights to a Worth patent in August were assigned to the Chicago Motor Vehicle Company, an indication that the company may still have existed at that late date or at least at the time Worth applied for the patent a year earlier. Four other patents that Worth received later in 1903 and 1904 were assigned to Worth alone, although J. D. Worth is listed as co-inventor in one case. Thus by the fall of 1903 the last traces of the automobile enterprise launched by Worth, Kellogg, and Donaldson in the late nineties seem to have disappeared.

Four years later, William Worth appears in Evansville, Indiana, as the recipient of three automotive patents plus one other on which J. D. Worth collaborated which was assigned to another individual. The Worth Motor Car Company of Evansville, which produced both the Worth highwheeler passenger car and the Worth truck in the period 1907 to 1910, seems to have represented the third attempt by Worth to make a successful entry in the automobile manufacturing field, an attempt that was more prolonged but in its final outcome was no different from those earlier in Benton Harbor and Chicago.

Worth surfaces at least once more in his gypsy-like tour of the Midwest, in Kankakee, Illinois, where in 1913 he was granted still another automotive patent, this time for a four-wheel drive. Thereafter he drops from sight.

> WO BASIC factors seem to explain Worth's persistent lack of business success. For one, he never appears to have attracted the kind of solid financial support that the successful automotive company needed. The Baushkes, with a carriage company that in its entire career

never employed more than about a dozen employees at any time, were not a very strong base for Worth in 1895. His second company in 1900 had an impressive capitalization of \$1,000,000 (the Ford Motor Company started in 1903 with only \$100,000) but it is likely that this was an inflated figure arrived at partly to secure enough stock to be used in obtaining the factory in Harvey. For the third company, the location chosen was an additional drawback. By 1907-1908, it was becoming quite clear that successful automobile operations were going to be confined very largely to southern Michigan and the northern parts of Ohio and Indiana, not in places like Evansville.

But even the choicest location and the most substantial financial backing could not guarantee success if the product was no good or if it was one the

public did not want. Here Worth's product came up short on both counts at different times. The Benton Harbor Motor Carriage did not work. The Worth "rapid delivery" vehicle was operable but as a truck it was somewhat ahead of its time, motor trucks not winning great acceptance in the country until about World War I. As a passenger vehicle it was too cumbersome, coming out at a time when Ransom Olds was demonstrating spectacularly with his little Oldsmobile runabout that the car-buying public in 1901-1902 wanted a lightweight, small car. Finally, the Worth high-wheeler of 1907-1910 took advantage of an interest in a particular kind of motor vehicle that existed for awhile in rural sections of the Middle West that was, unfortunately for those who specialized in the manufacture of these cars, of very short duration.

In the end, Worth was a three-time failure in the automotive industry. Henry Ford was able to survive the stigma of two failures with the Detroit Automobile Company and the Henry Ford Company and finally to make it big with his third attempt. For most of the automotive pioneers, one chance was about all that they got.

Henry W. Kellogg's one experience with the highly competitive world of the auto industry seems to have been enough for him. He retired to California, where he died in 1918. His obituary in the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* for June 27, 1918, contains no reference to his automotive work and the wealth that he had hoped to win. Instead, like his fellow Adventist, Worth, Kellogg had been among the many who answered the automobile's siren call but failed to find the riches that were reserved for the few.

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Godfrey T. Anderson

A year ago Dr. Robert E. Cleveland, the vice president for academic affairs at Loma Linda University, lost his life as the result of a tragic hiking accident. The past year has confirmed his significant contribution to the academic stature of Loma Linda University.

The perspective which the passing of time provides has reinforced the earlier conviction that he had a clear grasp of the true purpose and function of an institution of higher learning. In life he consistently, through his influence and support of experimental programs and projects,

enhanced the effectiveness of the University as a learning enterprise.

Dr. Cleveland's fields of specialization were history and geography. Because of his conviction that these were essential disciplines in an institution of higher learning,

he seized every opportunity to strengthen their role in the university.

He believed a good library is essential to a good university,

therefore he put forth efforts to increase its holdings and its general effectiveness as the heart and center of the learning process. He believed that research and investigation were indispensable to a university,

thus he helped to give shape to the development of a university archive.

He also assisted and encouraged faculty members in their research and publication efforts.

He believed deeply in his church and its heritage,

thus he was a moving spirit in founding Adventist Heritage, a magazine already attracting widespread interest.

In addition he helped launch a cooperative multivolume history of the church, with about thirty Adventist scholars contributing to *Studies in Adventist History*.

He believed that it was essential to stem the ever-present drift toward intellectual provincialism on campus,

thus he found the resources to bring to Loma Linda University knowledgeable speakers of note who could share their insights and ideas with students and faculty.



Robert Cleveland as he is remembered

He saw tangible benefits in bringing together for professional improvement and fellowship Adventist scholars working in various disciplines,

thus he played a key role in the establishment of the Association of Western Adventist Historians, which this spring held its sixth annual session on the campus of Walla Walla College.

These concrete indications of Dr. Cleveland's unwavering devotion to the university idea illustrate but do not relate the full story of his enduring contributions in all the areas of his involvement and concern.

Even though he had a special interest in his own professional fields, he always demonstrated a catholicity of interest — in the sciences, the humanities, or the health-related professions.

Because Loma Linda University is deeply conscious of Dr. Cleveland's role in its development as a university, it has arranged for two appropriate memorials.

One is the establishment of the Robert E. Cleveland Lectureship.

This will bring to the campus each year an outstanding person who will spend several days in lectures and conversations with students and faculty members.

The other is the naming of the reading room in the Vernier Radcliffe Memorial Library in his honor.

An alcove of the reading room will contain volumes from his own well-selected library of books in history and geography as well as journals and maps.

These memorials are but small tokens of the esteem with which Robert Cleveland is held by all who knew him and profited by his kindly presence and scholarly contributions.



REFLECTIONS OF A PIONEER: An Autobiographical Letter of Stephen N. Haskell

S. N. Haskell, author, editor, evangelist, and institution builder, loved to tell the story of his life. He wrote an account of his conversion to Sabbath-keeping for the Review and Herald in 1896,¹ and in 1914 sent an autobiographical letter, published here for the first time, to Professor J. L. Shaw, then secretary of the Department of Education, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Again in 1918 he supplied the statistical secretary of the General Conference, H. E. Rogers, with a chronological record of the principal events of his life. This record was quoted in Haskell's obituary in the Review in $1922.^2$

Haskell had a fascinating tale to tell. His life of total dedication to the Advent message carried him to Australia, New Zealand, England, Western Europe, South Africa, India, China, and Japan, frequently as a pioneer for his church. During his long career he turned his hand to almost every task imaginable, and failure was a word he never understood.

Born on April 22, 1833, at the age of 17 he married Mary How, an invalid woman of nearly 40. Though

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

Donald R. McAdams

Mary's health never improved significantly, the marriage was a happy one; husband and wife shared a burning commitment to Adventism. In her *Review* obituary in 1894 Haskell testified that "she never has questioned nor swerved in the least to my knowledge in her confidence in present truth, and especially in the work of Sister White."³ Three years after Mary's death, Stephen married Hetty Hurd, a promient Adventist



Bible worker. Stephen was 63, Hetty, 40. But Haskell outlived his second wife as well. She died in 1919, at the age of 62; Haskell lived three more years, dying at the age of 89. He was buried in Napa, California, by the side of his first wife.

This 1914 letter does not add significantly to the information in the 1918 chronological record, but it illuminates a few periods of Haskell's life and provides a wonderful insight into the personality of one of the most colorful Adventist pioneers. Readers who find themselves fascinated by this engaging man of God are urged to obtain the excellent biography of Haskell by Ella M. Robinson, S. N. Haskell, Man of Action.⁴

Haskell's letter to Shaw is filed with other correspondence of the period in a collection currently in the custody of the General Conference Publishing Department.⁵ It is a typed letter of five and one-fourth pages printed here exactly as it reads, except that were Haskell corrected the typing I have followed the corrections. Notes are added where additional information might be desired.

Young Haskell preaching from his Bible



Prof. J. L. Shaw, Takoma Park, D. C.

annum annu

Dear Brother Shaw:-Your letter asking me to write something on the ministry was received in due time. After meditating upon it, I wrote something and sent it direct to the Review to Brother Wilcox.⁷ I hope that it will be satisfactory. But my experience is so different from many and sent it direct to the Review to Brother Wilcox.⁹ I hope that it will be satisfactory. But my experience is so different from many and sent it direct to the Review to Brother Wilcox.⁹ I hope that it will be satisfactory. But my experience is so different from many

others, perhaps it will not be on the line you wish. The first sermon I ever heard on the subject of the second coming of Christ, was in 1852, I was then but nineteen years old. My memory was very good, and I talked and talked about it, until the man where I was visiting became annoyed and said to me, why don't you preach it. I told him I would if he would get me an audience. To my astonishment he got together a large roomful of people, and I dare [sic] not back down, so I preached my first sermon.

people, and I dare [sic] not back down, so I preachea my first serifion. The next year I went to Canada to preach without any license or encouragement, only my own conviction. I made it a test, that if the Lord would give me some converts who would want to be baptized, I would take that as a call to preach. I spoke in a school the Lord would give me some converts who would want to be baptized, I would take that as a call to preach. I spoke in a school house about five miles from Trent.⁸ I did not say one word to a soul privately about their salvation, during the two weeks that I house about five miles from Trent.⁸ I did not say one word to a soul privately about their salvation, during the two weeks that I house about five miles from Trent.⁸ I did not say one word to a soul privately about their salvation, during the two weeks that I house about five miles from Trent.⁸ I did not say one word to a soul privately about their salvation, during the two weeks that I house about five miles from Trent.⁸ I did not say one word to a soul privately about their salvation, during the two weeks that I house about five miles from Trent.⁸ I did not say one word to a soul privately about their salvation, during the two means the stood on the outside at the open windows. Finally, I concluded no one was converted, and I would go to another and they stood on the outside at the open windows. Finally, I concluded no one was converted, and I would go to another neighborhood where they had invited me to hold a few meetings, and come home. I had neither money nor conveyance, so walked. neighborhood where they had invited me to hold a few meetings or unstach me and asked me to ride with him. I found he had attended

neighborhood where they had invited me to nota a jew meetings, and come notice interview that the with him. I found he had attended On my way to this neighborhood, a man with a farm wagon overtook me and asked me to ride with him. I found he had attended my meetings and had been converted, and wished to be baptized. He also said, that his wife had been converted, and she also wished to be baptized. So when I returned I began to call on the people, and imagine my surprise to find, if I remember correctly, twenty-five converted and wanting baptism. This was my first experience. The next year a Brother William Saxby, of Springfield, gave me the tract, Elihu on the Sabbath.⁹ As I was on my way to Canada, I spent one day in the woods studying the tract and my pible and from that time have been a Sabbath keeper.

Bible, and from that time have been a Sabbath keeper. Bible, and from that time have been a Sabbath keeper. I came back from the states expecting to convert everybody to the Sabbath in about ten minutes, for I supposed everybody believed the Bible. I attended a conference of First Day Adventists held in Worcester, Mass. At once I was ostracized, and a Brother believed the Bible. I attended a conference of First Day Adventists held in Worcester, Mass. At once I was ostracized, and a Brother hale¹⁰ of Hubbardston, Mass., took pity on me and invited me to his home. I went home with him and remained several months, Hale¹⁰ of Hubbardston, Mass., took pity on me and invited me to his home. I went home with him as before I became and that autumn about fifteen embraced the truth, each of their names I remember quite well. This was before I became and that autumn bay Adventists.

acquainted with Seventh Day Adventists. My Bible was my principle study for two years from the time I heard the first sermon on the coming of Christ. I carried it under my arm every day, and put it under my pillow every night. I do not think for two years it was ever five feet from me day or night. During those years I got out a chronology from the Bible alone. I knew so little of other books, that I did not know of any chronology During those years I got out a chronology from the Bible alone. I knew so little of other books, that I did not know of the many ever gotten out by any other person. I offered it to the Worlds Crises¹¹ if they would publish it. I was then informed of the chronologies published, and began to obtain a library, and as a result it created a taste for reading works on that subject and other chronologies published, and began to obtain a library. I had a library that was worth about \$2,000.00. It consisted of ancient histories, Bible themes, until in the course of 15 or 20 years, I had a library that was worth about \$2,000.00. It consisted of ancient histories, commentaries, Bible dictionaries, and books of like character.

commentaries, Bible dictionaries, and books of like character. My attention was soon turned to the obtaining of different translations, until as I sit writing I count on my shelves about twenty different translations some of which I count very rare. These I found to be the best commentary; as the texts are put in different words to convey the same thought. It was some where about 1875 that a fire took place in the house right back of the room where my library was, and I judge about \$1500.00 dollars worth were burned, and I have never sought to restore it since save a few most important books.

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I think it was in the winter of 1854 or 1855, 12 a man knocked at my door one night, and introduced himself to me as Joseph Bates. He stopped with me about two weeks. He preached to my wife and self from breakfast till noon, and then from noon till night, and at night the company in Hubbardston came together, and it was then and there I embraced the present truth, and have

Sometime in the 1860's, before there was any conference or organization in the four New England States, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, Elder James White told me he was going to make me bishop of this country. Maine and Vermont, I think was organized a year or two before.¹³ There was quite a number of Sabbath keepers in this territory, but they were agreed on two points only, first, that each individual would agree with no other Sabbath keeper or anybody beside themselves, and I hardly think they agreed with themselves on all points. Second, all were agreed that they did not, neither would they believe in the spirit of prophecy. So I accepted my charge as bishop, ¹⁴ organized churches, ordained elders, as fast as we could separate the precious from the vile so as to organize. We organized Sabbath schools and tried to bring the brethren up on every point of doctrine then held by Seventh Day Adventists. We had the old plan of what was called S. B. not tithe. ¹⁵ Kept Sabbath from

In 1870 we held the first camp-meeting here in the East, ¹⁷ expecting at that time we would organize the six New England States into one conference. The six states at that time owned only one tent. So Brother Rodman¹⁸ and self purchased a fifty foot tent, agreeing to pay for it in three months thinking we would pitch our tent and get enough in the truth to pay for it as we did not have

Imagine my surprise, when at the camp-meeting Elders J. N. Andrews, J. H. Waggoner, and James White being present it was recommended that these four states be organized into one conference, I be ordained to the ministry and made president of the conference. The three above mentioned brethren ordained me to the ministry. I think in 1873, 19 I was made a member of the General Conference Committee, and a member of the Publishing Board in B.C. In 1882, I visited Europe and organized the first European Council. In 1885, went to Australia with Elder Corliss and family, Elder Israel and family, Brother Scot²⁰ as a Bible worker, and William Arnold as a canvasser for Thoughts on Daniel and Revelation. I returned within one year having started a paper, established a printing office, ²¹ an account of which you will see in the old Missionary Sketches. In 1887, I opened the work in London with three girls as Bible workers. 22 At that time there was only one S.D.A. in all London, moved the printing office from Great Grimsby to north London, and organized the first church in London with the aid of Brother D. A. Robinson. The church in London was all prepared for a permanent organization, it was completed after Brother Robinson came. We could not borrow a

During 1889-90, myself and Percy Magan, as the spies went to search the land, in Asia and Africa, Japan and India. On our

return to America visited Australia the second time. The third time I visited Australia was in 1897 after our second vist to Africa. I mention these things to show you that I have always been a pioneer, running my own ship as it were. I always spent my spare time in studying the history of the nations I visited. Now I am past eighty, living as Brother Loughborough says, on borrowed time in studying the history of the nations I visited. Now I am past eighty, noting as Brother Loughoorough says, on ourrowed time; and much of the time feel like Caleb as he expressed it at eighty-five, "As my strength was then, even so is my strength now,

for war, both to go out, and come in," but for several years I have not taken upon me to do much night work. As I never received hardly a common school education, I am not quite the man to write on the educational advantages of the present outlook of the message. At the same time I was one of the principle men in establishing the B.C. College, the Healdsburg College in California, and the South Lancaster Academy, as far as money raising was concerned. I think now you will appreciate

the situation quite thoroughly, especially if you have patience to read this long epistle. I might have added, that I was united with Brother Butler, he being president of the Gen. Conf. for twelve years, 23 then he went

to Florida with his sick wife, and I kept on the move. It was during his administration that we closed the B.C. College for one year,²⁴ because we thought it was getting worldly in its methods. During this long period of membership of the General Conference, I have been president of several local conferences, on this side of the water and in Australia. At one time I was president of three conferences at once.²⁵ This was during the early years of the Tract and Missionary Society.

Another item you might be interested in. We have passed through crises on doctrine, one on the resurrection question, Dr. Kellogg held the view that the old particles of the body would not be raised, that is not any of them. Then came the two laws, Waggoner and Jones on one side.²⁶ The latest episode was the Daily,²⁷ and yet the message has ploughed its way through these seas, and has not been swamped, and I think every timber is sound in it. It was built all right to begin with. As the English curate says, "thus endeth the reading of this lesson."

S. N. Haskell



In the 1860's Haskell established the New England Tract Repository





¹Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, April 7, 1896, p. 217.

²*Ibid.*, December 14, 1922, pp. 17-18.

³ Ibid., February 20, 1894, p. 127.

⁴ (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1967).

⁵ The present Secretary, D. A. McAdams, has kindly granted permission to publish this letter.

⁶ The Bible Training School was a sixteenpage monthly dealing with house-to-house evangelism, edited by Haskell. After 1907 it was considered a privately sponsored periodical. For this and other notes without references see the Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia (Review and Herald, 1966).

⁷ A short article by Haskell entitled "The Gospel Minister" was published in the *Review*, February 26, 1914, pp. 20-21. Apparently Shaw had requested something of this nature from Haskell in behalf of the *Review*, and the occasion of this letter is Haskell's response giving notice that the article had been sent in.

⁸ Trent, Ontario, about sixty miles north of Toronto.



Bible Echo office which Haskell established at North Fitzroy, Victoria, Australia

Haskell during the years as member of the General Conference Committee ⁹ Saxby, a tinsmith who worked for the railway company, offered to keep Haskell's trunk at Springfield while Haskell visited the Adventist group he had raised up in Canada the year before. Saxby was the first Sabbathkeeper Haskell had ever met. His efforts to convince Stephen of the Sabbath failed, but the tract carried the point home (*Review*, April 17, 1896, p. 217).

The copy of *The Sabbath by Elihu*, in the Heritage Room, James White Library, Andrews University, states on its first page: "This little work was placed in the hands of Eld. James White, in 1853, in tract form without date, bearing simply the signature 'Elihu.' Since that time he has published and distributed 20,000 copies of the work. And such has been its acceptance with the friends of the Sabbath, that the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association now issues the present edition of 4,000 copies, August, 1862."

¹⁰ Haskell attended the summer conference in Worcester specifically to convert the Firstday Adventists to the Sabbath, but he was not allowed to preach even one sermon. Thomas Hale invited Stephen and his wife to come with them to Hubbardston where they rented rooms from Hale through the winter. Haskell persuaded Hale and others of the Sabbath against heavy opposition by Hale's pastor, S. G.



Haskell and his second wife Hetty after years of service.

pushed this position in the 1850's, but J. N. Andrews' investigations had established the sunset to sunset position in 1855, and a confirming vision by Ellen White had settled the question later that year, according to James White writing in the *Review* in 1868 (*Encyclopedia*, p. 1118).

¹⁷ The first camp meeting in New England, held in a pine grove in South Lancaster, opened on September 5, 1869 (Robinson, p. 28).

¹⁸Evangelist C. P. Rodman.

¹⁹ He is correct.

 20 J. O. Corliss, M. C. Israel, and Henry L. Scott.

²¹ The Bible Echo & Signs of the Times, published at the Bible Echo Publishing Company, Melbourne, now the Signs Publishing Company, Warburton, forty-eight miles east of Melbourne.

²² Jennie Owen, Helen McKinnon, and Hetty Hurd, who ten years later became the second Mrs. Haskell.

²³ 1871-1874, 1880-1888.

²⁴ 1882-1883.

²⁵ New England Conference, 1870-1876, 1877-1887; California Conference 1879-1887; Maine Conference 1884-1886.

> Present Truth office, Grimsby, England before Haskell moved it to London.





Mathewson (Review, April 7, 1898, p. 217).

¹¹The World's Crisis, and Second Advent Messenger, a Boston weekly published by the Advent Christian Publishing Society, a Firstday Adventist publishing houuse.

¹² In the chronological record he wrote in 1918, Haskell gave the year as 1855.

¹³ Vermont was organized into a conference in 1862 and Maine in 1867. The four other New England states were organized as the New England Conference in 1870.

¹⁴ Probably in December, 1868.

¹⁵ Systematic Benevolence was first adopted in January, 1859, by the Battle Creek church. As it developed, members were asked to contribute two cents per week on each one hundred dollars value of land. The idea of a tenth existed as early as 1860, but not till 1876 was the principle of tithing formally voted by the General Conference.

¹⁶ It is surprising that Haskell says New Englanders were still keeping Sabbath from six to six in the late 1860's. Joseph Bates had ²⁶ E. J. Waggoner and A. T. Jones suggested as part of their message of salvation by faith, that the law in Galatians, which Adventists had considered the ceremonial law, was the moral law. It was eternal, they said, yet incapable of redeeming lost man. It could bring men to Christ, but not save them. "This seemed to them [the older men] like treason to the historic Adventist position on the two laws." Arthur Whitefield Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists (4 vols.; Review and Herald, 1961-1962), II, 291.

²⁷ A disagreement from 1900 to about 1910 occasioned by L. R. Conradi's book *Die Weissagung Daniels*, which argued that the taking away of the "Daily" of Daniel 8 and 11 referred to the Roman Catholic Church's displacing of the true sanctuary service by the mass, putting the pope in the place of the true High Priest. In 1910 Ellen White said the subject was of minor importance and urged Adventists not to make it prominent. For a full discussion see the *Encyclopedia*, pp. 319-323.



A PEOPLE OF PROPHECY Gary G. Land

J. N. Loughborough, THE GREAT SECOND ADVENT MOVE-MENT, Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., [n.d.], reprinted in Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., RELIGION IN AMERICA, A Series of 78 Books, New York: Arno Press, 1973.

In days of old the apostle John re-corded in his Revelation that he had seen in vision an angel flying in the midst of heaven. "Babylon is fallen, is fallen," the angel announced, "because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication." Centuries later, in the 1830's and 1840's, a movement led by William Miller, a self-educated farmer, arose in the United States proclaiming the soon return of Jesus Christ. When the established churches rejected the Millerite message, the second advent believers saw the situation in terms of John's vision and cried, "Come out of her my people."

The prophetic note both prompted and sustained the second advent movement. As John N. Loughborough, one of the leading Seventh-day Adventist ministers of the nineteenth century, viewed the history of his denomination, he felt it was understandable only in terms of Bible prophecy.

Just as the Old Testament prophets had foretold the first coming of Christ, they had also predicted his second advent. Although most Christians eventually ignored the doctrine of Christ's return, a few kept the hope alive. Then in the nineteenth century a general awakening to the doctrine occurred as Joseph Wolff, Manuel Lacunza, Alexander Campbell, and others began to preach that Jesus would soon appear. Of the preachers concentrating on the second advent, William Miller attracted the most attention in the United States. After studying the 2300-day prophecy of Daniel 8, Miller predicted that Christ would come "about 1843." Although the expected event did not occur, further study convinced Samuel Snow, one of Miller's followers, that a mistake had been made and that October 22, 1844, would be the day of Christ's return. During the summer the "Midnight Cry" went out, calling all true Christians to come out of

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An angel proclaiming its warning message was a figure repeatedly used by the Millerites





Loughborough was young when the Seventh-day Adventist denomination was young

Loughborough interpreted history in terms of Bible prophecy

Babylon and prepare to meet their Lord. Possibly as many as 50,000 advent believers gathered on October 22 in homes and barns to pray while awaiting Christ's appearance. At midnight a deep disappointment fell upon them; heaven had not been theirs that day; earth's dreary existence still encased them.

Some of the disappointed Millerites rejected Christianity, others returned to their former churches, and the rest attempted to find where they had been wrong. One group of adventists found that their disappointment had been predicted by John's reference in Revelation 10 to the little book with the bitter taste. Continued study led them to believe that the last judgment had begun on October 22 and that the second coming would soon occur, although no one should try to name the date.

While this group was still in a confused state, its members embraced the idea that God was directing it through a young, rather sickly teenager living in Portland, Maine. This girl, Ellen Harmon, received a vision that showed the advent believers arriving at the heavenly city by a narrow road. Although many individuals questioned the inspiration of Ellen's visions, of which she had many, those who accepted her as God's messenger grew in number. For them visions were not a strange thing, confined only to Biblical times. Rather, the gift of prophecy, as they called the visions, had been given to John Huss, George Wisehart, Jonathan Pyrah, and most recently J. B. Finley and a Methodist minister, Doctor Bond. As the Lord had used these men and others in the past, they thought, he was now revealing himself among the advent believers.

Soon after Ellen Harmon received her first vision she began to speak publicly and, with more visions coming to her, gradually emerged as a leader within a segment of the advent cause. Joseph Bates, a former sea captain, drew her attention to the fourth commandment, but Ellen did not accept the seventh day as the Sabbath



Preachers of the second advent message, S. N. Haskell, J. N. Loughborough, G. I. Butler

until receiving a vision in 1846 that confirmed the doctrine. This pattern of independent study followed by a confirming vision happened many more times. As Loughborough wrote, it "was in harmony with the Lord's method of working."

After her marriage to James White in 1846, Ellen continued to counsel, warn, and lead the group of adventists who in 1863 organized themselves into the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Although several men served as president of the denomination throughout the remainder of the century, it was primarily Ellen White who pushed it into new areas of endeavor. In addition to awakening the church to the dangers of fanaticism, she promoted the causes of health reform, publishing, education, and missions.

Poor health, meager finances, and a scattered membership posed obstacles that demanded great sacrifices of the pioneer workers, but by the turn of the century the church was advancing steadily. As Loughborough saw it, this progress occurred only because of God's blessing and His guidance through the gift of prophecy. "Heeding the Lord's counsels through that gift," he wrote, "moving forward in the Lord's strength, the message, as we have shown has encircled the earth, and is fast making its way to 'every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.'"

For the reader interested in how the participants viewed the development of their church in the nineteenth century, The Great Second Advent Movement offers valuable evidence. Read as a document of the times, it leads one into a -world where visions, miracles of healing, and other interventions of God are accepted as normal events among God's true people. The appearance of this reprint edition should awaken our interest in the Adventist world-view of the past century.

ELLEN WHITE AND JIM CROW

Eric D. Anderson

Ronald Graybill, ELLEN G. WHITE AND CHURCH RACE RELATIONS, Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1970.

, MISSION TO BLACK AMERICA: THE TRUE STORY OF JAMES EDSON WHITE AND THE RIVER-BOAT MORNING STAR, Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1971.

"D id Ellen White Contradict Herself?" asks one of Ronald Graybill's chapter headings. This question is the central issue of his two slim volumes on Seventh-day Adventists and black Americans.

In the 1890's Ellen White admonished the church: "You have no license from God to exclude the colored people from your places of worship They should hold membership in the church with the white brethren." "We have no time," she said, "to build walls of distinction between the white and black race." Yet in 1908 Mrs. White declared that "the colored people should not urge that they be placed on an equality with white people," and she counseled separate places of worship for Negroes.

Do these contrasting statements represent a reversal in Mrs. White's thinking, a capitulation to racism? Both *Mission to Black America* and *Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations* seek to explain the "apparent inconsistency" by examining "the racial climate in the country at the time," and Mrs. White's personal experience. According to Graybill, "once the relevant aspects of Negro history during this period are grasped, what at first appears to be a contradiction . . . becomes understandable."

The last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth were certainly years of retreat and dismay for black Americans. Severe anti-Negro riots in Wilmington, North Carolina (1898), Atlanta, Georgia (1906), Springfield, Illinois (1908), and other cities, plus numerous barbaric lynchings in North and South were symptoms of the increasing strength of racial prejudice. During these years Negroes were eliminated from politics in one Southern state after another, and segregation by law and custom became more



systematic throughout the nation. One measure of the growing national acceptance of the racial views of the white South was the popularity of the works of novelist-preacher Thomas Dixon. Defending disfranchisement, denouncing Reconstruction, and proclaiming the inherent inferiority of blacks, his novels sold millions of copies in the early years of this century. (Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots*, a fictional treatment of Negro suffrage in North Carolina, even made its way into Mrs. White's library.)

The Federal government provided little succor for black people. The Supreme Court approved the doctrine of "separate but equal" and found the Mississippi scheme to deny the vote to Negroes compatible with the Fifteenth Amendment.

Eric D. Anderson studies the Reconstruction era under John Hope Franklin at the University of Chicago.



Through Edson White's work among the Mississippi blacks Ellen White learned first hand of racial hostilities photoreconstruction courtesy of A. E. Dunham, Jr.



In 1895 the riverboat "Morning Star" carried the "whole gospel" to black America.

Booker T. Washington preached racial solidarity and self-help in the 1890's. Shown here is a bronze memorial at Tuskegee University.



Congress refused to act against lynching or unfair elections, and faltering presidential concern for blacks practically disappeared upon the election of a Southern Democrat in 1912.

In the face of these discouraging conditions, many black leaders emphasized racial solidarity and selfhelp, putting economic and educational progress ahead of civil and political rights. The most famous advocate of such ideas was Booker T. Washington, the Alabama educator who sought accommodation with the white South and discouraged black militance, while privately wielding immense political power and financing court tests of segregation.

Mrs. White was very much aware of the Negro's deteriorating position, and, argues Graybill, her statements on "social equality" and segregation must be considered in this context. Deeply concerned about the future of Adventist work among blacks, she was willing to accept segregation as unavoidable in some parts of the country. She did not endorse racial separation as ideal or see it as based on inherent qualities of Negroes.

Mrs. White's appreciation of the race problem was by no means merely theoretical. As Graybill makes clear in both books, she was intimately involved in the Mississippi missionary venture of her son J. Edson White, and his experience was one of the most important "concrete historical situations" in the background of her counsel.

Operating from a riverboat christened Morning Star, Edson White began his "mission to black America" in Vicksburg in 1895. Temporarily avoiding the Sabbath question, the Morning Star group worked through Sunday-keeping black churches and offered a popular night school where children and elderly ex-slaves learned reading. Throughout his time in Mississippi, White sought to present a "whole gospel," clothing the needy, treating the sick, educating the ignorant, as well as calling the sinful. After a group of Adventist believers was firmly established at Vicksburg, the riverboat moved up the Yazoo River to Yazoo City, and White and his associates established an SDA presence there and at intervening points along the river.

The Morning Star evangels had great difficulty with religious and racial prejudice — often united in dangerous combination. Mississippi whites were suspicious of Yankee do-gooders teaching local blacks, especially when these outsiders criticized old methods of farming and convinced Negro laborers and tenants that working on Saturday was a sin. Blacks "resented a white man (whose very name was White!) invading their territory and stealing their members."

In December, 1898, an ominous "committee" of white citizens threatened the white SDA teacher in Yazoo City, but prompt action by the city mayor and great caution on the part of the Adventist workers averted trouble. Then a few months



Chapel on the "Morning Star" — children and elderly ex-slaves learned to read in night classes

later a "whipp'n spree" led by some of "the best planters along the Yazoo River" closed an SDA school at Calmer, down river from Yazoo City. The white teacher was run out of town and a black Adventist got a severe flogging which stopped only when a "friendly white man" ordered the mob to desist, and backed up his words by drawing his re-



Edson White, skipper of the "Morning Star," was suspected as a Yankee dogooder

Graybill, it is clear why Mrs. White urged caution in dealing with the color line. "The very lives of workers and black believers alike were in danger." The difference between her statements condemning "walls of distinction" and her later reluctant acceptance of segregation in some places - "until the Lord shows us a better way" - can be explained "only by the rise of racial tensions and segregation during the intervening years." Citing Mrs. White's strong opposition to slavery and many subsequent affirmations of racial brotherhood, he shows convincingly that Mrs. White was not placing her approval upon the subordination of the Negro.

Graybill's two prefaces acknowledge the assistance of many people, but one more name ought to be mentioned. Dr. Roy Branson of the SDA Theological Seminary, a more recent Mississippi missionary, stimulated the interest of his student Graybill in the problem of Ellen White's statements on race relations.



Living room for the "Morning Star" missionaries

volver. In a letter to his mother, Edson wrote: "It's the 'Ku Klux' days right over and we are in the midst of it." Later both newspapers in Yazoo City denounced the Adventist work there as subversive of both the religious and racial customs of Mississippi. One editor commented menacingly that he would not like to see a repetition of 1875 — the year the state was "redeemed" for white supremacy by the "Shotgun Plan."

In view of such incidents, says

Graybill's work is thorough, well-written, and subject to only minor errors. (Graybill confuses, for example, two Mississippi congressmen with the name Patrick Henry and erroneously refers to Francis Winston as a former governor of North Carolina.) His thesis provides long overdue answers to important questions in denominational history. To borrow the words of E. E. Cleveland, Graybill's research "should have been written thirty years ago."

JOHN BYINGTON, from page 13

That same spring, 1847, John Byington's life, at age 49, took a surprising turn. The St. Lawrence Conference, on recommendation of the Morley church, admitted him on trial as a minister, and assigned him to co-pastor the church at Lisbon, largest in the conference. The next year, 1848, Byington may have been ordained. Unfortunately, the published records for the conference are unusually fragmentary. Ordinarily a new man would have been kept on trial for two or three years, but Byington was mature and long-established in the faith. Anyhow, for the conference year 1848-1849, the sole pastor at Lisbon was Byington. It would seem reasonable that one so responsibly placed would first have been ordained.

True to form, Byington that year led out in the building of a new parsonage at Lisbon. The conference president, visiting Lisbon in April 1849, wrote, "They are now building a nice parsonage house, near the chapel, which will be finished in a few weeks, and probably occupied by Bro. Buck. They have hearts and hands in Lisbon, that are willing to work for God — and the Lord blesses them in so doing." (Incidentally, H. G. Buck as well as Byington would leave the Wesleyans for Adventism within the next three years, and Buck would continue as an Adventist minister.)

That was Byington's last year to serve actively as a Wesleyan pastor. He had served so for two years only, including one as co-pastor. The published conference report for 1849 is unusually brief, but it shows the pastors for each church, and Byington is not included. He was probably on the list of ministers held in reserve, not published that year; he was on the reserve list for 1850. For 1851 he was listed among those "left without appointment, by their request," where he was listed again even in 1852, only a month before his baptism by Adventists.

Superficially, John Byington's situation in the Wesleyan ministry might seem similar to his father's with the Methodist Episcopal — entered in his late forties, served a relatively short period, and laid aside in his fifties. Probably, though, the cases were quite different. While Justus, during his ministry, had been obviously completely engaged, serving large churches, moving almost every year from one town to another, John was pastoring a church less than ten miles from his own farm, from which he did not have to move. When he turned over his church, plus the new parsonage he had so competently helped build, to a successor, he dropped back to his farming and to helping the churches in the area on a more part-time basis.

Even during those two pastoring years, he was probably paid little if anything, but went on making his living by farming — as, indeed, he would continue to do throughout his later long ministry with the Seventh-day Adventists. (The SDA Encyclopedia specifies that his Adventist ministry was "selfsupporting.") A visitor to the Wesleyan conference held at Lisbon in 1848 wrote of the St. Lawrence area ministers, "Their salaries are small, and, like St. Paul, many of them labor with their hands, and thus minister to their necessities."

It appears there was one significant difference between Byington and many other Wesleyan ministers of his time. His world-view was much less optimistic than theirs. His heart lived back in the more primitive, other-worldly Methodism of his father's Vermont in the 1810's. By the 1840's, when the Wesleyans left them, the Methodist Episcopals were well-advanced toward material and numerical success. They had interests to protect, hence their reluctance to take the risks of abolitionism.

The less-prosperous Wesleyans, founded on a platform of one kind of reform — abolitionism — soon began to idealize reform itself as the instrument which, under God, would convert the world, produce the milliennium of peace that would necessarily precede the Advent, bring a heaven-on-earth (they were postmilliennialists). Leading Wesleyans, and Luther Lee most articulately, elevated the idea of progress to a point of religious faith. Lee loved to publish editorials showing how illogical premillennialists were to talk of a soon-coming end of a worsening world, instead of using their eyes and their faith to perceive how the world was rapidly growing better. Even decades later, writing his autobiography in his eightyfirst year, Lee would still be convinced that he had lived through an age "the most distinguished for human progress of all the ages since time dawned."

Byington never believed that the whole world would be reformed or converted.

Byington, while no defeatist, was much less sanguine. He never believed that the whole world would be reformed, or converted. While at Cleveland for the Wesleyan General Conference in 1844, he had taken the opportunity to attend a Millerite sermon, and had felt, as Amadon wrote in Byington's obituary, that "such preaching would go far toward correcting the doctrine of the world's conversion, — a sentiment which he never indorsed."

Finally, in 1850 these differences between the obscure Byington and his more prominent friend of old, Luther Lee, brought the two men into conflict in the columns of the *True Wesleyan*. The event is surprising, because unlike the born-controversialist Lee, Byington was almost never one who aired his disagreements in print.

Lee that year had attended the meeting of the St. Lawrence Conference, and in a sermon had preached "that the world, as a whole, is growing better and not worse, as some insist, and that the gospel will prevail more and more, and the work of reformation progress until slavery, intemperance, and war, shall be driven from the earth, and the world be brought under the general influence of Christianity." Afterward "a friend" (who turns out to have been Byington) tried to convince Lee that the sermon contradicted some remarks Lee had made in an earlier floor discussion, "that the gospel failed to reform all to whom it had been faithfully preached, in every age; and to assume that it will faithfully succeed when faithfully preached, is dangerous, and if persisted in, must drive men into infidelity or insanity."

Lee, so proud of his logical powers, stung at being accused of inconsistency, wrote a long self-defense, without naming his critic. Byington wrote back, identifying himself, and unburdening himself of his own world-view (which Lee, of course, could not resist again trying to refute).

"The same cause," Byington wrote, "will produce similar effects in every age. If men can and will resist a pure Gospel in one age, they can and will resist it in every age, until God shall arise to shake terribly the earth."

Let "those who think the pure Gospel will convert the world in mass ... give us one instance where a fallen Church has been restored to its primitive purity. It is said that reform is rapidly progressing. ... This is true in respect to some sins with some individuals. We rejoice that some men, through antislavery efforts, have truly repented of the sin of slavery. And if but one soul thus repents and is saved from the damnation of hell, it will pay for all the Anti-slavery labor in this land; and we expect not only one, but many of this class. The same may be said for other evils, to some extent."

However, thought Byington, "how few who are talking much on the subject of reform, are doing of it because it is sin. Infidels talk loud and long upon these subjects, but they do not repent." An active antislavery Presbyterian had recently told Byington that "he now despaired of this nation ever abolishing slavery because it is sin. If they ever do it, they will do it from earthly or pecuniary motives."

What would "a candid jury" say regarding the nation's alleged improvement in such regards as Sabbath-observance? Even Wesleyans were holding stock in a nearby railroad that had recently hired a hundred men to work on Sunday. Was there really improvement in honoring of parents? "Was there ever a time when there was so much double dealing, or hypocrisy, so much dissipation of mind?" "Telegraphs, railroads, steamboats, and California gold are the order of the day, and the generality of men are living as though there was no day of judgment." Byington, deeply stirred, continued, "The question is asked, what we labor for. Our reply is, to save our souls, and, as far as possible, those that hear us. Did not the righteous put forth all their strength, faith would not be kept alive in the world; and thus, though the world does not all become salt, they are the salt of the earth. The Gospel does not design, under the present order of things, to fit up this world for a home for all saints; but to fit them who are willing to work as he worked, for a home he is gone to prepare for them. Therefore we are strangers and pilgrims on the earth."

Much against his will, Byington became convinced that the seventh day is the Sabbath.

In early 1851, Byington wrote the obituary of a fellow-Wesleyan minister's wife, for whom Byington had preached the funeral sermon. "Her dear companion," he wrote, "though he deeply feels his loss soon expects to meet his bosom friend in the great resurrection day, when there will be no more curse and friends will part no more... May we so watch and be ready for our Lord's coming, that we may meet Sister Sprague with all the dear saints in glory."

Within the year, Byington would be handed a copy of the *Review and Herald* by H. W. Lawrence, and be convinced much against his will that the seventh day, not the first, was the Sabbath. When he wrote Sister Sprague's obituary, Byington was still nominally a Wesleyan minister. He certainly was not yet a Seventh-day Adventist, but he was already a premillennial adventist. Wesleyanism could not much longer be his spiritual home.

The year 1852, when the Byingtons became Seventh-day Adventists, was a time of much sadness for them. Five weeks apart in February-March, they buried two beloved daughters, 20 and 15, beneath a stone inscribed (in letters now so weatherbeaten that not even rubbing will bring them all out): "They were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided." Family tradition says that it was the death of the second daughter that led Byington to vow to keep the true Sabbath. Then in November, Byington's mother, 93, was laid beside her husband, Justus, at Morley.

The break with Wesleyanism brought, inevitably, some unpleasantness of parting with long-loved Wesleyan brethren, going back to the Methodist Episcopal years. On March 9, the Wesleyan minister at Morley, a new man in that field, wrote that recently in one place "we had a few evening meetings where Millerism had distracted the Church and the people. May God ever keep us from such delusions as come in like a flood at the present day." In such times every Wesleyan preacher and member must "stand at the post and be not afraid to speak out against every evil in every place."

Adventist tradition, too, tells of considerable opposition to the Byingtons by their former brethren that year. Yet, as late as June, the conference was still considering him a Wesleyan minister, and apparently did not bring accusations against him.

Finally, it was less than a year later that the Wesleyan meetinghouse in Morley, which Byington had helped build, threw open its doors to a Seventh-day Adventist meeting. In those old neighborhoods, all had to live together, and most loved to listen to the preaching of the Word, whoever was peaching it. Old loyalties, common interests, united them more than differences divided. We have noted the probability that as early as 1847, a Wesleyan from Morley was preaching in the Methodist Episcopal meetinghouse at Bucks Bridge. When the Adventists met in 1853 at the Morley Wesleyan church, many Wesleyans were there to listen. In 1861, on a tour east James and Ellen White visited Bucks Bridge and "at the close of the [Sunday] afternoon discourse Mrs. W. spoke with great freedom, and called in a crowd from the Methodist congregation collecting opposite our place of worship." As late as 1890, C. C. Lewis, a Seventhday Adventist minister who had grown up near Bucks Bridge, returning to revisit the old place, preached on successive days at the Adventist and the Methodist chapels.

And John Byington's diary shows that in 1857, the year before he moved to Michigan, he still occasionally joined in Sunday worship in various nearby churches — the Universalists, the Christians, the Methodists. One hopes he sometimes met with the Wesleyans, too, though the diary for those months does not say so.



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For information in this article I am variously indebted to many persons and organizations. Andrews University has helped defray travel expenses for research, and generously provided secretarial assistance. Unpublished Byington family diaries and other materials in The Heritage Room, a Seventh-day Adventist Archive, at Andrews have been invaluable.

The three persons who have most substantially helped are Mrs. Mary H. Biondi, county historian, St. Lawrence County, New York; the Rev. Paul W. Thomas, archivist, The Wesleyan Church Headquarters, Marion, Indiana; and Dr. Ethel Young, associate secetary, Department of Education, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, who loaned me her correspondence files and much other material collected in her research concerning the first SDA church school, taught by Martha Byington at Bucks Bridge. Of numerous others who have helped me I will specify only Mr. and Mrs. D. G. Byington, who sent some precious documents which have been in the family for more than a century.

The most valuable sources were old periodicals — the True Wesleyan, 1843-1854 (most of these seen first at Marion, though Andrews University now has microfilm of 1843-1849), Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant, 1824-1836; Christian Advocate and Journal (New York) (Methodist Episcopal), 1833-1842; Review and Herald, 1852-1858, and various single numbers thereafter (especially January 25, 1887, and June 22, 1944).

Beyond these, I have ranged widely — various volumes of local histories in Vermont libraries and the Newberry Library in Chicago; books about the antislavery movement and the "Underground Railroad"; histories, and published records, of the three branches of Methodism here involved; the autobiographies of the Rev. Luther Lee and the Rev. George Pegler; and several items of manuscript materials in Vermont collections.

To compensate for absence of footnotes, I will deposit annotated copies of this article in The Heritage Room at Andrews University and in the editorial office of *Adventist Heritage* at Loma Linda University.

Finally, I would welcome letters from persons anywhere who have information about the Byingtons, or Methodist or Wesleyan churches in St. Lawrence County up to 1858. I would be especially interested in evidence of any kind concerning John Byington's participation on the Underground Railroad. Write me care of Department of English, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich. 49104.

GOD'S WAYS

F. M. Wilcox

Francis M. Wilcox (1865-1951) served as editor of the *Review and Herald* for 33 years and was an associate editor of the journal when this poem appeared.

Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, February 10, 1910.

Closer than a brother dear, Than any friend, however near, Inspiring hope, dispensing cheer, So standeth God.

Standeth watching o'er his own In noontide's hour, in night so lone, He noteth every tear and moan; So watcheth God.

- He scans the battle-field of life,
- He marks the heroes in the strife
- Who bravely stand where sin is rife; So seeth God.
- Sometimes the light reveals his grace,
- Sometimes the darkness veils his face,
- He seems withdrawn sometimes a space

When he's most near.

- 'Tis ours to trust where he shall guide,
- In good or ill, whate'er betide,
- Knowing he standeth by our side In every hour.

MARGINAL

Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl should be commended on "The Utopia Park Affair: The Emergence of Northern Black Adventists" (January, 1974) for plowing new ground historically, but I am uncomfortable about the soil left unturned. They argue that the Seventh-day Adventist leadership was upset with James K. Humphrey for proceeding with a major church project without offical sanction, and that it was Humphrey's maverick spirit which finally led to the break off. However, Mesar and Dybdahl mention that the Commissioner of Public Welfare was concerned about the legality of the Utopia Health Benevolent Association and that the District Attorney's office was investigating the possibility of graft in the new operation, though the investigation ended short of formal charges.

This needs further explanation. Was the Utopia Health Benevolent Association engaged in shady activities, and could this have been an underlying reason for denominational concern with the venture?

> L. T. Anderson Raleigh, North Carolina

Joe Mesar replies:

Although the Greater New York Conference was no doubt embarrassed by the prospect of an investigation of one of its churches, it can hardly be said that the possibility of fraud by Humphrey was the underlying reason for the church's opposition to Utopia Park.

The timing of events clearly indicates otherwise. Louis K. Dickson, the conference president, was aware of dissatisfaction at the First Harlem Church as early as the spring of 1929. His exchange of letters with Humphrey in August reveals his displeasure with the project. The conference committee discussed the issue on September 5 and referred the problem to the Atlantic Union for consideration on October 27.

All this occurred prior to the investigation by the Commissioner of Public Welfare. The District Attorney began his probe on November 15, two weeks after Humphrey was disfellowshipped. If fraud was indeed the central question, the church might have waited until that investigation was completed. As it turned out, of course, no charges, were brought against Humphrey or the Association. While some misrepresentation of the precise purpose of solicited funds may have occurred, no evidence whatsoever exists of any illegality.

Furthermore, the church leaders did not raise the question of shady activities at the meeting at First Harlem on November 2, when Humphrey's dismissal was announced. Dickson made it clear at that time that the conference was not passing judgment on the value of the project itself. Rather, it objected to Humphrey's course of independent action.

Even in the pamphlets later published by both sides, the question of dishonesty is given only minor attention. For the denomination, the most important concern was the maintenance of church unity. For James K. Humphrey and his church, it was the issue of black control over their own institutions and funds.



LONGINGS

L. D. Santee Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, (January 13, 1910)

- This life has its conflicts and trials, Imperfect its measure of love, But faith that will take no denial Receiveth a strength from above But there's an immortal existence, Where the ransomed shall shine as the sun. The carnal mind give no resistance, And the will of the Father be done. O lead me, dear Lord, for I'm lonely, I long to be nearer to thee, To be fashioned like thee, and thee only, And forever from evil set free; With thee would I enter life's portal, And joy in the soul's glad release, Where the ransomed ones, pure and immortal, Are crowned with the lilies of peace; Where the shadowless sunshine of heaven Gleams brightly on parent and child. Where brother and sister are given White robes that no sin hath defiled. Where as deep as love's fathomless ocean Shall the joys of the saved ever be, Where the spirit is filled with devotion, And the soul is from sorrow set free. O, I want the dear lips that are
 - breathless
 - To speak in the old tones again! And I want all my loved, pure and deathless,

And ever with them to remain.

- And I say to the seasons, "Roll faster, Through this earth-life so clouded and dim,
- And hasten the time when the Master

Shall gather the children to him."



