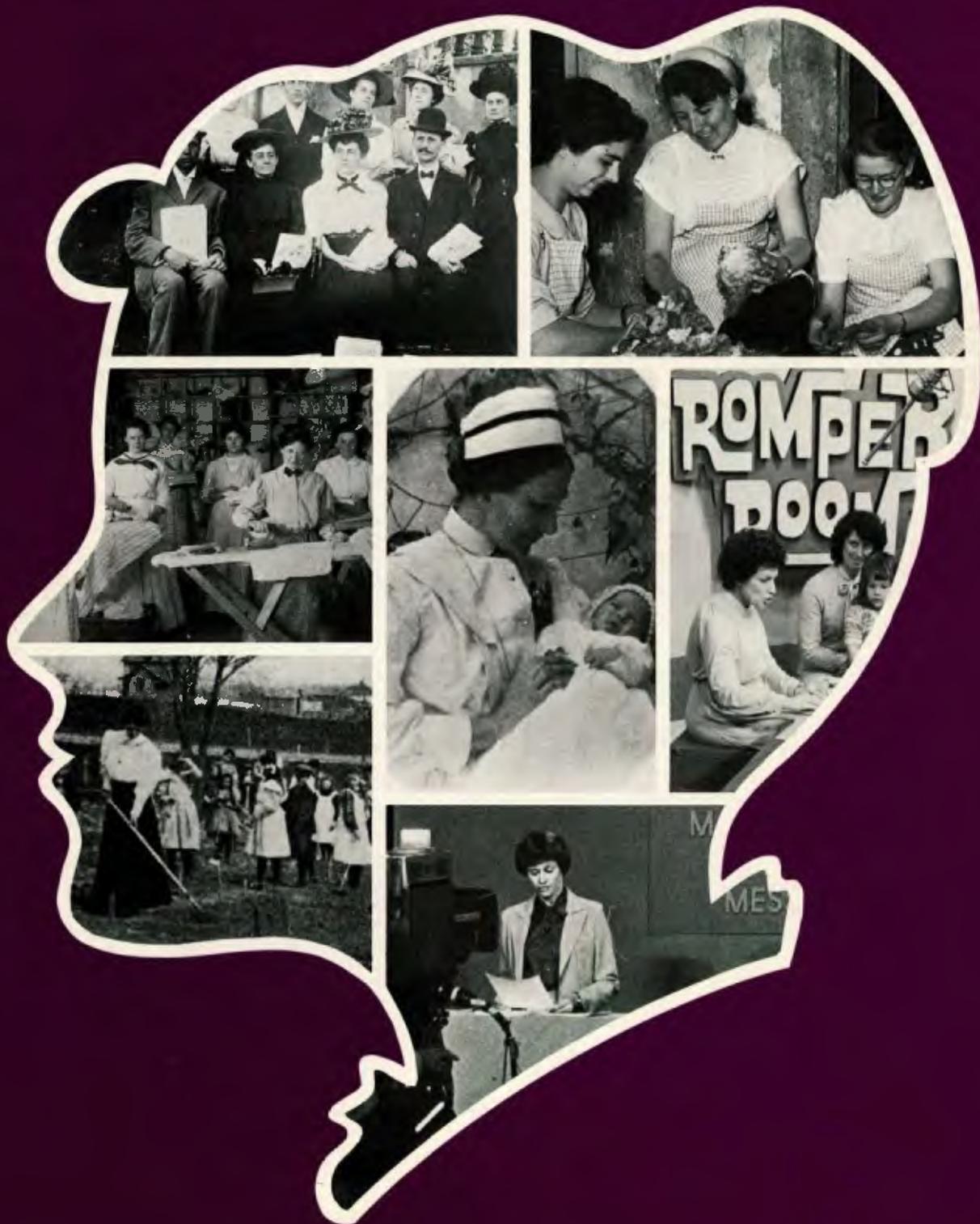


Adventist Heritage

A JOURNAL OF ADVENTIST HISTORY



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For the past six years, Paul J. Landa, PhD, has served as Managing Editor of *ADVENTIST HERITAGE*. During that time, several exciting things have happened with the journal. Some *you* have noticed—like the special theme issues and the increased use of guest editors; others—like the computerization of the magazines' production—are more noticeable to *us*.

The journal staff want to express our appreciation to Dr. Landa for his dedication and hard work these past years and wish him the very best in his new assignment as the Director of the Center for Lifelong Learning here at Loma Linda University.

All pictures and illustrations used in this issue are courtesy of Loma Linda University Heritage Rooms or the Adventist Heritage collection unless designated otherwise.

The collection of vignettes on Adventist Women are adapted from articles published in the Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia. Only sketches of women not mentioned elsewhere in this issue of ADVENTIST HERITAGE are included.

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Adventist Heritage

A JOURNAL OF ADVENTIST HISTORY

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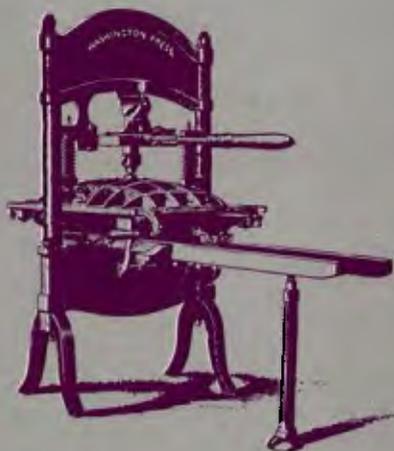
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The Editor's Stump



During the past two decades there has been, as a product of the increasing activism of women, a greater interest in women's history among scholars. Seventh-day Adventist history, which began to attract greater attention from both professional historians and laymen during this same period, has been slow to address the subject of Adventist women. This delay is understandable when one realizes that as a field of study Adventist history is in its infancy and that virtually all of its professional practitioners are men.

This issue of *ADVENTIST HERITAGE*, while not the first to treat the subject of the history of women in the church, attempts to provide some balance to the male-dominated history we are used to seeing. As with all good historical work, it recognizes that its subject is multi-faceted. We find in these pages both women such as Matilda Erickson Andross who spent their adult lives as church employees and women like Almira S. Steele who pursued their life missions in a private capacity. We recognize that the role of women in the church, not always a pleasant one, has been much affected by attitudes reflective of the culture in which the denomination developed. And we see that outside events over which the church has no control act upon these attitudes to bring about change over time, although the changes are not always in the direction of "progress."

The history written here, although certainly influenced by the viewpoints of the 1980s with regard to both the questions it raises and the interpretations it offers, is not advocacy history. Although there is a legitimate place for the use of historical information in support of social and political causes, the historian loses sight of his or her function when studying the past in order to validate what is desired for the present. Rather, the historian examines the past—some say has a dialogue with the documents left by the past—to understand it as well as it can be understood on its own terms. The historian who has helped us understand better what we used to be and how we got to where we are today has fulfilled the purposes of the discipline. While many of our articles are written by students early in the process of understanding what it means to be a historian, *ADVENTIST HERITAGE* seeks to enable those within and without the church to see Adventism's development more clearly. If this issue fulfills this purpose to any considerable degree it will have made its rightful contribution to the contemporary dialogue regarding the role of women in the denomination.

Gary Land

FOUNDING MOTHERS

WOMEN AND THE ADVENTIST WORK IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC DIVISION



John and Julia Corliss and their children, Lula and William, were photographed in Oakland, California, just before leaving for Australia in 1885.

ARTHUR PATRICK

Reprinted by permission from Seventh-day Adventists in the South Pacific: 1885-1985 (Warburton: Signs Publishing Co., 1985).

In the early years of the colonization of Australia, after the First Fleet arrived at Sydney Cove in 1788, most of the women in the new colony were marked with the stain of convictism. The pervasiveness of the penal system, together with the fact that many of the free women who came to this country were from the poorest classes of England, Scotland and Ireland, has caused some historians to speculate at length on the ways in which this heritage may have influenced Australian concepts of female identity and role. But conditions were changing by the last quarter of the nineteenth century: the gold-rush era had caused the population to treble; the cities were growing in size and importance; industries were proliferating; a federal sentiment was being nurtured. Women were beginning to gain economic independence, to qualify for pensions, maternity allowances, admission to the professions and the franchise.

Into this dynamic setting came eleven members of the First Fleet of Seventh-day Adventists in 1885, including four children and two women: Mrs. John Orr Corliss and Mrs. Mendel Crocker Israel. It is easy to imagine Julia Corliss and Lizzie Israel feeling isolated, far distant from their country and loved ones, as they settled in Melbourne. Their husbands were aggressive evangelists, confronting stiff opposition culturally, because of their North American origins, and doctrinally because of their Seventh-day Adventist beliefs. With sad hearts, John and Julie Corliss returned to the United States, due to illness, in 1887. But they left behind them earnest converts and a vigorous evangelistic journal, *The Bible Echo*, which they had helped to fund from their private resources. They also chose to return for a second period of service, 1893-1896. Three of the five Corliss children died during their parents' term of mission service in Australia and England. Mendel and Lizzie Israel devoted a decade to planting Adventism in the Antipodes, working in such places as Melbourne, Adelaide, Tasmania and New Zealand.



Hetty Hurd became the second Mrs. S. N. Haskell in 1897. Elder Haskell first went to Australia in 1885. After the death of his wife Mary in 1894, he again returned and remained there from 1896 to 1899.



Evangelist M. C. Israel and his wife were among the first group of workers to go to Australia in 1885. Critics tried to use his last name to remind potential converts that the keeping of the Bible Sabbath was really for the Jews.



So missionary women were there from the beginning in Australia. One early, typical reference occurs in an 1886 book for which Stephen N. Haskell wrote a chapter called "The Australian Mission." Haskell recounts that "on the 10th of May, 1885, Elder Corliss with his wife and two children, Elder M. C. Israel and his wife and two children, and Brother H. L. Scott of California, Brother W. Arnold of Michigan, and myself, took passage on the steamer *Australia*." But, although the women were not usually named in such dispatches except as wives, records of the Adventist Church which enable the historian to piece together the past were most often kept by them. A minute-book produced by the Review and Herald Publishing House, with neatly printed preface and headings, carries a careful, half-page record of each weekly Sabbath School meeting. At the first such occasion in Australia, held on July 4, 1885, the membership was ten, the attendance was listed as 100 percent, plus one visitor. And the secretary added: "By suggestion of Elder Israel, Brother H. Scott was elected superintendent and Jessie Israel [daughter of Mendel and Lizzie] chosen sec."

A year later, secretary Jessie Israel kept records for a much larger school; her legible handwriting recorded a membership of ninety-two on July 3, 1886, an attendance of eighty-three, with two visitors. Interestingly, those who were absent were expected to furnish written excuses. A small sheaf of these has been preserved. A typical one appears in this copybook hand:

Wright's Terrace

*Dear Bro. Scott
On account of illness,
I am unable to attend
Sabbath School this morning.
Will you excuse, & Oblige Yours in
the Faith, Annie Rowe*

Many other missionary women came before the turn of the century. Without any doubt the most significant group set foot in Sydney on December 8, 1891. Nellie Starr accompanied her husband, Pastor George Burt Starr, a one-time associate of evangelist Dwight L. Moody. The Starrs were to give eighteen years to building up the church in Australia and New Zealand. They arrived in 1891 in company with a five-foot-two-inch widow, Ellen Gould White (1827-1915), her son William, and her staff of four women: Marian Davis, May Walling, Fanny Bolton and Emily Campbell.

Although short in physical stature, in her accomplishments Ellen White towered above all the other Adventist women in the formative years of the church in Australasia. But even so, the women of her staff contributed richly to the life of the church in their own right. Fanny Bolton was best known as a poet. In the heyday of Henry Lawson and Andrew Barton (Banjo) Paterson (two well-known Australian poets), her name often appeared at the end of poems in *The Bible Echo*. Fanny's verses covered many topics, and they had a quality not always present in the religious verse found in small church papers.

Ellen White's support-team of Christian women changed from time to time during her 105 months in Australia and New Zealand. Even relatively new converts joined what she lovingly called her "family." Marian Davis provides an apt illustration of the important role of these women, a contribution known mostly



Marian Davis worked closely with Ellen White for 25 years as her book editor. This recently discovered photograph is the only one known, and is published here for the first time. Marian also was the sister-in-law of W. K. Kellogg of cereal industry fame.

(Right) May Walling, a granddaughter of Ellen White's oldest sister Caroline, was raised by her great Aunt Ellen from about the age of five. May went to Australia with Mrs. White and while there did editorial work for her.



(Below) For four years, Emily Campbell traveled extensively in Australia with Ellen White, returning to the United States in 1895.



Mary Daniells, wife of Elder A. G. Daniells, accompanied her husband to the South Pacific in 1886. She shared with him the struggles of pioneer evangelism in New Zealand.



Ellen White built a house, which she called "Sunnyside," a short distance from Avondale College. She is shown seated, with her son W. C. White to the right of her.



Fannie Bolton was chosen to go to Australia with Ellen White because Sara McEnterfer was ill at the time. While there, she did editorial work for Mrs. White, although eventually she was dismissed and returned to America.

through Ellen White's letters, diaries and articles.

The work of Marian Davis is best illustrated with reference to the 1898 masterpiece *The Desire of Ages*, Ellen White's crowning achievement during her Australian years. Ellen White had written copiously on many facets of the life of Christ, especially since 1858, and the publication of the first of her volumes entitled *The Great Controversy*, portraying the cosmic conflict between Christ and Satan. From diaries, letters, articles and books, Marian gleaned everything to do with Jesus and His ministry, pasted up scrapbooks, and organized chapters. Marian also read books, attended Bible classes, and gave suggestions to Ellen White on topics and content. Like Ellen White's other secretaries, she removed repetitious matter, transposed thoughts, honed grammar and punctuation. But throughout her toil she kept clearly in mind that the thoughts and expressions were Ellen White's responsibility. Thus it was in open recognition of Marian's work that Ellen White referred to her as "my bookmaker." Then she asked and answered an important question in a letter dated April 23, 1900:

How are my books made? Marian does not put in her claim for recognition. She does her work in this way: She takes my articles which are published in the papers, and pastes them in blank books. She also has a copy of all the letters I write. In preparing a chapter for a book, Marian remembers that I have written something on that special point, which may make the matter more forcible. She begins to search for this, and if when she finds it, she sees that it will make the chapter more clear, she adds it.

The books are not Marian's productions, but my own, gathered from all my writings. Marian has a large field from which to draw, and her ability to arrange the matter is of great value to me. It saves my poring over a mass of matter, which I have no time to do.

The sterling work of the women who supported Ellen White in her literary role would have been relatively simple if she had only been an author of books. But beyond the several large tomes produced in Australia, Ellen White wrote thousands of letters and hundreds of articles. Usually *The Bible Echo* carried an article from her pen in each issue, as did the church's international weeklies, *The Signs of the Times* and *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. Frequently Ellen White felt overwhelmed with the pressures of her office: letters demanding answers, churches needing visitation, speaking appointments, interviews, periodicals requesting articles, institutions needing counsel. On October 25,

Bible Echo

HOLY BIBLE

AND SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

“Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth.” John 17: 17.

VOLUME 1.

MELBOURNE, VICTORIA, JANUARY, 1886.

NUMBER 1.

General Articles.

Science and the Bible in Education.

BY MRS. E. G. WHITE.

THE foundation of all right education is a knowledge of God. Many parents who make great sacrifices to educate their children, seem to think that a well-trained intellect is more essential than a knowledge of God and his truth. They neglect to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and act as though they supposed this important part of education would come naturally, as a matter of course. But the first and most important lesson to be impressed upon young minds is the duty of regulating the life by the principles of the word of God.

Parents and teachers should make God first. The influence of the Spirit purifies the heart and stimulates the intellect. If the fear of God is made the basis of education, the result will be a well-developed and symmetrical character, one that is neither dwarfed nor one-sided. Care should be taken to keep constantly before the mind the fact that we are dependent on God, and that we owe him willing obedience, a lifetime of loving service. The true

flowers bloom. His
id by him the valleys
as the heavens with
ic earth; he "maketh

W. C. White was a widower when he accompanied his mother, Ellen G. White, to Australia in 1891. After his marriage to Ethel M. Lacey in 1895, he brought his two girls from America. While in Australia he divided his time between assisting his mother and engaging in the development of the work there.



1894, she confided to Dr. John Harvey Kellogg:

I am sorry that I have not more literary help. I need this kind of help so very much. Fannie could help me a great deal on the book if she had not so many articles to prepare for the papers, and so many letters and testimonies to edit to meet the demands of my correspondence and the needs of the people. It is of no use to expect anything from Marian until the life of Christ is completed. I wish I could procure another intelligent worker who could be trusted to prepare matter for the press. Such a worker would be of great value to me. But the question is, Where shall I find such an one? I am brain weary much of the time. I write many pages before breakfast. I rise in the morning at two, three, and four o'clock.

So the women most closely associated with Ellen White during her South Pacific ministry shared both her toil and her sense of awesome responsibility. The literary output was hers, even as Solomon's temple was his. Yet the accomplishment was achieved with the help of many hands, shaped by many minds dedicated to the glory of God.

The men who pioneered the planting of Adventism in Australia and New Zealand included giants of faith like Stephen Haskell, Arthur Daniells and William White. There were men skilled in presenting the spoken and written word: John Corliss, Mendel Israel, William Colcord, George Tenney. Without their contribution the church would have been seriously disadvantaged. But without Ellen White it may not have survived, or ventured to the South Pacific, at all. Among the reasons why this is so, seven must be mentioned here.

Adventists remember Ellen White as a co-founder and sustainer of their denomination in its difficult early period. She and her contemporaries firmly believed that God had appointed her to a challenging, even controversial, prophetic role in the new movement. Historian Gary Land aptly notes that “from 1844 to 1863 Ellen White helped the sabbatarian Adventists to keep their Advent hope alive and coalesce as a group.”

Land credits Ellen White, between 1863 and 1888, with expanding the Adventist understanding of religion to include health and education. Among other things she visualized and fostered the major institutions which gave form and effectiveness to the Adventist movement. Her emphasis on health helped to develop continuing hospitals in Sydney and Warburton, Australia, and Auckland, New Zealand, and caused Adventists to plan eleven Sanitarium Health Food factories in places as different as Christchurch, New Zealand, and Cooranbong, Australia. Her concern for education was indispensable to the founding and progress of Avondale College and to what became the largest Protestant worldwide parochial school system.

Ellen White's sense of mission helped her contemporaries grasp the possibility of a global work that included Australasia. Her vision of Adventist institutions in many countries, including Australia, fired the evangelistic imagination of men like Stephen Haskell and John Corliss. In reality, it created the impetus that brought the first official Adventist missionaries to New Zealand and Australia. On June 20, 1878, Ellen White confided to her husband James, by letter, that she would go anywhere, even to Australia if the Lord so directed, little thinking He would ever do so. But that commitment brought her across the Pacific in 1891 and caused her to stay until 1900.

The literature of the Adventist community shaped the thinking of its members and the message of its spokesmen, as well as reaching potential converts. Ellen White was clearly their most-published author from the outset of the Adventist mission in the South Pacific. *The Bible Echo* carried her articles, advertised her pamphlets and books, and quoted her pithiest sayings from 1886 onward. During her nine years living in Melbourne, New Zealand, Sydney and Cooranbong, her work became better known in these lands at close quarters, and Ellen White's contemporaries felt a growing sense of participation in the production of her masterpieces of the nineties: *Steps to Christ*, 1892; *Thoughts from the Mount of Blessing*, 1896; *The Desire of Ages*, 1898; *Christ's Object Lessons* and *Testimonies for the Church*, Volume 6, 1900. Several of these writings best express her contribution in the crowning era of her lifework, from 1888 to 1915. In these years, to quote Dr. Land again, “she turned Adventist attention toward Christ and prevented the church from pursuing several theological aberrations that had arisen in its midst.”

But Ellen White the speaker also greatly moved the Adventists of the lands “down-under.” On her initial journey there, she spoke in Auckland, twice in Sydney, and, on arriving in Melbourne, repeatedly addressed the 100 leaders assembled there from as far away as New South Wales, Tasmania and South Australia. For months, during her 1892 illness, she endured what she

called the “humiliation” of having to speak, even in public halls, seated in a chair. In New Zealand during 1893, from Kaeo to Wellington, she spoke in the open air and in a variety of church and public buildings. In the rough triangle bounded by Hobart, Rockhampton and Adelaide, Australia, from 1894 to 1900, she spoke outdoors, in halls, homes and churches, but above all, campmeetings. Meditating on the Middle Brighton campmeeting and conference, December 29, 1893, to January 25, 1894, Ellen White recorded that she spoke “at length” seventeen times and in addition made several presentations at ministers' meetings. Adventists and the general public joined to make audiences of up to 2,000 persons to hear her in Ashfield, Armadale, Hobart, Stanmore, Brisbane, Newcastle, Toowoomba, Maitland and Geelong. Thus, as a public speaker, Ellen White had a formative role in shaping Adventist ethos and mission.

Ellen White both stimulated and focused the spirit of reform in the Adventist movement. Especially since 1863, health reform had been an important feature in her writings. A natural diet, free of flesh and excessive condiments, continued to be one of her emphases in the 1890s. But she also promoted a range of other reforms: in dress, in abstinence from liquor and tobacco, and in educational practice. In fact, Ellen White epitomized the Adventist determination to transform not only the individual lifestyle, but also the substance of religious belief, by a return to Scripture and its principles. This concern for salvation history led to Sabbath reform, and found a natural partnership with the determination to look for and hasten the second coming of Christ. Pioneer Adventists believed their role was to consummate the Protestant Reformation by preparing a people for the Lord's return. Their reformatory thrust found its most important origin in the mind of Ellen White, and its most intense expression in her written and spoken messages.

So Ellen White was remembered as a co-founder and sustainer of Seventh-day Adventism; the principal architect of its institutions; the stimulator of its mission; the articulator of its message in print and spoken word. The reforming nature of the movement was paced by her dynamic spiritual heartbeat. Hers was a decidedly prophetic role; she was recognized by her contemporaries as a modern mouthpiece for the God of creation and redemption. Thus Ellen White's ministry, in addition to fulfilling the half-dozen functions already discussed, formed for the Adventists of the South Pacific an archetype, a model *par excellence* of how their faith should be expressed in human flesh. Her possibility-thinking epitomized the inner character of Adventism; her liberality set the standard for sacrificial giving; her breadth of vision called evangelistic ventures into being; her sense of impending crisis focused the Adventist opposition to Sunday laws, trade union militancy, and church interference in secular affairs; her motherly attributes set the pattern for Christian people-helping, from the various Helping Hand Missions to the neighbourly care of the sick and the destitute.

One incident must suffice here as an example of Ellen White's influence on the Advent movement in Australasia. A church building was an obvious need in Cooranbong, to serve both the growing Adventist com-



The Avondale Church building was built at Ellen White's urging to accommodate 400 persons — twice the size originally planned. She preached the dedicatory sermon on October 16, 1897.

Eliza J. Burnham spent nine years connected with *The Bible Echo*. She is first listed as assistant editor in the August, 1888, issue.

Bible Echo and Signs of the Times.

"What is truth?"

Geo. C. TENNEY,
Editor;

Miss E. J. BURNHAM,
Assistant.

Corresponding Editors,

S. N. HASKELL, K. J. WAGGONER, J. O. CORLINS.

Melbourne, Australia, August, 1888.

munity and the new college. Yet the purchase of 1,500 acres and the erection of buildings for dormitory and classroom use loomed so large that even pragmatic souls like Stephen Haskell hesitated to promote the idea of building a house of worship. Hence, it was Ellen White's persistent enthusiasm that brought the idea into sharp focus in discussion during July, 1897, initiated the formulation of plans in August, and caused the almost-doubling of the size of the planned building so that it would accommodate 400 people. Ellen White preached the sermon on October 16, 1897, when the new structure was dedicated free of debt. So a building erected in less than two months, in a time of comparative depression, was to serve for seven decades as the main spiritual home for the Adventists of Cooranbong and its vicinity.

Despite her prominence, however, it is vital to remember Ellen White was by no means the only woman to contribute significantly to the Adventist Church in the Antipodes. The founding mothers of the early years included numerous others, in addition to those already mentioned, who came from North America and served here with distinction.

Miss Eliza J. Burnham invested her first nine years in Australia as a proofreader and assistant editor of *The Bible Echo*. Not only did Eliza's talents shape the *Echo* during its formative early years, her writing made her well known as a student of Scripture and history. When

Eliza transferred to Cooranbong to "assist Ellen White as amanuensis in preparing manuscript for the press," the *Echo* was "sorry to part with so valuable a helper." But, it commented: "the work is all one wherever performed or in whatever line pursued." Eliza Burnham arrived back in San Francisco on October 22, 1896, together with three Israels — Mendel, Lizzie, Jessie — and the widowed Sarah Belden. The Israels' other daughter, May, left Sydney for her homeland on December 21, aboard the same steamer, *Monowai*, thus completing a chapter of female missionary effort in Australasia.

Other women also proved their skill with the pen. The Woman Suffrage League of New South Wales, Australia, declared in 1894 that it chose "to fight the great battle for Equal Rights" with the pen — "mightier than the sword" and "lighter to work with." But the Adventist women authors knew no such causes. The Christian life, the Bible, and the second coming of Christ were their focus. The *Echo* of September 1, 1890, published "the first of a series of articles relating to the women of the Bible" by Mrs. A. Muckersy. These articles worked their way through the Old Testament and by 1893, number forty-nine reflected on "The Scriptural Model Woman." Subsequently they moved on to such exemplary figures as Mary the mother of Jesus, Elisabeth, Anna and Peter's wife's mother.

Perhaps one issue of *The Bible Echo* might be used

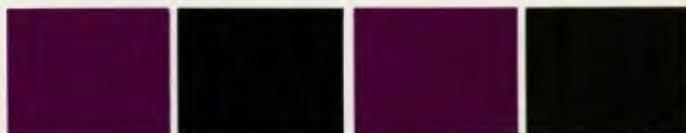


Anna Ingels, while secretary of the tract society in California, was responsible for mailing literature to Australia prior to the arrival of S. N. Haskell. She accomplished this by dividing the Melbourne Directory among the California churches. In 1898 she married James Hindson. They were instrumental in organizing the tract society in Western Australia, and he began the health food work in that state.

to indicate the level of female competence in sharing the church's message in print. The *Echo* of December 15, 1893, carried both an article and a poem by Fanny Bolton, an article "Christ Our Life" by Anna L. Ingels, plus a piece "Religion in the Home" by Ellen White. On the back page was another quotation from Adventism's most prolific author, exemplifying her viewpoint and that of her sister authors. "Christ," she said, "is not to be hid away in the heart and locked in as a coveted treasure, sacred and sweet, to be enjoyed solely by the possessor." Rather, He must be confessed "openly and bravely," that the beauty of His holiness might refresh all who came in contact with His people. This motive moved the pens and shaped the lives of the pioneer Adventist women.

The career of Anna Ingels demands further mention. Not only was she a founding mother of the church in the South Pacific, her writing long nurtured its development. Arriving in 1893 by "the incoming American steamer," as one of "the labourers designated for the Australian field by the late General Conference," Anna soon took leadership as corresponding secretary of the Australian Tract Society, of which all members of churches were members. In this capacity her articles enlivened *The Bible Echo* and her travels encouraged its witness. The Society had a broad range of interests: "Bible-readings held with inquirers," missionary letter-writing, distribution of reading matter. According to Anna, Christian-help work "administering to the necessities of the destitute," was a means through which "many of the poor and needy have had their want relieved, and the gospel has been preached unto them." The vigor of this work is pictured by a letter from a newly organized Tract Society in Brighton, Victoria. Although consisting of only "twelve Sabbath-keepers who have received baptism," this Society could report:

We have eighteen families under observation. The majority are women and children; some are widows, and the husbands of others have left their homes to seek work. We have been able to relieve several by drawing the attention of people living near, who have kindly and promptly rendered assistance, and given a



In 1895 Edith M. Graham became treasurer of the Australian Conference and its tract society, a position she later held in the Australasian Union Conference.

little work. All the others have been supplied with food every week; 135 quarts of milk have been given, and articles of clothing numbering 109 pieces. Five men have been provided employment. Each case is visited by some member of the band every week, and the opportunity of sowing the good seed of gospel truth is not neglected. There are about 100 packages of tracts in circulation, and fifty-eight Bible-readings have been held.

By April, 1898, the church was ready to organize the Australasian Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association which fostered work as diverse as bringing seventeen physicians, nurses and other workers from the Nurses Training School and Medical College in Battle Creek, Michigan, to promoting what was to become the Sanitarium Health Food Company. Two women were the treasurer and corresponding secretary of this new organization: Misses Edith Graham and Anna Ingels.



Hattie Andre sailed in 1893 on the second voyage of the missionary ship Pitcairn. She remained on Pitcairn Island until 1896. While there she organized and conducted this school.

And their focus was not only Biblical, it was also practical. For instance, Anna Colcord wrote *A Friend in the Kitchen* in 1898, and Laretta Kress penned her *Good Health Cookery Book* in 1904. But a home-grown woman, Laura Ulrich, followed in this tradition with her *Good Food and How to Prepare It*, long a *Signs* publication.

Of course, to name one worthy woman is to be open to the charge of omitting equally deserving others. But there is more. Behind the known are the far greater number of the unknown. And some women's names are remembered chiefly or only because the tragedy of death overtook them.

"Medical-men tell us," *The Bible Echo* of July 23, 1900, declared, "that far more people are dying from tuberculosis than from all the other prevalent diseases." The article gave an extended list of "rules to be observed by those afflicted with consumption," and declared: "We avoid the leprosy with dread, but tuberculosis is more deadly, far more infectious, and an hundred-fold more prevalent." Adventist obituaries of the 1890s indicate something of the toll "the dread disease of consumption" took on later well-known family names like Lacey and Adair. Some fought TB for a decade before they succumbed.

According to the brittle, yellowing pages preserved from the 1890s, other pioneer Adventist women died from such illnesses as cancer, typhoid, or "violent fever." Those who left large families particularly registered on the reader's sympathies.

A Norfolk Islander who was an "excellent nurse," Mrs. Alfred Nobbs left eight children motherless when she died on November 11, 1896. "Paralysis and haemorrhage" took Alice Jane Kuhndt of Adelaide from her "grief-stricken husband and ten sorrowing children" on August 18, 1901. And the church became conscious of its "firsts." Hannah Raninini, "one of the first native Sabbath-keepers on the island [North New Zealand], and perhaps the first who has fallen asleep," died at Tolaga Bay on January 17, 1899. Miss Sarah Ward, "among the first members" of the Auckland Seventh-day Adventist church, organized by Pastor A. G. Daniells in 1887, "quietly fell asleep in Jesus" on February 19, 1900. And one death in particular underlined the profound cost of mission. Dr. Merritt Kellogg's pioneering demanded two years of lonely separation from his ailing wife in the United States, who "never desired her husband to forgo his work for the Master for her sake," and "died in the triumphs of a living faith" on November 4, 1894, while her husband was in the South Pacific.

Perhaps the passing of such people helped the Adventist of the early years to determine, wherever possible, to rid earthly life of its destructive habits. Sometimes we might question the scientific accuracy of some of their supporting data, even when we wholeheartedly

Anna's association with the South Pacific was cemented by her marriage to James Hindson in 1898, but the responsibilities of a wife and mother did not deter her witness. Marriage transplanted her to Perth, where she became secretary of the Helping Hand Mission and secretary-treasurer for the Western Australian Conference. It also gave her the name by which she is best remembered as an innovative Sabbath School leader, Union Conference committee member, and editor of the *Australasian Record*. Death in 1933, at seventy-one years of age, ended Anna's editorship of the *Record*, an association which she had begun as assistant editor with Arthur Daniells in 1899. Andrew G. Stewart wrote of her on December 11, 1933, "The Message sent out, the thousands of printed pages compiled, constitute a wonderful monument to a devoted, unassuming life."

Anna Hindson is probably one of the best-known female identities, but she was not alone as a woman writer and church leader of the founding years. Other women were secretaries of the various societies in local churches, and secretaries of local and union conferences. Some, belonging to far countries, came to the South Pacific with the impulse of mission; Hattie Andre, Josie Baker, Florence Butz, Mary Daniells, Vesta Farnsworth, Hetty Haskell, Nellie Starr. Others were linked to the Adventist work in the Antipodes by marriage, conversion or profession: Hilda Anderson, Eva Edwards, Emma Faulkhead, Rita Freeman, Lizzie Gregg, Edith Graham, Susan Gurner, Henrietta Hare, Annie Higgins, Catherine Hughes, Faith Johanson, Helena Lewin, Elsie (Matron) Shannan, Julie Steed.

The torch lit early by North American women missionaries was ably carried by their Australian sisters.



Dr. Merritt Kellogg spent ten years in the South Pacific. He worked on several islands in the Tonga group and later designed and superintended the Sydney Sanitarium in Australia. Although Mrs. Kellogg was too ill to accompany her husband to the South Pacific, she encouraged him to go. She died in 1894 while he was there.

endorse their conclusions. As a case in point, *The Bible Echo*, January 20, 1896, cited a "celebrated physician" who said a female patient of his was "dying, and beyond all help" because her husband was "steeped in tobacco until the insensible perspiration from his body has become a deadly poison, and his wife has absorbed enough of this, and had before I was called in, so that she will die." Adventists' emphatic faith in their campaign for better living caused them to grasp such opinions and to use them as effective weapons. On February 22, 1899, *The Echo* told of a woman "roasted from head to foot," who died after a spark from her husband's pipe ignited her dress. The same fire destroyed twenty acres of grass, threatened wheat stacks and a homestead. "No good ever comes of smoking," was the *Echo's* stated moral.

We, today, can admire their spirit, if not every opinion the Adventists proclaimed. On October 14, 1901, *The Echo* quoted an American doctor's "strong opinion" against cycling. It is not a "wholesome exercise," he stated, nor does it "make girls healthy and pretty" since "the lady cyclist may be identified by her squeaky voice, large, broad, and flat hands, coarse skin, wrinkled face, and small piercing, bloodshot eyes."

And so the Adventists campaigned for temperance in all its forms: in eating, drinking, dressing. Their dietary reforms rested on solid conclusions drawn from three decades of reading, writing, lecturing, and thinking. Wives and mothers had a holy responsibility towards husbands and children to select the best of nature's fruits, grains, nuts and vegetables, and to serve them grease-free in an attractive form. Adventists affirmed the same principles as The Women's Christian Temperance Union, even though they stopped short of fully supporting the Union because the sanctity of Sunday was a plank in its platform. Some of the most colorful

language of the 1890s was selected in the fight against "DAME FASHION AND HER SLAVES," especially the "immorality" of "tight-lacing" which cause "lingering death." "Divine truth," it was said, "could not find its way into a heart squeezed and cramped by corsets." And they illustrated their convictions by the graphic words:

THIS
is the
shape of
a woman's waist
on which a corset tight
is laced. The ribs deformed
by being squeezed, press
on the lungs till they're
diseased. The heart
is jammed and
cannot pump.
The liver
is a
tor-
pid lump;
the stomach,
crushed, cannot
digest; and in a mess
are all compressed. There-
fore, this silly woman grows to
be a beautiful mass of woes,
but thinks she has a lovely
shape, though hideous
as a crippled ape.

— —

This is
a woman's
natural waist,
which corset never
yet disgraced. Inside it
is a mine of health. Outside
of charms it has a wealth.
It is a thing of beauty
true, and a sweet joy
forever new. It
needs no artful
padding vile
or bustle big
to give it "style."
It's strong and solid,
plump and sound, and
hard to get one arm
around. Alas! If women
only knew the mischief that
these corsets do, they'd let
Dame Nature have her
way, and never try her
waist to "stay."

Adventists in 1881, at their General Conference, voted "That females possessing the necessary qualifications to fill the position, may, with perfect propriety, be set apart by ordination to the work of the Christian ministry." During her Australian years, Ellen White added to this, recommending in 1895 that women be set apart for the service of the Lord in local congregations "by prayer and the laying on of hands." Probably neither of these proposals was implemented to any great extent at

the time, but pioneer women of the 1890s were deeply involved in ministerial-type roles.

Female "Bible workers" proved their effectiveness over several years in places such as Melbourne, Coorabong, Wallsend and Maitland. But they were largely unpaid. Ellen White saw a crying need for "just and equal remuneration" for ministers' wives and other women "bearing responsibilities." The motive for her counsel in this regard was plainly stated: "The ways of the Lord are just and equal." Hence she called the church to "study the Scriptures for further light" on the fact that the capabilities of husband and wife are needed in "missionary efforts."

How to secure the money to pay these women was Ellen White's problem. "In the past I have appropriated the means to sustain this kind of work, but my fund is now exhausted," she lamented in 1899. So to fill the lack she called for families to "cut off every needless indulgence;" she attempted to borrow money, and she felt it to be her duty, she said, "to create a fund from my tithe money to pay these women who are accomplishing just as essential work as the ministers are doing." Only the conviction that "many men and women" have the ability and the call "to preach and teach the Word" could enable a Seventh-day Adventist to so use the sacred tithe.

Women were both providers of and participants in the church's early educational efforts. The minister of Agriculture sent W. S. Campbell to Coorabong in 1899. Campbell observed there a "large two-storyed building for girls, and saw some splendid, solid-looking specimens of young vegetarians running about." While both sexes were required to participate in the farming and gardening, Campbell said he was impressed by the array of subjects upon which young ladies were examined in "the science of housekeeping." And The Avondale School for Christian Workers, now Avondale College, from its earliest time to the present, has focused the dedication and skills of a galaxy of women, from Hetty Haskell, Hattie Andre and Maude Sisley Boyd to Marjorie Greive and Louise Vetter.

In no sphere were women more visible than in the church's medical outreach. Some came as apostles of mercy from North America. A small stream flowed there to secure training in the skills of nursing. And they staffed the sanitariums/hospitals that grew from the Adventist determination to increase physical well-being. Some, like Doctor Rita Freeman and Matron Elsie Shannan, are remembered most for their contribution while at the Sydney Sanitarium and Hospital. But a host of others went from Wairoonga to meet human needs in the home and mission field, like Nurse Annie Conley, midwife for a thousand births in the Coorabong area.

Motherhood was prized among the founding mothers of the church and their families. Adventist literature stated boldly that "the physical well-being of the coming generation depends upon the mothers," and hence it called for the highest standard in every aspect of child care and nurture. It was apt to inveigh against any practices that undermined the physical fitness, mental development and spiritual growth of a child. That some of the requirements placed upon mothers of the 1890s

Bethel Hall, the original girls' dormitory at Avondale College, has housed many women who went on to serve the church in various capacities throughout the world.



The Young Ladies Hall.



Dr. Marguerita Freeman, shown here with her staff, spent a number of years at the Sydney Sanitarium and Hospital.



Alma and Norman Wiles went as missionaries to the New Hebrides. After tending him alone through blackwater fever in 1920, she buried him there with the help of the local folk. Rather than return home, she remained to continue the work that the two had begun.

needed correction is evident from a non-Adventist magazine, *The Ladies Home Journal*, of September 1, 1894, which declared that an infant needs feeding every one and a half hours for the first two weeks, than every two hours until he is three months old; and after that every three hours. "Regularity with children is of great necessity, and lays the foundation of good principles in after life," the *Journal* affirmed. The Adventist opted for the importance of regularity, and they believed "good principles" laid an essential foundation for the rest of life. But they seemed unimpressed by the "excesses" of the demand-feeding notion.

It did not take long for Australia and New Zealand to double as both a focus of Adventist mission and as a home base for outreach to such places as India and the South Pacific. The typical Adventist woman believed her neighbours needed the warm gospel light that cheered her own heart. Thus the church's missionary paper was shared with consuming zeal by Adventist women: one sold 1,700 copies of a campmeeting edition of *The Bible Echo* in Adelaide in 1896; in 1897, another in New Zealand, with the help of her niece, was selling 432 copies of the *Echo* each week, and had over 300 regular customers. By 1898 a young lady and her fifteen-year-old sister in New Zealand had about 500 regular customers, distributing a total of 720 copies of the *Echo* each week.

It was this zest to share their faith that turned the

eyes of early Adventist converts to mission lands. *The Bible Echo* proudly noted that "Brother and Sister Masters with their son, Fairley" sailed for India on September 8, 1894, "the first that have gone from Australasia to a foreign country." Of New Zealand origin, the parents had been one year in Australia, and Fairley had been "a student of the Bible School during the three years of its existence." Their departure for a foreign field, "an event of great interest," was to become a constant pattern within a few years. Although the missionary ship *Pitcairn* brought North American missionaries in 1890 to the South Pacific islands, a decade later the Albert Pipers were appointed from their home base to the front line in Rarotonga. By 1901 Hester Piper was holding "regular meetings with our native sisters," and, when Albert was ill, even conducted a Sabbath service to the "profound interest" of the local populace.

A host of missionary names have become household terms in the homelands of Australia and New Zealand. But those women who make the supreme sacrifice have been most firmly rooted in the church's memory. It is hard to distinguish which is the greater sacrifice, to surrender one's own life on an isolated island, or to give up one's life partner in such circumstances. Pearl Tolhurst sailed with her husband to Tonga in 1915 and died there of "Spanish influenza and pneumonia" on March 14, 1919. Since her husband, Pastor Hubert L.

Tolhurst, had to conduct her funeral service, he chose for the basis of his discourse the message of the resurrection in 1 Thessalonians, chapter four. Hubert was undeterred from further mission service, as was Alma Wiles after the tragic death of her husband Norman in the New Hebrides. Alma's detailed diary records the physical pain Norman suffered as blackwater fever, a deadly form of malaria, took his life between April 28 and May 5, 1920. And her own hope and fear, loneliness, mental anguish and faith makes her diary an epic story.

Oh how I longed for someone, only if it were an unsympathetic native! And I prayed that if my boy was taken I might not be alone. Minutes seemed like hours as I sat there with my hand under that chin; and now and then placing a kiss on that brow.... Then about ten o'clock came those last two long expirations, his eyes flew open, and I knew he was gone.... If only there was someone to stand by me and bear with me the terrible anguish of that hour!

Alma wrapped Norman in a new shirt for a shroud, folded his hands, and with the help of New Hebrideans, used two native mats to cover his body before laying it carefully in a grave "facing the hill over which lived



Brian Dunn and his wife, Valmae, were working as missionaries on Malaita in the Solomon Islands in 1965 when he was killed by an islander. His wife's courage typified that of many who lost their mates while doing missionary service.

those for whom he so willing[ly] gave his life."

Many of the present generation of Seventh-day Adventists recall the fortitude of Valmae Dunn when her young husband, speared by an islander, "made the supreme sacrifice on Malaita," on December 19, 1965. But the courageous faith of Pearl Tolhurst, Alma Wiles and Valmae Dunn cannot more than typify the spirit of a multitude, an alphabet of names: Anderson, Butz,

Campbell... Fisher... Pascoe... Wicks....

Mercifully, the story of the founding mothers of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the South Pacific is romantic as well as tragic. The first marriage, that of L. A. and Elizabeth Romero, was celebrated by Pastor M. C. Israel in September, 1887, but the romance is more than that of wife and home. It also includes the saga of faith as women write their testimony, speak their Biblical convictions, teach, minister at the bedside of the sick, sustain the church's institutions, and pioneer in mission lands.

According to *The Bible Echo* of 1901, "The slim, straight-up-and-down girl will not look well in the designs that suit the roly-poly girl." Their concern for simple, appropriate, modest and healthful clothing was often expressed by the church's founding mothers. But the records are clear that their greater objective was "the unfading beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is of great worth in God's sight.

Ellen White told the Australian and New Zealand churches on April 4, 1898: "We have many lessons to learn, and many to unlearn." Not the least of these lessons is one of profound gratitude to God for teaching us through the character and work of the notable women of faith who struck and nurtured the plant of Adventism in the Antipodes.

Such were the founding mothers of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the South Pacific. In what roles are their daughters engaged, a century after the First Adventist Fleet reached Sydney? They greet the public who telephone the church offices at conference, union and division level with the words, "Adventist Church headquarters." They are the angels-in-white, tending the sick as nurses, paramedics, and sometimes as doctors. They teach in the church's primary, secondary and tertiary classrooms. A larger number of them increasingly fill two major tasks, homemaking and employment. Some participate in the church's decision-making, in that most executive committees include a least one woman, as do the church's main institutional boards. Although the category of Bible worker seems to be almost extinct, a handful of women have received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Theology from Avondale College, and a few have gained MA degrees in disciplines applicable to ministry. In some churches women have been ordained as local elders; in others they serve effectively in a similar role with the title of shepherdesses. In recent years, the church has made serious attempts toward giving its female employees equal pay for equal work. While most Seventh-day Adventists deem the status and role of women is not a matter for agitation, they are increasingly finding accord with the Apostle Paul: "There is now neither Jew nor Greek... male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

While the tragedy of Elder Nathan Fuller's 1869 apostasy shook the Advent cause on the Southern Tier borders of New York and Pennsylvania, his separation from the church did not stall the evangelistic thrust of lay preachers and ministers. Although many of the articles and letters printed in the *Review and Herald* during 1869-70 reveal the bitter grief, shock, even anger which many believers felt once John N. Andrews and George I. Butler revealed their former evangelist's immorality and heresy, the Adventists of New York and Pennsylvania knew that the message of the three angels must go forward. No one person could hinder God's truth.

But who would carry the banner of Adventism on the rugged frontier? For over five years no ordained minister was assigned to the Southern Tier. Finally, in August of 1874, James White suggested that "we have no better man" than Dudley M. Canright to labor where "general discouragement rests over certain fields." But for a decade before Canright was called, John and Sarah Lindsey, a husband and wife preaching team, had already been quietly sowing gospel seed in the bi-state conference. Their lay ministry, and particularly that of

SARAH A. H. LINDSEY

Advent Preacher in the Southern Tier*

**There is no known photograph of Sarah or John Lindsey.*

BRIAN E. STRAYER

Sarah A. Hallock-Lindsey, has for over a century been obscured by the careers of other pioneer men and women. But without the dedication and sacrifices of unsung scores of these lay preachers, Seventh-day Adventism would not have taken root and grown so rapidly as it did during the 1860s and 1870s.

Exactly when John Lindsey was converted and entered his lay preaching career is unknown. His letters to the *Review* reveal that he was already a witnessing Adventist by late 1850 in what was then called "Canada East" or Quebec after 1867. In this bilingual province,

Lindsey may have had some speaking knowledge of French, a rare talent among most early Advent workers. By 1852 he was ranging farther afield into Vermont and other New England states, undoubtedly preaching with A. S. Hutchins, a pioneer Adventist minister in Vermont.

How and when young Lindsey transferred his lay ministry from Canada and New England to the Southern Tier is uncertain. Perhaps he traveled south with Hutchins whom James White called in 1853 to answer W. S. Ingraham's "call for help" in the *Review*. White asserted that Ingraham had "a hard field of labor" because of the opposition of some professed Sabbath-keepers, and hoped that Hutchins could "see his way clear" to move to the Southern Tier. Reports from both Hutchins and Ingraham four months later reveal that this team had already begun laboring in New York and Pennsylvania. Within two months Roswell F. Cottrell could report that "The truth is gaining, though silently, in Allegany County." A month later Hutchins added that he and Ingraham had been holding meetings for several weeks and that many converts were "strongly established in the present truth."

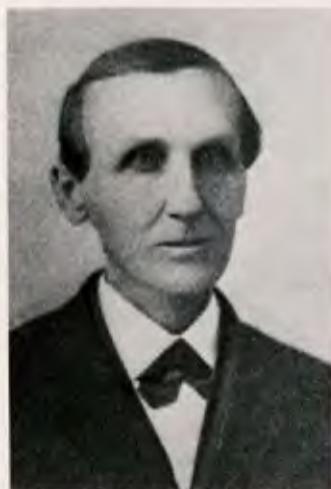
Lindsey himself teamed up with C. W. Sperry in the fall of 1854 to preach at West Milton, N.Y. Perhaps he continued working with Sperry for the next several years. Since lay preachers did not always report their travels to the *Review* (as ordained ministers were expected to do), we know nothing of his endeavors until 1862, when he wrote from Ulysses, Pa., welcoming James and Ellen White to visit the church there, where its members "are willing to be reproved and corrected, and would gladly receive instruction."



In 1857, R. F. Cottrell pitched his evangelistic tent in Ulysses, Pennsylvania. With the help of James and Ellen White, he held a two-week series of meetings that resulted in four baptisms. It is possible that Sarah Hallock (later Lindsey) was one of those converts.



In 1874, D. M. Canright was sent into the Southern Tier region to revive the church members there. His work was made easier because Sarah and John Lindsey had preceded him.



Pioneer evangelist, A. S. Hutchins, was an early worker in Vermont. It is thought that Hutchins was one of the workers that John Lindsey worked with early on.



George I. Butler had the unpleasant task of reporting the apostasy of Elder Nathan Fuller to the church in 1869. At the same time, Sarah and John Lindsey were conducting their own lay ministry in the Southern Tier region of New York and Pennsylvania.



The sad story of the apostasy of Nathan Fuller has been told in the Summer, 1977, issue of Adventist Heritage. He was the leading minister in the Southern Tier region at the time Sarah and John Lindsey were doing their lay evangelism there.

Why Lindsey settled in Ulysses he did not say. It must have been a picturesque rural town in the rolling foothills of the Alleghanies. Here lived the enigmatic future conference president Nathan Fuller and his wife Artamyssia. From here also came a woman from whom the fledgling church would hear much over the next two decades. Her name was Sarah A. Hallock.

When R. F. Cottrell pitched his new evangelistic tent at Ulysses in the summer of 1857, and with the help of James and Ellen White, held a two week series of meetings there, it is possible that Sarah Hallock was one of four who felt the "deep conviction of the truth" and was baptized. Her letter to the *Review* a few months later reflects the zeal of the new convert. "I feel grateful to my kind, loving Savior," she wrote, "that I have a faith and hope that reach forward to a heaven that is, to a God that is, and to a Savior that is, and who is about to appear the second time."

This positive conviction of a sin-pardoning Savior who was soon to come again never left Sarah Hallock. Throughout the coming years of Civil War in the nation and apostasy and immorality of some in the church, her zeal to spread the gospel burned undimmed. Yet her service to the church began in a rather unorthodox manner with a theological inquiry to the *Review*.

Her modest six-line insert, "A Query," addressed to "Bro. [Uriah] Smith" (editor), stated that "In the *Review* of Dec. 8th, is an address 'To the female disciples in the third angel's message,' from Bro. B. F. Robbins. Should it be a proper request, I would be glad if Bro. B. or some one else would harmonize it, with I Cor. xiv, 34, 35, and I Tim. ii, 11."

This request, couched in such respectful terms, contained a dynamic challenge to "the brethren" to enlarge the sphere of women within the church. The article to which Sarah referred was one written by B. F. Robbins of Friendship, N.Y. In this short essay Robbins at first questioned the "heart consecration" of many female members in the cause, and then doubted that some of them had received the gift of the Holy Spirit to do their work for the church. Yet he recognized that God, in Joel 2:28-29, had promised power both to men and women in the last days. He also recognized that prejudice against women's active roles in preaching existed among Sabbatarian Adventists as a legacy from the "sectarian churches" from which they had "come out" in 1844. Thus, many men had "crushed out" women's usefulness.

Robbins shifted his emphasis in the middle of his article to encourage and exhort women to more active labors in the church. He cited Biblical examples to prove apostolic precedents for women's active roles in

THE REVIEW AND HERALD.

BATTLE CREEK, MICH., FIFTH-DAY, JANUARY 12, 1880.

A QUERY.—BRO. SMITH: In the *Review* of Dec. 8th, is an address "To the female disciples in the third angel's message," from Bro. B. F. Robbins. Should it be a proper request, I would be glad if Bro. B. or some one else would harmonize it, with 1 Cor. xiv, 34, 35, and 1 Tim. ii, 11.

Yours,

SARAH A. HALLOCK.

the early church. Several Marys followed Christ and aided Him in His ministry; women participated in the Day of Pentecost, and the Spirit descended upon them also. Then their "Spirit-baptized lips" prophesied. Robbins asserted that several women in the Southern Tier had been "fellow-laborers" in spreading the gospel, encouraging men to greater endeavors for God. These women's gifts for the cause, he stressed, must neither be despised nor undervalued. He regretted, however, that "in our social religious interviews she [woman] is so prone to inactivity and silence."

Robbins concluded his article with a challenge to women:

Be as consecrated and faithful as the loving, blessed Marys. Let the consecration to God of your all be entire. Rest not until your all is in sacrifice laid on the altar. . . . Seek unweariedly the endowment of the promise of the Father, the power from on high, which is alike the privilege of both the servants and handmaidens of God.

If women would follow this counsel, the "hallowed fire" would touch their lips and they would become "an abundant source of strength" to the cause.

the altar which sanctifies the gift: laid O how providential that testimony, disciple will probably never know the i testimony upon poor me until her hum in sight, and her hope in eternal fruiti Can I, think you, despise or unde gifts for usefulness in the cause of h I mourn that in our social religious so prone to inactivity and silence, i hortation, when by divine grace she dantly qualified to edify and encoura And it is not egotistical if I say here that but a few My sisters, do you say, I am weak months ago the testimony of a sister in a public as- I am doubting and fearful? Be rsembly aroused me from a state of dependency; and faithful as the loving, blessed Mary? unbelief to humble confidence in God, which I trust creation. to God of your all be ent) has resulted in the consecration of myself, my all, a your all is in sacrifice laid upon th living, and I trust an ever-consuming sacrifice upon until in perfect love you are consciously

TO THE FEMALE DISCIPLES IN THE THIRD ANGEL'S MESSAGE.

"You will pardon my special address to you when I say it is because I have my fears that many of you who I believe are sincerely endeavoring to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus, are lacking in that entire heart consecration to God and his cause which he requires of us all; and a want of the experience of the promise of the Father to his sons and daughters of the gift of his Spirit; the endowment of power from on high in order to their usefulness. The promise of the Father was as much to the female as male disciples of Jesus. "And on my servants, and on my hand-maidens, will I pour out in those days of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy."

Here in the precious promise there is neither male nor female, all are one in Christ Jesus. I know that the most of us have been gathered into the message of the third angel from the sectarian churches where we received our religious training, which we now, in the clear light of God's truth see was defective, both in doctrine and practice; and we are aware that in them the pride, and popularity, and conformity to the world, and worldly fashions tolerated by them, and besides in some of them the prejudice against woman's efforts and labors in the church, have crushed out her usefulness. This kind of training has in many of you caused timidity, and discouragement, and the neglect of the use of gifts designed to edify the church and glorify God. Perhaps many of you feel the embarrassing influence of our former associations; for I believe it is so with some with whom I am acquainted, and to such, scattered abroad, let me speak a few words of encouragement and exhortation.

Go with me in imagination to the gathering of the few disciples of Jesus on the day of Pentecost. There with their brethren in humble expectation sat the faithful Marys. They had followed their beloved Master in his sojourn here as the Man of Sorrows, and with unyielding love and unflinching constancy in the dark hour when all forsook him, they stood by amid scenes of ignominy, suffering and terror. They followed the footsteps of those who bore his lifeless form to the tomb, and their loving hearts prompted them to be first at the sepulchre on the morning of his resurrection.

Now with their brethren in their assembly they wait the promise of the Father, the endowment of power from on high. And did not the tongue of fire descend alike upon them as upon their brethren? Assuredly were closed in silence in that solemn assembly? No:

And think you that their Spirit-baptized lips were closed in silence in that solemn assembly? No:

And think you that their Spirit-baptized lips were closed in silence in that solemn assembly? No:

REPLY TO QUERY IN REVIEW NO. 8.

BRO. SMITH: The question proposed by sister Sarah A. Hallock in No. 8 of the *Review*, "how Bro Robbin's address to Female Disciples can be reconciled with 1 Cor. xiv, 34, 35, and 1 Tim. ii, 11" is I think, easily harmonized. 1 Tim. ii, 11, "Let the women learn in silence with all subjection." Here the apostle doubtless alludes to that kind of teaching connected with usurping authority; for it is evident that the gospel does not alter the relation of woman in view of priority. "For Adam was first formed then Eve." And though the condition of woman is improved and her privileges enlarged yet she is not raised to a position of superiority where she may usurp authority and teach dictatorially, for the law still remains as at the beginning.

But the sort of teaching to which the apostle alludes in the text cited connected with usurping authority cannot be of the sort to which he alludes in 1 Cor. 11, 5, &c. Here the apostle admits the prophesying of women in public assemblies and gives particular directions respecting their conduct and appearance while engaged in that sacred duty. "Every man praying or prophesying having his head covered dishonoreth his head. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoreth her head, &c." Here I think the apostle recognizeth the public prophesying of women. With respect to prophesying as exercises by both men and women in the churches of the saints, he defines its nature in 1 Cor. 14, 26, 27, 31, 34, 35, &c. "Let every one of us use psalms, hymns, or spiritual songs, as described in these passages of women which the apostle describes as the ministry of females in the present dispensation. See Acts 21, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.



Besides writing the article in the *Review* reporting Nathan Fuller's removal from church membership for adultery, J. N. Andrews was earlier reported to be working on a study on the biblical role of women in the church. Unfortunately, his study does not seem to have been completed; at least it was not published.

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70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76,
77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83,
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91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97,
98, 99, 100.

B. F. ROBBINS.

By citing these two texts of Paul regarding women's silent, subordinate role in the Corinthian church, Sarah Hallock seemed to be urging church leaders to study the Biblical role of women and then reconcile this with Robbin's positive approach toward a wider sphere for women in lay preaching. Uriah Smith's reply below her "Query" revealed that John N. Andrews was already conducting such an investigation with a group in Waukon, Iowa. "We hope to hear from Bro. Andrews soon concerning it," Smith declared, perhaps hoping to close the issue.

Although Andrews' conclusions seem never to have been published in the *Review*, B. F. Robbins did reply to Sarah's remarks three weeks later. His "Reply to 'Query' in *Review* No. 8" asserted that the two texts Hallock had mentioned could indeed be harmonized with his own exhortation of women, if it was kept in mind that preaching the gospel was *not* "usurping [male] authority." For "it is evident," he added, "that the gospel does not alter the relation of women in view of priority." Using well-known arguments unconsciously borrowed from the early Catholic Church Fathers (such as Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gratian and Aquinas), he emphasized that Adam was superior to Eve because he was formed *before* she was created; that woman was *not* raised to a superior position above man in her teaching and preaching; that she did *not* "usurp authority." Evidently, Robbins concluded, Paul was speaking of "usurpation" when he wrote I Corinthians 14:34-35 and I Timothy 2:11. But in I Corinthians 11:5 and onward the apostle admitted that women can prophesy in church, and he sought only to govern their attire. I Corinthians 14:3, Robbins suggested, might also permit women to teach and exhort in church; such activity would harmonize also with Joel's counsel (Joel 2:28-29).

The elder concluded his "Reply" with a clear thesis statement and an exhortation. "Women who speak in assemblies for worship under the influence of the Holy Spirit," he declared, "assume, in so doing, no authority over others but are merely instruments through which divine instruction is communicated to others." When the Spirit descends upon women, therefore, He will "qualify the daughters of the Lord Almighty in these last days for abundant usefulness." If women would "seek for and attain" the Spirit as he urged them to do, "who, I ask, could forbid their speaking among their brethren as the Spirit gives them utterance?"

Evidently no *Review* readers or church leaders felt called to challenge Robbins' conclusions, at least in print. As for Sarah Hallock, events would soon reveal how carefully she pondered his reply. All around her

men were raising up new companies of believers: Nathan Fuller in Ulysses, Pa.; R. F. Cottrell and W. S. Ingraham among the Seneca Indians of Tonowanda, N.Y.; B. F. Robbins in Belmont and Niles Settlement, N.Y.; John Barrows in Texas, Pennsylvania. Why should not she do something to advance the cause?

Perhaps the successful efforts of the Ulysses church in organizing itself and in promoting the formation of the New York-Pennsylvania Conference in 1862 inspired within her a desire to enter the vanguard of this rising movement. Maybe Cottrell's New Year's exclamation in 1863, "The cause is onward!" thrilled her, too, with a longing to do something great for God. Or could the failures of some leading men have sparked in her a desire to pick up the traces herself and pull the gospel wagon along? Certainly the character of John W. Gleason, a professed Adventist from her own Potter County, Pa., was no shining advertisement for the message he preached. Accused in 1863 of being "unworthy of either confidence or sympathy" and "a reproach to the cause," Gleason's alleged sins of greed, immorality and abusiveness could hardly have inspired confidence in him as an itinerant witness for the church.

Yet what may have brought Sarah Hallock more actively into lay witnessing for her faith was her growing admiration for the young lay preacher, John Lindsey. In the fall of 1863 he began a series of meetings in Ulysses attended by more than 80 believers, including ordained ministers J. N. Andrews, Nathan Fuller, and C. O. Taylor. He must have been talented indeed to preach before three of the leading evangelists on the Southern Tier! Perhaps they were "sizing him up," eager to include him in an expanded ministerial partnership.

While his lay ministry undoubtedly continued, however, Lindsey wrote no reports to the *Review* over the next three years to confirm his efforts. But a young man busy with a courtship might not have had much time to write to the *Review*. Although the church paper never announced weddings, it soon became evident that John Lindsey and Sarah Hallock had united their lives sometime between 1863 and 1866.

In October of 1866 Sarah wrote a short article, "The Angel of the Church," containing four questions for James White to answer concerning Revelation 2 and 3. Sarah's queries reveal a careful, scholarly reading of the Revelation and a desire to understand its meaning more clearly.

Her first question asked if there were not a distinction between the "angel of the church" and the "church itself." Her second inquired whether Revelation 1:12-13, 16, and 20 did not make this distinction quite clear. In question three, she noted that while the "angel of the

church" is addressed in the second person ("I know *thy* works, and *thy* labor," etc.), the "church" itself received exhortation in the third person ("To *him* that overcometh," etc.). In her fourth query, Sarah pointed out that this distinction carried through for Revelation 2:1-6 ("angel of the church"), verse 7 (warning to the "church"), and also in Revelation 3:14-19. She applied verse 16 especially to the recent apostasy of "Messrs. [Moses] Hull, [B. F.] Snook, [W. H.] Brinkerhoff, and other messengers who have given up the great sanctifying truths of the third angel's message."

Editor Uriah Smith, church authority on Daniel and Revelation, replied to Sarah's statements, affirming "This is essentially the position taken by the Gen. Conf. Committee in *Review*, Vol. xxvii, No. 20." He agreed with her application of Revelation 3:20, and lived in hopes that the church would soon witness its fulfillment.

This perceptive inquiry not only revealed Sarah's deep understanding of Scripture, but also bore witness to her changed marital status. For the first time she signed her name as "Sarah A. H. Lindsey."

This signature, including the "H" of her maiden name,



An early worker in the Southern Tier region was W. S. Ingraham. It is possible that John Lindsey moved to the region in response to Ingraham's call for assistance.

"The Angel of the Church."

Bro. White: Will you permit me to ask a few questions in regard to Revelation, chapters ii and iii?

1. Is there not a distinction between the "angel of the church" and the "church" itself? In these two chapters we find seven repetitions of these words, "Unto the angel of the church . . . write," and also, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

2. Is not this distinction quite plain in chapter i, 12, 13, 16, 20? "And I turned to see the voice that spake with me." And "being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks; and in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man. . . . And he had in his right hand seven stars. . . . The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches."

3. Is not this distinction still farther manifest in the fact that the "angel of the church" is addressed grammatically in the second person? For example, "I know thy works, and thy labor, and thy patience, nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; and thou shalt come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick (or church) out of his place." But the church is spoken of grammatically in the third person, "To him that overcometh, &c."

4. Is it not quite evident that the first six verses of this second chapter contain a testimony to the "angel of the church" and the seventh verse a testimony to the church. So also chapter iii, 14-19 inclusive; are they not especially addressed to the "angel of the church," verse 16 having been sadly fulfilled in the cases of Messrs. Hull, Snook, Brinkerhoff, and other messengers who have given up the great sanctifying truths of the third angel's message, and as plainly as verse 19 has been fulfilled in the affliction of those servants whom God loves? Is it not equally clear that verses 20 and 21 are what the "spirit saith unto the church" in Laodicea?

SARAH A. H. LINDSEY.

Ulysses, Pa., Sept. 25, 1868.

NOTE. This is essentially the position taken by the Gen. Conf. Committee (in *Review*, Vol. xxvii, No. 20.

became over the next ten years her familiar trademark. All other women writing to the *Review* from 1850 to 1880 used either their Christian names and married (or maiden) surnames (as Ellen G. White) or their married title with first name (or initials) and surnames (as Mrs. A. Jones, Sr. E. A. Dike, Sr. W. Eggleston). But not Sarah. She never signed as *Mrs.* Sarah Lindsey, nor as *Sr.* Sarah A. Lindsey, nor as S. A. Lindsey! Perhaps her independent spirit chafed at merging her identity too completely in that of her husband, for "Sarah A. H. Lindsey" or "S. A. H. Lindsey" was written at the close of all her reports and letters.

The epidemics of diphtheria and typhoid then raging across the New York frontier laid Sarah low in 1867 before she could accomplish much more for the cause. S. B. Whitney reported in June that for the past month "Sr. Lindsey" had been extremely feeble, "almost ready to drop into the grave." Her poor health, he stated, as well as the bad weather and roads, had "stunted" the turnout to meetings. Perhaps the epidemics kept some away also, but if Sarah's illness kept her from the meetings and thus "stunted" their success, one is left to consider that her presence was somehow important. Was she already a lay preacher?

Certainly Cottrell's announcement of July 9, 1867, opened doors to a wider lay ministry in the conference. His article declared that "the demand for labor in new fields, and in places which promise most good as missionary fields, has induced your ministers . . . to make this arrangement:" no ministers would henceforth attend Quarterly Meetings. There were just too few preachers to go around, and "Time is short, and the last call is urgent." He closed with the following challenge to the laity: "The church is, and always should be, a missionary society." He urged the members to make their meetings interesting while the ministers labored to preach "to those that are without" the fold.

Certainly this clarion call for greater lay involvement coupled with the prostration of Nathan Fuller, Andrews, Cottrell and other leaders with typhoid fever, spurred the members to greater efforts than ever before. John Lindsey organized meetings for the fall of 1867 and cordially invited James and Ellen White to attend, promising to pay their travel expenses. By early 1868, prospects seemed much brighter for the group in Ulysses. Sarah's letter to the *Review* in January indicated that while the church had actually disbanded in 1866 due to lack of membership (so many had moved away following the Civil War and epidemics, leaving the Lindsey family as the only Adventists in Ulysses), other families had since moved into the area. Now, she wrote, "our prospects are brightening. Praise the Lord!"



J. H. Waggoner reported to the church that besides Nathan Fuller's adultery problem, Fuller had also stolen church funds.

Her letter also reflected the personal trial through which she had passed over the last two years as the church dwindled and she lay ill with fever. This period had been one of "self-examination, self-abasement, much doubting, many fears, almost despair amounting to semi-infidelity." But fervent prayer and long conflict had rescued her from doubt and infidelity. She praised God for her deliverance. "Bless his name! . . . Why Jesus loves me, I cannot tell. I only know that he does love me."

But as the outlook brightened for the Lindseys dark clouds gathered over the Southern Tier's spiritual landscape. In 1868 six churches had neglected to report quarterly funds for five months or more, while three ministers had been delinquent in their reports. A few *Review* articles and editorials concerned with adultery, greed and apostasy seemed to indicate that all was not well on the Southern Tier.

If the ordained leaders were delinquent or immobilized on beds of sickness, however, the lay members were rising to the task. One of these new preachers was Sarah A. H. Lindsey. At two weekend meetings in Roulette, Pa., July 4-5 and 11-12, Sarah spoke at the afternoon services on the subject of God's mercy and justice. Elder Fuller, who was present, re-

ported that "Sr. Lindsey" took as her text Isaiah 3:10 and 11: "Say ye to the righteous that it shall be well with him. . . . Woe to the wicked! it shall be ill with him." While seven of the "righteous" were baptized following these meetings, one of the "wicked," Joel Sanderson, was disfellowshipped for his "dreadful influence" and false repentance. Sarah's own report on these meetings indicated that Fuller appeared "very much worn by previous labor," that an "insubordinate spirit" was there "bound in chains," and that backsliders returned to the fold. She felt that the July 5 afternoon session had been "the best meeting we had," solemnized by the "unmistakable presence" of God.

While God's presence blessed the cause on the Southern Tier, the devil also dogged the Advent workers' footsteps. He seemed especially adroit at causing men to stumble against the seventh commandment. It was immorality or adultery which had disfellowshipped John Gleason in 1863 and Joel Sanderson in 1868. Now the head elder of the Eldred, Pa., church was likewise expelled in August, 1868, for adultery. This sent shock waves throughout the conference, Elder Fuller wrote an article entitled "Ministers' Wives" in which he placed the blame for ministerial adultery upon "vain, frivolous, faultfinding" wives. Many good men had fallen into immorality from bad home environments, "and, no doubt, others will." How prophetic those words!

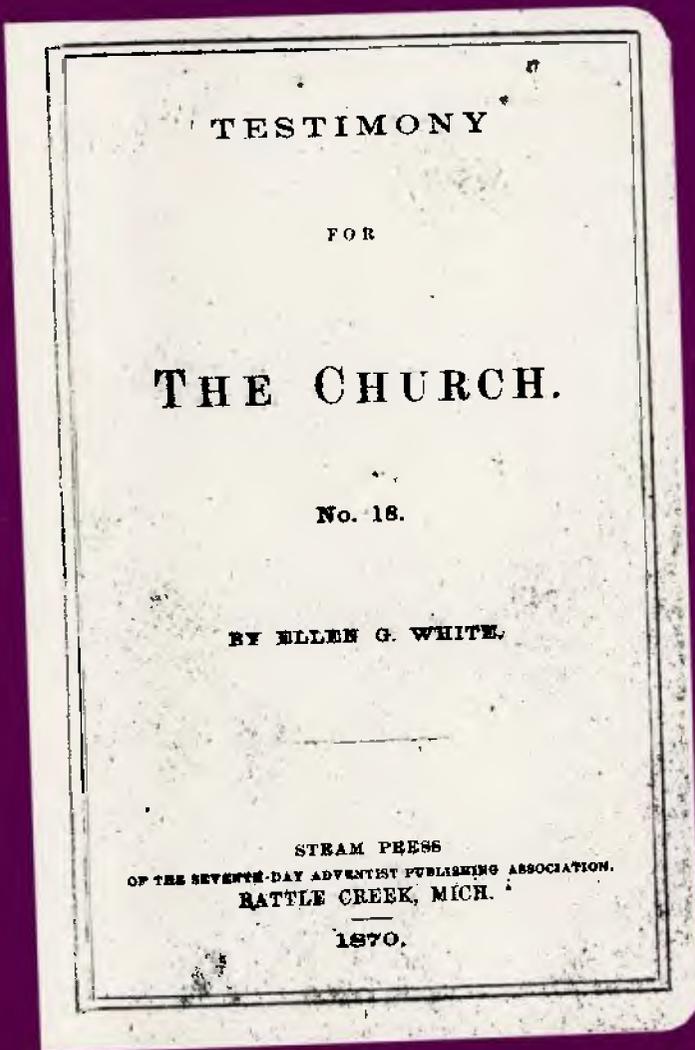
A plethora of articles and editorials concerned with adultery, immorality, and theft appeared in the 1868-69 *Review*, far more than for its previous eighteen-year history combined. It seemed as if the whole church suddenly became anxious to uproot these sins. In May 1869 conference treasurer E. B. Saunders indicated that seven churches along the Southern Tier had failed again to report quarterly funds. Andrews wrote a week later that many ministers there had failed to make reports of their itineraries and funds. Where was this money?

While it appeared as though the frontier cause was disintegrating, reality testified otherwise. John and Sarah Lindsey rose to the challenges of the Advent movement in 1869 and began their dynamic preaching ministry together. In January they teamed up with Nathan Fuller for a series of meetings in Wellsville, N.Y., for three Sabbaths "preaching the word" in the pulpit. Then they trudged on foot through sixteen-inch snowdrifts to Pleasant Valley, where Sarah preached twenty-three times on the signs of the times, Christ's second coming, and various prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. This spectacular public speaking itinerary was unrivaled by any other Adventist woman except Ellen White. In May Sarah spoke six times at West Union. Her husband John, who reported these meetings



James and Ellen White visited the Southern Tier region several times during the period that Sarah and John Lindsey lived and worked there. In fact, in 1867 John Lindsey invited the Whites to come to Ulysses, Pennsylvania, and indicated that the local church would pay their expenses.

Ellen White's reaction to the apostasy of Nathan Fuller was printed in *Testimony No. 18* in 1870.



to the *Review*, neglected to mention whether he preached or not!

It was well that the Lindseys' ministry seemed so successful, as one further case of adultery and apostasy occurred that summer of 1869 which shook the conference to its foundations and nearly destroyed Ellen White's confidence in mankind. The *Review* articles, editorials and letters opened more and more disclosures on the mystery adulterer as the summer passed. Finally, in the July 20, 1869, issue, J. N. Andrews revealed in his short "Apostasy and Crime" article that Nathan Fuller had been dropped from the Wellsville Church for adultery. He wrote that the former evangelist and conference president considered himself to be "the wickedest man that lived; that he had no hopes, but expected to suffer the pains of the second death." Andrews, in a state of shock, added, "Such criminality is appalling. . . . Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he also fall." In August J. H. Waggoner added that Fuller had stolen church funds under false pretenses. This explained why so many churches had been "delinquent" for six months: Fuller had never reported their funds to the conference, but had kept them instead for himself.

A wave of sadness and anger swept over the Southern Tier. Their "dear Brother Fuller" had apostasized! The letters pouring into the *Review* mirrored the heartache of Adventists throughout the conference. Ellen White wrote in *Testimony, No. 18*, (published in 1870) that "The case of N. Fuller [which she had seen in vision October 2, 1868] has caused me much grief and anguish of spirit." She believed Fuller's exposure would prove a warning for others, but as for its effect upon her personally, she admitted that "my confidence in humanity has been terribly shaken."

Sarah Lindsey, like Ellen White, was shaken by Fuller's apostasy. Her letter to the *Review* in September, entitled "Always on the Wrong Side," compared certain wayward Adventists to David in his sin with Bathsheba. She emphasized that some sinners needed a Nathan to condemn them and force open repentance. No sinner should be allowed to cover up his sins and bring discredit to those who are doing right.

It is no exaggeration to state that Nathan Fuller's apostasy marked the true beginning of Sarah A. H. Lindsey's dynamic preaching ministry on the Southern Tier. Before 1869 she had assisted Fuller or her husband in preaching sporadically primarily to Adventist groups at Quarterly Meetings and weekend sessions. Her ministry after 1869 blossomed into a truly evangelical endeavor. For the next decade she and John traveled all over western New York and Pennsylvania,

preaching, teaching, giving Bible studies and burying the saints as they passed to their rest.

When Melissa Darrow died in June, 1869, Sarah was there to preach the funeral sermon from Job 14:14: "If a man die, shall he live again?" In the winter of 1869-70, she and John held meetings in Belfast, Crawford Creek, South Addison, and Nile Settlement, N.Y., as well as in Roulette, Liberty and Farmington, Pa. They reported general discouragement facing them everywhere due to "the severe trial through which our church has recently passed." Several believers had apparently followed Fuller out of the church, for the Lindseys wrote that "several were cut off; and it will be necessary that others should be, unless they come up to the work." "The cause of God must no longer be burdened by those who have no heart in it."

Both John and Sarah had a heart for the work and they gave their best to the cause. In the summer of 1870 they preached in Farmington, Beecher's Island, and Catlin, N.Y., as well as in other places in northwest Pennsylvania. At year's end they still noted scattered, backslidden conditions on the Southern Tier. Many churches had been neglected while others endured "deep trials." The scarcity of laborers caused Sarah and John to push themselves hard. They waded through winter drifts to reach Genoa, Ulysses, Scio, Friendship, Farmington, Beecher's Island, Wheeler and Catlin along the border. While doing their best, the Lindseys underlined the need for more laborers for "setting things in order." They pleaded for an "efficient minister" to organize churches, ordain elders, and celebrate the ordinances in the churches, many of whom had not observed Communion for years. In the meantime, however, they prayed for God to give them "patience to wait" until these needs were met.

But waiting did not imply idleness. Although prejudice, trials, and backslidden Adventists faced them at every turn, they labored untiringly, rejoicing in the third angel's message which they preached. In the summer of 1871 they spoke in Knoxville, Alba, Armenian Mountain, and Lawrenceville, Pa., as well as in Hornby, Catlin, and Beaver Dam, N.Y. Thanks to God's blessings on their ministry, they could report great interest among their Advent Christian hearers. They rejoiced also that they had found most Seventh-day Adventists "strong in the truth." By the following fall, the Advent cause was definitely on the rise again. The Lindseys reported a "prospering spirit of God" in Ulysses, Pa., Willing and Niles Settlement, N.Y. Recent campmeetings had also inspired greater dedication along the Southern Tier.

People showed such keen interest in their message, in fact, that in several meetings in October the Lindseys

successfully competed for attention with Barnum and Bailey's Circus! Then, in November, the editors of the *Review* received a letter from the postmaster at Beaver Dams, N.Y., praising the Christian ministry of Sarah and John Lindsey, adding that they preached Bible truth and left a good impression on their hearers.

Praise of their efforts flooded the *Review* during the 1870s. Apparently their lay ministry was truly reviving the frontier churches. One Ulysses meeting in December of 1871 was described as "one of the most excellent that it has ever been our pleasure to enjoy." The enemy was still hard at work among believers, but "the Mighty One" helped them to go forward successfully.

The Conference acknowledged the value of the Lindseys' ministry in its August, 1872, meeting by recognizing them as licensed workers. Sarah Lindsey thus became on August 6 the only licensed laywoman in the New York-Pennsylvania area, taking her place beside four men as a "licentiate," qualified to preach, hold evangelistic meetings, and lead out in business and committee sessions. This constituted a rare honor for an Adventist woman in those early days; it reflected the high esteem the church held for her spiritual gifts.

Sarah and John continued their lay ministry throughout the 1870s; and while James White felt it was necessary in 1874 for Dudley M. Canright to enter the Southern Tier area to revive the lukewarm believers there, it seems evident that the Lindseys had already turned the tide. They held meetings in schools, churches, homes or outdoors, urging the believers to "come prepared to benefit others."

Soon church leaders began taking note of the changed spiritual atmosphere in the bi-state conference. Conference President Buel L. Whitney, traveling with Stephen N. Haskell along the Southern Tier in 1876, observed that "the angel of mercy is hovering over this state." Both men anticipated that God would work wonders for His cause there. While admitting that a "spirit of discouragement" still obscured some members' minds, D. M. Canright described the conference as "a good field, a rich field" with numerous openings for truth.

As Canright and Whitney toured the conference, visiting with old and young, backslidden and believing Adventists, ordaining elders and deacons, and organizing churches, R. F. Cottrell testified to what he felt was "a general spirit of revival" on the Southern Tier. "May the good work go on," he declared, "till the day the Lord comes."

The work did go on; it grew and prospered mightily. And this growth was due in no small measure to the dynamic ministry of John and Sarah A. H. Lindsey.

In 1880, Mrs. Almira S. Steele arrived in Chattanooga, Tennessee to organize and conduct a school for disadvantaged Negro children. Sponsored by the Women's Home Missionary Association of the Congregationalist Church, she had been transferred from Hampton County, South Carolina where a similar mission was put to an end by the local Ku Klux Klan.

The work in Chattanooga met with moderate success. Teaching in the mornings, Mrs. Steele occupied the remainder of her time visiting jails, poor-houses, and hospitals. Yet she saw and became increasingly concerned with a greater and totally neglected need. Chattanooga was recovering from a terrible epidemic of yellow fever which had resulted in an increased number of orphans. While there were institutions for the majority of homeless white children, no provision had been made for orphaned Blacks.

She appealed to her sponsorship in Massachusetts but the charity lacked the funds to establish an orphanage. She then brought her petition to city and county officials. No one was interested. At this point Mrs. Steele resolved to do the job herself. In 1884 she purchased a large house and opened The Steele Home for Needy Children.

Gary C. Jenkins

A Almira S. Steele

AND THE STEELE HOME FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

Mrs. Steele was later to say,

I prayed for light and it came. I saw that I had been deceiving myself. I wanted an orphanage, but I wanted somebody else to build it. I said to myself, build it yourself. You have money saved from teaching; you have your husband's life insurance; you have your pension. Then I turned to my little daughter and I said, Darling, we will trust the Lord for our future and we will use our money to make a home for these little waifs.

Almira Steele was then to embark on her life's ministry. She was forty-two years old, a widow with an eleven year old daughter. Born Almira Derving in Chelsea, Massachusetts, Mrs. Steele had a pedigree that traced to the early colonial period with a history of notable ancestors that included two missionaries to the Indians in Massachusetts. Her father was president of a railroad company and an elected county treasurer.

After graduating from college, Almira Derving was ap-

pointed to the principalship of a local grammar school. At the age of twenty-nine she married Walter Steele, owner of a large department store. At thirty-two she was widowed; and two years later, in 1876, she closed her husband's store and enlisted in the mission work that would eventually lead her to Chattanooga and her ministry to homeless children.

The Steele Home for Needy Children began with three small black girls and within several months was filled to capacity. Much of Mrs. Steele's wealth had gone into the purchase of the house and the building of two additional structures, one of which was an industrial building. In 1885, just after a year in operation, the orphanage was set on fire by local opponents. Remarkably, there were no serious injuries, but the fifty-four orphans were homeless once again.

There was only \$2,500 insurance on the property. However, a new \$18,000 structure was soon erected through Mrs. Steele's savings and the aid of sympathetic relatives and friends in New England. The new orphanage was an attractive forty-four room brick structure with a large porch. In the next few years three further attempts were made to burn her out. Each failed. But Mrs. Steele and her unique orphanage would be ever plagued with opposition.

Mrs. Steele soon adopted the doctrine of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. She honored the Seventh-day Sabbath and conducted her orphanage accordingly. Yet there was no attempt to force her denominational convictions on her charges, for Sunday services were also conducted. Following the practice of many Adventists, breakfast and supper were the only two meals of the day. These meals were vegetarian with usually only three types of food served at a time. (A variety of food was known at the Steele Home, but served on different days.) The menu gave the adversaries of the orphanage an opportunity to make trouble. They accused Mrs. Steele of starving the orphans and she was summoned into court.

A prominent Chattanooga lawyer, Robert B. Cooke, was aware of Mrs. Steele's situation and donated his services on her behalf. His defense included an affidavit from Dr. John Kellogg of Battle Creek, Michigan, who affirmed the healthfulness of the two meal diet. The charges were dropped but not forgotten. The accusation of "starving the niggers" would be echoed again and again by those who wanted the institution closed down. But a black woman raised in the Home was later to say, "two meals a day seemed good after not having any."

If the Steele Home was unique for being a black orphanage, it was just as unique for its operation and program. It did not just house children; it sought to give them a home to grow up in. And perhaps more importantly, it was a place of training. Mrs. Steele said, "I desire to start the children out with good principles, good manners, skilled hands, believing in the dignity of labor with practical economy."

Herself a teacher, Mrs. Steele paid a professional staff to assist her. Bible, English grammar, and simple etiquette were stressed along with such practical skills as gardening, sewing, and cooking. After the completion of their primary education, the boys were sent to voca-



Mrs. Almira Steele was a 42-year-old widow when she opened her orphanage in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1884.

tional schools. The goal was that each child would be trained to become a self-supporting adult.

For the few who wished to continue to college, Almira Steele paid their tuition and expenses. One small Black college offered The Steele Home Scholarship. At least two of the children became medical doctors, one a noted violinist, and another a lawyer. Most students, however, trained to be carpenters, barbers, mechanics, tailors, plumbers and similar tradesmen.

Although the Steele Home for Needy Children was predominantly Black, and is remembered as a black orphanage, several of the children were white. Because the main orphanage in town was geared for adoptable children, those who were diseased, crippled, retarded,



Among those who defended Mrs. Steele's decision to serve vegetarian meals at the orphanage was Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, Medical Superintendent of the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

or over the age of ten were not acceptable. The Steele Home, in contrast, welcomed these rejected ones. Mrs. Steele's chosen life's work, unpaid and unappreciated by the public, was difficult enough without the criticism and suspicion for her motives that were ever to follow the lady.

Though generous and kind, Mrs. Steele was far from timid. Her accusers were answered with calm logic and an appeal to study the ministry of Christ. On invitation, she lectured in churches, calling for compassion toward the abandoned child. Her voice was given space in *The Chattanooga Times* in which she occasionally presented her case. "I don't have to keep in the work," she once pointed out. "I have plenty of relatives and friends who are willing to tolerate me. . . ."

Hundreds volunteer to go to India, China, and Africa and all are surely needed there, but there's a halo round the workers on the foreign field. I regret to find I am the only white woman in the United States who is trying to be a Christian mother to Negro boys and girls, for surely there is a great need of thorough training for all children. Can it be right to neglect little children of any race and allow them to grow up in sin, superstition, and ignorance?

This statement was not an appeal for financial support; rather, it sought tolerance and understanding. No offerings were ever taken up, no pennies asked for, no pleas made for donations, although Mrs. Steele often found herself operating on a "shoestring." Her own wealth exhausted, the orphanage was continued mainly through unsolicited donations from New England and Battle Creek, Michigan. Through frugal and wise

economic decisions, the Home endured. Once, in 1916, Mrs. Steele requested the tax-exempt status of a charity. Then while she was in Battle Creek, a committee appointed by the board of city commissioners made a surprise visit to the institution. They reported finding deplorable conditions. The children were said to be wearing torn and filthy clothes, sleeping on rags, and underfed on a diet of black-eyed peas. Tax exemption was denied. An independent committee launched its own inspection the day the critical story appeared in *The Morning Times*. This second committee reported quite the contrary situation. The rooms were clean, the children happy and healthy. And not so much as a broken button could be found on their allegedly "torn and filthy clothes." But denial for tax-exemption had been decided and was not to be changed.

Despite the support given by the second investigating committee, accusations and criticism followed Mrs. Steele over the years like a shadow. Blacks as well as whites questioned her motives. Mrs. Steele found herself repeatedly in court to answer the most absurd of charges. In the extreme, there were charges of kidnapping and murder, although the latter did not bring about even a court hearing. A popular accusation was that she was "getting rich off the niggers." To this she retorted that others should cash in on the work so she would not have the monopoly. They should open their homes to the destitute, she said, rear and train them, and let them go out as adults responsible to God, man, and self.

In 1925, while visiting the Battle Creek Sanitarium for a needed rest, Mrs. Steele suffered heart failure. She was eighty-three years old. Her sudden death came as a grievous shock to many people. *The Chattanooga Times* ran a lengthy obituary, referring to her as a prominent citizen, praising her selfless and invaluable service to the community. In hindsight, many took a positive view of Almira Steele's life.

With Mrs. Steele's death The Steele Home for Needy Children closed. The twenty-five orphans living in the Home when their benefactor died went to their relatives. The city then purchased the property and converted it into an annex for the public school next door.

What had been accomplished? That is a question that cannot be fully answered. Statistically, the orphanage operated for forty-one years, caring for over 1,600 children. Although Mrs. Steele admitted failures, which she blamed on herself, the vast majority of the children who lived in her Home reached adulthood as responsible citizens. Many years before her death and the close of the institution, Mrs. Steele offered her own assessment of her accomplishment:

If the Home were to pass out of existence tomorrow, it would have accomplished enough to redeem all the harrowing situations that prejudice and thoughtlessness have brought on the mission. It has saved hundreds from lives of criminality, it has robbed the penitentiary, it has saved many lives from infamy, and robbed the haunts of sin. It has spread happiness and religion, and brought Christ to many of His own who knew him not.

By the time Almira Steele died, few would gainsay her claim.



(Top) The Steele Home for Needy Children in Chattanooga, Tennessee, cost \$18,000 to build. It contained 44 rooms. Although most of the orphans were black, several who lived there were white.

(Middle and Bottom) Typical of the activities in orphanages at the time are these pictures showing children in the "gymnasium" and at dish-washing chores.





Geographical boundaries do not make a missionary. Neither does a particular type of lifework. But any person who is completely and unreservedly devoted to Christ will be a missionary, whether his area of service be his home or a downtown office, in his native land or in a foreign country.

One writer in 1917 tried to impress on Seventh-day Adventist young people the need for this kind of devotion, pleading with them to make their relationship with Christ their first concern each day. She quoted a returned missionary from China, addressing a group of young ministers who were planning to go to China: "You may learn to speak Chinese glibly, you may adopt Chinese customs, eat with chopsticks, and even wear a cue; but unless you are *faithful in secret prayer and personal Bible study*, you will be failures as missionaries in China." Little did this writer, Matilda Erickson, know then that someday she, too, would be serving overseas; but she was already a devoted pioneer worker in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Anna Matilda Erickson had been born in Denmark in 1880 to parents who had only recently joined this church. About a year later the family moved to the wild prairies of Iowa, where Matilda grew up in a happy farm home. After attending public school and Union College, she taught in public schools for three years, then completed the two-year nursing course at Nebraska Sanitarium, wanting very much to become a doctor. However, she was persuaded not to continue in medicine and so decided to return to Union College to

*Matilda
Erickson
Andross*

**MADELINE
STEELE
JOHNSTON**

THE ORIGINAL MISSIONARY VOLUNTEER

qualify herself more thoroughly for teaching. Then in the middle of her senior year Elder A. G. Daniells, president of the General Conference, asked her to come to Washington to help the Sabbath School Department with its new work for young people.

Few people receive a call to the General Conference while still in college, but Matilda Erickson's reaction was typical of her. Perplexed, she thought, "Does the Lord not want me to be a teacher either?" She earnestly sought counsel, read a book on divine guidances, and prayed until she was satisfied that the Lord was calling her. But "it was not without a heartache that I bade farewell to my classmates and dear old Union," she wrote later.

So in March of 1907 she went to Washington, graduating in absentia. She felt a deep sense of awe and responsibility, for she regarded her new job as God's work and felt so inexperienced and inefficient as to be a problem to those she had come to help. Looking back, she wrote, "What a relief it was to pray!" And pray she did. On her desk she placed the prayer of *Ministry of Healing*, page 474, "Lord, help me to do my best. Teach me to do better work. Give me energy and cheerfulness. Help me to bring into my service the loving ministry of the Savior."

Matilda Erickson's responsibilities evolved as part of a developing Seventh-day Adventist concern for its young people. The first organized young people's society in a local church had been started in 1879 by Luther Warren, as a teenager, for the purpose of prayer and



Matilda Erickson began working in the original General Conference building in Takoma Park, Washington, D.C., before any of the later additions were added.

Matilda Erickson (shown in front row second from right) graduated in absentia from Union College in 1907.

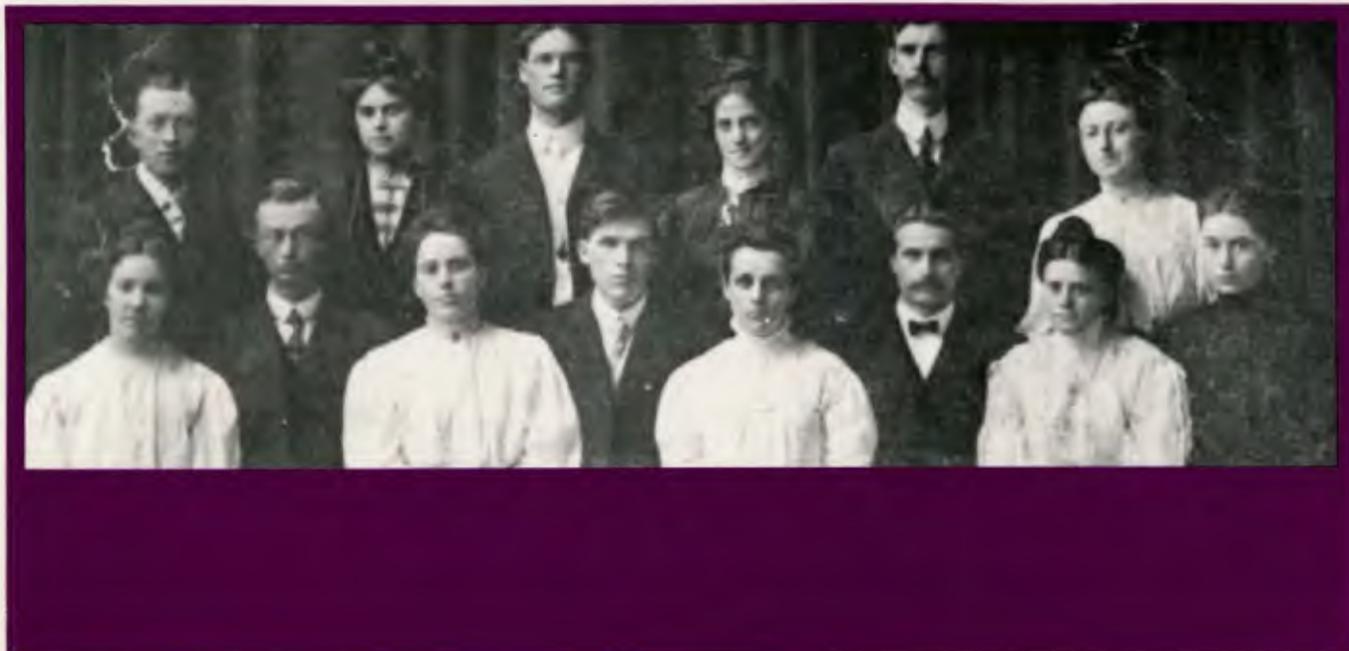


PHOTO COURTESY OF UNION COLLEGE ARCHIVES



It was during her senior year at Union College that Matilda Erickson was asked to come to the General Conference to assist in the new work for young people.

Elder M. E. Kern was asked to head the first Youth Department in the General Conference.



Christian work. In the early 1890s other local societies began appearing, and these were encouraged by Elder Daniells and Ellen G. White. By 1899 the Ohio Conference had a state organization, and so, in 1901, it was natural that the General Conference session in Battle Creek should discuss this work. They approved the plan of organizing the young people into societies for more effective missionary service, and they assigned the Sabbath School Department the responsibility of giving them general direction.

In February of 1907 the General Conference Committee arranged for a General Conference Sabbath School and Young People's Convention to meet the following summer. In May of the same year the General Conference Council met in Gland, Switzerland, and voted to organize the young people's work as a separate department, with M. E. Kern as chairman and Matilda Erickson as secretary.

The summer convention delegates met at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, from July 10 to 21 and launched the Young People's Missionary Volunteer Department with much study and prayer. At this meeting the delegates outlined very definite policies for the new organization. A complete report could be bought for ten cents. The department's purpose was to promote devotional life, education, and organized missionary effort among the young people. Methods for doing so included the Standard of Attainment plan, the Morning Watch Calendar, and the MV Reading Course, all inaugurated at this meeting. The first was a plan by which young people studied Bible doctrines and denominational history and received certificates of achievement after being tested. The Morning

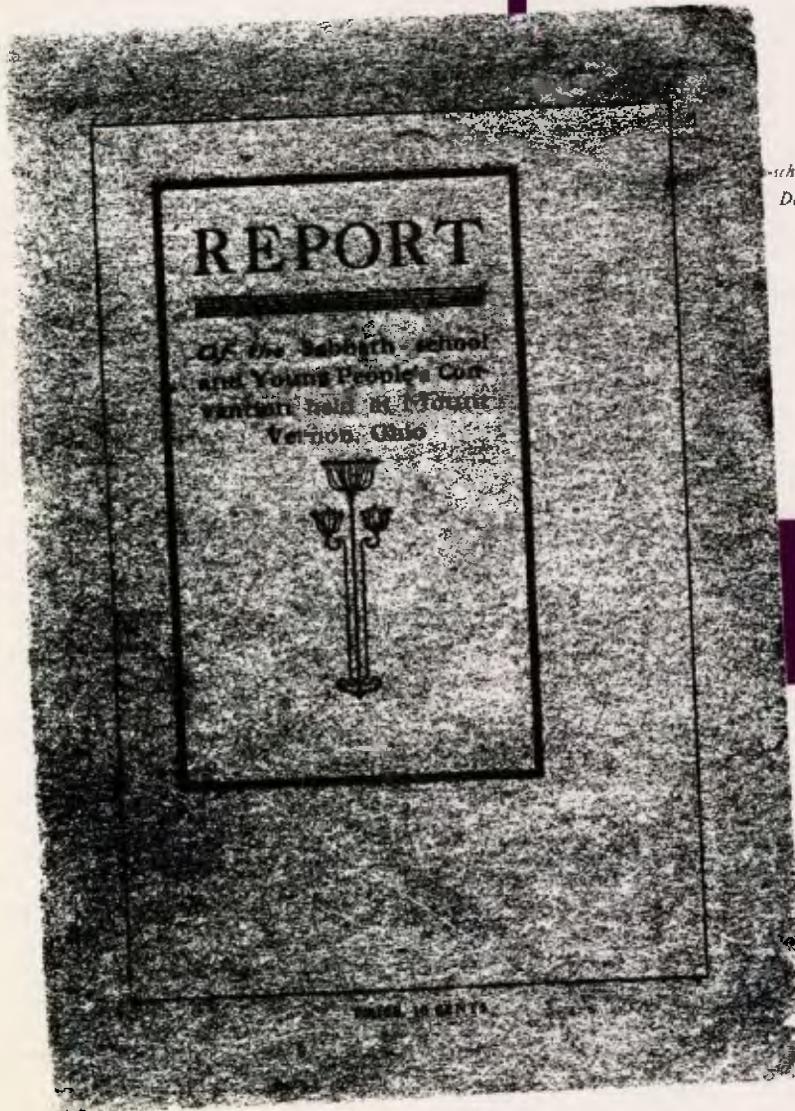
Report

*Of the Sabbath-school and Young
People's Convention held at
Mount Vernon, Ohio
July 10-20, '07*

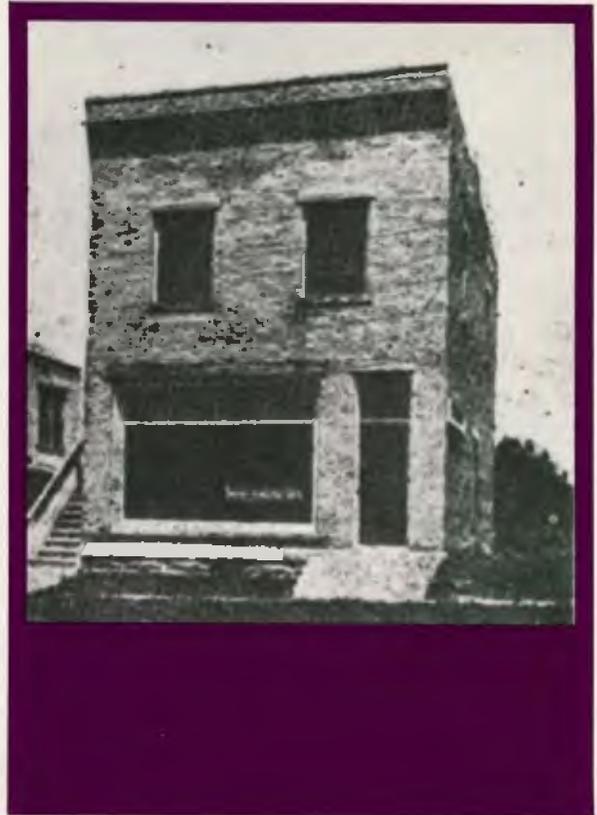
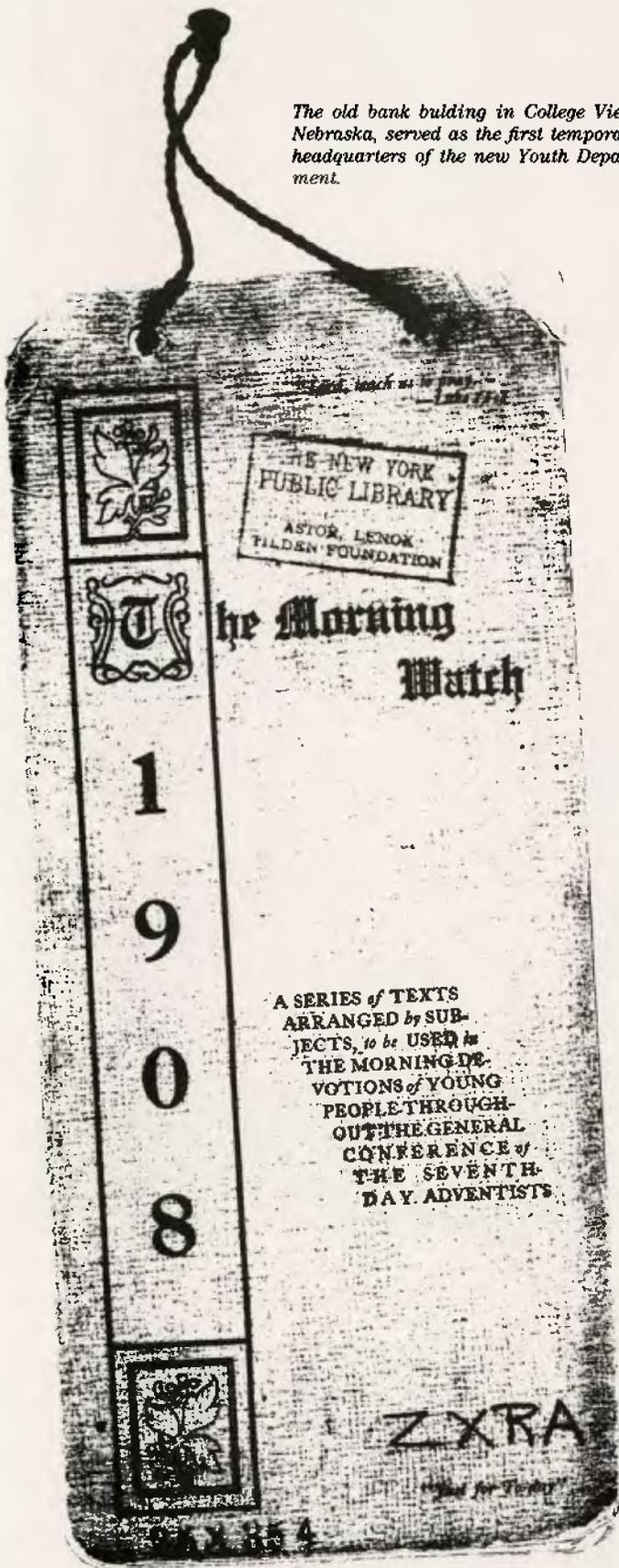


*Published by the
Sabbath-school and the Young People's Missionary Volunteer
Departments of the General Conference of
Seventh-day Adventists*

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1907



The old bank building in College View, Nebraska, served as the first temporary headquarters of the new Youth Department.



Watch Calendar was a calendar for the year with a Bible verse for each day printed on it and a suggested topic for prayer each month. The Reading Course plan was to encourage worthwhile reading among the young people. The department was also to plan for campmeeting work, conventions, and institutes for young people.

Due to Elder Kern's teaching appointments at Union College, an office was set up in the old bank building of College View, Nebraska, to serve as YPMV headquarters until the move to Washington in the spring of 1908. On August 5, 1907, Miss Erickson arrived back in College View to continue her work with the department until the spring move.

The first Reading Course assignment appeared in the *Instructor* October 1, 1907, and the first Morning Watch Calendar came out in January of 1908. These very likely were the work of Matilda Erickson. Most of the office work and even much of the field work fell on her shoulders, since Elder Kern did a lot of writing and traveling and served on many committees.

Miss Erickson took her work very seriously, feeling a great burden for the young people. Where necessary literature did not exist, she wrote it herself. The department was responsible for lessons appearing regularly in the *Youth's Instructor*. As the Reading Course program continued, Miss Erickson supplied some of the needs that she felt.

At the next General Conference session, 1909, Elder Kern gave an impressive progress report. There were already 418 local societies with 7,500 members, compared to 224 societies in 1906 with 4,871 members. Offerings had quintupled.



From 1909 to 1913 Matilda Erickson carried the work of the Youth Department virtually alone, as Elder M. E. Kern was also serving as president of the Washington Foreign Mission Seminary.

Kern emphasized that one of the most important purposes of the organization was *work*. He quoted the modern psychologists of the day, saying that it was harmful to stimulate the emotions without allowing them to find expression in legitimate motor effects. Thus it would be harmful for young people to be stirred by a good sermon and not led out to witness to others. He referred to the fact that Ellen G. White, who was present at the meeting, had been called at seventeen, and many other delegates were also examples of what young people could do with dedication.

Not much MV work had been done outside the United States yet because the need seemed greatest in America, where young people were both numerous and unemployed. Although there was some organization in Britain, South America, South Africa, and Europe, Australia was most active. One conference there had raised nearly \$600 in 1908, giving \$390 of it toward the wages of a missionary, providing her also with a pony and saddle, a new typewriter for the mission, and an organ for her mountain home in Java, and also paying tuition for a Chinese student in Singapore.

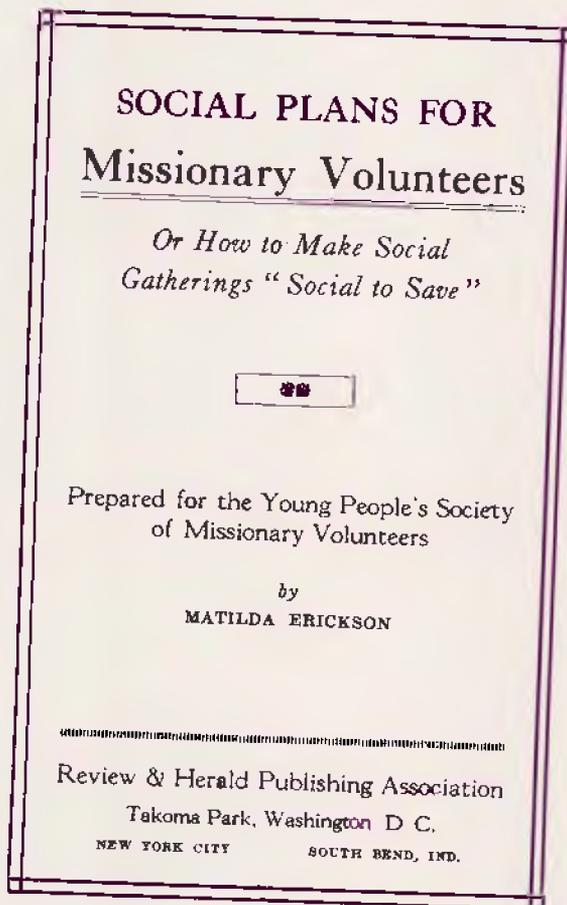
In the United States one MV society was supporting a missionary and his wife in Africa. Another had provided two tons of coal, some groceries, and clothing for the poor. And in 1908 the General Conference had approved an MV plan to raise money for 100 scholarships in the Washington Foreign Mission Seminary (now Columbia Union College). Already \$2,700 had been received toward a permanent fund, under the control of the General Conference Committee, to lend to students needing a short course in the seminary prior to mission

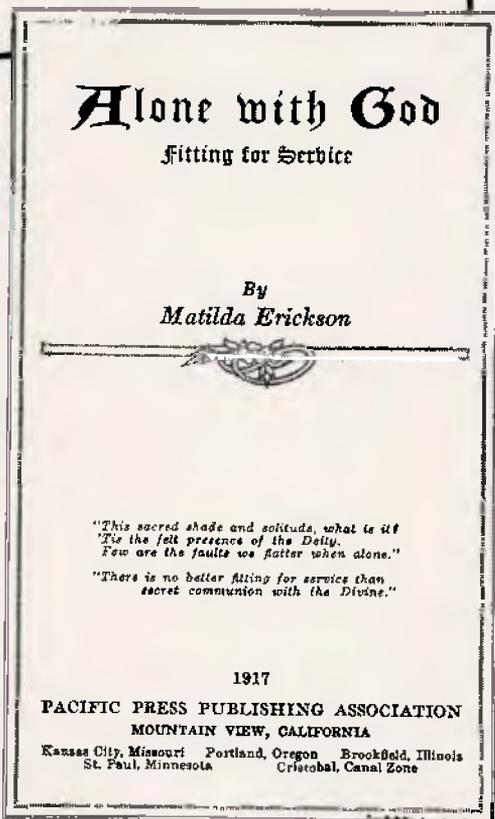
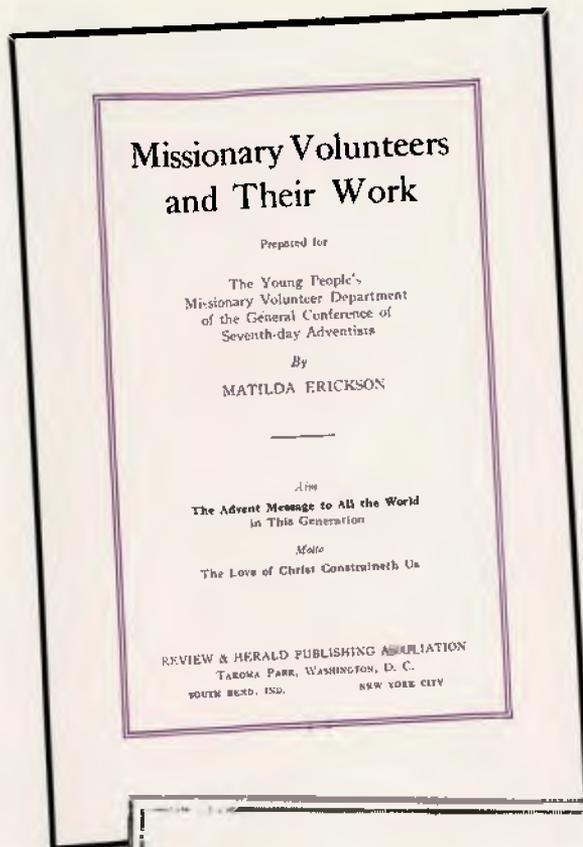
service.

From the 1909 General Conference until the following session in 1913 Matilda Erickson carried the work of the department almost alone, as Elder Kern was also president of the Washington Foreign Mission Seminary. During that time the circulation of the Morning Watch Calendar jumped from 6,000 to 33,000 and appeared in German, Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean.

Other signs also revealed the growing importance of the young people's work. The Reading Course proved to be popular; for in 1912 ten times as many certificates had been issued as in 1908. And MV's had raised thousands of dollars for specific mission projects. Furthermore, organized societies now existed in the West Indies, Central America, South America, England, Africa, India, Philippines, Japan, Korea, China, and Australasia (the strongest outside the United States).

A need developed for instruction for leaders, so Matilda Erickson wrote the handbook, *MV's and Their Work* which did much toward stabilizing and standardizing the MV activities. Elder Kern later called it "the most valuable piece of Missionary Volunteer literature

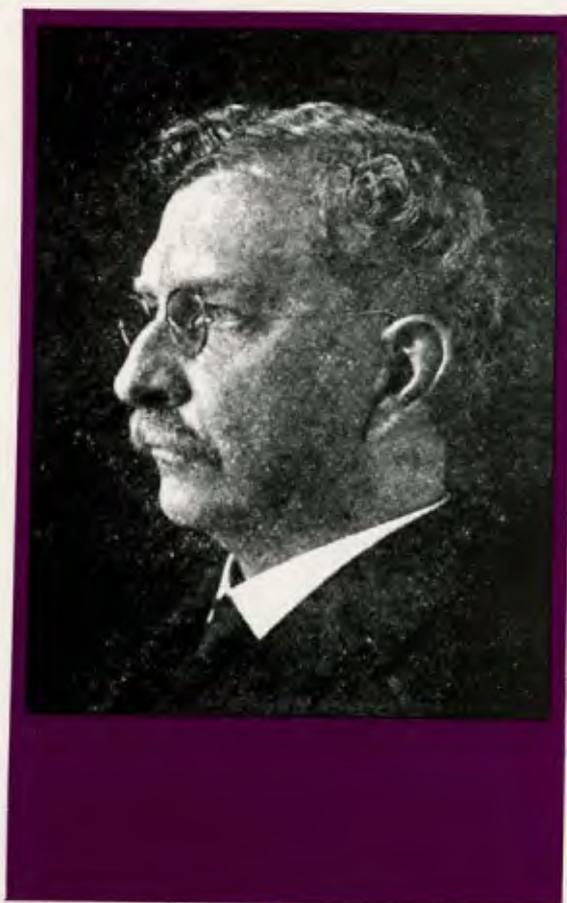




that has ever been published." In addition, she wrote *Alone with God*, a devotional book stressing the need for daily prayer and Bible study, for living a consistent and growing life, and for nature study. It was in this volume that she urged young people to be missionaries wherever they were, to give themselves wholly to Christ and His service.

Those who worked with Matilda Erickson in the General Conference offices during these years came to know her well and appreciated not only her fine work but also her spirit. Arthur Spalding, who for years was in charge of the Home Commission of the General Conference, wrote, "Her spiritual, self-effacing, earnest spirit make a great impression on the work."

One of those co-workers who noticed her was Elder E. E. Andross, General Conference Vice President for North America. He had held various administrative posts at home and overseas. He had directed denominational work in England, and it was under his leadership there that the church purchased Stanborough Park and started the publishing house, sanitarium, school, and health-food business. His wife contracted tuberculosis, however, and he was forced to return to California. During special prayer for her, Mrs. Andross pled with the Lord to spare her just long enough to raise her two boys. The desire granted, the family stayed on in California a few more years, Elder Andross serving as president of the Southern California Conference and then of the Pacific Union Conference. Then the tuber-



Elder E. E. Andross, a vice president of the General Conference, married Matilda Erickson in 1920 after the death of his first wife.

culosis returned, and in 1917 Mrs. Andross died, happy that God had granted her request.

A year later, at age fifty, Elder Andross went to the General Conference; and in 1920 he and Matilda Erickson had a large wedding in Washington, with their many friends and co-workers in attendance.

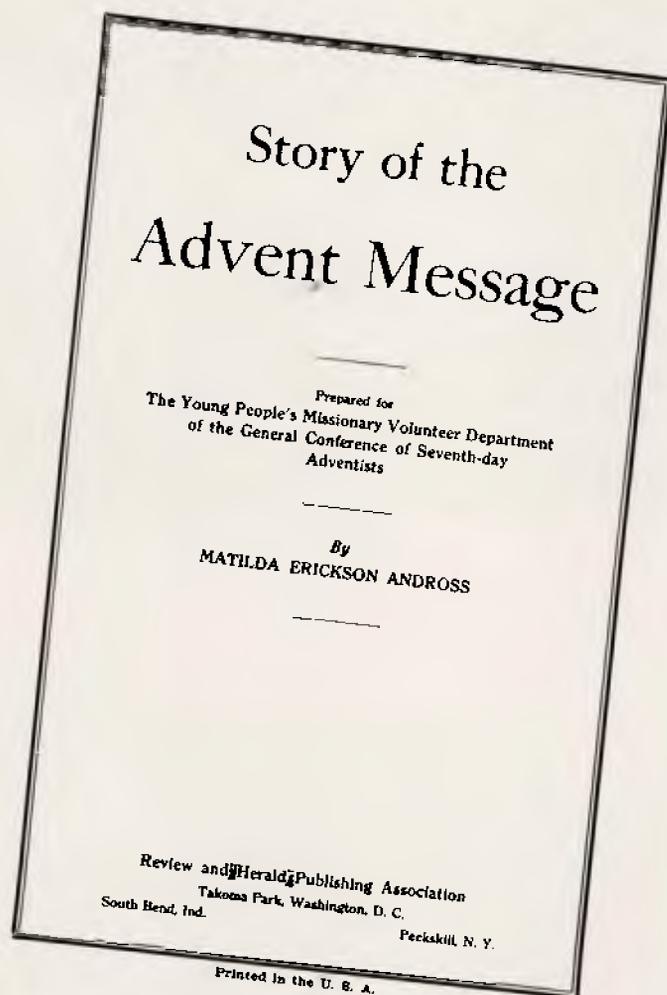
Continuing in their respective responsibilities, Mrs. Andross wrote more books, in addition to *Review and Herald* and *Youth's Instructor* articles. *The Life That Wins*, another devotional book, appeared in 1922. Then in 1929 her denominational history book, *Story of the Advent Message*, was published by the YPMV Department of the General Conference to help young people reach the Standard of Attainment requirements. Mrs. Andross felt, too, that the better young people knew denominational history, the greater would be their appreciation and determination to triumph with the church. It is a well-documented, comprehensive history written in a readable style with many stories and life sketches of the pioneers. In the Forward she stated her regrets that more women were not included, but "so many of them hide behind their husbands and escape the press, thus making it difficult to learn of them." Without realizing it, probably, she was describing herself very well, for in all of the books she wrote, one can find very few personal references.

Story of the Advent Message was typical in this respect. She mentioned, for instance, that in a 1917 meeting at College View, Nebraska, someone suggested a course of instruction in MV methods, so the department "got out a book of instruction." This was her MV Handbook, published in the early 1920s, but she makes no mention of the title or the author. Also, by the time her history book was published she and her husband had gone to Inter-America to organize the work there into a division. She, however, stated merely that in 1922 the Inter-American territory "was organized into the Inter-American Division," giving no name of the top administrator.

Her concern for others, and especially for young people, no doubt helped her considerably in the adjustments she must have faced in joining a family at age forty. One son was married, and one was studying at Pacific Union College. Letters to them indicate that she accepted them as her own children, but still she was very careful not to impose herself on them. She signed her letters "M. E. A." She wrote to Ellsworth at PUC in the spring of 1921, urging him in an affectionate way to come home when school was out. The full-page letter begins, "My dear boy," followed with enticing plans for the summer, and ends, "You ought to come and see little Sophie Louise [his new niece]. She is the dearest baby in this part of the world."

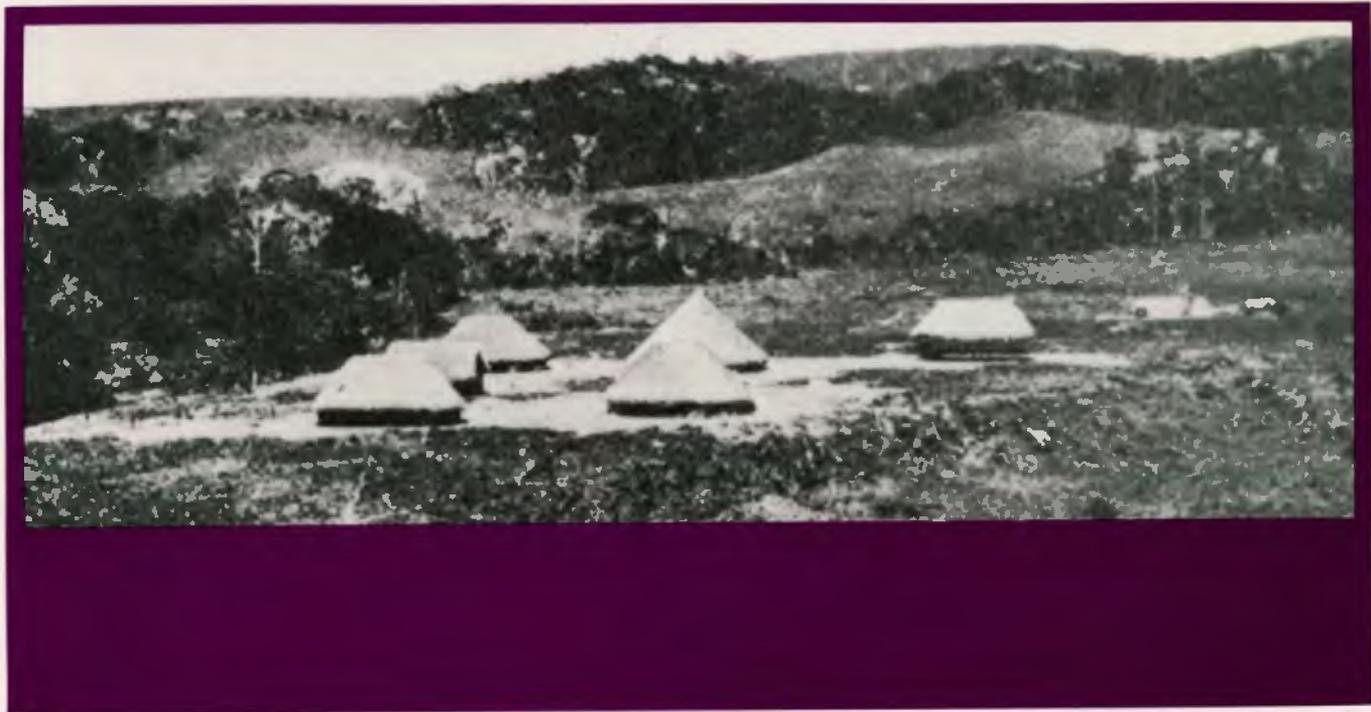
Mrs. Andross had a sense of humor, too. This letter, rather poorly typed on General Conference stationery, has these words penned in the margin: "If I should ever apply for a job as a stenographer, please do not present this letter as evidence of my inability."

Soon after Sophie was born, the new grandmother sent a scrapbook to Sophie's older sister. Sophie (now Mrs. C. Warren Becker of Andrews University) still has this scrapbook, and it is a charming work of love and



intelligent grandmothering. There are pictures and poems about helping mother, being kind to little sister, and other character-building topics, many of them apparently composed by Mrs. Andross herself. Even though many miles separated them soon after this, and for most of the rest of their lives, Mrs. Andross always did her part to keep the family ties close-knit.

The physical distance between the family members resulted from a General Conference decision in 1922 to organize an Inter-American Division. Elder E. E. Andross was given charge of this work, but he and his wife did not move to Inter-America immediately. She continued working in the MV Department, and they stayed on in Takoma Park for a while. In October, 1922, Elder Andross sailed from New York to get acquainted with his division. A week later he arrived in Port-of-



A general view of Davis Indian huts and the mission site at Mt. Roraima, British Guiana, in 1930.



Joe, a Davis Indian Chief, regularly attended services in 1930 at the Mt. Roraima Indian Mission.

Spain, Trinidad, and went to the mission office where he found Elders Raff, Edmed, and others repairing the old Ford to go to the wharf to meet him. The newspaper of the next day reported that his ship would arrive that day. By the end of May he had visited Venezuela, Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras.

This trip was apparently a very thorough introduction to his new field of labor. He traveled by auto, muleback, train, and boat. On one portion of the trip he and his fellow workers spent a day locating mules for the next trek. They planned to leave at 4:00 a.m., but their Indian mule driver was not ready. Then their goods were not securely packed on the mules, so Elder Andross repacked them himself. When they finally left, they took no lunch with them, expecting to find food along the way. They went along very dusty mountain trails and soon became extremely thirsty and hungry. They did, however, come to a native restaurant on the mountain and stopped there for dinner. Sitting on boxes around what was supposed to be a table, they were served black beans, very poorly cooked rice, tortillas, and very thick black coffee. Hungry dogs sat beside them, looking up appealingly. With no safe water around, they tried the coffee; but one or two swallows were all they could take. Soon after leaving this place, still very dry and thirsty, they found a clear mountain stream and rejoiced. But just as they were about to drink from it, they saw a pig and a woman bathing upstream and changed their minds. They continued on until 8:30 that evening, then by car another ten miles, arriving at their destination at 11:00 p.m.

During this time Mrs. Andross continued to write many articles. In one of them she stated, "We must live



The Davis Indians waited 12 years from the time Elder O. E. Davis died until another missionary could be spared to work with them. Both Elder and Mrs. Andross made pleas for the Davis Indians through articles, Autumn Councils, and General Conference sessions.

close enough to God to know His marching orders for us and close enough to the people who need help that we can reach them." Surely this philosophy must have contributed to her adjustment to overseas mission life. A large portion of her life had been spent in the General Conference office, living in Takoma Park. Yet we hear of no objections, no hesitancy to move with her husband to Inter-America. On January 15, 1924, Elder and Mrs. Andross sailed from New York for the Canal Zone to set up headquarters in Balboa.

She carried with her meticulous habits of organization. Every letter she wrote or received was kept neatly in her file. Every bed sheet she bought was marked with her name and the date of purchase. Yet she was not impatient with the human frailties of others. Relatives cannot recall hearing a cross word from her. And she adapted quickly to whatever lacks she found in the mission field, writing several months after her arrival, "I am so glad that we came to Inter-America."

They found the Balboa headquarters quite convenient and comfortable, feeling they had all the conveniences they could ask for, which helped to make the tropical climate quite bearable. The American government had cleaned out all the mosquitoes. Sanitary arrangements were as good as any in the States. And they had conveniences for travel to all parts of the field. Even financially they felt blessed, as the American government leased them homes and offices very reasonably. They paid \$24 per month for the division office and a moderate rent on their homes.

The task before the Andross family, though, was not easy. The work in Inter-America had grown rapidly, and it was widely scattered. Travel from one place to another required crossing wide expanses of water,





An appeal in 1930 contained this photograph of young Davis Indians who needed a teacher in their mission school.

climbing rugged mountains, or walking through jungles of tropical growth. The people were largely poor, and periodically all that had been built up would be suddenly destroyed by a hurricane or earthquake. The field included many governments, many languages and dialects, and a strong Roman Catholic influence flourishing in a combination of little education and much superstition. And tropical diseases caused a frequent turnover of missionaries. By 1926 Jamaica alone had had 106 missionaries in a little over ten years of mission work. It would be no easy task to put together a unit out of such diversity.

At all of these meetings she was especially touched by reports of the needs among the Indians in the division. Many pled for workers, and Mrs. Andross kept these needs before *Review* readers. Characteristically she wrote after one conference session, "In each call I found a challenge to search my own heart, to see if all is on the altar, and I find a longing to know how to acquaint others with the great need and opportunity that is each day growing more apparent in this division."

This burden for the Indians was deep. Her husband shared it, and so did many of the missionaries of the time. All were especially touched by the story of the "Davis" Indians. These were the Arekuna Indians on Mt. Roraima in British Guiana. Elder O. E. Davis had visited them years before, after hiking for many weeks to reach them. He stayed with them for a time, built three humble churches, and baptized 300 people. They had not yet learned very much when Elder Davis became ill and died there among them. They lovingly buried him, and then continued as best they could in the things he

had taught them, remembering his promise that someone else would come to teach them.

They waited and waited. The Arekuna turned down many offers of the Catholic Church to come in and teach them, believing that Elder Davis' successor would come. After twelve years, during which time there still had been no funds to send a worker to them, their chief hiked four weeks to Georgetown to plead with the mission office for a worker.

Finally, in 1924 the division committee decided that they must not wait another year but would send someone, no matter what the sacrifice, though their budget had just been cut. Elder and Mrs. Andross continued to plead for these Indians through articles, Autumn Councils, and General Conference sessions. Then Elders W. E. Baxter and C. B. Sutton made a short visit to Mt. Roraima in 1925, fourteen years after Elder Davis' death; and in August of 1927, thanks to the 1926 Mid-summer Offering, the A. W. Cotts and R. J. Christians started out from Georgetown with several Indian carriers. Illness claimed the lives of two leading Indians and forced the return of the Christians, but the Cott family went on to Mt. Roraima and set up housekeeping. There they worked for the Indians in practical ways, loved them, and told them the story of salvation.

When Mrs. Andross traveled with her husband to the General Conference session of 1926 she reported that in less than four years of operation the MV work in Inter-America showed a seventy-five percent increase in membership. She also conducted one of the Sabbath School department meetings, giving pointers on how to make effective personal appeals.



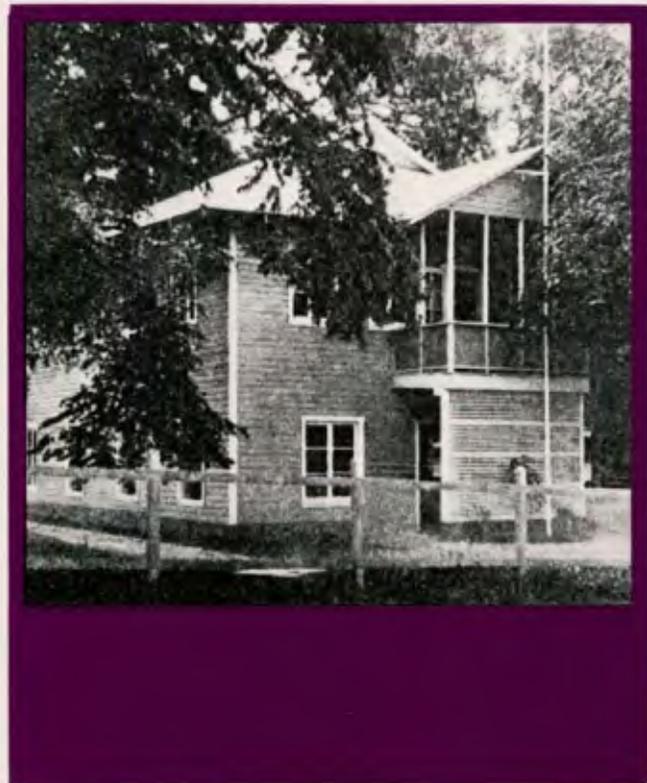
For years the Pacific Press Publishing Association maintained a branch in Cristobal, Canal Zone.

Plans were laid for some new division buildings in Balboa, and in 1928 Elder Andross led out in a dedicatory service for these buildings. There were five cottages and a main office building of two stories with commodious offices upstairs and a chapel and two guest rooms on the main floor. All of this had cost no more than \$28,000. Land was difficult to obtain, being never sold but only leased, so they felt fortunate to have these fine buildings on a corner along the main road from Balboa to Panama City. The administrative offices for the canal and the Canal Zone were in Balboa also. A pleasant train ride of an hour and a half through beautiful wooded sections would take one to the Pacific Press Branch at the other end of the canal, with the West Caribbean Training School visible along the way. The scenery could be very brown or a living green, depending on which season was currently in force. There were only two — rainy and dry.

In the office the division workers kept a prayer list on the blackboard. Every time they wrote a name on it, they thought of the attacks of Satan; but whenever they erased a name, they were reminded of God's power. They continued to feel a sweet spirit of unity among the workers, and they believed that the various departments of the work were developing symmetrically. Since it was largely a lay movement, they were aware of the need for trained leadership and continually called for more missionaries; but the laymen, as E. E. Andross described them, were eager and attentive, never needing padded seats (or any seats), form or ceremony, theatrical music, or other enticements.

The converts were very devoted, faithful people.

While Elder Andross was president of the Inter-American Division, he expanded the headquarters in Cristobal, Canal Zone.





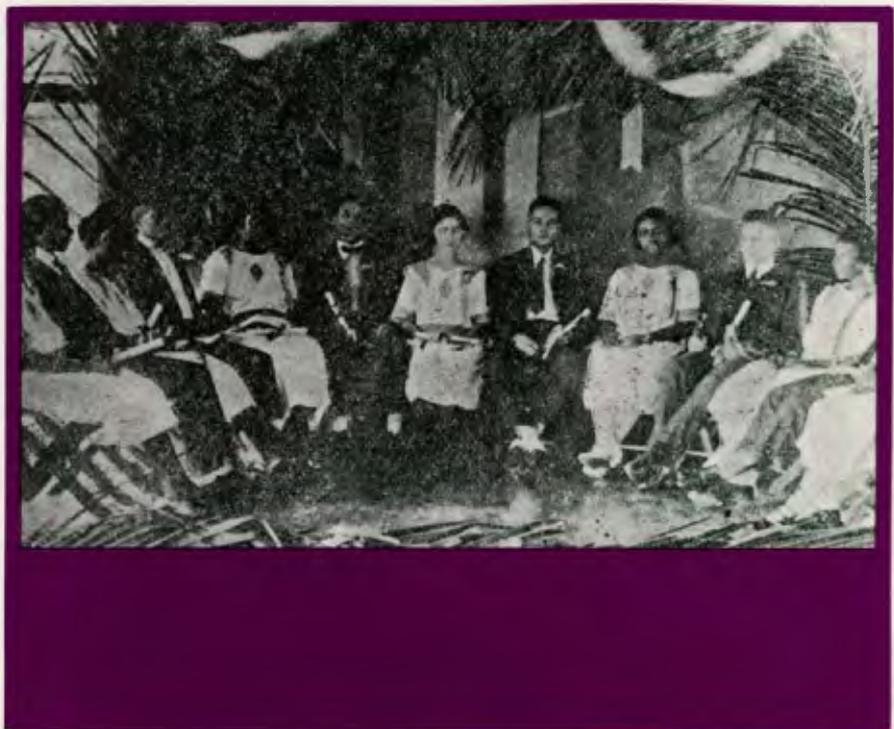
Rafael Lopez, a colporteur in Venezuela, was ambushed by four assassins. His death inspired others to take up his work.

Sometimes they were badly beaten by relatives for going to church, but they would still go. They would also give of themselves freely to help others. One loyal Indian in Mexico traveled four days and nights to accompany some missionaries over the mountains. He did not want to accept any money, though he was very poor. They insisted on giving him \$15, which was barely enough for food for him and his seven donkeys on their return trip; but he carefully counted out the tithe and gave it to them, asking them to take it to the mission treasurer. Likewise, a leper in an institution in the Canal Zone sent in the \$7.87 Ingathering he had collected from his fellow inmates, joyful that he could have a part in furthering God's work. Some were imprisoned for not working on the Sabbath, but they remained firm. Others were shot at. Rafael Lopez, a colporteur in Venezuela, was ambushed by four assassins, shot fourteen times, and stabbed in the heart. His death, however, stirred many others to take up his work.

Mrs. Andross wrote often of these people in *Review and Herald* articles, but she felt she had to be very careful what she published in the division paper, as it wouldn't be wise to publish accounts of persecution. She often had to cut out the best parts of stories she received at her desk. But for the *Review* she wrote frequent reports of the Inter-American work and many articles for young people, drawing lessons from the lives of people she met. She often solicited the prayers of God's people, particularly for more workers to satisfy the famine for the Word of God that she sensed.

Travel continued to take much of Elder Andross' time. He attended biennial sessions of the conferences,

Graduates of the Caribbean Training School in the Canal Zone are shown in this 1926 photograph.

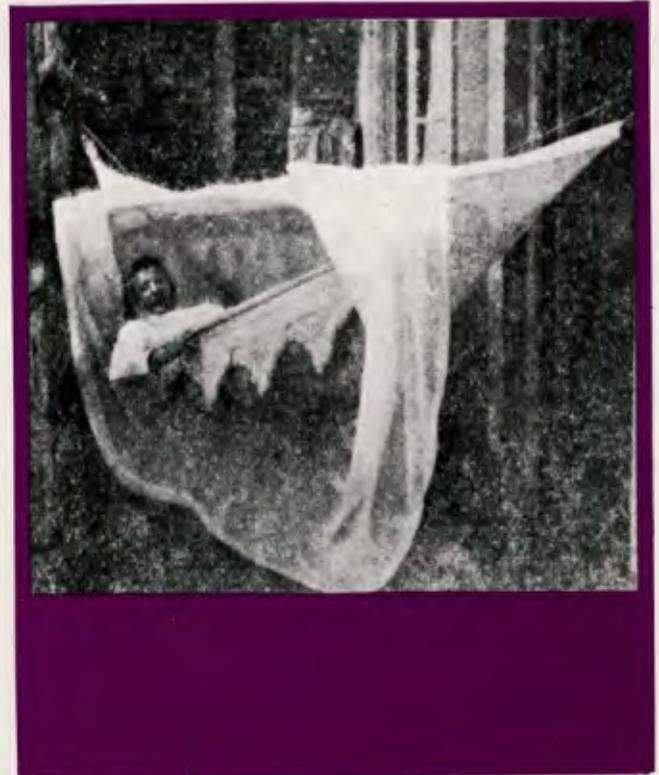


Autumn Council and General Conference sessions in the States, as well as visiting some of the remote areas of his field. Travel conditions continued to vary. Car travel, when available, often included a reckless driver. Intricate customs and entry regulations hindered travel in many countries and often consumed frustrating hours. Travelers in the mountains often had to keep in mind bandits or others who might not treat them well. And in some of the countries political situations meant uneasy traveling—trains dynamited, for instance. But these workers always felt God's presence.

In some parts of the territory the mosquitoes were especially bad. In one section of the British Guiana Conference the malarial mosquitoes were so large that they easily bit through a heavy coat. In the Cayman Islands all business stopped from June to October because of the mosquitoes. They were so bad that cows would actually be smothered to death by them, and they covered people completely too. Malaria had to be guarded against continually.

Hurricanes continued to disturb the mission work, too. In 1928 occurred the worst one since 1871, with a velocity of 150 m.p.h., and Elder Andross visited some of the islands to survey the damage after conducting conference sessions. In Montserrat it was common talk that only the Adventist church stood, while three others had been toppled. In Puerto Rico, however, the school was badly damaged, and many believers there and in the Leeward and Virgin Islands lost their homes and even their clothes.

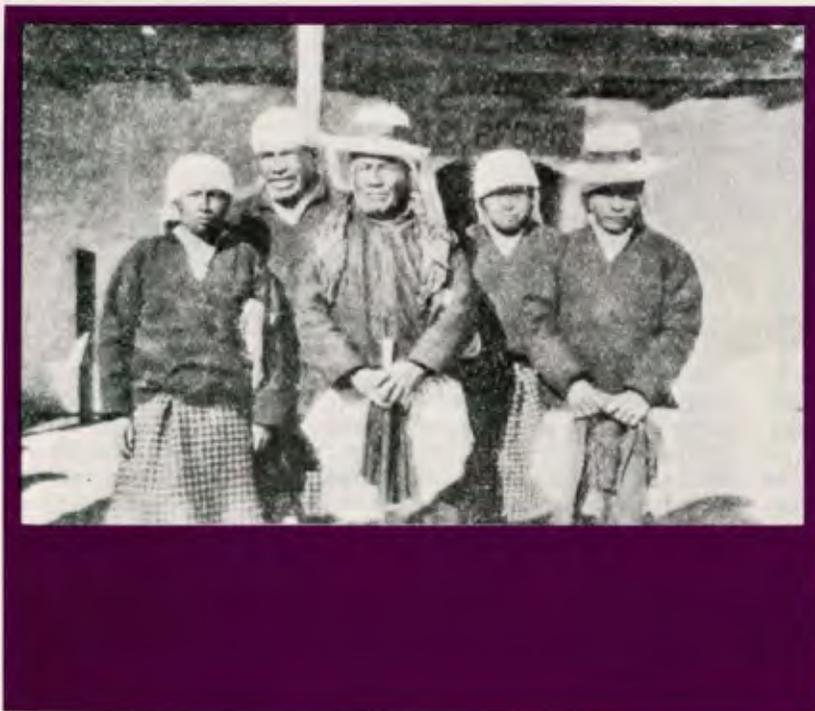
But the one that hit the following year registered at the same velocity and then blew the instruments away.



The use of mosquito netting was a necessary part of the missionaries' lives.



The West Caribbean Training School opened in 1921. It overlooked the Panama Canal in the Canal Zone.



Although first entered in 1908, the Guatemala field still had received very little attention by the time Elder and Mrs. Andross came to Inter-America.



In the Bahamas it lasted over seventy-two hours, blew boats 1,000 feet from the sea into the town, knocked steel electric poles across the street in Nassau, and demolished the church and school. Yet the church members gave thanks for protection, even though many of them had lost all their earthly possessions.

In one place, though, the storm worked to the advantage of the church members. On the little island of San Salvador in the Bahamas the believers had wanted to build a church. They planned to build it of stone, but all the stone workers on the island agreed not to build it. So the members themselves put it up in five days, but they didn't know what to do for flooring. Then the storm came and grounded a ship near the church. In order to float the ship, its cargo of sugar was unloaded and left by the church. Another ship, carrying a cargo of finishing lumber, ran aground on the other side of the island. The church members worked out an exchange and got their flooring.

But despite hardships the MV and Sabbath School work continued to grow. By 1930 there were 6,000 MV's and Mrs. Andross said that few of them had many grades of schooling but they were all college graduates when it came to the art of soul-winning.

Around the division many Sabbath School officers

would meet at their churches each morning at 5:00 in order to study the lesson with the illiterate members, sometimes taking an hour to do so. In 1930 there were 5,600 more Sabbath School members than church members and the Sabbath Schools outnumbered the churches by 293. There were then 14,602 church members in 338 churches. Mrs. Andross then reported that there was a Training Course outline being presented through the division paper, with textbooks and certificates being sent out. This surely must have been her own work.

At the 1930 General Conference she told of the earnestness of Sabbath School members. One woman had sent her a tiny branch loaded with oranges. An accompanying letter stated that she had owned the tree for fifty years, with almost no fruit, so she told the tree that if God would make it bear, she would sell the fruit for Investment. Birds had then eaten the oranges of other trees in the area but had never troubled this tree, from which she had sold hundreds of oranges.

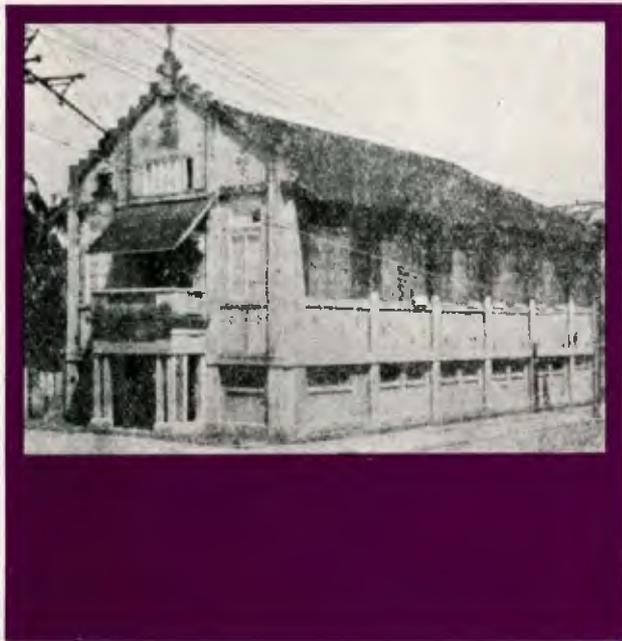
The medical work in Inter-America, which had only recently begun, continued to grow very slowly. Elder Andross reported that it seemed to be suffering from a severe attack of sleeping sickness, Inter-America being the only division, except possibly the Russian, that did

The Adventist Church at Bonacca, Honduras, was acquired by buying out the minority shareholders of what was first intended to be a union church. With later additions it became the largest church in the Honduras Mission.





In 1926 the only dispensary operated in El Salvador was in the front room of a house in La Loma.



The Adventist Church in Colon, Canal Zone, was one of several in the country when Elder and Mrs. Andross arrived in Inter-America.

not have even one of the eighty-one sanitariums and treatment rooms the church operated around the world. Yet it was a division with much disease and very little local medical help.

By the 1936 General Conference session Elder Andross could report that there had been more baptisms in Inter-America in the previous six years than in the entire forty-six years before that. The division membership at the close of 1935 stood at 28,132 in 514 churches. A large percent of these baptisms were young people. No wonder, as the MV Department reported more missionary work done than any other division of the world. Elder Andross gave credit to the solid foundation laid by the earlier pioneer missionaries; but he might well have added that much credit could go to the faithful work of his wife in the MV, Sabbath School, and editorial positions she held during those fourteen years.

At that General Conference he was elected a General Field Secretary of the General Conference, and the Andross family returned to Washington to live. In that work he still traveled considerably, and on one trip Mrs. Andross accompanied him to the Southern European Division, later writing a book about the self-sacrifice and devotion of the believers there.

In 1941 they were asked to come back to Inter-America to lead the work in the Caribbean Union Conference, though Elder Andross had officially retired that summer. In December, following Pearl Harbor, they sailed in a blacked-out ship through submarine-infested seas. However, Mrs. Andross' health forced them to return in a little over a year.

Even in retirement, Mrs. Andross taught a Sabbath School class, sent packages to Inter-America, corresponded widely, and gave of herself to her family and friends and to those in need. Apparently it never occurred to her to consider it a comedown to have gone from the General Conference level, to the division, to the union conference, and finally to a local Sabbath



A snapshot of Matilda Erickson Andross taken shortly before her death in 1957.

School. Rather, she considered it a privilege to serve wherever she could. She had followed God's call when it seemed that she might be giving up her education, marriage, and perhaps other wishes. But she had seen God give her not only her college degree, but graduate education as well, a satisfying marriage, travel, and friends around the world, as well as the inner satisfaction of having faithfully followed His will throughout her life.

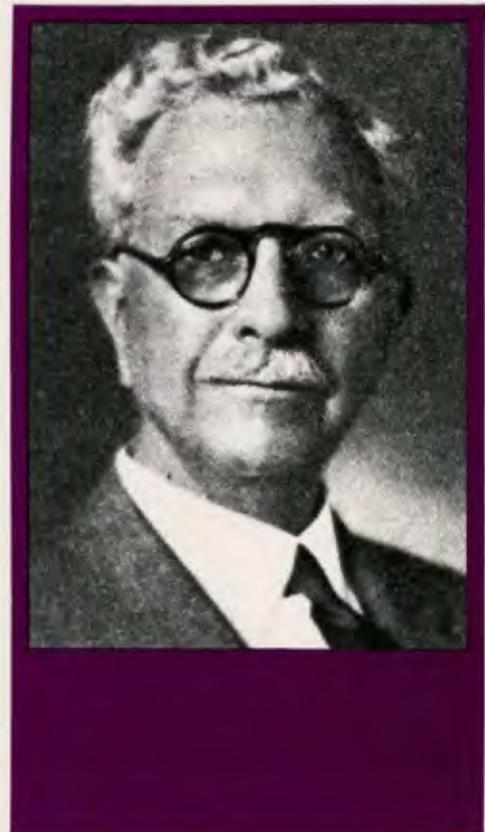
She grieved deeply when her husband died in 1950 after a long illness, but she devoted herself more completely to service for others. In 1957 she went to California to visit relatives. While there she was seriously injured in an automobile accident. Rushed to the White Memorial Hospital, she died the next night, without regaining consciousness.

In her Bible, penned in her own handwriting, was found the following expression of her own life:

I want to live a life, dear Lord,
 That those around may see
 The glory of Thy righteousness
 Exemplified in me.
 Oh, manifest Thy mighty power
 To make a sinner whole.
 Control my mind, possess my heart,
 And fill my empty soul.

Then shall this mortal frame of mine
 Be subject to Thy will —
 To think, to speak, and then to act,
 Or by Thy grace be still.
 The power of an endless life
 Shall thrill me through and through
 And nothing else shall be my aim
 But Thy sweet will to do.

— Waldon Taylor Hammond
 (In *Australian Record*, March 30, 1942)



Elder Elmer E. Andross had already been a vice president of the General Conference before his marriage to Matilda Erickson in 1920. In 1922, he was called to Inter-America to organize that field into a Division Conference.

The Depression and the Role of Women in the Seventh-day Adventist Church



PATRICK ALLEN

Women have served the Seventh-day Adventist Church in many capacities since its beginnings. The outstanding role model for them was undoubtedly Ellen White, who gave direction to the denomination's development for many years. Adventist church historian, C. Mervyn Maxwell, writes concerning these women,

They have exerted a vast influence on the course of Adventism through their dedication to service, the variety of their contributions, their loyalty, and their humility. They have served as secretaries, teachers, nurses, missionaries, Bible workers, writers, editors, composers, founders, administrators, financiers and preachers. Yet for the most part they have served with little recognition. Their salaries have ordinarily been much less than those of men. They have rarely petitioned for higher responsibilities or titles. They have done virtually everything, asked virtually for nothing, and received their reward in knowing that they have done what they could.

Among the literary ladies were Annie R. Smith, whose hymns are still well loved in the church and who served as proofreader and copy editor for the *Review and Herald* in the 1850s; Mary Kelsey-White, daughter-in-law of Ellen White, assistant editor of *The Signs of the Times*; Adelia Patten Van Horn, editor of *The Youth's Instructor* from 1864 to 1867; and L. Flora Plummer who compiled teaching materials for the Sabbath Schools.

What today is the Adventist Book Center had its origins in the Vigilant Missionary Society established in 1869 by four women: Mary H. Haskell, Mary L. Priest, Rhoda Wheeler, and Roxie Rice. They formed the Tract and Missionary Society in 1874 for the distribution of

This painting by Annie Smith is thought to be a self-portrait. Besides being a talented hymn writer, Annie is the only woman to have served as acting editor of the Adventist Review since its founding in 1850.



Hetty Hurd had already worked as a very successful Bible instructor in California, England, and South Africa before her marriage to Elder S. N. Haskell in Australia after the death of his first wife.

(Below left) Adelia Patten Van Horn served as editor of the Youth's Instructor from 1864 to 1867. Earlier she assisted Ellen White in preparing materials for publication.

(Below) The forerunner of our present Adventist Book Centers was started in 1869 in South Lancaster, Massachusetts, by a group of women. First called The Vigilant Missionary Society, the name was later changed to New England Tract and Missionary Society. Tract societies for the distribution of literature were later organized throughout the entire denomination.





Maria Huntley became the first secretary of the International Tract and Missionary Society when it was organized in 1874 and continued in that position until her death in 1890.



Flora H. Williams served as assistant secretary of the General Conference Department of Education and assistant secretary of the Home Commission. She also served as editor of Home and School magazine from 1930 to 1938.



L. Flora Plummer headed the Sabbath School Department of the General Conference from 1913 to 1936. In addition, she wrote several books and also served as editor of the Sabbath School Worker from 1904 to 1936.



When the Vigilant Missionary Society was organized in 1869 in South Lancaster, Massachusetts, Mary L. Priest was elected as its first secretary. Though often in ill health, Mary remained secretary until her death in 1889. Records show that she wrote some 6,000 letters to persons who had received literature from her.

Adventist literature. At its head was Maria Huntley, a dynamic woman who gave efficient leadership to the Society and herself spent much time in writing letters to people around the world. Subsequently, for decades, all the Secretaries of the General Conference Tract and Missionary Society were women.

Women also distinguished themselves in other administrative positions. Three of the nine executive members of the first General Conference Foreign Mission Board of 1879 were Minerva Chapman, Maria Huntley, and Maud Sisley. Minerva Chapman (nee Loughborough) served also as editor of *The Youth's Instructor*, Treasurer of the General Conference, Secretary of the Publishing Association of the General Conference, and Secretary and Treasurer of the Tract and Missionary Society. During 1877 she held all four offices concurrently. Maria Huntley worked also as a member of the almost exclusively male General Conference Committee, in addition to serving as the Secretary of the Tract and Missionary Society in 1874. She was the only woman apart from Ellen White to address the historic 1888 Minneapolis General Conference session. Flora Williams (Education) and L. Flora Plummer (Sabbath School) in the early decades of the twentieth century had the honor of being among the last women to serve as departmental secretaries.



General Conference President, Charles H. Watson, was born in Australia. The strain of trying to lead the world church during the difficult depression years caused him to retire because of ill health after one term as president.

The drastic actions taken by the church in reaction to the economic depression were printed in the Autumn Council Minutes of 1931. Although all denominational employees felt the impact of the new policy, women were most affected.

Despite the significance of women in the earlier period of church history, the 1930s witnessed a dramatic decline in their role. This change resulted, to a great degree, from the economic depression experienced by the United States and much of the rest of the world between 1929 and 1941. The financial condition in the church paralleled that of the nation. Church income declined so drastically that by 1934 the church was tapping every possible avenue to supplement its income and to keep the organization afloat. At the Autumn Council held in November, 1934, the Treasurer expressed great appreciation for "the sum of \$29,000 which was realized from the sale of old gold and silver which our people gave."

Because of the worsening economic condition, the General Conference session was postponed from 1934 to 1936. At the 1936 meeting President Charles Watson summed up the depression's financial effect on the church:

In 1930, the year of our last session, our world income was almost \$52 million. In 1931 it was \$45 million. In 1932 it was \$38 million. In 1933 it was \$35 million. In 1934 it was \$34 million. Thus you will observe that on the first year of this administration our world income decreased more than \$6 million. In the second year it decreased \$7 million. In the third year, \$3 million. In the

Actions of the Autumn Council of the General Conference Committee



October 20 to 28, 1931
Omaha, Nebraska

PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.



John L. Shaw served as treasurer of the General Conference from 1922 to 1936. He maintained that the new denominational policy adopted during the depression that limited the tenure of any worker in a church administrative office would allow workers to be transferred rather than dropped. A result of the policy seems to have been the elimination of most women from administrative positions in the church.

fourth year \$1 million. That makes a total decrease of \$17 million. This means that the actual loss of income for those four years was the stupendous sum of \$54 million. That is, had we received as much income in each of those four years, 1931-34, as we received in 1930, we would have had \$54 million more than the amount we did receive.

To cope with this declining economic situation, the General Conference made decisions in three major areas between 1931 and 1934 that enabled the church to survive but at the same time had drastic effects upon individual workers. These decisions affected tenure of office, the merging of conferences, and the cutting of wages.

In 1931 the General Conference, seeking to "increase the efficiency of all," limited the time any one individual could serve in a single position. At the General Conference and its divisions tenure of office was limited to twelve years, in the unions eight years, and in the local conferences and missions six years. The policy was defended on the basis that in the early years of the denomination leaders moved quite frequently, not staying in one line of work as was the case in the early 1930s. It was further reiterated by the treasurer, J. L. Shaw, that the policy was intended to transfer rather than to drop men so that their maximum usefulness might be maintained.

The specific reference to "men" could indicate that only their job welfare was being considered. How

women workers would be treated under this policy when their tenure of office expired, which in most cases would be after they had served for six years, since the majority of them worked at the conference level, remained to be seen. They might not be called to work in another conference or, if they were called and had a family, there was the problem of a call also for the husband. The *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* statistics for the period 1920 to 1940 seem to indicate that women might have fallen victim to this policy, for there is virtually no record of such transfers.

Later in 1931 the Autumn Council made the even more significant decision to merge several conferences. The Council agreed that many conference boundaries had been fixed when transportation was not readily accessible, and that since the situation had been changed by the availability of faster transportation, a large area could now be easily reached. Conferences could therefore be merged, making possible the transfer of money from administration to evangelism.

The Council recommended the reduction of the number of union conferences in North America from twelve to eight and the number of local conferences from fifty-eight to forty-eight. Several of the mergers directly affected women administrators.

Mergers that took place in 1931 affected at least six women. In Michigan, Iris Morey temporarily lost her job as Sabbath School Secretary when the East and West Michigan Conferences joined together but regained it in 1932 and served for another three years. When the Chicago and Illinois Conferences merged two ladies were replaced immediately and a third had left her position by 1933. Mrs. Lulu P. Wilcox's job as Secretary-Treasurer went to a man when the Nevada and Utah Conferences merged. And when the Central California Conference was created, Mina Morse-Mann was relieved as Sabbath School Secretary. Mergers the following year continued the pattern. With the joining of the West Virginia and West Pennsylvania Conferences Nell Meade, who served as a Home Missionary, Sabbath School, and Missionary Volunteer Secretary, held her position for only a few more months, leaving in 1933. When Alabama and Mississippi united into one conference, Mrs. J. G. White, who worked as Secretary, Treasurer, and Sabbath School Secretary of the Mississippi Conference kept only the latter office which she ceased to hold by the following year. A similar situation took place when Arkansas and Louisiana merged. Ella Winn had been serving as Secretary, Treasurer, and Manager of the Book and Bible House but retained only the Book and Bible House position after the merger and held that for just another year.

In none of the cases (except that of Iris Morey) where a woman lost her position because of a merger or soon after a merger was she replaced by another woman. Although pursued for economic reasons, the merging of local conferences was clearly detrimental to women administrators. Finally, as the income of the organization continued to decline, church leaders faced the hard decision of either cutting back on the number of church employees, reducing salaries, or both. Richard Schwarz, author of a college Adventist denominational history textbook, describes the situation:

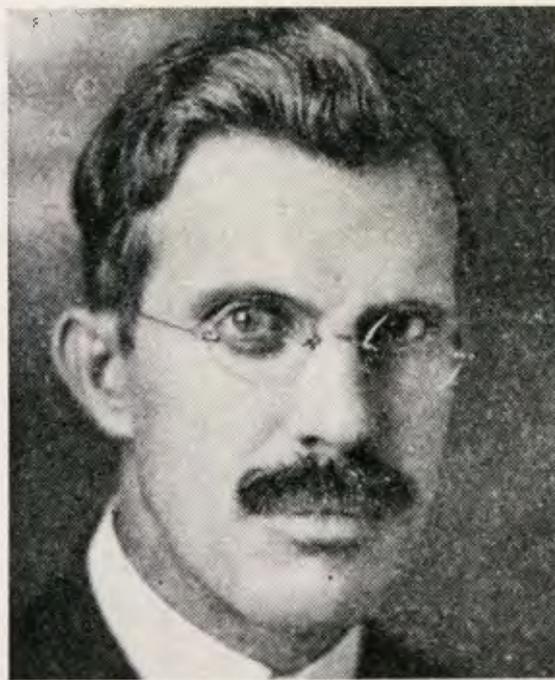
The financial reserve fund, rebuilt during the late 20s, was quickly exhausted. Like millions of other workers, denominational employees found it necessary to accept a thirty percent cut in pay. Local conferences introduced many economy measures: less travel by workers, restricted use of telephones, smaller advertising budgets for evangelistic series. In this way most, but not all, were able to avoid discharging ministerial laborers.

The paycuts were particularly hard on women, who were paid, even apart from the effects of the depression, less than men. Prior to the salary reductions, a single woman, for example, received sixteen dollars a week. After the wage reductions she was making slightly over eleven dollars weekly. One woman was required to share a room, which was partitioned with a cloth screen, on the second floor of a church with a married couple. She chose to resign her position and work for the government until the denomination could provide her with a better situation. Married women whose husbands worked for the church were, perhaps, even worse off, for they were not salaried. Instead, their husbands received an additional allowance of five dollars weekly. Women who became heads of household were remunerated as a single worker. Furthermore, because women were not ordained ministers they were among the first to lose their jobs when reductions were made in the number of employees. As one *Review and Herald* writer stated,

Some who are now employed and who are not preachers will have to be cared for temporarily until they can find self-supporting employment—and others who by reason of age or lack of adaptability cannot be profitably readjusted will be hastened to the sustentation fund.

The number of female pastors dropped from six to zero between 1931 and 1933 although one was added in 1935. And the total number of credentialed and licensed women workers dropped between 1930 and 1935 from approximately 500 to 350 for both the United States and Europe while the male workers increased from about 2,000 to 2,250 during the same period. It should be noted, however, that the number of female workers had been declining even before 1930 and the advent of the depression. But the declining economy did have some specific effects. Some conferences adopted policies whereby "no married women were to be hired. They were to be supported by their husbands," as one worker recalled. But in the case of men, provisions were made to provide room and board if a conference was unable to pay a salary.

Together with the mergers, such decisions resulted in a sharp decline in the number of women administrators. The Sabbath School departments illustrate the changing situation. They had been run predominantly by women but by 1940 became virtually a male domain. In 1920, sixty percent of the conference Sabbath School departmental secretaries were female but by 1940 women held only slightly over fifteen percent of the positions. This department was directed at the General Conference level by Mrs. L. Flora Plummer, a most successful woman with "a fertile brain, firm will and a faculty for vigorous promotion coupled with a gracious personality and unusual skill in diplomacy." Although she had



James A. Stevens served as secretary of the General Conference Home Missionary Department and later as secretary of the Sabbath School Department. When L. Flora Plummer retired in 1936 from the Sabbath School Department, Elder Stevens was elected to replace her rather than either of her two male associate secretaries, S. A. Wellman or J. C. Thompson, or her assistant secretary, Rosamond Ginther.

greatly improved the department during her incumbency, when she retired in 1936 her position went to a man, J. A. Stevens, rather than to her assistant Rosamond Ginther. Four years later there were only nine female Sabbath School department secretaries in the entire North American division whereas there had had been fifty-one in 1920.

The decline in licensed and credentialed women workers was offset by an increasing number of women in literature evangelism or canvassing. In 1942 one writer described their efforts:

In no other line of denominational work have women displayed more ability than in the field of colporteur evangelism. Their ideas, their education of home life and its problems, and their power to influence, have enabled them to do wonders in this work. 'The Lord giveth the word. The women that publish the tidings are a great host.' Without doubt we have come to the time when women will play a larger part than they have in the past in sowing the seed, the word of God.

The number of women canvassers increased in 1934 by fifteen percent over 1933, and by 1940 the number had increased another six percent over 1935. "Several of our sisters have resigned from 'good positions' and volunteered for the literature ministry," wrote J. J. Strahle in 1942. It is unclear which areas women resigned from to enter canvassing, possibly those affected by the tenure of office policy, merging of conferences, or wage or personnel cuts. It is clear, however, that women were more actively involved in the sale of books during the depression than previously.



The last woman to serve as head of a General Conference department was M. Carol Hetzell. She was director of the Communication Department from 1975 until her death in 1978.

Although the economic impact of the depression on the church was a major accelerating factor in reducing the role of women in the upper echelons of the church, it could only have this effect because of the prevailing attitudes toward women's roles. Even though women served in such executive positions as secretary and treasurer, they were rarely members of executive committees, the decision-making bodies of the church. Those who served as departmental secretaries were virtually barred from these committees. L. Flora Plummer was the sole female voice on the General Conference Committee for a number of years until her retirement in 1936 and the only female representative at the Autumn Councils. Of the 469 delegates attending the 1930 General Conference Session, apart from Mrs. Plummer, only two female delegates were seated: Iris Morey of the Lake Union and Anna Knight of the Southeastern Union. All of the other women were listed as accompanying their husbands.

Certain policies definitely treated women differently from men. The Autumn Council of 1931, for example, voted to withdraw furlough privileges from female workers who married colonials, a policy that did not apply to men. In a singular but revealing case, a General Conference librarian was not allowed to examine

books donated by an apostate Adventist to the library until they had been previewed by the men.

Lying behind these actions was a patriarchal attitude toward women. As one woman recalled years later,

When a woman accepted a job to work with the organization she did not ask what her salary would be, nor if there would be any fringe benefits. To question such matters was considered a lack of dedication. Loyalty to the organization and her conviction were to be the motivating factor in her work.

Contemporary evidence supports this view. Writing in *The Ministry* in 1933, A. L. Caviness stated:

I know a minister's wife who helped her husband form good habits of speech. As his ability grew he became a division president. . . . Over and over as the two of us prayed together she poured out her heart for her husband. Verily the wife is not failing in her duty. Delicate to the point of frailty she was quick to depreciate herself and effort because she is such a Christian. God grant that her sisters may follow her example and share in her reward, for it is sure to be of the pure in heart "to see God."

Elsewhere, minister's wives were referred to as the "silent partner."

Females, Ruth Tyrell wrote, should develop their potential in those "avenues of service for women in the work which are many and well defined." These "avenues" included the Dorcas Society and help bands for the purpose of assisting the poor, the sick, and the suffering, the Bible worker's class, the correspondence band, where missionary letters might be written, the home nursing class, the literature bands, Harvest In-gathering, and colporteur Big Week.

Indeed, the most important role for women to play was in the home. A 1935 *Ministry* article described the ideal world of the woman:

The wife has two spheres, the church and the home. She is a satellite that must shine in her spiritual kingdom with light borrowed from her husband. The woman's greatest and grandest sphere is the home. There she is supreme mistress, and there she is to demonstrate the divine principles of this message.

Not surprisingly, it was during the 1930s that the denomination's Home Commission, which sought to educate women in homemaking and child-rearing, flourished.

In holding this attitude of a subordinate position for women the Seventh-day Adventist Church was certainly not alone; in this respect it reflected the prevailing attitudes of American culture. But women, even if in limited numbers, had played major roles in the church prior to the 1930s. Various elements may have affected the reduction of women's roles in the church: the death of Ellen White, the growing prestige of the church which made its offices more attractive to men, and the decline of feminism generally in American culture. But any explanation must take into account that a single decade, the 1930s, witnessed that decline most dramatically. The economic crash, the central experience of the 1930s, acting on existing attitudes and values accelerated if not precipitated, the decline of women administrators in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

HERIHOOM

A PORTRAIT GALLERY: A FEW NOTABLE WOMEN

JAMES R. NIX

Martha D. (Byington) Amadon (1834-1937) has the distinction of being the first teacher of a church school established for Sabbath keepers. In 1853 her father, John Byington (later elected the first General Conference President), established a school in Buck's Bridge, New York, in the home of Aaron Hilliard. Five families cooperated. In 1860 she married George W. Amadon. Later, Martha became the first elected president of a Dorcas and Benevo-



Martha Amadon



Agnes Caviness



Lora Clement



Franke Cobban



Belle Comstock

lent Association. Formed in October, 1874, in Battle Creek, Michigan, there were eight women that became charter members. Activities included making garments, supplying food for needy families, caring for the fatherless and widows, and ministering to the sick.

Agnes Elvira (Lewis) Caviness (1889-1973) is generally best remembered as "Mother Naomi"—the pen name under which she wrote many articles in Seventh-day Adventist journals. Born in Minnesota, she received her education at several Adventist colleges, eventually becoming the first degree candidate from Pacific Union College. Later she taught at both Union College and Washington Missionary College. With her husband, Leon L. Caviness, she was a founder of the *Seminaire Adventists du Saleve*, in France, and was dean of women during its first year. After serving twelve years overseas as a missionary, she and her family returned to Pacific Union College where she taught French and German and pioneered in teaching classes in marriage and the family. She also authored the book *The Way He Should Go*.

Lora E. Clement (1890-1958) served as editor of the *Youth's Instructor* from 1923 until 1952. Her column "Let's Talk It Over" was a regular feature of the paper for many years. A 1908 graduate of Union College, she worked first as secretary to Elder M. E. Kern (1908-1911). Later she joined the staff of the *Youth's Instructor* under Fannie Dickerson Chase, becoming associate editor in 1918. After her retirement as editor she served as librarian of the Review and Herald Publishing Association until her accidental death in a traffic accident.

Franke Flowers Cobban (1886-1974) spent her life as a nurse and administrator. A native of South Dakota, she entered Seventh-day Adventist denominational employment in 1904 at the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Later she worked at the Washington Sanitarium and Hospital, the Harding Rural Rest Home in Ohio, and the General Conference Medical Department. She became instructor of nurses at White Memorial Hospital and Glendale Sanitarium in California. In 1971 she was chosen for the Hall of Fame in the Northern California Chapter of the Association of Seventh-day Adventist Nurses.

Belle Jessie (Wood) Comstock, M.D. (1880-1961) was a physician and author. After teaching public schools for seven years, she went to Battle Creek, Michigan, to study medicine. In 1907 she married Dr. D. D. Comstock and two years later graduated from medicine at the University of Southern California. She and her husband spent seven years at Glendale Sanitarium where they initiated the visiting nurse organization and conducted health institutes. For more than 20 years Dr. Belle Comstock was in charge of the clinic in nutrition and endocrinology at the White Memorial Hospital.

Over the years she contributed many articles to health magazines, especially *Life and Health*. She also wrote a number of books, including *All About the Baby*, *The Home Dietitian*, and *Physiology: the Human Body and How to Keep It in Health*. In collaboration with A. W. Spalding she wrote *The Days of Youth*, *Growing Boys and Girls*, and *Through Early Childhood*.

HERIHOOM

Nellie Druillard



Nellie Helen (Rankin) Druillard (1844-1937) was one of several women church workers furnished by the Rankin family. A graduate of Wisconsin State Normal College, she superintended a couple of public schools before going to work at Battle Creek Sanitarium. She married Alma Druillard, a businessman of means. In 1886 she served as Tract Society secretary in the Nebraska Conference, and, in 1888, as treasurer of the same conference. Nellie and her husband went to South Africa in 1889 where she served as treasurer and auditor of the conference as well as Tract Society secretary. She spent her spare time as a nurse in a small sanitarium operated by the Wessels family. She was also secretary of the South Africa Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Upon her return to the United States in 1898, she served as matron and accountant for the Boulder Sanitarium and later as treasurer of Emmanuel Missionary College until 1903.

In 1904 Mrs. Druillard joined her nephew, E. A. Sutherland, and Percy T. Magan (whose education she had helped finance) in establishing a school at Madison, Tennessee. Besides loaning money to purchase the land, she served for 20 years as treasurer of the institution. Nellie organized the Madison Sanitarium and its school of practical nursing and was its first instructor. At the age of 78, after being injured in an automobile accident, she decided to do something to help Southern Blacks. The result was her establishment of the Riverside Sanitarium and School of Nursing in Tennessee. Nellie Druillard devoted more than ten years to its development before transferring it to the General Conference. The last two years of her life were spent back on the campus of Madison College where she attended board meetings and counseled self-supporting institutions that grew up around Madison.

Adelaide Evans



Adelaide Bee (Cooper) Evans (1870-1958) began — at the early age of 13 — working at the Review and Herald publishing house in Battle Creek, Michigan, as a proofreader and copy editor under Elders Uriah Smith, G. C. Tenney, and A. T. Jones. From 1899-1904, she served as editor of the *Youth's Instructor*. She then resigned to marry the manager of the Review and Herald Publishing Company, I. H. Evans, and share in his missionary service to the Orient.

Mrs. Evans wrote several books for children, including *The Bible Year*, *Easy Steps in the Bible Story*, *The Children's Friend*, *Men of Might*, *Really Trulies*, *Stories of the Kings from David to Christ*, *Story of Esther*, and *Strange People and Customs*.



Vesta Farnsworth

Vesta Jean (Cady) Farnsworth (1885-1932) served as corresponding secretary of the International Sabbath School Association between 1890 (the year her first husband, A. D. Olson, died) and 1893, the year she married E. W. Farnsworth. She and her new husband went to Australia where they worked for nearly eight years. During part of that time she edited the *Bible Echo*. Upon their return to America, the Farnsworths worked in the Atlantic Union Conference and then at what is now called Columbia Union College. In 1911 her husband accepted the presidency of the California Conference, and Mrs. Farnsworth led out in the Sabbath School work. She was author of four books for children: *Friends and Foes in Field and Forest*, *Stories Mother Told*, *The Real Home*, and *The House We Live In*.

HERIHOOM

Sarepta Myrenda (Irish) Henry (1838-1900), or S. M. I. Henry, as she was generally known, did not become a Seventh-day Adventist until 1896 while she was a patient at the Battle Creek Sanitarium. A long-time leader of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, S. M. I. Henry had been reared in Illinois where her father was a Methodist minister. In 1861 she married James W. Henry, who died ten years later, leaving her with three small children. Appalled one day in 1874 that her child had been enticed to enter a saloon, she organized the Christian women of Rockford, Illinois, to active promotion of temperance, then went on to become a nationwide evangelist for the newly-organized Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

After her conversion to Adventism, Mrs. Henry continued her work for the WCTU. She conceived a plan for what she called "woman ministry" and lectured from coast to coast in the United States and Canada on the role of the mother in the moral education of society. She presented her plan to Seventh-day Adventist congregations, and work that she instituted was the first organized effort in the church to train parents and to help with their problems.

Beside her writings for the WCTU, S. M. I. Henry wrote a number of articles for the *Review and Herald*. Among her many published works are *The Abiding Spirit*, *Good Form and Christian Etiquette*, and *How the Sabbath Came to Me*.

Anna Knight (1874-1972) was born in Mississippi at a time when educational opportunities for black children were almost non-existent. By playing with white children and listening to them read and spell, she soon learned the basic skills. She practiced her skills by scratching in the dust with a stick, and — although she had never been inside of a schoolhouse — she mastered the subjects commonly taught in the public schools by the time she was in her teens.

After she wrote to a New England newspaper requesting reading materials, someone sent Anna the *Signs of the Times*. From reading this she was converted to Seventh-day Adventism. Thanks to the assistance of a conference worker in Tennessee, she was able to attend Mount Vernon Academy in 1894. Four years later, Anna graduated from Battle Creek College as a missionary nurse, then returned to her home state to operate a self-supporting school for black children.

It was in 1901 that she was appointed as a missionary to India, where she served six years. The Southeastern Union called her in 1909 to work in Atlanta. Her duties included nursing, teaching, and Bible work. When the Southeastern Conference and the Southern Conference merged, she served in the educational department until Regional conferences were formed, at which time she retired.

She authored *Mississippi Girl*, her autobiography. At 98 years of age she was serving as president of the National Colored Teachers' Association. A few months before her death she was awarded the Medallion of Merit Award for her extraordinary service to Seventh-day Adventist education.

Mary Gibson (Cole) Kuhn (1882-1964) graduated from South Lancaster Academy in 1903. She became principal of a nine-grade school in Brooklyn that later became an academy. In time she earned her BA degree from Washington Missionary College and her MA from the University of Southern California. Her teaching career included faculty appointments at Washington Missionary

Sarepta Henry



Anna Knight

Mary Kuhn



College, Union College, Emmanuel Missionary College, La Sierra College, Shanghai Missionary College, and the Home Missionary Institute. In 1909 she became educational secretary for the Atlantic Union Conference. Later she taught for a time in the Bermuda Islands. After returning to the States, she studied nursing. In 1911 she married Elder Otto B. Kuhn. They went to China in 1916 where they served until 1937. After returning home, she taught for a time at Loma Linda Academy. During her lifetime she also authored several books, including *Lantern Light*, *Leader of Men*, and *Skipper of the Sentinel*, as well as a number of articles and many poems.

HERILOOM

Mary Elizabeth Lamson (1875-1969) was born in Michigan where she received her early education in local schools. Her 40-year teaching career began in 1895. In 1898 Mary borrowed \$5.00 from her brother and enrolled in the first summer school to train teachers for Seventh-day Adventist schools. Starting the following fall, she lived in the home of Dr. J. H. Kellogg and taught six of his adopted children, all ninth-graders.

Mary served two years as preceptress of Battle Creek College.



Mary Lamson

Katherine Lindsey



Although she enjoyed the work, she did not go with the school when it transferred to Berrien Springs, Michigan. Instead, she remained in Battle Creek where she taught church school for the next five years.

In 1918 newly elected president Frederick Griggs invited her to become preceptress of Emmanuel Missionary College, a position she held until her retirement in 1935. During this time she completed her B.A. degree. Lamson Hall, the women's residence hall at Andrews University is named in her honor.

Katherine Lindsey, MD (1842-1923) has the distinction of being the founder of the first Seventh-day Adventist nurse's training school. By 1870, when she entered the University of Michigan Medical College, she had already received some training in nursing and had attended college for six years. She graduated from medicine in 1875 at the head of her class with the first group of women to receive the degree from the college.

"Dr. Kate," as she was known, joined the staff of the Battle Creek Sanitarium. There she vigorously set about establishing the first Seventh-day Adventist school of nursing. Through the introduction of thorough classwork, she became known as a foremost teacher of student nurses.

In 1895 she went to South Africa where she worked at Claremont Sanitarium in Capetown. She became a leading consultant and traveled under most difficult conditions to mission stations in the interior. En route back to the United States she traveled extensively in Europe. In 1900 she began 20 years as an active member of the medical staff and faculty of Colorado Sanitarium in Boulder, again devoting special attention to the nursing school.

Sara McEnterfer (1854-1936) is best remembered for the more than 30 years that she worked as nurse and traveling companion to Ellen G. White. As a young woman of 20 she joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church. In 1876 she attended Battle Creek College and later worked at the Pacific Press Publishing Company in Oakland, California. In 1882 she began the long association with Ellen White that continued until Mrs. White's death in 1915. Sara traveled with Mrs. White to Europe and Australia as well as on many of her trips in the United States.

Alma E. (Baker) McKibbin (1871-1974) was distinguished by two "firsts" in the history of Seventh-day Adventist education. She was the first church school teacher in California, and the author of the first Bible textbooks. These "shoestring" textbooks — so called because the earliest copies were held together by shoestrings — were the first of several Bible textbooks authored by Alma McKibbin to be used throughout the United States and in many foreign countries.

An 1891 graduate of Healdsburg College in California, Alma started a church school in the San Pasqual Valley. After teaching in several church schools, she joined the faculty of her *alma mater*. When the renamed Pacific Union College transferred to Angwin, California, she moved with it.

In 1921 she left the college and moved to Mountain View, California, where she taught in the academy until her retirement. In 1972 she was awarded the Adventist Educational Medallion of Merit. The administration building at Pacific Union College Preparatory School is named in her honor.

Alma McKibbin



Sara McEnterfer



HERALD

Hannah More (1808-1868) is thought to have joined the Adventist Church about 1863 after a visit to America in 1861 or 1862. Elder S. N. Haskell gave her a copy of J. N. Andrews' *History of the Sabbath* as well as other Adventist publications. After losing her position in 1866 as superintendent of an orphanage operated by an English missionary society at Cape Palmas, Liberia, Hannah returned to America. She joined the South Lancaster, Massachusetts, Adventist Church and later went to Battle Creek, Michigan, hoping to find a teaching position. She was not offered any kind of work. Eventually she accepted work in Northwest Michigan in the home of a non-Adventist. There she died within a few months.

Ellen White, who was absent from Battle Creek at the time, reproached the local church members for their neglect. She said that God had given the church a gift of an experienced missionary to help in its work, but they had neglected the chance to employ the gift.

Through Hannah More's influence, a fellow missionary in Africa named Dickson accepted Adventist beliefs. Later, upon returning to his native Australia, he became the first to preach Seventh-day Adventist doctrine in that country.

Eliza H. Morton (1852-1916) began her teaching career at the age of 16. She first taught in public schools in her native Maine. Later, between 1880 and 1883 she served as head of the normal and commercial departments of Battle Creek College. From 1893 to 1910 she served as secretary and treasurer of the Maine Conference and Tract Society, where she made an outstanding contribution. From the mid-seventies to the mid-nineties her name appeared often as a contributor on the pages of the *Review and Herald* as well as other journals. Besides collections of her poems that were printed in book form, she also authored several textbooks on geography.

Sarah Elizabeth Peck (1868-1968) served as one of the Adventist Church's first women missionaries to Africa. A native of Wisconsin, she received her education at Battle Creek College. In Africa she opened up educational work for children. Later she worked for a period with Ellen White in Australia and in America assisting in the preparation of manuscripts. In 1906 Sarah became educational secretary for the West Coast. It was at this time that she began the preparation of much-needed reading materials for the church schools. The result was the long-lasting series, *True Education Readers*. She also wrote the Bible textbook *God's Great Plan* which provided a Biblical foundation for many Seventh-day Adventist young people at the crucial decision-making period of their lives.

She was called to the General Conference Department of Education where she worked until her retirement in 1930. A short time before her death she was cited by Andrews University as its "alumna of alumni."

Rachel (Harris) Oakes Preston (1809-1868) is credited with having introduced the seventh-day Sabbath to a group of Millerite Adventists in Washington, New Hampshire. Born in Vernon, Vermont, she first joined the Methodist Church. Later, while living in Verona, Oneida County, New York, she became a Seventh Day Baptist. Sometime after her daughter, Delight Oakes, moved to Washington, New Hampshire, to teach school, Rachel also moved

No photo available

My friends,
Should those whose written in thy book,
live off to what their words express,
You would not be without a friend,
To smile, to welcome, to be glad!
But when friendship falls far short,
Of what it often claims to do,
It sends from actions differing mood,
The one oft false the other true!

July 1867. Hannah More



Eliza Morton



(Above right) Sarah Peck
(Right) Rachel Preston



there to be close by. Rachel's initial attempts to discuss the Sabbath with the local group of Adventists generated no interest, as they were too engrossed in preparation for the second coming of Christ.

Eventually she did convert Frederick Wheeler, a Methodist preacher. One Sunday while conducting a communion service in the Christian church, Wheeler mentioned that they should be willing to keep *all* the commandments of God. Later, Rachel informed him that after his remark she almost stood up and told him that he should have covered up the communion table until *he* was willing to keep all the commandments—including the fourth! This episode set Wheeler to serious thinking and Bible study. Sometime in the early spring of 1844, he kept his first Sabbath. Soon after, Rachel accepted the doctrine of the Advent held by the others in the group.

Mrs. Oakes later married Nathan T. Preston and moved away from Washington, New Hampshire. Not until the last year of her life did she find herself in harmony with what had then become the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

HERIROOM

Mary Alicia Steward (1858-1947) compiled the first *Index to the Writings of Ellen G. White*. The daughter of pioneer Adventist minister, T. M. Steward, Mary received her education at Battle Creek College. In 1880 she joined the staff of the Review and Herald Publishing Company as a proofreader. Later, in 1892, she went to work for Dr. J. H. Kellogg. About the year 1900 she became one of Ellen White's office assistants. On one of their trips together they went to Tennessee where Mary stayed to teach at Graysville Academy and to work in the proof room at the Southern Publishing Association. She again joined Mrs. White's staff in 1906 at Elmshaven, California, where she remained until Ellen White's death in 1915. Afterward she worked as copy editor at the Review and Herald until 1937.



(Left) Mary Steward



(Above) Clara Strong
(Left) Lillian Stuttle



(Below left) M. Bessie Sutherland
(Below) Jenny Thayer



Clara May (Curtis) Strong (1875-1961) typifies many Adventist teachers that were recruited when the local church school program was begun about the turn of the century. Born in Nebraska, Clara attended Healdsburg College for two years in the 1890s. When the Norwalk, California, church established its one-room school in the rear of the church in 1901, she was asked to be the first teacher. In today's terms, her training, like that of many other pioneer church school teachers in the denomination, was extremely limited. But the results of the educational system that such women struggled to build continues to benefit the denomination to this day.

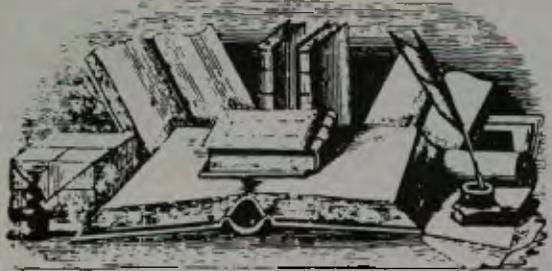
Lillian Dale (Avery) Stuttle (1855-1933) was an author who wrote many poems published in the *Review and Herald* and elsewhere. She obtained her education at Battle Creek College. In addition to her poetry, she wrote several books, including *Making Home Happy*, *Making Home Peaceful*, and *Shiloh*. A collection of her best poems was published in a volume entitled *Gleanings*. She wrote the words to the hymn, "O Let Me Walk With Thee."

M. Bessie (DeGraw) Sutherland (1871-1965) was a pioneer Adventist educator and editor. Born in Binghamton, New York, from the age of eight she was raised in the Truesdale family, who were among the first Sabbath-keeping Adventists. In 1892 she attended Battle Creek College. The following year she went to Walla Walla College where she taught and assisted with administrative work for four years. She served in a similar capacity for four years at Battle Creek College. After the college transferred to Berrien Springs, Michigan, she continued working another three years at the newly renamed Emmanuel Missionary College. In 1904 she went to Madison, Tennessee, and was one of the co-founders of the college located there.

She served for a time as educational secretary for the Lake Union Conference. She was also editor of *The Advocate*, an educational journal, and later of the *Madison Survey*. For a time she assisted Elder S. N. Haskell with his writing.

At the age of 61 she completed the requirements for her PhD degree, and in 1954 she married the widowed Dr. E. A. Sutherland.

Jenny Thayer (1853-1940) was born into a pioneer Adventist family in Massachusetts. She taught public school in her native area for several years before attending Battle Creek College for two years. Her first service for the church was as secretary-treasurer of the Michigan Tract and Missionary Society and secretary of the State Health and Temperance Association (1879-1882). Later she went to England to help J. N. Loughborough pioneer the work there. Among her responsibilities were setting type and reading proofs of the British supplement to the American *Signs of the Times*. In 1888 Jenny returned to South Lancaster, Massachusetts, for two years before joining the International Tract Society as corresponding secretary. Illness caused her temporary retirement. In 1902 she returned to service for another eight years, part of which time she served as editor of the newly-founded *Atlantic Union Gleaner*. Toward the end of this period she also served as secretary-treasurer of the South Lancaster Church. Sadly, in 1936, she suffered a stroke that eventually rendered her almost helpless.



BOOKMARKS

THE MILLERITES: AN ADVENT CHRISTIAN VIEW

Clyde E. Hewitt, *Midnight and Morning: An Account of the Adventist Awakening and the Founding of the Advent Christian Denomination, 1831-1860* (Charlotte, N.C.: Venture Books, 1983), 326 pp.

Gary Land

In recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in the Millerite movement, exemplified by the appearance of doctoral dissertations, scholarly articles, and books. One of the most recent of these works is Clyde Hewitt's *Midnight and Morning*, the first of a projected seven volume series detailing the history of the Advent Christian denomination. Hewitt taught history and served as registrar and history department chairman during his nearly forty-year career at Aurora College, an Illinois school operated by the Advent Christians.

Professor Hewitt states that he has sought to fulfill four goals in the writing of his book: to place the Advent awakening within the context of church history, to refute misrepresentations of the Millerite movement while at the same time not overlooking its real foibles, to appeal to the general reader, and finally to provide sufficient documentation for the scholar. He fulfills his intentions quite well.

The author notes that Millerism arose in the north-eastern United States, the area of the country most susceptible to reform. But unlike some scholars who contrast Millerism to the reform movements because of its alleged pessimism regarding the earthly life, Hewitt suggests that the movement actually offered reform-minded people the ultimate reform, the second coming of Christ.

As far as Christians specifically were concerned, Millerism revived a belief in the literal second coming of Christ, at a time when post-millennialism and spiritual or symbolic interpretations of the second advent were dominant. Nonetheless, Hewitt argues, Miller was neither original nor alone in the general thrust of his views. He not only agreed with much previous prophetic interpretation, but at least fifty other Biblical expositors on both sides of the Atlantic were looking for fulfillment of the second advent prophecies around the period from 1843 to 1847.

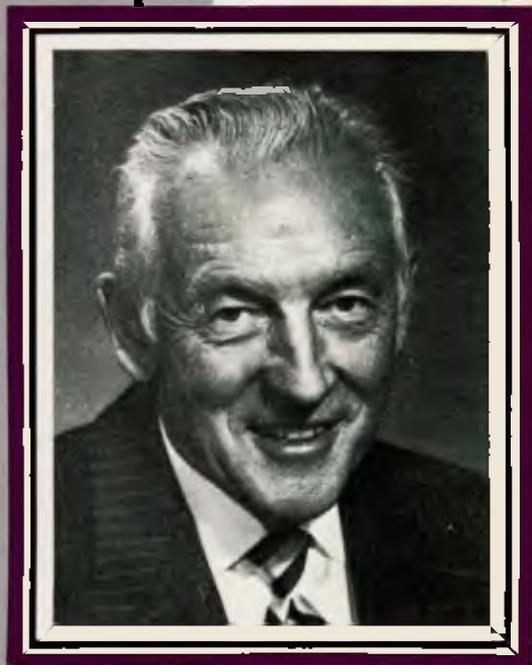
Although Miller slowly began to preach his interpretations, a movement began to develop around these teachings, particularly after Joshua V. Himes became Miller's publicist in 1839. As the movement grew it became too large to remain under the control of its leaders and, as in the case of the seventh-month movement during the summer and fall of 1844, it helped shape its originators.

Despite its own dynamism, however, the Millerite movement was remarkably free from fanaticism. There were a number of reasons for this. The leaders themselves vigorously opposed fanaticism and sought to maintain a sober spirit at their meetings. Their message also was constructed and presented on rational interpretations of scripture. And, a number of preachers in the movement were of recognized social and educational standing.

Midnight and Morning



Clyde E. Hewitt



Dr. Clyde Hewitt is a member of the Advent Christian Church. He served about 40 years on the faculty of Aurora University, a portion of this time as chairman of the history department.

The movement also was remarkable for a number of characteristics. First and foremost, it was an inter-denominational movement that sought to avoid sectarianism so that nothing would stand in the way of its effort to warn the world of the impending advent. It reflected its reform heritage in that there were at least eight women and two blacks among Millerite preachers. And, while all reform movements made extensive use of the printed page, probably none did so with the intensity of the Millerites.

But the movement stirred up opposition, some of it simply theological disagreement but much also charging Millerism with such fanaticism as ascension robes and holding it accountable for an alleged increase in insanity. Hewitt holds the newspapers of the day, with their habit of printing unconfirmed hearsay evidence, responsible for stirring up public opposition to the Advent awakening. And he relies considerably on Francis Nichol's *The Midnight Cry* for evidence to refute the many charges made. But he does admit that the Millerites contributed to the public clamor by their sometimes intemperate criticism of opponents and their growing conviction—encouraged by continuing defense of their belief—that everyone else was wrong. Following the work of David Arthur, the author sees a developing sense of sectarianism in this anti-sectarian movement.

After the original failure of Miller's prediction that Christ would come sometime between March, 1843 and March, 1844, Samuel Snow's seventh-month teaching that the Advent would take place on October 22, 1844 caught on among many in the movement. Hewitt accounts for the acceptance of this new teaching, despite the resistance of Miller and others, on the grounds of Snow's logic, the desire for the salvation of the souls, and perhaps most importantly cognitive dissonance, the conflict between belief and experience.

The failure of Christ to come on October 22 brought an end to the movement but not to the people who had belonged to it. During the next several years many of these maintained their belief in the soon coming of Christ, publishing papers that, particularly after Miller died in 1849, began to diverge on points of doctrine. Among the moderate or mainstream Millerites the belief in conditional immortality proved to be the most divisive teaching, leading eventually to the establishment of the Advent Christians. Other groups also developed but none became very large.

Hewitt tells this story well, using anecdotes and quotations to give detail and color to his presentation. His sources include the standard secondary works on the Millerite movement as well as contemporary newspaper and Millerite publications and unpublished materials. While not presenting much that is new, at least on the Millerite part of his story, he has synthesized recent



Followers of William Miller's advent movement of the 1840s came to be known as "Millerites."

William Miller is buried in Low Hampton, New York, only a short distance from the house where he lived much of his life.



scholarship and made its findings available to the general reader.

For the Seventh-day Adventist reader there is much that is interesting in this volume. Hewitt treats the development of Seventh-day Adventism, regarded by the other Millerites as a fanatical movement, with objectivity and makes use of SDA authors such as Nichol and L. E. Froom throughout his book. More significantly, the book by giving attention to the other groups that arose out of Millerism places early Seventh-day Adventist history within a context that is often ignored. The importance of publications to the emergence of individual groups in the post-Millerite period, the continued opposition to church organization, and the growing significance of the doctrine of conditional immortality are among the characteristics that one finds Seventh-day

Adventists holding in common with many of these Adventist sects. Hewitt also suggests that these groups did not have the vision that would sustain both existence and growth. A comparative study of early Seventh-day Adventism, which grew from being the smallest of the Millerite spawn to the largest, might help us better understand the nature of SDA dynamism.

While *Midnight and Morning* sometimes becomes overly apologetic, particularly with its discussion of conditional immortality, and offers no single interpretive scheme for the Millerite movement, it does provide a consistently readable and accurate account. Its extensive treatment of the various groups that arose out of Millerism makes it a distinctive publication. Anyone interested in the history of Millerism and its aftermath should read this volume.

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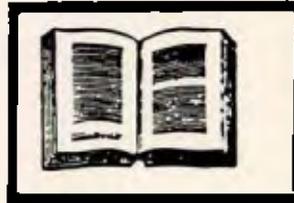
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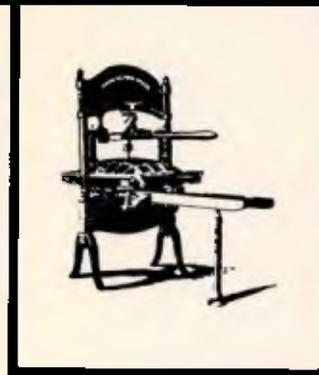
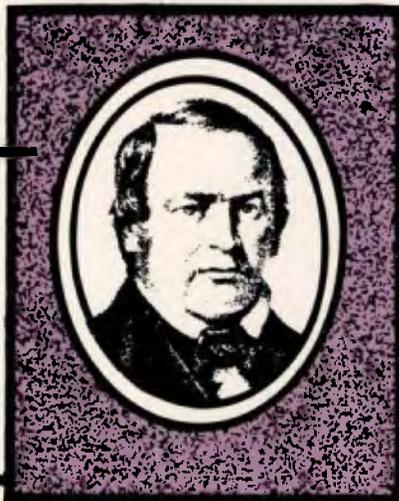
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Wm Miller



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