Adventist Heritage

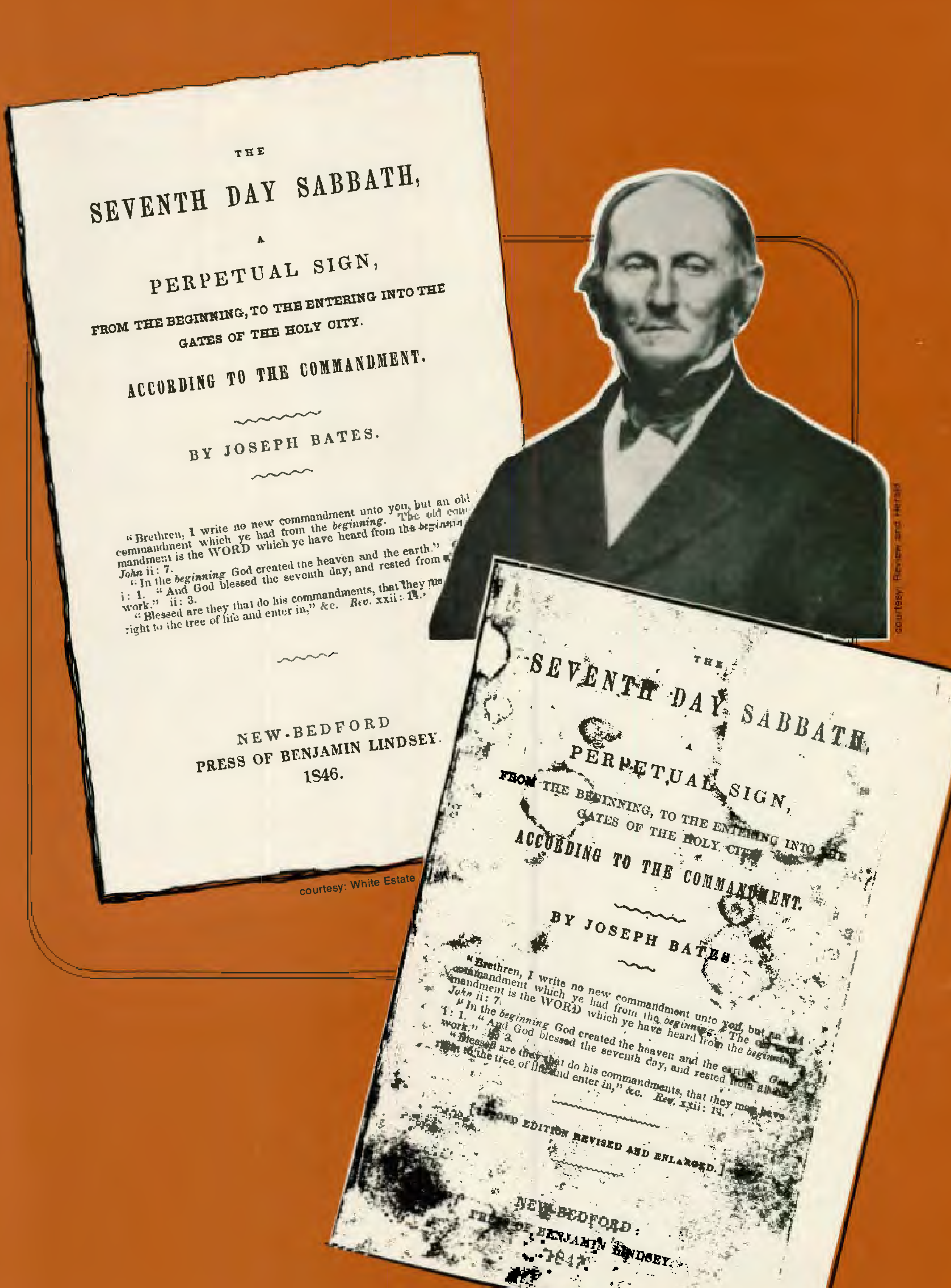
A MAGAZINE of ADVENTIST HISTORY Vol. 2 No. 2

COVER PHOTO:

The September color edition (August 25, 1925) of the SIGNS OF THE TIMES deals with the question of evolution, including a discussion of teaching it in public schools.

credit: Pacific Press

Adventist Heritage



THE

SEVENTH DAY SABBATH,

A

PERPETUAL SIGN,

FROM THE BEGINNING, TO THE ENTERING INTO THE GATES OF THE HOLY CITY.

ACCORDING TO THE COMMANDMENT.

BY JOSEPH BATES.

"Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment which ye had from the *beginning*. The old commandment is the WORD which ye have heard from the *beginning*." *John* ii: 7.
"In the *beginning* God created the heaven and the earth." i: 1. "And God blessed the seventh day, and rested from all his work." ii: 3.
"Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life and enter in," &c. *Rev.* xxii: 14.

NEW-BEDFORD
PRESS OF BENJAMIN LINDSEY.
1846.

courtesy: White Estate

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[SECOND EDITION REVISED AND ENLARGED.]

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courtesy: Review and Herald

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A MAGAZINE of ADVENTIST HISTORY

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Editor's Stump 4

Articles

When Adventists Became Sabbath-keepers 5
by David M. Young

The 1893 Chicago World's Fair: 11
An Early Test for Adventist Religious Liberty
by Ben McArthur

The San Francisco Evolution Debates: June 13-14, 1925 23
by Alonzo L. Baker

An Angwin Portfolio 33
by Walter C. Utt

Memories of E. A. Sutherland 41
by J. Wayne McFarland and T. A. McFarland as told to M. Margaret McFarland

Lora E. Clement 48
by LaVonne Neff

Heirloom

The Lucinda Abbey Hall Collection 55
by Ron Graybill

Bookmarks

Righteousness by Faith 58
by Richard W. Schwarz

Sources of Adventism 62
by Gary Land

Marginal Notes 64

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Joseph Bates' first tract on the Sabbath presented the Sabbath as a legal obligation as set forth in the Decalogue. The second edition of this tract, expanded from 48 to 62 pages, appeared the following year and related the Sabbath to prophecy, specifically the Third Angel's Message.

ADVENTIST historians have concentrated mostly on Millerism and the development of nineteenth-century Adventism. While *Adventist Heritage* strives to present articles dealing with the whole spectrum of Adventist history, the journal has been weighted toward the early period. In this issue, with the exception of David Young's article on the Sabbath, we specialize largely on more recent topics.

Near the end of Adventism's first half century, the 1893 Chicago World's Fair figures prominently in its history. Just when Americans marveled over exhibitions of social, cultural and technological achievement, Ben McArthur finds Adventists alarmed by a congressional blue law to close the Fair on Sundays.

Adventism is young enough that a good share of its story may be told from recent autobiography, personal recollections and oral history. The memories of participants require special handling when writing accurate history, yet certainly this is the stuff from which lively and significant accounts are written.

In "The San Francisco Evolution Debates: June 13-14, 1925," Alonzo L. Baker writes as a distinguished professor of history and political science who carefully reread original documents in researching his article. But he also recalls the celebrated debate as one of the two creationist debaters.

M. Margaret McFarland contributes the journal's first fully oral history with a taped interview that includes her father and grandfather. Here is obtained a personal and colorful account of the extraordinary E. A. Sutherland from an old adversary, Tilgham A. "Mac" McFarland. Hopefully, oral histories will become a frequent feature in *Adventist Heritage.*

Lora E. Clement served for thirty years as editor-in-chief of the Adventist *Youth's Instructor* where she communicated to several generations of Adventist young people through her weekly column "Let's Talk It Over." Through the years, however, Miss Clement revealed little about her own life. LaVonne Neff relies on correspondence with the editor's friends and colleagues in shaping a personal profile.

The Heirloom features the recently discovered Lucinda Abbey Hall Collection from earlier Adventist history. These remarkable letters were written to a western New York Adventist woman who "inspired confidence and intimacy."

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Forthcoming in Adventist Heritage

THE MOVE TO TAKOMA PARK

URIAH SMITH: WOOD ENGRAVER

C. H. JONES: PUBLISHER OF THE GOSPEL

WHEN ADVENTISTS BECAME SABBATH-KEEPERS

David M. Young

FOR approximately one hundred years Seventh-day Adventists have popularly believed that the Seventh-day Sabbath "truth" came to the advent movement for the very first time through Rachel Oakes, a Seventh Day Baptist living in Washington, New Hampshire. According to the traditional story, Mrs. Oakes brought the Sabbath message to Frederick Wheeler, a circuit-riding preacher, and the two of them convinced T. M. Preble, another advent preacher. Inspired by the example and teachings of Oakes and Wheeler, Preble wrote an article on the Sabbath for *The Hope of Israel*, an adventist paper, which was read by Joseph Bates, a retired sea captain. Bates in turn wrote a pamphlet on the same subject, and through his work the Sabbath became a major doctrine around which the Seventh-day Adventist nucleus formed. So goes the tradition. But there is more to the introduction of the Sabbath doctrine to the advent movement. The skeletal story needs to be filled out somewhat.

Although there were some isolated incidents of seventh day sabbath-keeping among adventists in Europe and South America during the 1830's, the church at Washington, New Hampshire, did play an important role in bringing the sabbath doctrine and the Advent message together. In that small town a few rural craftsmen and farmers who believed in the coming advent as taught by William Miller organized the First Christian Society Church on April 4, 1842. Although they had apparently experienced difficulties with their previous churches, these Millerites nevertheless took an open attitude toward other Christian groups.

> The Society which call themselves Christian Brethren calculate to act upon liberal principles, both with regard to sentiments and enterprise, they never calculate to assume the ground, that they are infallible or too pure to unite with other societies in their worship that try to love and serve God, much less, to shut out any society whatever that wish to occupy our houses of worship when not occupied by us, when application is made to those who have the care of the house, upon these principles the house in contemplation is calculated to be erected.

Within the next few months the group built a small church building on the southern side of Millen Pond, a site donated by a sympathetic widow. The congregation was pastored by Frederick Wheeler, a Methodist circuit preacher. It was to this small body of Christians that Rachel Oakes introduced the "Sabbath message."

Converted to the Methodist church at the age of seventeen, Mrs. Oakes became interested in "the Sabbath question" eleven years later. Soon convinced that the seventh day was the correct day of worship, she left the Methodist church and joined the Seventh Day Baptist church in Vernon, New York, a small town not far from Syracuse.

Not long after accepting the Seventh Day Baptist teachings, Rachel Oakes moved to Washington with her daughter Delight, who was to teach school. A short time later the advent doctrine and the Christian Brethren attracted Mrs. Oakes' attention. As a result she wrote back to New York in 1841 asking that her name be dropped from the Seventh Day Baptist books. The Baptists refused, explaining that she had done nothing for which they should remove her name.

David M. Young, a graduate student at Loma Linda University, wrote this article as a seminary student at Andrews University.

Being a zealous advocate of the Sabbath, Mrs. Oakes presented the doctrine to the Christian brethren in Washington soon after she moved there, but they did not "as a body" accept it; in fact, some openly opposed it. After two years had passed Mrs. Oakes confronted her new pastor, Frederick Wheeler, in the winter of 1843. She told him that he ought not to observe communion until he kept all the commandments of God including the fourth. Her remark "cut him to the quick," and he became uncomfortable. She pressed the issue further for a decision.

This episode prompted Wheeler into some serious thinking and earnest study. A few months into the new year, apparently in March, 1844, he began to observe the seventh-day Sabbath of the fourth commandment and on March 30, in the town of Hillsboro, preached his first Sabbath sermon.

courtesy: James Nix

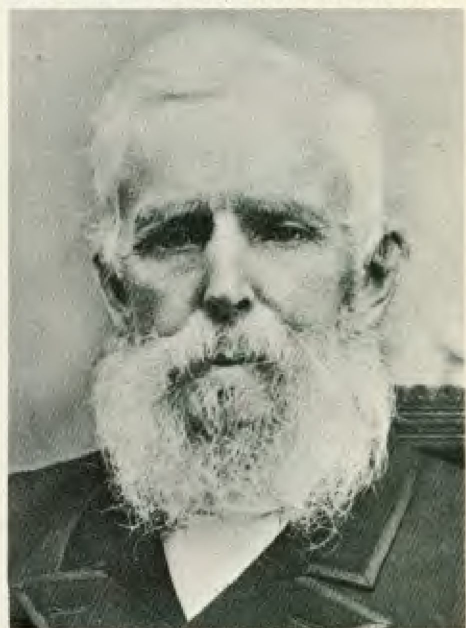
WASHINGTON, NEW HAMPSHIRE
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH

This historical marker stands by the Washington, New Hampshire, church.

credit: Review and Herald

▲*Rachel Oakes (later Preston) introduced the seventh-day Sabbath to the Washington church.*

▼*Frederick Wheeler was pastor of the Washington church when he accepted the Sabbath truth from Rachel Oakes.*



credit: Review and Herald

The months between March and October, 1844, however, were dominated by interest in the advent rather than the Sabbath. Rachel Oakes was deeply affected, for

> the people were so deeply interested in the Lord that they would not listen to her. She thought after the time when they expected the Lord to come had passed, they certainly would read her publications; but even then they did not seem to be interested. Because of this lack of interest, she felt sad indeed.

the Sabbath according to the commandment since 1844; and several have lately been led to embrace the truth of the third angel's message in full." In January of the following year, James and Ellen White visited the Washington area for the first time. Wheeler wrote to the *Review and Herald* again stating: "Several have embraced the Sabbath, and the third angel's message since you were here." By that time the first company of Sabbath-keeping

The Washington church was built on the south side of Millen Pond.

courtesy: James Nix

The church began as "The First Christian Society in Washington, New Hampshire."

Adventists were no longer alone.

Despite the lack of interest, it appears that some time between October 22, 1844, and the close of the year William Farnsworth, a member of the little Washington church, stated during a Sunday service that he had been studying the Bible and was convinced that the seventh day of the week was the Sabbath instead of the first day, and that he was going to keep it. A few others followed him: Daniel and Patty Farnsworth, William's parents, and his own immediate family. The next week Cyrus Farnsworth, William's brother, accepted the Sabbath doctrine. After a few more individuals followed, they became the first company of seventh-day keeping Adventists in North America. This small group of some fifteen to eighteen persons was eventually disfellowshipped by the Christian church, some as late as 1856. They therefore met in the homes of Cyrus Farnsworth, John Stowell, and Newall Mead, all within a mile or two of the little white Christian church.

The earliest published reference to these Sabbath-keepers at Washington appeared in the *Review and Herald* in 1850 when Frederick Wheeler, now their permanent pastor, wrote: "A little company who have been endeavoring to keep

Thomas M. Preble's part in the story of the introduction of Sabbath-keeping to the advent movement began in August, 1844, when he accepted the Sabbath message. He had been born and reared in the little farming community of East Weare, New Hampshire, on the banks of the Piscataquog River. A Freewill Baptist minister until accepting Miller's ideas, he then itinerated on his own and occasionally with William Miller and his associates. Despite his self-assumed adventist responsibilities, he still remained in charge of the Freewill Baptist church in Nashua, New Hampshire, from 1842 to 1844. It was during this time that he is supposed to have learned of the Sabbath-keeping practice because of his proximity to Washington and Hillsboro.

Where Preble got the idea of seventh-day sabbath-keeping is a debatable question. It is hardly probable that he learned of the practice because of his proximity to Hillsboro or Washington, partly because both towns were more than a half day's journey apart. Furthermore, during the early part of February, 1844, Preble lived in Manchester, rather than Nashua, New Hampshire, some forty-

five miles from the home of Mrs. Oakes, and he also did some pastoral work in Lowell, Massachusetts, approximately twenty-five miles further away.

In late March Preble left New England for Albany, New York, and spent two weeks there. He then travelled to West Troy and Troy, New York, where he stayed until at least June 3, 1844. During this time he still referred to Sunday as the Sabbath. Finally, in the early autumn, on October 9, he notified the advent believers that he was going to Maine and by October 22 he had returned home to await the return of his Lord. With these facts in view it is difficult to see how Preble could have learned of the Sabbath message because of his proximity to the believers in Washington, for he was away from home during much of the time.

That Preble obtained the idea of the seventh-day Sabbath from William Miller's sermon "Lecture on the Great Sabbath" is debatable also, but more likely. Miller preached his sermon some time between November, 1841, and March, 1842, and then published it in *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology*. Miller argued:

> We shall inquire whether the seventh day or the first day of the week ought to be kept as a Sabbath.
>
> I say the *first*; for two reasons. One is Christ's resurrection, and his often meeting with his disciples afterwards on that day . . . .
>
> Again; another reason I give is, that the sabbath is a sign of the rest which remains for the people of God. And to me it is very evident that this rest must be after the resurrection of the saints, and not before; and of course the saints' rest will be beginning of time in the new heavens and new earth, as the creation sabbath was the beginning of time with Adam . . . .
>
> Those who believe in a temporal millenium ought to keep the seventh day of the week, instead of the first, to be consistent with themselves; for there must be a similarity between our sabbath and the day of rest, or it is not a sign! 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.' Do you understand the argument, my dear reader? I say the sabbath, with God was the seventh day; but with man, it was the first day, as is evident by the account of the creation; for the sabbath was the first day which man enjoyed in time; even so the sabbath is the seventh day with the Lord, with Christ; but with the church in the new creation it will be the first day. Creation opened to man by a sabbath; so will eternity open to man by a sabbath. As man began time with a sabbath, so also will man, in the new creation, begin eternity by the keeping of a sabbath; for it is a 'sign,' says our text.

courtesy: James Nix

The interior of the church has family pews which were so common in New England churches.

courtesy: James Nix

After they were disfellowshipped, the Sabbath-keepers met in Cyrus Farnsworth's home near Millen Pond.

courtesy: Loma Linda University Heritage Room

William Farnsworth led others in the Washington church in accepting the Sabbath.

Preble studied this lecture very thoroughly and used great portions of it for his article on the Sabbath. But the fact that he came to different conclusions indicates that he gave the subject independent study and went to sources other than William Miller, for his conclusions are the opposite of Miller's. He stated that he had undertaken a "thorough examination of the subject." The scope of this examination is indicated by his references to the *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, a Lord's Day Convention address of 1844, Sylvester Bliss's *Chronology of the Bible*, and early and medieval church history. Miller perhaps prompted Preble's study of the Sabbath but certainly did not

Thomas Preble's tract on the Sabbath influenced Joseph Bates. courtesy: White Estate

A

TRACT,

SHOWING THAT THE SEVENTH DAY

SHOULD BE OBSERVED AS THE SABBATH,

INSTEAD OF THE FIRST DAY;

"ACCORDING TO THE COMMANDMENT."

BY T. M. PREBLE.

Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work: But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: In it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; [illegible] in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: Wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it.—Exodus xx. 8—11.

NASHUA:
PRINTED BY MURRAY & KIMBALL.
1845.

courtesy: Review and Herald

Cyrus Farnsworth, brother of William Farnsworth, was one of the first to start keeping the Sabbath.

courtesy David Young

The graves of the Farnsworths and others are next to the Washington church.

shape his views.

According to Preble's own account, he began keeping the Sabbath in August, 1844. During the following winter he wrote his article on the Sabbath in *The Hope of Israel*, a new adventist paper published in Topsham, Maine. A month later he restated his views in a pamphlet titled "A Tract, Showing that the Seventh Day Should be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day; 'According to the Commandment.' "

Frederick Wheeler and Thomas Preble were not the only Adventists concerned about the seventh day Sabbath prior to October 22, 1844, for in September of that year the editor of the *Midnight Cry* wrote, "Many persons have their minds deeply exercised respecting a supposed obligation to observe the *Seventh day*." One of those so exercised was Hiram Edson, a Millerite leader in Port Gibson, New York. Edson did not begin keeping the Sabbath, however, until hearing Joseph Bates speak on the subject in 1845. At a Conference on prophetic interpretation held in Port Gibson to consider Edson's new views on the cleansing of the sanctuary spoken of in Daniel, Bates, who had been converted to the Sabbath doctrine by reading Preble's tract, made his appeal for Sabbath keeping. Although an associate cautioned, "better go slowly, Brethren, better go slowly. Don't step on any plank before you know it will hold you up," Edson replied, "I have tried the plank already and I know it will hold." Adventist historian A. W. Spalding writes that Edson "hailed Bates's message with joy and kept the next Sabbath." Edson later explained that he had read some of Preble's remarks on the Sabbath doctrine.

courtesy: White Estate

In later life Thomas Preble gave up the Sabbath that he had for a time advocated.

Clearly, a number of Sabbath-keeping adventists existed prior to the Great Disappointment of 1844, the most prominent of whom were Frederick Wheeler and T. M. Preble. These two men arrived at their views independently, but they had an important effect on later developments. Wheeler played a significant role in bringing about the first company of adventist Sabbath-keepers in North America, while Preble's tract led Joseph Bates and Hiram Edson, among others, to accept the Sabbath. Although Preble later renounced his views, it only remained for these separate elements to come together to provide the nucleus out of which the Seventh-day Adventist church would grow.

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1893 The Chicago World's Fair
An Early Test for Adventist Religious Liberty

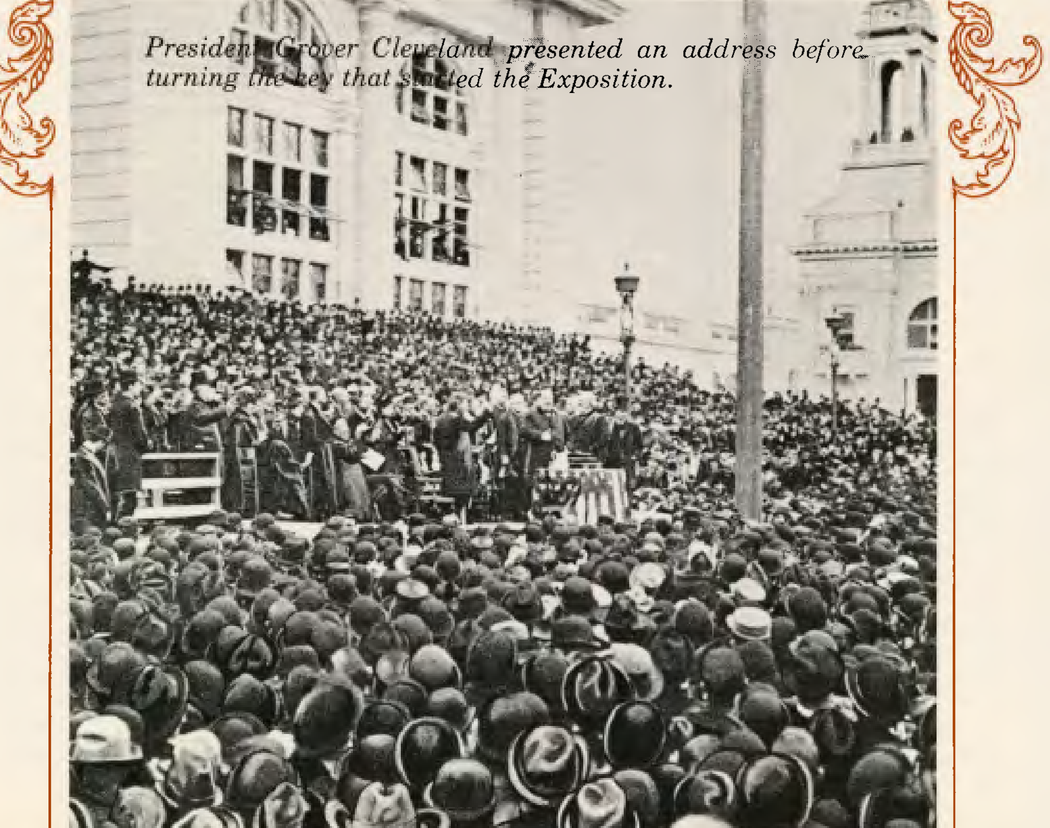
Ben McArthur

EVERY one of the 350,000 people present strained to see the men on stage. Their attention focused on President Grover Cleveland and the cast of local, national, and international dignitaries surrounding him. After a short round of speeches, at precisely 12:04 p.m., President Cleveland turned a key that set geysers of water shooting from the fountains and started the machines in Machinery Hall. The 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition was under way.

The "White City," as the fair was called, had been constructed almost overnight in the swamps of Chicago's lake front. America's leading architects, including Louis Sullivan and Frederick Law Olmstead, designed the buildings and planned the landscaping. The neoclassic architecture may not have fit the environment, but for most Americans it seemed to symbolize that they had achieved high culture.

The Exposition, lasting from May through October, was designed to commemorate Columbus's discovery of America. But more than celebrating a past event, the fair displayed the achievements of Western civilization. One observer commented: "Among monuments marking the progress of civilization throughout the ages, the World's Columbian

Ben McArthur is a doctoral student in American cultural history at the University of Chicago.



President Grover Cleveland presented an address before turning the key that started the Exposition.

As this bird's eye view shows, one day was hardly adequate for seeing the Exposition.

This view of the Grand Basin and Court of Honor shows the immensity of the construction.

Exposition of 1893 will ever stand conspicuous. Gathered here are the forces which move humanity and make history . . . [that] shape the destinies of mankind." Exhibited were the artifacts of the age of energy, everything from a tandem compound engine to the world's largest ferris wheel over on the Midway.

Additionally, the fair reassured Americans that social harmony could be maintained. Beneath the superficial optimism of the time there lay a growing awareness of class and ethnic division. Violent labor strikes, agrarian discontent, the influx of immigrants, and stark contrasts in wealth unsettled Americans. The fair, as a microcosm of society, offered the vision of social unity as people of all classes peacefully strolled through the grounds witnessing the marvels of their culture.

Yet for Seventh-day Adventists the Columbian Exposition represented a problem. When Congress had appropriated money for the fair, it stipulated that the gates must shut on Sunday, the "Sabbath." Adventists interpreted Congress's action as breaking down the wall separating church and state and threatening the establishment of a national religion. Led by A. T. Jones, the church fought both by pen and by direct political involvement to reverse the Sunday closing order.

THE controversy had its roots in the belief of many Americans that Sabbath observance was threatened. European immigrants practiced a casual observance of Sunday; it was a day for recreation and perhaps frequenting the local tavern. This "Continental Sabbath" shocked American Protestants brought up in the Puritan tradition. They responded by forming the National Reform Association and the American Sabbath Union to preserve the "American Sabbath." These organizations sought a constitutional amendment recognizing Sunday as the Sabbath and legislation forbidding unnecessary activities on that day.

The upcoming World's Fair would attract visitors from all over the world. What better way, Sabbatarians reasoned, to show that America was indeed a Christian nation than by closing the Exposition on the day of rest? Thus the fair became the focal point of an intensive campaign by Protestant

The architecture symbolized for most Americans that they had achieved culture.

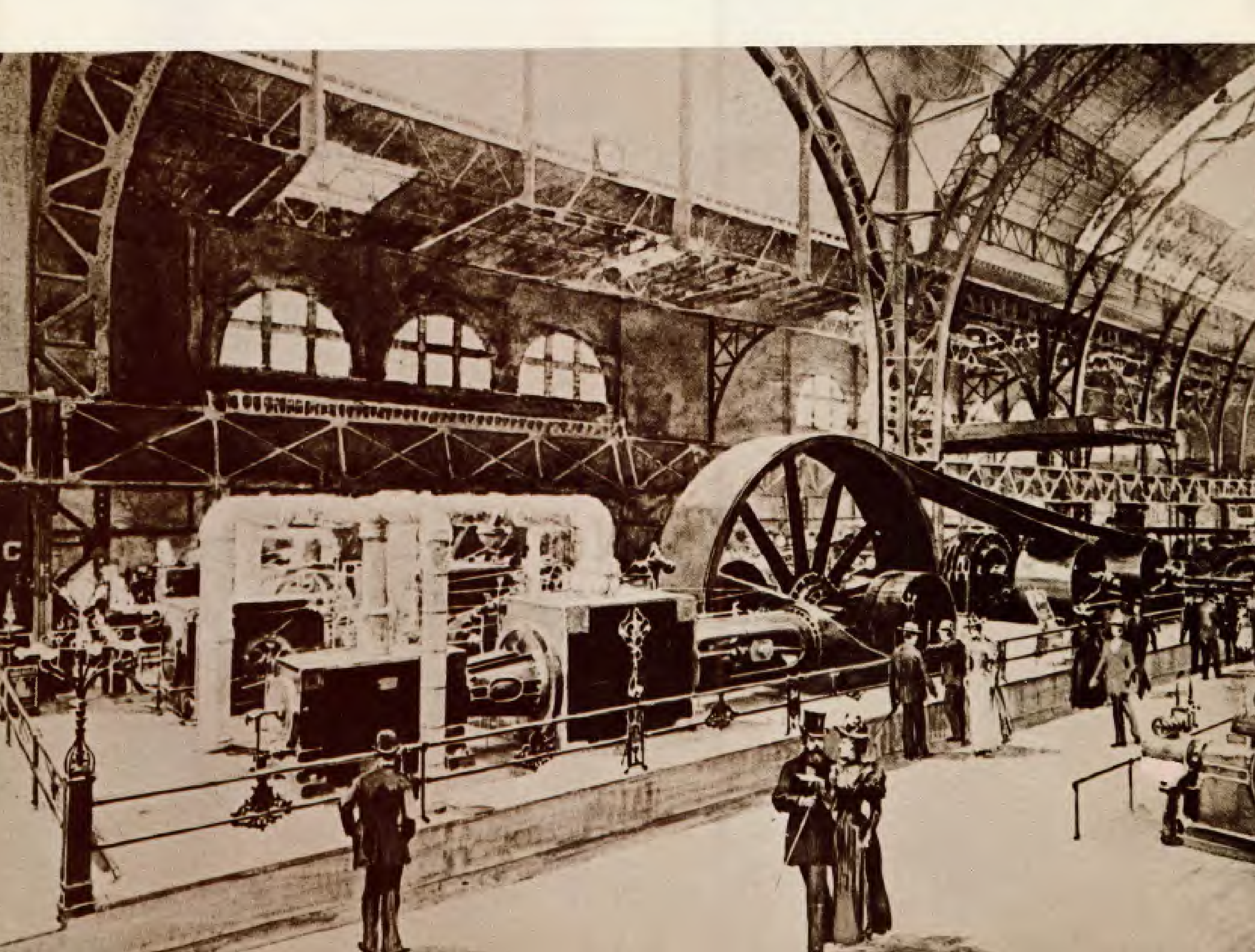
churches to vindicate the American Sabbath. The conservative Protestant denominations — Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists — led the campaign. Other denominations such as the Episcopalians, Unitarians, and Universalists opposed a Sunday closing. Both views were held in the Catholic Church, but most Catholic leaders seemed to favor an open fair.

Sabbatarians began their campaign soon after plans for the Fair were laid in 1890. They failed to gain much attention, though, until 1892 when Chicago requested federal assistance to fund the fair. Original plans called for the fair to be financed entirely by stock subscriptions in a local corporation and by appropriations from the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois. But officials soon discovered they had underestimated the cost and asked for a congressional gift of five million commemorative half-dollars (the Columbian half-dollar), hoping to make healthy premiums from their sale. The prospect of government money supporting the fair prompted Sabbatarians to treble their efforts.

They first sought to convince the Columbian Commission to keep the gates closed on Sundays. When the Commission put off making a decision until the spring of 1893, Sabbatarians decided to concentrate their efforts on the state and national legislatures. A number of state legislatures, after considerable lobbying by religious groups, voted to close their state exhibits on Sunday. But even more attention centered on Congress as it prepared to debate giving money to the fair. Congressmen were deluged by petitions demanding that the Exposition gates shut on Sunday.

By the spring of 1892 many Adventists began to fear the influence such petitions might have on Capitol Hill. They had reason to be worried. During the 1880's, particularly in Tennessee and Arkansas, a number of Adventists had been jailed for violating state Sunday laws prohibiting labor. Then in 1888 Senator H. W. Blair from Pennsylvania introduced a bill which would have prohibited secular work or any amusement that could disturb others on Sunday. Although the bill died in committee, it added to Adventists' fears that a Sunday law could occur any time.

A Sunday closing of the fair appeared especially heinous to Adventists because it would be the first *national* Sunday law. The *Review and Herald* in May of 1892 editorialized: "There is a general com-



bination of all the churches that keep Sunday to secure the closing of the World's Fair on that day. In this confederation, we see the foundation being laid for that universal and oppressive Sunday law that we have taught for half a century would be enacted just before the second coming of Christ."

Adventists took a page from their opponents and established an active petition campaign, one so successful that the Iowa legislature repealed the Sunday closing clause in its appropriation for the World's Fair. This prompted the *Christian Statesman*, paper of the National Reform Association, to complain that the "little sect of S. D. A.'s" was sending more petitions than the closing advocates.

Despite these efforts, when the appropriation bill came before Congress in the summer of 1892, the Sunday-closers had the upper hand. Senators Joseph Hawley of Connecticut and Matthew Quay of Pennsylvania headed the Sunday closing faction. Hawley justified his position by asserting: "You will grieve tens of millions of people if you open the Exposition on Sunday. You will grieve them immeasurably and perhaps make such a change in the history of the observance and character of our country as shall cause this day to be regarded with sorrow for centuries." One of the minority senators for an open fair, Illinois Senator John Palmer, countered that the works of art would uplift patrons so that it "ought to be open on Sunday to that large population of the country who have no other day on which they can afford this peculiar aid to enjoyment as well as improvement."

Whatever their inclination, congressmen could not ignore political reality, and it looked like political suicide to vote against a Sunday closing. Many petitioners pledged that they would never vote for a man who voted for an open fair. A member of the House Committee on the World's Fair (who preferred to remain anonymous) bluntly stated: "The reason we shall vote for it is, I will confess to you, a fear that, unless we do so, the church folks will get together and knife us at the polls; and — well you know we all want to come back, and we can't afford to take any risks."

ABOVE: Alonzo Trevier Jones, as a champion of religious liberty, spearheaded the campaign to repeal Congress's action.

FAR LEFT: The Allis-Corliss Engine displayed the technological achievements of Western civilization.

LEFT: The Columbian Exposition boasted the world's largest ferris wheel on Midway Plaisance.

The result was the Sundry Civil Act, passed August 5, giving five million Columbian half-dollars to the Exposition with the stipulation that "all appropriations made for or pertaining to the World's Columbian Exposition shall not be opened to the public on the first day of the week." President Benjamin Harrison quickly signed the bill and sent Colonel Shepard, President of the American Sabbath Union, the quill pen used in the signature.

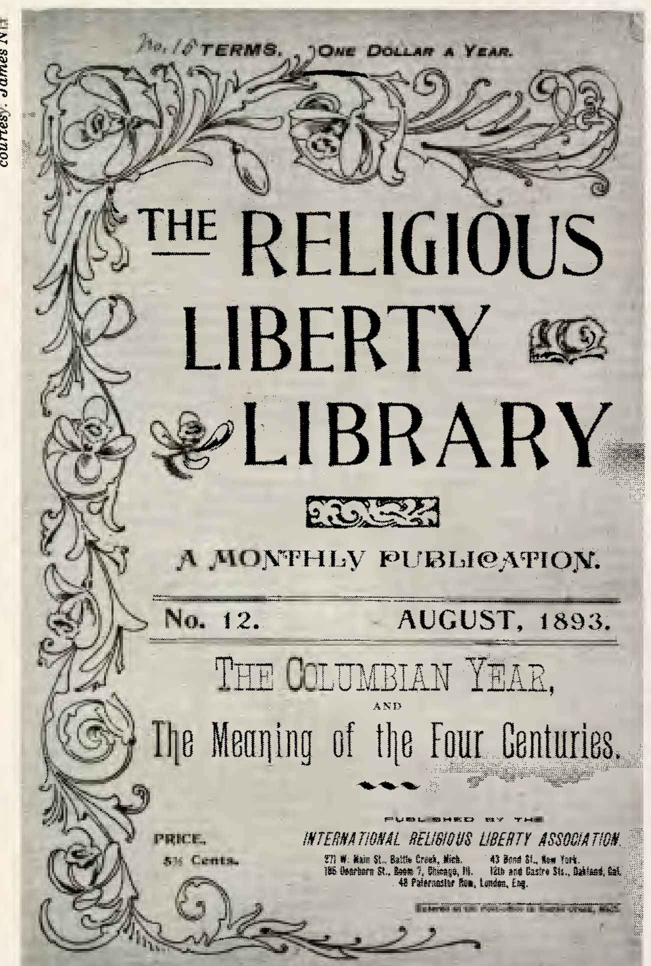
But the issue was not settled, for the fair's Board of Directors opposed a Sunday closing, and it was not certain that they would abide by Congress's order once they secured the money. Throughout the next year the battle continued with each side multiplying the reasons for its position.

The *Christian Statesman* put forth several lines of argument for closing the fair on Sundays. The primary reason was that opening the fair on Sundays would be a violation of God's law and expose the nation to his wrath. Also to be considered was the morality of the people. A quiet Sabbath and regular church attendance needed to be fostered to insure the perpetuity of democracy. Additionally, the *Christian Statesman* said, the fair should close one day a week to give workers a rest. The mass of working men, it claimed, wanted it shut. This last assertion would be disputed by many labor leaders.

Other groups, besides religious denominations, called for a closed fair. The National Prohibition Party added to its planks the idea that the national government ought to compel Sunday observance, and organizations as diverse as the American Swine Breeder's Association and the Southeast Nebraska Teacher's Association passed resolutions calling for

courtesy: Andrews University

The AMERICAN SENTINEL reprinted this cartoon from a paper promoting Sunday laws, which hoped the decision would promote church attendance.



courtesy: James Nix

An address given by Alonzo T. Jones on Columbus Day, 1893, refers to the Sunday closing controversy at the Columbian Exposition.

a Sunday closing. Prominent individuals such as Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, John Wanamaker, the great retailer, and Mrs. Potter Palmer, leader of Chicago's high society, signed closing petitions.

Reacting to this sentiment, the *Review and Herald* and the *American Sentinel* (forerunner of *Liberty* magazine) kept Seventh-day Adventist readers abreast of developments and editorialized against the effort to close the fair. When the *Christian Statesman* called for a boycott of the fair if it were kept open on Sundays, the *American Sentinel* responded: "If this does not show the Satanic spirit that actuates those who, while calling themselves 'Christians' would adopt unchristian methods to compel others to comply with their demands, then nothing could show it."

Central to Adventists' attitudes was the notion that government has no right to legislate a Sunday opening or closing; such matters are outside the proper sphere of government. Arbitrary interference by the government "would be an important landmark in the decline and fall of the American Republic."

While those wanting the fair closed on Sunday did so in the name of American Christianity, Adventists denied that America was a Christian nation. During the controversy they would often take quotes from the Founding Fathers showing the secular origins of America and point to statistics on the consumption of liquor and the prevalence of crime in America as signs of American wickedness. Adventists' desire to keep the discussion in the realm of political theory contrasted sharply with most Sabbatarians' appeal to religious sentiment.

Seventh-day Adventists did more than editorialize against a Sunday closing of the fair. Allen Moon, president of their four-year-old International Religious Liberty Association, and his co-worker, Albion Ballenger, spent the fall of 1892 in Chicago circulating thousands of pages of literature and speaking at various meetings against any Sunday closing sanctions. Adventists also sabotaged a local meeting of the American Sabbath Union in Chicago. The meeting had been advertized as a mass showing of Sunday closing sentiment. But when the audience voted on the closing resolution, American Sabbath Union officials were shocked to see it defeated. The Chicago *Tribune* later reported its defeat to be mainly the work of Adventists in attendance.

SPEARHEADING the campaign to repeal Congress's action was the Adventists' champion of religious liberty, Alonzo Trevier Jones. Jones had been a sergeant in the army stationed at Walla Walla, Washington, when he was converted to Adventism by I. D. Van Horn in 1873. His career in the Seventh-day Adventist church can only be described as meteoric. With little formal education, he managed at various times to become evangelist, Bible teacher at Healdsburg College, Vice-president of the International Religious Liberty Association, co-editor of the *Signs of the Times,* editor of the *American Sentinel,* editor of the *Review and Herald,* and member of the General Conference Committee. Yet even while holding other positions Jones always found time for his first love, up-holding principles of religious liberty.

Jones studied history with zeal. History, for him, was a way of discovering how nations in the past had diverted from the true, God-given principles of government and had fallen. He especially enjoyed comparing the histories of Rome and America, notably in his tome, *The Two Republics.* Jones's sense of urgency resulted partly from his fear that Congress's action would lead America to tyranny, just as had happened to Rome.

As a speaker Jones had few equals in the Adventist church. When he got up before an audience and began declaiming about the evils of the papacy, he could work them up into a near frenzy. Jones's demagogic tendencies prompted Ellen White to

The Columbian Exposition commemorative half dollar was approved by Congress on condition that the fair be closed on Sunday.
courtesy James Nix

warn him to watch his speech lest he excite those who tend to go off on a tangent, and to weed out "extravagant expressions" from his vocabulary. Nevertheless, Jones's rhetorical skill qualified him as spokesman for the denomination when the House Committee on the Columbian Exposition met in January, 1893, to discuss repealing the Sunday closing clause of the appropriation act. Allen Moon had collected nearly 400,000 signatures on a petition against the legislation, and together with the other groups pushing for an open fair, they had induced Congress to reconsider its action.

But Adventists had a problem. They could not ally whole-heartedly with the other people who wanted the fair open on Sundays. Leaders of the Episcopal Church and the pre-eminent American Catholic, Cardinal James Gibbons, thought that not only should the fair be opened on Sundays but also that religious services should be held on the fairgrounds. This conflicted with the Adventist position that government had no right to say either that the fair should or should not be open.

Thus when the chairman of the Committee, Congressman Allan Duborow of Illinois, ruled that the Committee would not listen to any argument regarding the constitutionality of the legislation, Jones was denied his main weapon, as were the only two groups following the Adventists' tack, the Seventh Day Baptists and the Free Thought Federation of America. Despite the prohibition Jones used every opportunity in the thirty minutes allotted him to slip in his opinions on the constitutionality of the measure.

Jones began by summarizing the disestablishment of religions in America and the construction of a government based on purely secular principles. Hence, Congress violated the intent of the Founding Fathers by legislating with direct reference to the Christian religion. When pressed by Duborow to drop that line of attack, Jones next asked for the Act's repeal on the grounds that it was secured upon false representation. The mass meetings which the American Sabbath Union held to show support for a

Sunday closing were grossly exaggerated, Jones contended. He pointed to the Chicago incident where approximately forty Adventists had reversed the vote in one of the ASU's "mass meetings." Might not Congress have been misled, Jones suggested? But Chairman Duborow felt Jones's inference was disrespectful of Congress and once again silenced him.

For his final point Jones warned the Committee that a dangerous precedent had been set in Congress's giving money contingent upon a religious observance; for, "when they go beyond the Constitution in one point for religion's sake they can go beyond it on every point." Shortly thereafter Jones's time expired and he sat down.

Adventists had influential allies testify against the Sunday closing, but these people had entirely different motives than that of religious liberty. Susan B. Anthony, crusader for women's rights, recalled past struggles against municipal Sunday laws. Sunday observance, she felt, must be a matter of conscience, not legislation. She spoke for those women saving their money to spend a week at the fair -- they should not be locked out.

The mayor of Chicago, Hempstead Washburne, also spoke against the closing. He represented many Chicagoans who had a financial interest in the fair. They felt that the Exposition had to open seven days a week to be financially successful. Sundays were expected to be lucrative since that would be the only day that many laborers could get off work. This point was stressed again by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor and father of the labor movement in America. He refuted the Sabbatarians' contention that workingmen wanted the fair closed on Sunday. The fair was to celebrate American technological progress. Those responsible for progress, the workers, ought to be allowed to attend.

". . . When they go beyond the Constitution in one point for religion's sake they can go beyond it on every point."

Yet nothing changed; the Sunday closing provision remained. As the May 1 opening date neared, Sunday opening advocates began shifting to a new line of attack. They began to question whether Congress had the right to impose any condition upon the use of the $2,500,000 they gave the Exposition. The Board of Directors had accepted the provision to get badly needed money. But when Congress took back $57,880 of the souvenir coin allocation, the Board felt released from its obligation.

The Board was on the verge of defying Congress and opening the fair on Sunday, but it suffered under an administrative handicap. Regulations under which the fair operated were set by the National Commission, a political body appointed by Congress. Although privately Commission members confessed no feeling either way about the matter, their sensitivity to public opinion led them to order the fair closed.

THE first Sunday in May the gates to the Exposition stayed shut. A crowd estimated at 60,000 "finding that they could not gain admission to the grounds . . . filled up [Buffalo Bill's] 'Wild West Show,' and overflowed every side-show and fair attraction within sight of the grounds." The next Sunday the fair remained closed. Chicago police reported more crime on the first two Sundays that the fair was closed than ever before in the history of the department. They planned to beef up a police guard at the gates the next Sunday, fearing a public demonstration.

No doubt shaken by the turn of events, the National Commission voted to give the Board authority to decide on a Sunday opening. The Board wasted no time. Sunday, May 28, the Fair welcomed 77,212 visitors, nearly twice the average for the previous six days. The directors hoped to placate the Sabbatarian element by providing religious services in Festival Hall. An open air band concert opened with "Nearer My God to Thee." Since most exhibits were closed, the crowd was quieter than usual, content to marvel at the architecture.

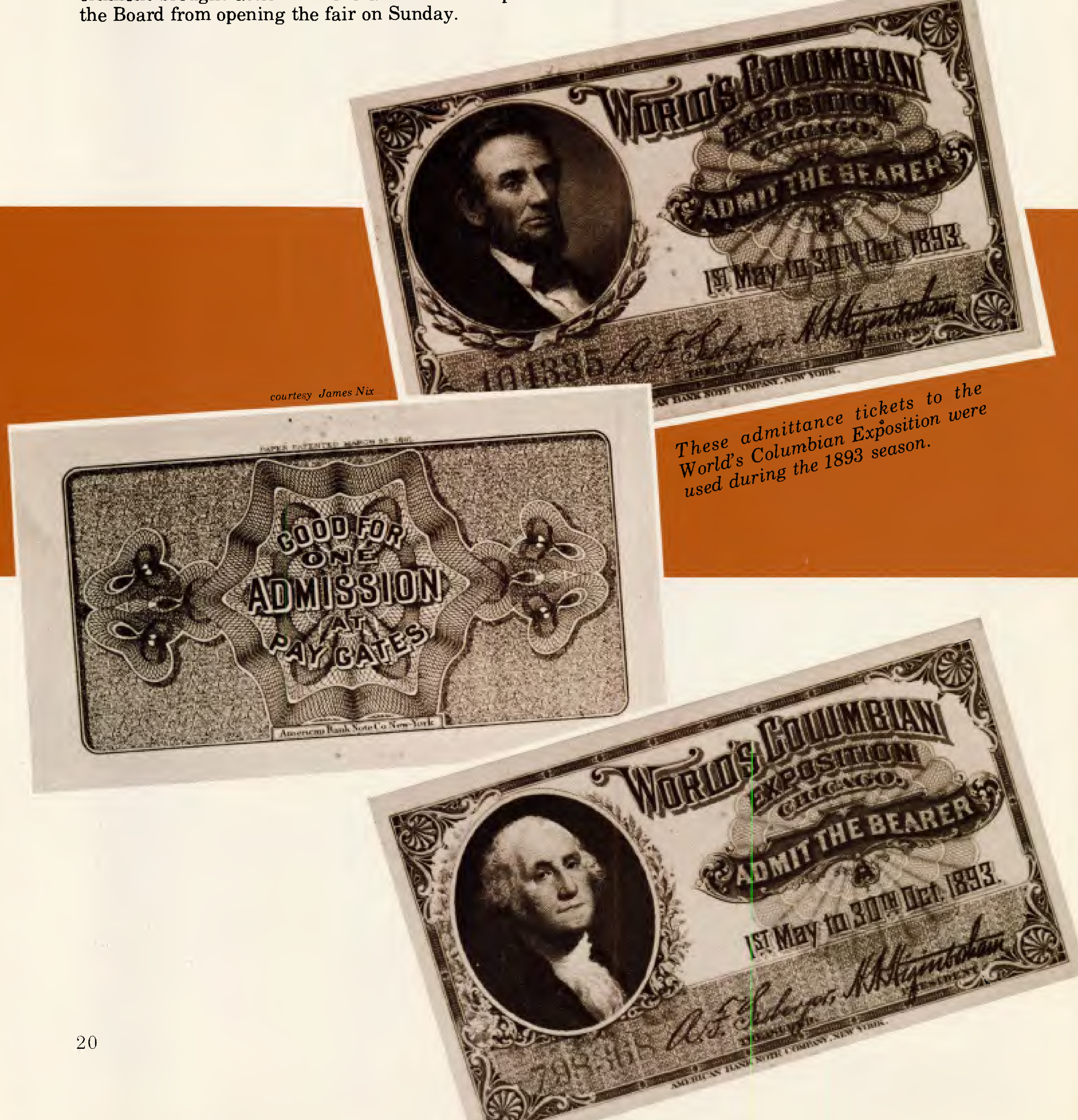
Not satisfied by these attempts to make a Sunday fair more subdued, the opening brought threats of boycott from many religious groups, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, Presbyterians, and Methodists. Bishop Merrill of the Methodist Church threatened to remove their exhibit from the fair, though nothing ever came of it. The Evangelical Alliance of Boston called on Attorney General Olney to use army troops stationed at Fort Sheridden to forcibly keep the gates shut.

The Sunday opening also inspired Sabbatarians to predict dire results for the fair. A Methodist minister in New York sermonized: "I am no prophet of evil but let the cholera spread its black wings over us this summer, let 10,000,000 people die of this dread disease, and, oh! how these sinners will flock to our altars. The Lord knows how to close the doors of the Fair on Sundays, and he will do it. When the Lord has tough work to do he finds tough instruments to do it with." The prophets of doom had a moment of satisfaction when a fire ravaged the cold storage warehouse on the fairgrounds and killed fifteen firemen. Surely God's wrath was being meted out to the desecrators of his Sabbath!

Adventists remained interested, but officially aloof from the fair during the summer. An editorial

in the *Review and Herald* pondered whether an Adventist should visit the Exposition. Although one may learn useful things at the fair, the *Review* said, "most Seventh-day Adventists will sensibly conclude to remain at home and spend their money in a more satisfactory way." But the *Review* closely followed each turn of events in an increasingly complex affair, for the government did not meekly stand by and let the Board of Directors disregard the Congressional action. In the middle of June the government brought action in Federal Court to keep the Board from opening the fair on Sunday.

This proved to be just the first of a series of suits and countersuits, some to force the fair closed, others to keep it open. When litigation ended in August, the Board's right to open the fair on Sundays had been affirmed by the court. However, Adventists could not claim this as a victory for the principles of religious liberty, because it had been decided on the issue of jurisdiction over the fair-



courtesy James Nix

These admittance tickets to the World's Columbian Exposition were used during the 1893 season.

ground. The federal government, the court declared, had no right to interfere in the Board of Director's management of the fair.

By this time the Directors were tired of the agitation and themselves began questioning the value of a Sunday opening; it alienated many potential customers, and Sunday crowds had not been as great as expected. Throughout June and July Sunday attendance whittled down, averaging 48,000 during July, barely enough to cover operating costs. A primary reason for the low attendance, the *Review* repeatedly pointed out, was that most exhibits were closed on Sunday. Understandably, many people did not think that what remained open justified the fifty cent admission, and many were thoroughly confused as to whether the fair was open or closed on Sundays. The Board finally decided to keep it open for the duration of its run, but without any effort to make the day especially attractive.

Constitution because it had been overthrown by Congress's World's Fair legislation. "It is now a literal fact," Jones solemnly declared, "that the government of the United States is now confirmed in the hands of the professed Protestant Churches." The task of Adventists now, he went on, was to preach the Third Angel's message, "to warn against that which is done . . . the making of the image of the beast."

Despite controversy, the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition was a great success. Most visitors left the fair renewed in their confidence about America's future. For Adventists, though, it signified a turning away from the principles that had made America great, and marked another step toward the Second Coming.

The Chicago World's Fair controversy aroused Adventist concern about the establishment of a national religion. They had witnessed Sunday persecutions in the South, heard a proposal in 1888 for a national Sunday law, and read a statement in a Supreme Court decision of 1892 that America was a Christian nation. Together with Congress's attempt at closing the fair, Jones wrote, "there lies wrapped up, and only waiting for swift development, all that the *Sentinel* has been telling about, and warning against, these seven years."

What the *American Sentinel* had been warning against was the establishment of a national religion. In Adventist prophetic interpretation this was an inevitable happening, but one they must fight nonetheless. At the 1893 General Conference session A. T. Jones informed delegates that the fight was over. There could be no more appeals to the

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CREATION
Not
EVOLUTION

BAKER
and
NICHOL

PACIFIC
PRESS

Creation—
NOT EVOLUTION

A nontechnical examination of the scientific, philosophic, and religious aspects of the doctrines of Creation and Evolution, by

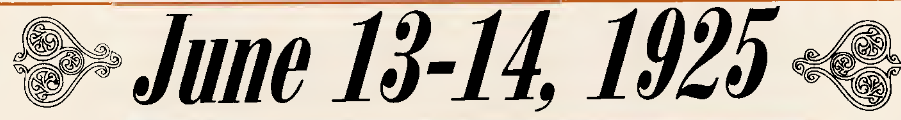
FRANCIS D. NICHOL AND ALONZO L. BAKER

Associate Editors "Signs of the Times"

courtesy Alonzo L. Baker

Capitalizing on the nation-wide interest in evolution, Nichol and Baker presented the SDA viewpoint on creationism.

THE SAN FRANCISCO EVOLUTION DEBATES



June 13-14, 1925

Alonzo L. Baker

THE first public confrontation between Seventh-day Adventists and the champions of evolution occurred in San Francisco on the evenings of June 13 and 14, 1925. The site of the debates was the capacious Native Sons' Hall on Van Ness Avenue in the heart of the world-famed City by the Golden Gate. The proceedings were formal and dignified, in strict adherence to the rules of debating. The program read:

First Evening:
Resolved: That the earth and all life upon it are the result of evolution.
Affirmative: Dr. Maynard Shipley, President, Science League of America.
Negative: Francis D. Nichol, Associate Editor, *Signs of the Times.*

Second Evening:
Resolved: That the teaching of evolution should be debarred from tax-supported schools.
Affirmative: Alonzo L. Baker, Associate Editor, *Signs of the Times.*
Negative: Dr. Maynard Shipley, President, Science League of America.

Judges: Hon. Wallace McCamant, Judge of the United States Court of Appeals.
Hon. F. H. Kerrigan, Judge of the Federal District Court.
Hon. D. A. Cashin, Associate Justice of the Appellate Court of California.

Chairman: Maurice E. Harrison, Dean, Hastings College of Law, University of California.

The story behind this unusual event in Adventist history began the previous year on September 25, 1924, when William Jennings Bryan visited Mountain View, California, to deliver his famous oration "It Is Written," a stout defense of creation against evolution. Bryan appeared in Mountain View, then a village of no more than 2,500 people, under the sponsorship of the Seventh-day Adventist Pacific

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Alonzo L. Baker writes as professor of history and political science at Loma Linda University.

Dr. Maynard Shipley, President of the Science League of America, spoke for the evolutionists.
credit: Pacific Press

Alonzo L. Baker debated with Shipley as to whether or not evolution should be taught in the schools.
courtesy: Alonzo L. Baker

Press Lyceum Bureau, chaired by Elder Milton C. Wilcox, book editor at the Pacific Press and former editor of the *Signs of the Times.*

The appearance of the famous "Orator from the Platte" was a feather in the cap of the Pacific Press. Bryan lectured in the auditorium of the Mountain View High School, the largest in town. To help pay the lecture fee of $250.00, admission was charged, 75c for reserved seats, 50c for general admission. So great was the public's desire to hear Bryan that all tickets were sold far in advance of his coming.

The Pacific Press Board appointed a committee to go to San Francisco to accompany the eminent speaker on the 36-mile trip to Mountain View. The appointed group consisted of a Presbyterian minister, a local newspaper publisher, the manager of the Pacific Press, the chairman of the Lyceum Bureau, and myself. But when the great day arrived to convoy Bryan from San Francisco, the other four pled "too busy." I, it was assumed, wasn't busy; so at the last moment my friends the F. D. Nichols borrowed an automobile from a relative and drove with me and my wife Eleanor to meet Bryan.

When our car arrived at the Pacific Press, Bryan took me aside and asked if there would be any time for a shower or bath. He had been traveling for two nights and a day by train and needed to change his shirt, collar, and cuffs. It was September and there were no air conditioned railway cars in 1924.

I took our guest to the Pacific Press Boarding House and arranged with the matron for Bryan to have a room with bath. As the noon hour was approaching, he asked me to open his suitcase, get out a clean shirt, wash his celluloid cuffs and collar, and help him dress after his bath. All this I did. It was an honor to be valet for so distinguished a man, and I have long cherished the memory of that experience.

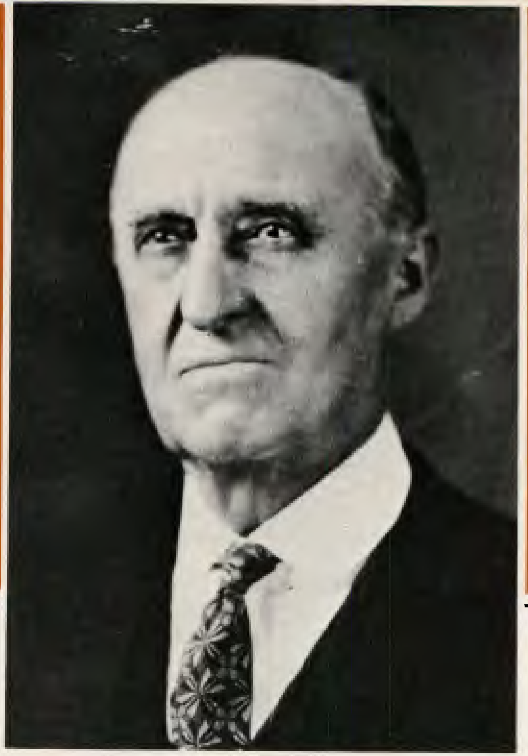
At noon the Pacific Press put on a gala luncheon for Bryan, with community leaders, board members, and press department heads in attendance. Bryan charmed everyone with a variety of stories and personal experiences.

His lecture that afternoon was equally successful. The *Mountain View Register-Leader* ran a follow-up story with the caption "Great Commoner Held Big Audience Two Charmed Hours." According to that paper,

> Mr. Bryan, whose "look of eagles" is even more marked than at the time of the 1920 Democratic Convention in San Francisco, did some sharp fencing to the great delight of his audience. For all his benign manner his words had thrust and bite. It's a safe bet that the word "evolution" can't be mentioned in the future before any of the thousand persons who heard him without two other words — "guess" and "suppose" — immediately coming to mind.
>
> "Hypothesis means guess" defined the celebrated orator . . . As for the word "suppose" he explained, Darwin used that word 800 times in two volumes.

Most San Francisco Bay newspapers covered Bryan's lecture; thus the event came to the attention of Dr. Maynard Shipley, a San Franciscan who was president of the Science League of America. The League had recently been formed by hundreds of American scientists in hopes of combating the burgeoning opposition to the teaching of evolution in public schools. One of the most prominent leaders

Francis D. Nichol debated with Shipley on the origin of the earth.
courtesy: Alonzo L. Baker



Asa O. Tait, editor of the SIGNS OF THE TIMES, encouraged his associates to accept Shipley's invitation to a debate.
courtesy: Alonzo L. Baker

in the campaign to ban the teaching of evolution was Dr. William Bell Riley, a fundamentalist minister from Minneapolis.

Asa Oscar Tait, editor-in-chief of the *Signs of the Times*, and his two young associates, Nichol and myself, decided to follow up the Bryan lecture with a barrage of articles featuring such ardent champions of creation as George McCready Price and Harold W. Clark, both science teachers in Seventh-day Adventist colleges. By this time the evolution controversy was fast heating up across the entire nation.

Somehow one or more of these anti-evolution articles came to the attention of Shipley, who promptly telephoned the *Signs* office to suggest a public debate with the editor. Tait promised to talk it over with his associates and superiors and reply within a few days.

No sooner had Tait hung up the phone than he called Nichol and me to report "something most interesting." Before he had finished relating his conversation with Shipley, his two bumptious and presumptive associates had come out loud and strong for the proposed debate. Tait, whose denominational service went back to the days when the General Conference was in Battle Creek, calmly said, "Boys, take it easy. We must have the Pacific Press Board and Conference officials give us counsel on the Shipley challenge."

Several weeks of informal meetings and letter writing followed. Finally C. H. Jones, Pacific Press general manager, called for a meeting on February 23, 1925, to decide whether or not to accept Shipley's offer. In attendance were several church administrators and ministers, as well as Pacific Press officials.

Oliver Montgomery, vice-president of the General Conference, "stated he did not favor debates as he had seen the effects which followed such discussions for years afterward." H. H. Hall, head of the Pacific Press Book Department, also opposed the debate. Several others were dubious. However, after presentations by W. T. Knox, A. O. Tait, C. H. Jones, and James Cochran, all of whom favored the debate, and a long interrogation of me by practically everyone present, it was voted to proceed with arrangements to debate Shipley.

In retrospect, I am certain much of the hesitation to approve the debate stemmed from doubts about the ability of the two debaters proposed by Tait. I was only 31 years old at the time, and Nichol, at 28, was even younger. Both of us had been born Seventh-day Adventists, and both of us had lived most of our years in Adventist enclaves or colonies. Neither of us had ever had so much as one day's schooling outside an Adventist institution. Furthermore, both of us had graduated from Pacific Union College as history-ministerial majors; thus neither of us had any science background. Shipley, on the other hand, was a recognized scientist, trained in prestigious schools.

In the end it was Tait who convinced the dubious brethren that with God's help his two youthful associates might do a reasonably good job of defending Moses and his book of Genesis against Darwin and his *Origin of Species*.

When Francis Nichol returned home in early March from a trip to the East, he and I hurried to

◀*William Jennings Bryan prepares for a speech.*
credit: Pacific Press

▼*Bryan's lecture was sponsored by the Pacific Press Board; seated in the center are C. H. Jones and M. C. Wilcox.* *courtesy: Alonzo L. Baker*

nearby Stanford University and the University of California at Berkeley to ask scientists there for lists of the latest and most authoritative works defending evolution. From both schools we obtained lengthy lists of books, which we instantly ordered from the publishers. When the volumes arrived, we plunged into them avidly, reading and note-making 12 to 15 hours daily.

In the meantime we conferred with Shipley as to the exact wording of the two questions to be debated. We were very happy when he accepted our suggestion for the first question, "*Resolved*: That the earth and all life upon it are the result of evolution." This placed the burden of proof upon him. We had no obligation to prove creation and therefore could use all our time searching for weaknesses in the evolution theory. We decided to use only the testimony of reputable scientists in order to show that advocates of evolution were far from agreed as to the how, when, and why of their theory. We diligently searched many thousands of pages of recently published science books to find definite and explicit points of disagreement among the evolutionists.

In formulating the second question for debate, the three of us quickly agreed on the wording, "*Resolved*: That the teaching of evolution should be debarred from tax-supported schools." Too late Nichol and I realized that the locution "as fact" should have followed the word "evolution." Whether or not Shipley was aware all along that we had made ourselves somewhat vulnerable by this omission, we never learned.

FOLLOWING the announcement of the two debates for mid-June, public interest grew amazingly. It was immediately evident that Native Sons' Hall, although one of the largest in San Francisco, could never accommodate more than a minor portion of those wishing seats. We contacted radio stations in the area about the possibility of broadcasting the debates, but the price for four and a half hours on the air was beyond our means.

The timing of the debates, scheduled for June 13 and 14, proved to be most propitious. Only a month earlier John Thomas Scopes, a science teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, had been arrested for violating a recently enacted state law prohibiting the teaching of evolution in public schools. Tennessee was the first to pass such a statute, but soon several other Southern states began agitating for a similar law. Scopes' trial was set for July 10, and for weeks in advance stories about the forthcoming "Monkey Trial" dominated front-page news. Our debates, coming as they did less than four weeks before Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan squared off for their historic encounter, rode the crest of a mighty publicity wave.

credit: Pacific Press

The jury for the Scopes "Monkey Trial" met in July.

A month before the debates, John Scopes was arrested for teaching evolution in a public school in Tennessee.

credit: Southern Publishing Association

On the very weekend of our debates the Hearst newspaper chain of 17 dailies featured the creation-evolution controversy in its Sunday magazine. On one page of the center spread was Bryan writing on "Why the Bible Narrative of the Creation of Man Must Be Believed." Opposite was an essay by Professor Fitzroy Cooper on "Why the Bible Narrative of the Creation Cannot Be Literally True." Across the top of the two pages ran a big headline reading, "The Truth About Adam and Eve," subtitled "Why the Whole World is Watching the Prosecution of Scopes, a Tennessee High School Teacher, Who Defied the State Law and Declared That the Human Race Developed from Lower Animals, and That the Bible Story of the Creation of Man in the Garden of Eden Could Not Be True."

THE FIRST DEBATE

On Saturday evening, June 13, Nichol met Shipley to debate whether or not "the earth and all life upon it are the result of evolution." In introducing Shipley, who was speaking for the affirmative, the chairman noted that Shipley's "Science League of America is a national organization, having on its advisory board such men as David Starr Jordan [then president of Stanford University] and Luther Burbank [world-famed plant breeder and horticulturist], the primary purpose of which is the defense of the teaching of evolution in the schools. The Science League is represented in 42 states and on the faculties of 48 colleges and universities."

Shipley began with a brief discussion of the natural origin of the earth. Then, having confidently disposed of that issue, he went on to the origin of life. "What I propose to prove here," he said,

> is, that there has been in operation on this earth an orderly *evolution of living beings*, be the *cause* of this developmental process what it may. I propose to adduce facts which prove conclusively that living forms evolved on this planet by natural processes, developing from the lower forms of life to the higher, and under natural law, instead of having been separately created by magic, full blown, out of the air, the earth or the waters.

Shipley devoted considerable time to a detailed description of how the fins of fish developed into legs and how their air-bladders turned into lungs when they crawled out of water onto land. From this amphibian adventure the reptiles had evolved, then birds, mammals, marsupials, and finally the earliest primates — all over 500,000 years ago. This process of evolution, he argued, was attested to by geologists, zoologists, and comparative anatomists, "the only persons competent to judge such matters."

Throughout his recital of the processes of evolution Shipley made frequent thrusts at Bryan and others who believed in the Genesis account of creation. "There is no place in modern science for fossil thoughts nor for crystallized ignorance," he said in tones of asperity.

The climax of his presentation focused on the origin of man, "the crown and glory of the Mammalia." Contrary to popular opinion, he said, evolutionists did not teach that man had descended from the anthropoid apes found in zoos and museums. Rather both had come from a common ancestral form. "So, while we recognize in the higher Apes of today more or less distant cousins — so to speak — we do not regard any of them as our ancestors, either on our grandmother's side or on our grandfather's side, to answer the idiotic flings of ignoramuses."

In his peroration Shipley concluded that,

> Taken in connection with the fact that the only alternative view of the origin of the earth and the life upon it involves a return to the pre-scientific myths and legends of antiquity, to special creation by magic, at the hands of gods made in the image of man, the modern student who is capable of clear and logical thinking is compelled to accept as valid the evidences for evolution under natural law, since all the known facts support the theory of evolution and not one single fact known to man is in contradiction of the theory . . . Today not more than two men of high scientific standing oppose this theory.

The *"law of evolution,"* he declared, "is as fully established as the law of gravitation."

The chairman then introduced Francis Nichol, mentioning that he was an associate editor of the *Signs of the Times*, "a conservative religious weekly published at Mountain View, California, [that] has the unique distinction of the largest circulation of any strictly denominational weekly in America."

In his address Nichol surprised and astounded us all with his intimate knowledge of facts and arguments contradicting evolution. One would have thought he had long been a student of morphology (comparative anatomy), embryology, and geology — the sciences described by him as "the three-legged stool" supporting evolution. He began by making two allegations: first, that the evidence for evolution as stipulated by Shipley was at best circumstantial and unacceptable in a court of law; second, that the theory of evolution was first given to the world by philosophers and metaphysicians, not by scientists, and thus originated from speculation, not facts.

To underscore the uncertainty of the morphological evidence in favor of human evolution, he listed phrases gleaned from a book, *The Evolution of Man*, written by a group of Yale University professors: "may be," "may perhaps," "is possible," "more likely," "presumably," and so forth. The same expressions of uncertainty could be found in Darwin's *Origin of Species*, he claimed.

> A "may be" is laid upon a "might be," and a "supposition" upon a "presumption," and so on until the edifice of theory reaches a dizzy height. I present these two books, honorable judges, as exhibits "A" and "B" to show how evolutionists violate the rule of circumstantial evidence which declares that "one presumption of fact can not be based upon another," — *16 Corpus Juris 765*.

credit: Southern Publishing Association.

Clarence Darrow met Bryan in their historic encounter at the Scopes trial.

Nichol found the evidence from geology no more satisfactory. Not only did the various forms of life show remarkably little change as they came up through the strata, but new species almost always appeared suddenly. In attempting to explain the absence of transitional fossil forms, evolutionists were guilty of reasoning in a circle. They cited the geological record as evidence for evolution, while at the same time calling upon evolution to account for the fossils missing from the geological column. This "chronic intellectual habit of evolutionists" he illustrated with a story:

> A man inquired of the city employee who blew the noon whistle, whether he was sure he was blowing his whistle at the right time. "Certainly I am," replied the fellow; "I have my watch set every day by the local watchmaker." Over to the watchmaker went the man, and inquired as to whether he kept accurate time. "Certainly I do," replied the watchmaker; "I set my chronometer every noon by the whistle."

Nichol's *coup de grace* to the evolutionary theory was his charge that its defenders espoused Darwin's hypothesis as a matter of faith, not as a proven scientific fact. Furthermore, their motivation was their repugnance for the opposing view of creation, a point recently conceded by the scientist L. T. More. "The evolutionary theory is held today," Nichol concluded, "not because of any convincing evidence, for the evidence is equivocal; not because of any scientific experiments, because such experiments have given the lie to the theory; not because of any positive reason, but because of a negative state of mind toward an opposing view.

In rebutting Nichol, Shipley categorized the first chapter of Genesis as a fairy story of magical occurrences. Referring to Nichol's assertions about

John Scopes talks with one of his attorneys..
credit: Pacific Press

the confusion in geology, he claimed that it was "nothing compared with the confusion of mind I have in trying to get head or tail of what he was trying to talk about." According to Shipley's count, Nichol had made 38 different points, too many for him to answer in a single evening.

Nichol, in turn, emphasized that anti-evolutionists were not opponents of science. "We have a very high regard for true science; and because of this high regard, we oppose the attempt of evolutionists to attach the label of 'science' to their unsupported guesses. The evolutionists, not the Fundamentalists, are bringing the word 'science' into disrepute." He closed with an appeal to the judges to "render a decision that the case for evolution is *not* proved."

THE SECOND DEBATE

Sunday evening, June 14, Shipley and I debated whether or not "the teaching of evolution should be debarred from tax-supported schools." Whereas the first debate had dealt with evolution from a scientific viewpoint, my debate carried the discussion into the realm of education, morals, and religion. As previously agreed, I spoke in the affirmative.

"One of the chief reasons why we oppose the teaching of evolution in the tax-supported schools of our country," I explained, "is because evolution is subversive of the religious convictions of many who send their children to the public schools." The teaching of evolution thus violates the American principle of the separation of church and state just as surely as would the teaching of the Genesis story.

I then discussed the religious views affected by the teaching of evolution. "In the first instance," I said, "evolution is contrary to the belief of many concerning God." It "denies a personal God, and says God is but a force or energy or thought which pervades the cosmos." In addition, it presents a radically different view of Jesus Christ than that held by millions of parents who send their children to public schools. "Christ is to the evolutionist nothing more than an extraordinarily good man who died an exemplary death." According to Darwin's disciples, Christ could not have died for the sins of men, because sin is nothing but "the hang-over from our animal ancestry, the remnants of the tiger and ape in us."

It seemed to me that one of the largest issues in the debate was who should control the American public school system, a majority of citizen voters or a few so-called "experts in evolutionary theory." The Science League's David Starr Jordan had repeatedly stated that "the control of the schools should be in the hands of experts, not of the mob." But I was convinced the mass of Americans thought otherwise.

In closing I summed up my case:

> [B]ecause the theory of evolution has certain definite and inseparable religious implications;
> Because the genius of our American system of government demands that all religious issues be entirely eliminated from public institutions and office;
> Because the corollary of this principle requires neutrality on religious questions in the teaching done in our tax-supported schools;
> Because the teaching of evolution in our schools is in flagrant violation of this basic American principle, in that it introduces a definite religious view;
> And because it further violates the spirit of Americanism in that it seeks to impress the evolutionary conception of religion upon public education and to exclude any other conception;
> We therefore submit that the teaching of evolution in the tax-supported schools of America should be prohibited.

In presenting the negative side of the evening's debate, Shipley flatly declared that Nichol and I were doing precisely what the religionists had done in the days of Copernicus and Columbus:

> When Copernicus proved that the sun is the center of the solar system, that the planets revolve around the sun, the Fundamentalists of that day said: "No, we are not going to have your religion drive out our religion, and our Holy Bible says the earth is the center of the solar system, and the sun goes around it. Did not Joshua command the sun to stand still? And the moon stood low in the valley, did it not?" The taxpayers of the age said: "We are not going to have Galileo and Copernicus and Newton, these experts, come to the voters and tell the people who foot the bills what kind of solar system we have. We are not going to have this religion taught in the schools." The people that believed in the Bible when it said that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still said: "We are not going to have any contrary religious views taught in the schools. They must be submitted to the voters."

Shipley described those of us who opposed the teaching of evolution in public schools as "sincere but . . . misguided citizens" who would place the country's educational system under mob rule. To take control of the schools away from those specially trained in pedagogy and science and turn it over to ignorant laymen was "anti-American," he said. If taxpayers were going to dictate what geology and biology was to be taught in schools, were they also going to run the law schools, medical colleges, and theological seminaries?

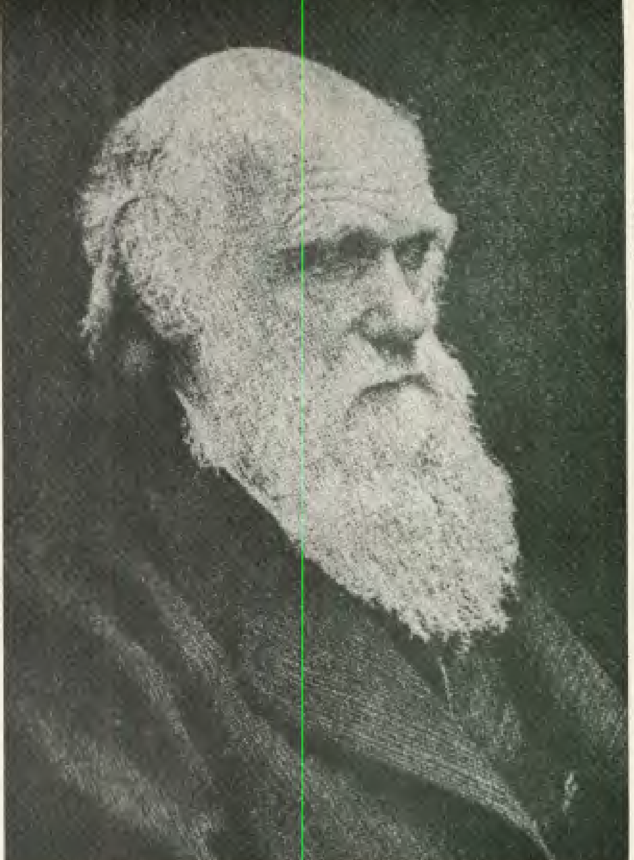
In Shipley's opinion 20th-century Americans faced a simple choice: "we must choose between belief in what are known by all scholars to be Babylonian, Persian and Chaldean myths, and acceptance of the results of modern science, *i.e.*, natural processes under the uniform and immutable laws of nature — one of which, we now add, is a recognizable *law of evolution*."

When Shipley concluded his speech, I used my time for rebuttal to respond to a remark he had made about the number of books Nichol and I had brought to the debate. "It looks as if they had brought the public library over here tonight," he had said. "That is true, we do have a lot of books here," I admitted.

> And if you will open them, you will find that we have read every one of them, and made our notations in the margins, proving that we have studied them thoroughly. There is not a Fundamentalist book in the pile, either; every one of them is from an evolutionary author. Neither Mr. Nichol nor I read any Fundamentalist author in preparation for these debates. Although I have all of Mr. Bryan's books in my library, I did not read them in preparation for tonight. I did not need to do so. By the time I had finished reading what the evolutionists have to say about their subject, I had all the ammunition I needed to keep Mr. Shipley very busy trying to answer arguments from his own side.
>
> Another reason why we brought these books tonight is because from this platform last November David Starr Jordan declared that the Fundamentalists are so ignorant they never read books. He even made the assertion that "William Jennings Bryan never read a bound book in his life, not even the Bible, about which he likes to talk so much." We thought that perhaps if we exhibited here tonight a few dozens of these scientific books which we have read, Mr. Shipley would not dare to say no Fundamentalist ever reads anything.

In his rebuttal for the negative Shipley read a prepared statement emphasizing the educational value of the theory of evolution. "We must conclude, then," he said at one point,

> that the theory of evolution should be taught in our schools not only because it certainly leads to the discovery of new facts, but because of the value of this discipline as an ethical agency. It supplies us with sanctions for right conduct which are based, not upon some one's idea of what constitutes right and wrong, of what some one tells us is good or evil, but upon the immutable, unavoidable laws of nature herself. From the unchanging operation of these laws no one can hide; from the consequences of violation of these laws none can escape. He who clearly understands that there is a law of retrogradation as well as a law of evolution, will, even if only as a measure of self-preservation, watch his step!



credit Pacific Press

Charles Darwin's books formed the basis of evolutionary theory.

No one with any religion worthy of the name would suffer from the discovery that God works through natural processes like the law of evolution, he argued.

With Shipley's eloquent peroration, the 1925 San Francisco debates on evolution came to an end. All that remained now was the judges' decision.

THE DECISION

The Honorable D. A. Cashin, Associate Justice of the Appellate Court of California, announced the results:

> On the first proposition, submitted and debated last night, on the merits of the debate, and not on the merits of the controversy, the decision of the judges is for the negative.
>
> On the proposition tonight, on the same principle, our decision is for the negative. The vote for each proposition, it is appropriate for me to state, was a divided vote.

On split votes of 2 to 1 Francis Nichol had won and I had lost.

THE morning following the debates the *San Francisco Examiner* carried a droll headline reading: "San Francisco Debate on Evolution Ends in Tie: Judges Decide That, as Presented by Speakers, Theory Untrue, Should Be Taught." The newspaper noted that evolution was "a living issue" in San Francisco and com-

credit: Pacific Press

During 1925 the creation-evolution controversy rode the crest of a big publicity wave.

mented on "the large crowd which on both evenings filled the auditorium long before the meeting hour, and afterward filled the street, and threatened to rush the doors."

The *Examiner* also mentioned a bizarre incident that had taken place on Sunday evening while the audience waited for the judges' decision. Rabbi Louis I. Newman, of Temple Beth Emanu-El, had taken the platform to challenge any representative anti-evolutionist to a debate. "I believe," he said, "that the anti-evolutionist is an enemy to America and to truth." No one that evening (or later) accepted the rabbi's challenge, for all Northern Californians knew him to be a vitriolic and sulphurous man.

Under the headline "S. F. Evolution Debate Packs Hall" the city's other morning paper, the *Chronicle*, reported that many persons had been turned away for lack of room in the auditorium — perhaps even more than had found seats. Like the *Examiner*, the *Chronicle* ran a full column discussing the arguments that had been given for and against evolution.

Since we had been unable to broadcast the debates, we had arranged to have the entire proceedings published immediately as a paperback book. The four presentations were delivered from manuscripts and the rebuttals stenographically reported; so we were able to read galley proofs within 36 hours and to have the completed book within a week. The 176-page volume sold for $1.00.

Still, in the days immediately following the debates the Pacific Press was deluged with phone calls, telegrams, and letters urging that the *Signs of the Times* capitalize on the nation-wide interest in evolution by running a series of articles on the subject. Also, there were persistent demands that Nichol and I rush into print with a hard-cover book that would present the Seventh-day Adventist viewpoint on creationism in a positive way, emphasizing the proofs for creation and portraying the theological and spiritual implications of the Genesis record.

In response to mounting pressure C. H. Jones, general manager of the Pacific Press, called a meeting for June 18 to consider these suggestions. At that session Elder C. K. Meyers, secretary of the General Conference, enthusiastically supported the proposed book, and it was unanimously voted to begin work immediately.

Within hours of the committee's decision Nichol and I once again had our noses in books, working night and day to turn out the desired manuscript. Copies of the completed draft were then sent for criticism to several church leaders, including George McCready Price, who agreed to write a foreword. The final product, entitled *Creation – Not Evolution*, consisted of 23 chapters on all aspects of the creation-evolution controversy.

In closing this story of the San Francisco evolution debates I would like to pay tribute to my late colleague Francis David Nichol, 1897-1966. Francis and I met for the first time on June 4, 1921, when he joined the *Signs of the Times* editorial staff. During his more than six years in Mountain View we became the warmest of personal friends. We were ordained at the same camp meeting in 1923, and our two families often vacationed together at the Pacific Press cottage on the seaside near Santa Cruz.

I admired Francis for many things — his Christian character, his staunch Seventh-day Adventism, his brain. In my more than fourscore years I have never known any person with a mental apparatus superior to his. The few passages quoted from his debate with Shipley give only a glimpse of the agility, the incisiveness, and the perspicacity of his mind. To have been associated with him in the San Francisco debates is one of the scintillating highlights of my life.

SOURCES

For the official text of the entire debates, see Maynard Shipley, Francis D. Nichol, and Alonzo L. Baker. *The San Francisco Debates on Evolution.* Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1925.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEBATE

By One Who Was There

EVIDENCE LACKING

I CAME to the debates with rather an open mind. I had read so many statements from evolutionists in the public press that evolution is a truth that has almost limitless evidence for its corroboration, that I was anxious to hear a few of the major proofs for that doctrine. I supposed that the president of the Science League of America would have a great fund of information as to the evidences for evolution, and, because of the wording of the proposition for the first night, that he would unveil a few of the pillars which support the evolutionary structure.

But, speaking frankly, I was keenly disappointed. Mr. Shipley did not adduce any proofs for his theory that would ever get by a jury. His evidence was vague and problematical, and seemed to depend upon other problematicals. His line of argument appeared to be a chain of hypotheses dangling one from the other. There was nothing that one could feel had been definitely established. Everything was hanging in the air and did not quite reach the solid ground. There was no two-plus-two-equals-four evidence. It was all two-plus-two-equals-something-but-we-are-not-sure-what. When it came to a point where he needed a demonstration, he only dogmatized.

DISSENTERS ANATHEMATIZED

If Mr. Shipley is a worthy spokesman for the evolutionists, it seems to me that their case consists chiefly of making sweeping assertions and then belittling any one as hopelessly ignorant who asks for proof. But to thinking people the excoriation of an opponent who asks evidence only drives home a suspicion that the one challenged has no evidence that he feels confident of. Personally, I am beginning to feel that the proponents of evolution have little to offer the public except categorical statements to the effect that evolution is true, and anyone who doubts their grandiloquent declarations is a near-imbecile.

MAIN EVIDENCE "WHO'S WHO"

Mr. Shipley, when pressed for evidence in the two debates, over and over again gave as his proof that practically all scientists believe in evolution, therefore it must be so. But for myself, -- and many of my acquaintances are of the same opinion, -- I am not so anxious to know *who* believe evolution, but *why* they believe it. And for some reason or other, Mr. Shipley failed to divulge the *why*. Because some "great" man believes a certain thing, is no argument to me at all unless I know why he believes it. I put my trust in truth, not in men. When I ask for truth, I do not want to be handed a "Who's Who"; I want a "Why's Why."

DIDN'T KNOW HIS SUBJECT

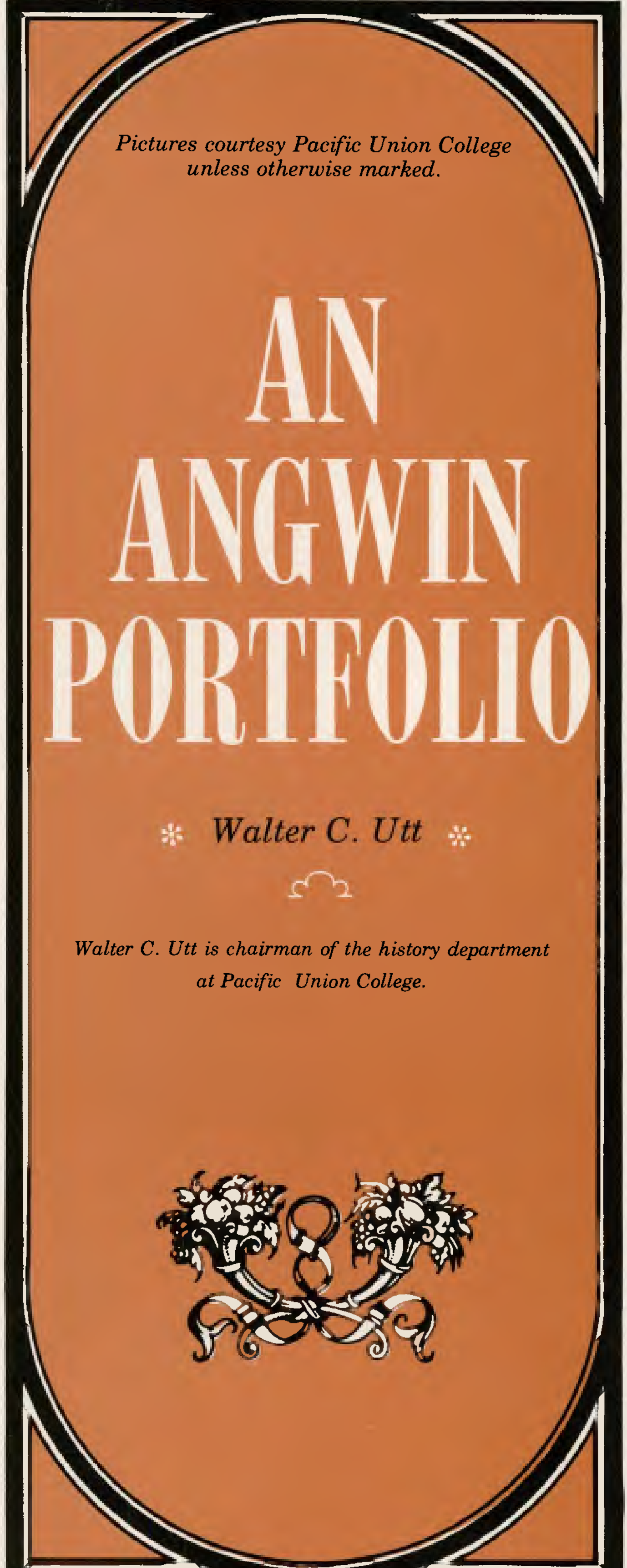
Mr. Shipley was either unused to the strategy of public discussion or else he was afraid to take a risk, for he failed to challenge statements made by his opponents which were mortal to his theory. They cited copiously from his own authorities, who negated and questioned much of his position, and in spite of the fact that these admissions and confessions from his own camp demolished his arguments, he did not challenge them, leaving us to draw the obvious conclusion that he was not able to challenge them. From the turn the debates took, it would appear that the two fundamentalists knew considerably more about the books and authorities in the field of evolution than did Mr. Shipley. Two or three times he made the caustic comment that the fundamentalists had better study evolution before they debated on it, but it was obvious that his opponents had given more study to the source books on evolution than he himself had. Someway it impresses me that the evolutionists' blatant claim to a monopoly on scientific wisdom is only an effort to render the whole question so mysterious and deep that the ordinary man will be afraid to study for himself, and hence be forced to accept their *ipse dixit* for anything and everything they wish to palm off . . .

WHAT EVOLUTION NEEDS

From an onlooker's viewpoint, I believe, after listening to these two debates, that evolution's greatest need is for a good detective to run down and capture the elusive proofs and witnesses for the theory, so that the evolutionist will not have to go into court and ask for judgment in his favor on the ground that if witnesses could only be found he could conclusively prove his case Until such a time, I must conclude, as did the majority of those who attended the debates, that the case for evolution is far from proved. And, by the way, this is the publicly-stated decision of the eminent jurists who sat as judges.

[A San Francisco Corporation Executive]

Signs of the Times July 28, 1925



Pictures courtesy Pacific Union College unless otherwise marked.

AN ANGWIN PORTFOLIO

Walter C. Utt

Walter C. Utt is chairman of the history department at Pacific Union College.

MOST institutions have had a golden age. Nostalgia gilds the memories of simpler, more intimate times. Coherence and single-minded devotion to a cause inevitably diminish with increasing size, specialization, and changing expectations of a more "sophisticated" clientele.

Healdsburg College (1882-1908) had its great moments and its fervent admirers, but the sadness of its decline and the physical and chronological break made it easy to see the successor school as a new beginning. Pacific Union College in the Irwin era (1909-1921) was a typically American experience in its conquest of environment and its growth from small beginnings, plus the aura of conscious virtue in striving for an ideal midst idyllic (if not Edenic) surroundings far from the world. The survivors, rightfully a mutual admiration society, were a small group which had been through an exciting pioneering experience together, one that successors and beneficiaries might envy but could not fully appreciate in their more comfortable and conventional generations. The veneration of ancestors exaggerates their virtues and forgets their errors, but the story of the Irwin period of Pacific Union College gave more than the usual justification for these sentiments.

Edwin Angwin, a Cornish emigrant, settled Howell Mountain in the 1860's and farmed a portion of the La Jota Mexican landgrant. In the 1880's, happy in the "perfect" climate and natural beauties, he developed a summer resort, hotel, dance hall, and numerous cottages along the edge of the cleared land of the "crater." Except for a few vintners and lumbermen, it was Angwin's world. He had his own summer post office and even a telelphone (though the writer has not been able to find any piece of mail or postage stamp with a postmark of the original Angwin office — open 1883-1909 and reopened in 1927).

In 1909, Angwin sold his 1600 acres (100 in cultivation), a dozen vehicles, 20 cows, 19 horses, and certain pigs, canned fruit and all the fixtures to the Adventists for $60,000. Angwin had asked $75,000 but accepted $40,000 down and the $20,000 balance in six months without interest. Stephen N. Haskell, then President of the California Conference, and the conference committee had been looking for suitable property on which to reopen Healdsburg College which had been closed the year before. They had to give up one piece of property near Sonoma because it had title defects, though several of the brethren who had speculated in adjacent land begrudged the action. Ellen G. White, following the search intently, warned against a Central Valley location because of the heat and irrigation problems, and felt if the Sonoma proposition failed, it was because the Lord had a better place for His people.

The purchase of Angwin's property was done quickly and quietly to avoid publicity, and completed just a few days before they hoped to begin school. An announcement in the union conference

paper served in place of a school bulletin that year. To prepare the campus Asa O. Tait gathered a few young men at the Oakland campmeeting. Two weeks later, on September 29, 1909, forty-two students were reported to have been present on opening day.

Selections from a portfolio of pictures taken by S. P. S. Edwards preserve the look of the school at its beginning. Speakers at the dedicatory service included Ellen G. White (to be a frequent visitor and speaker from Elmshaven, five miles down the hill), S. N. Haskell, W. C. White, and the new president, C. W. Irwin. With one accord they were hopeful for great things in a place so providentially discovered. Said Mrs. White: "I believe that as you walk through these grounds, you will come to the same decision — that the Lord designed this place for us."

The first weekend was suddenly chilly, and the parlor of the hotel was the only place with a fire.

Angwin's hotel, 1909

Stone bridge on the road to Angwin's

Hall in Angwin's hotel

Angwin's resort, they discovered that winter, was built with the summer trade in mind. The girls had the hotel the first three years, but until the new dorm was completed, the boys roosted in lofts and cast-off tents, inheriting the hotel in 1912. The faculty lived in the resort cottages or in the dorm.

Fresh from principalship of the Avondale school in Australia, Charles Walter Irwin was asked by Mrs. White to remain in the United States after the General Conference session to be the principal of the new school when a place could be found for it. His educational program was to "get back onto the platform that God gave us." Education was for the "whole man." Young people would be trained "to meet the battles of life and not try to escape them." Backed in his austere, even severe, regime by the faculty, most of whom he knew personally and had selected, a work-study, no-nonsense school prospered. Irwin kept the school in the black, but on occasion had to advance his personal funds to help the school through a tight spot.

Keld J. Reynolds, a student at the time, said:

> They say an institution is the lengthening shadow of the man. . . . Professor Irwin, a solidly built man with a thick mane of iron gray hair and a piercing eye was a commanding figure when he walked across the campus. Upon closer acquaintance he proved to be a warm and friendly personality, who, in giving advice to the student, preferred to speak softly, yet, somehow managed to leave the impression that somewhere in his office closet was a big stick, purely moral, of course. . . . President Irwin was the uncompromising Seventh-day Adventist, masterful, whimsically human on occasion, but always the tower of strength.

Unity was probably enhanced by the fact that neither teachers nor students had much time to spend complaining. The school grew around them as they worked side by side. Hattie Andre, previously of Pitcairn Island and Avondale, was the preceptress. Some, such as the incredibly versatile M. W. Newton — inventor, handyman extraordinary, and classmate of Irwin at Union College — was to remain the rest of his career at Angwin; others, such as G. F. Wolfkill, founder of science and premedical programs at P.U.C., would leave for a time but return later.

Every person and pound of supplies at first came up the ascent from St. Helena behind horses. Muddy or dusty, it was a 2-4 hour trip for the eight miles. Though the first automobile, Professor Newton's 1907

Rear view of hotel

Dedication service in the chapel (former dance hall)

View of campus about 1912

President Irwin as principal at Avondale

The Window Tree

The faculty in 1911

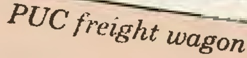
Class of 1912

Buick, arrived in 1910, the college stage continued to meet the trains for some years. In December, 1913, the stage bound for St. Helena in a rainy pre-dawn went over the bank. In spite of a 40-foot drop, there were no serious injuries to man or beast, and the shaken travellers were able to continue their way home for vacation by a later train.

In 1919 a full load for a teacher was set at 54 hours a week, including 15 hours manual labor, 12½ teaching, and 6 hours of "personal work for students" at $12 to $23 weekly, plus 15% cost of living bonus. Married women were paid half or less the husband's rate.

> There is a decidedly business air about "Angwin's". . . . The president is also business manager and general superintendent; his wife is bookkeeper, storekeeper, and commercial teacher: the Bible teacher the past two years has been chief sawyer and woodman; the history teacher has six classes and takes charge of all repairing; the teacher of mathematics and physical science is one of the builders; the teacher of English is supervisor of the farm.

Faculty of Irwin's last year



PUC freight wagon

Casualty of muddy mountain roads, 1913

Chemistry lab, 1919

South Hall, the first construction project

courtesy: Maud O'Neil

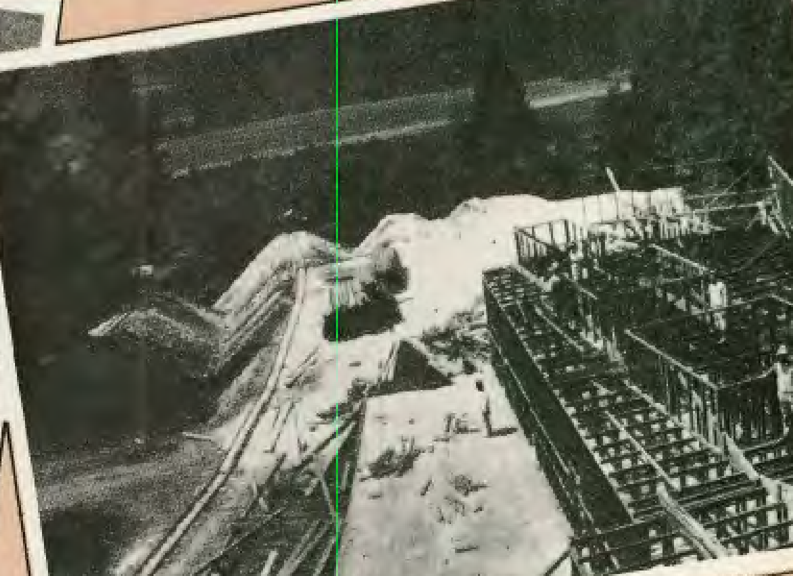
Without the early faculty, the school could not have gotten started, much less survived. Said one of their students: "There were strong and true hearts in the faculty and the spirit of God was there to help." Another student observed that they were "Christian ladies and gentlemen all, perhaps lacking some of the academic sophistication of a later day, but with a charming simplicity and impressive integrity which have left a lasting mark." And one early teacher commented: "On that long ride up the hill we seemed to leave the world behind. Somewhere on the way we dropped useless and unnecessary conventions and artificial values, until only the essentials, the real values of life remained. We seemed to understand the principles of Christian education more clearly here, and to have greater courage to put them into practice."

The schedule was designed for working people, as this 1910 example shows:

Rising bell	5:30
Morning worship	6:00
Study period	6:15-6:55
Breakfast	7:00
Work period (industrial students)	8:00-9:00
Recitations or study period	8:00-10:00
Chapel	10:00
Chapel talks (M, F)	10:15-10:45
Singing (T, Th)	10:15-10:45
Spelling (M, T, F)	10:45-11:00
Missionary meetings (W)	10:00-11:00
Recitation or study period	11:00-1:00
Dinner	1:15
Work period	2:00-5:30
Evèning worship	6:30
Silent period	6:45-7:15
Study period (supervised)	7:15-9:15
Retiring signal	9:15
Lights out	9:30

Preparing lumber for building, 1913
courtesy: Maud O'Neil

Print shop, 1919



Irwin Hall under construction

In spite of their studies and required labor, the students had time for highly regulated extracurricular activities, usually of a religious or character-building nature.

The president did not approve of competitive sports and was known to confiscate bats and balls when they appeared. The board backed him in this, though ballgames were known at picnics later in the period. The president might declare a picnic and dismiss classes without previous warning. Participation was close to 100 per cent. Everyone did everything together as one big family, whether viewing Professor Newton's pictures of the Holy Land or participating in the flu epidemic of 1918. (That there were no serious effects from the latter was attributed to healthful and secluded living.) Those upon whom the regime frowned went "down the hill" to where chewing gum and worldly diversions were more accessible. There were marriages each summer, but it was not always clear, in view of the system, how the couples had become acquainted.

Building and maintaining the school provided extraordinary opportunities for on-the-job training, but President Irwin firmly refused to allow college credit for such subjects. The first building they built was South Hall (now Graf Hall), ready for occupancy in 1912. The "college" building (now Irwin Hall) was the next major project. The rear section, which contained sixteen classrooms, was finished first, in 1913. The front section took six more years to complete.

The plans for the college building were a little unusual. Conceived by Irwin and worked out by Newton and George Carlsen, they permitted an observer on the chapel platform to survey all halls and entrances. Each classroom had an entrance for the

President Irwin at graduation

The chapel in 1919

ladies and one for the gentlemen. In the chapel, with its pressed metal walls in the fleur-de-lys design, the student body assembled, segregated by sex, to face the male members of the faculty who sat in awful dignity through each program.

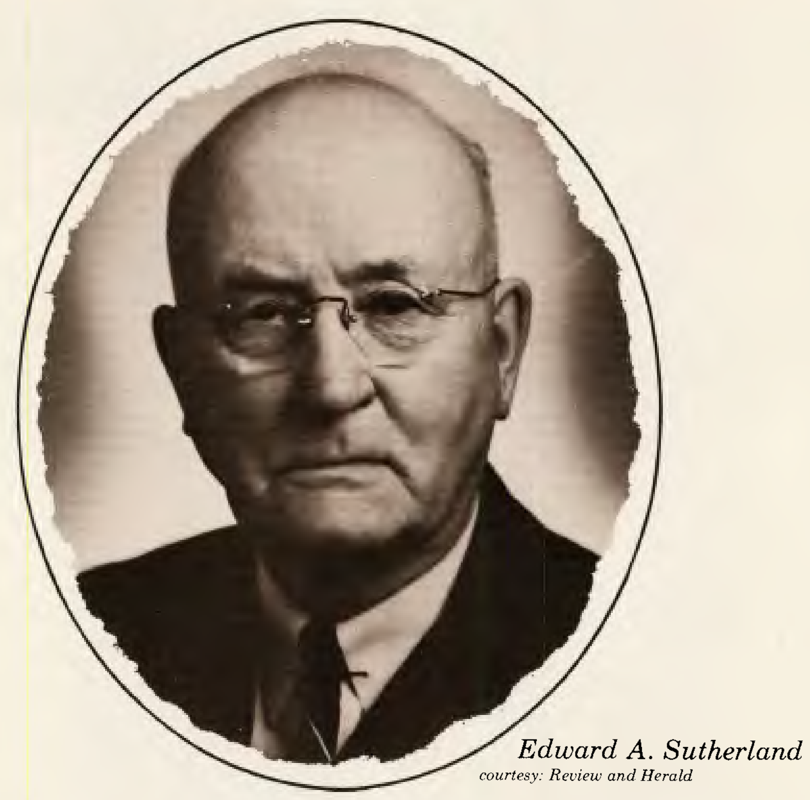
By the end of President Irwin's twelve years, it was commonly said that the era of pioneering had passed and that the campus would become unrecognizable to the pioneers of 1909. Sometimes criticized for his strict standards, Irwin mellowed somewhat, it is said, as he felt the school and its program were well-established. His standards were those of the home churches of 1909. He probably had changed less by 1921 than they had. Later presidents would have to contend with the problem of retaining rustic virtue, commitment to the Gospel Commission, and adherence to the "standards" while permitting mundane "improvements" to provide a level of professional training which would fit graduates to share in the California material dream.

Certainly neither students nor faculty were pleased when the Board unceremoniously removed Irwin in 1921 and sent him off to the General Conference Department of Education. For in a very special way, students of the Irwin days felt it was *their* school, built with their own hands, and were proud of the memory of achievement against great obstacles. As Francis D. Nichol said of Irwin, his college president: "With faith in his heart, and a pickaxe in his hand, he carved a college out of a mountain."

President and Mrs. Irwin at home

President Irwin at a picnic

Memorial plaque installed in 1936



Edward A. Sutherland
courtesy: Review and Herald

Memories of E. A. SUTHERLAND

By J. Wayne McFarland and T. A. McFarland
As told to M. Margaret McFarland

DR. Edward A. Sutherland (1865-1955) was a prominent reform educator in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He was the first president of Walla Walla College, Walla Walla, Washington, and the sixth president of Battle Creek College which he was instrumental in having moved to Berrien Springs, Michigan. The relocated institution was named Emmanuel Missionary College (now Andrews University), and he was its first president. Co-founder of Madison College (Tennessee) with Percy T. Magan, Sutherland served as its first president (1904-46). Then he was called to the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists where he headed up the Commission on Rural Living until his retirement in 1950. At the age of 46 he took the medical course at the University of Tennessee Medical College in Nashville and thereafter was successful in promoting self-supporting institutions run by lay Seventh-day Adventists mainly in the South. Dr. Sutherland was a strong advocate of

M. Margaret McFarland, granddaughter of Mr. T. A. McFarland and daughter of Dr. J. Wayne McFarland, graduated from Andrews University with a B. A. in history.

Ellen White's proposal for agricultural and manual training and a leading voice in calling for church members to leave the cities and return to simple country living.

These memories of Dr. E. A. Sutherland were recorded on September 30 and October 2, 1974, with Tilghman A. "Mac" McFarland and Dr. J. Wayne McFarland in Silver Spring, Maryland, and Ann Arbor, Michigan, respectively. Mr. McFarland, now 91 years old, worked at Madison Foods from 1930 to 1935 while Dr. Sutherland was president of Madison College. Contract disagreements between the two strong-willed men led to their adversary relationship. Dr. McFarland was a student at Madison College during that same period, prior to starting medical school at the College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University) in Loma Linda, California. Dr. McFarland, as the editor of *Life and Health* and then as an associate in the medical department of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, himself worked with Dr. Sutherland from 1946 to 1950.

T. A. McFarland was sales manager of Madison Foods in Tennessee from 1930 to 1935.
courtesy: Margaret McFarland

Mr. and Mrs. T. A. McFarland stand in front of their home in Madison.
courtesy: Margaret McFarland

JW Dad, what year did we go to Madison? You can't remember? Do you remember meeting Dr. Sutherland?

TA Yah, yah, yah. I went to see him and Mrs. Scott[1] both. I made an appointment with Mrs. Scott to see Doctor, and Doctor came and said he'd meet us at the Bowl — the bowl they call it down there, that auditorium [Civic Center in San Francisco, California — location of the 1930 General Conference].

He [Sutherland] said, "I want to see you folks here in the morning at nine o'clock, and bring your son, I want to see your son."

So we went and he said [to you], "If I let you into this school, will you obey the rules?"

I said, "You won't have no trouble with him obeying your rules."

"Well," he says, "when can you come?"

"Nineteenth day of September, yes, sir."

"All right, I'll take you."

The nineteenth day of September we showed up there, Madison, but the year I don't remember. [It was 1930.]

JW What did he ask you to do?

TA He didn't ask me to do anything. When I saw him at General Conference, I asked him, if he'd take you into the school and would he give Mom a job teaching there.[2]

He said, "Yes, we'll do that." He said, "What do you want to do?"

I said, "I'll take care of that."

"What do you mean?"

"Well," I said, "I couldn't work for you."

"Why couldn't you?"

"I got a mule head."

"Oh," he said, "the place is full of mule-headed people."

"Well," I said, "you'll find out mine's different when I get down there."

And he did. No fooling.

JW Weren't you selling foods? . . . Running the health food factory and selling health foods?

TA Oh, that's what I did, yes. I ran the factory. See he [Sutherland] had Clifton C. D. ["Captain"] Bush, and what was that other guy's name?

JW Dye?

TA Dye, yah, little guy Dye [Carl H. Dye, 1886-1974]. He brought him down there and gave him that same job. Then he ran onto me, and he never told me nothing about the other guy and gave me that job. When I got there those two fellows were fighting over it. And then they gave it to me. So I said to them,

"Listen here, he hired me and sent me down here to run this place and he never told me nothing about you two fellows. Now," I said, "let's all three form an organization and run the place."

And that's what we did.

JW Did Dr. Sutherland like it?

TA Like it? Far as I know he did. . . . I remember one

[1] Mrs. Lida F. Scott, daughter of Dr. Isaac Funk, co-founder of Funk and Wagnall's Publishing Company, was a patient at Madison Sanitarium and soon after joined in working for the organization, using her personal funds to establish the Layman Foundation in 1924, which sponsored small sanitariums throughout the South.

[2] Mable Newton McFarland (1887-), who graduated in 1911 from Yankton College, Yankton, South Dakota, with an A.B. degree in biology, taught science and home economics at the Madison College Academy and also worked in the library, but is now unable to recall many details from her days in Madison due to a stroke she suffered several years ago.

From small beginnings, the Madison Food factory expanded over the years.

credit: Madison Survey

thing. After we'd had a lot of trouble I come home and the old doctor he come over to me and talked to me. He had it in for Dye, then, see? And he wanted me to keep Dye out, but I didn't wake up fast enough. And he was telling me he would turn the thing over to me and so forth. And I come home, I said,

"Mom, Dr. Sutherland is behind me now, backing me up."

"Yes," she said, "with a big club."

JW Did you make it pay?

TA Yes, yes, I made the thing pay. I ran all over the country. What Dye had done, he would go up to Michigan and all up through there and he'd give everybody all the food they wanted on the credit. Well, the first thing I did, I established no credit. I went up to Hinsdale, I don't remember who was the manager now, and I said,

"We're on a cash basis. You get ten percent less for cash, but there is no credit."

"All right," [he said].

So I told everybody that.

"From now on it's cash. When you send your order in you send the cash with it or I won't send it [the health foods]. I got to have the money to produce that. And I have to have that money to produce it before you can get it. So you send along an order, you send along the money, and I'll send you the goods."

"Fine," [they said].

And that's the way we started Madison.

JW Why did he [Sutherland] want it [the food factory] back from you again? Didn't he want it back . . . ?

TA No, he never did ask it back from me.

JW Well, what were the committees about? . . .

TA Yeah, the people on that faculty. . . . I wrote up the contract, and he [Sutherland] signed it, see? All the things that he was to do, and all the things that I was to do. Only he never paid no attention to the contract — he did as he pleased. And I gave him the devil for it. And that's where the trouble always come in. He was always doing as he pleased, which was contrary to the contract, and I was always asking him to live up to the contract. That's what our trouble was all about.[3]

JW When you and Dr. Sutherland parted company you went up to Saint Louis. You remember that? You remember what he told you when you left — he would welcome you back whenever you wanted to come, isn't that right?

[3] The disagreement over the contract and management of the food factory seems to have been shared by Mr. Bush and Mr. Dye as well, according to their wives' letters to Mable Towery, editor of the Madison alumni journal.

Mrs. Frances Bush, who now resides in Napa, California, says: "Capt. C. D. Bush, my late husband, and McFarland had a contract with the late E. A. Sutherland, when the sales work for the food factory was organized. E. A. Sutherland in his aging years made many strange changes. He would not renew the bakery contract, and that caused the business to collapse. McFarland did not have any security in the business. Captain Bush owned the cars. . . . He felt Dr. E. A. Sutherland was racketeering. It pained me to see Capt. Bush so disillusioned with the work there."

And according to Mrs. Dye, who presently lives in Yucaipa, California, "Dr. Sutherland agreed with my husband, it would be well to incorporate the business. So my husband took Captain Bush and T. A. McFarland into an incorporation. My husband was the manager. Much time and study was given, trying to work out a business arrangement. It was changed many times. . . . One important problem was to give the students work and still protect the school. . . . There were many complications, and I cannot say there ever was a satisfactory agreement reached."

While a student at Madison College, J. Wayne McFarland helped build the arch of the science building, which has since burned down.
courtesy: Madison Survey

Inspired by a chapel talk, some of the boys put in a new sidewalk between Funk Hall and the Sanitarium.
courtesy: Madison Survey

In 1934 J. Wayne McFarland, pictured here with his parents, left Madison to study medicine.
courtesy: Margaret McFarland

TA No, he said to me,

"Shake hands with me, you're the first man in my life I've ever met I didn't lick."

He didn't ask for my picture. He had some honor left and so did I.

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MM So how did Sutherland break the contract?

JW Dad was making more money than they had seen down there for a long, long time, and he was giving the students more money. . . . So Dr. Sutherland said this all ought to come into the school. Sutherland wanted the whole business, and Dad said, "Oh, no you don't; that's my business, that's the contract." So he [Sutherland] called the faculty together and tried to have Dad dismissed from the school . . . so that automatically would terminate the contract. They had faculty meeting after faculty meeting trying to figure this out.

Well, actually, you could see Dr. Sutherland's viewpoint, when the school was struggling and he could see all this money going. While at the same time, Dad was a stickler for the fact that you should live up to your contract.

MM What do you remember as a student at Madison College?

JW My recollection of Madison, and it was the same with a good many other students, was that there was a great deal of democracy and freedom permitted the students in running the school. At least we thought so. Sometimes it was so.

For instance, we had what we called student government. Part of the rule was that the students could mete out your punishment. Then, they would take it to the faculty and they would decide if the students were right or wrong. Many times they sided with them: "Yes, they've got to go!"

The punishment for those who were caught doing wrong, if it was a serious crime, meant they were sent off the campus to one of these little self-supporting institutions that had a farm and a little school and a little sanitarium. They called them units. And you were sent off for three months, six months, or a year to work out your penance. Or if you knew they were doing wrong, you got the same punishment as the other person.

MM So the faculty and students all governed as a whole?

JW The students got together first, and then they had students sit in on the faculty to represent the students' part. Likewise, if the students found a faculty member who was out of line they were supposed to take care of that too. As Dr. Sutherland often said in chapel talks:

"We want to have this place run on pure principles of democracy."

Well, we took him up on it, for one day we found a faculty member guilty of something and we thought he deserved to be shipped. Well, unfortunately he happened to be the head of the construction work for a large building going up and our livelihood depended on our also working on the building. But we felt that justice must be meted out. And so, . . .

Lee Stagg [M. D., Portland, Oregon] said, "No, we won't give in. This has got to be a matter of discipline for the faculty member."

This time we saw Dr. Sutherland try to squirm. But finally he gave in to the students, and the faculty

member got the punishment. It wasn't the full amount, but it shows how far the students could go in taking care of problems that came up in the school.

MM What else do you remember?

JW Dr. Sutherland's chapel talks were unforgettable. He had a favorite story we would hear at least once a year — maybe more often — about how David had to flee from Saul, into the desert to the cave of Adullam [I Samuel 22:1-2]. Of course, Saul had all the regular organized troops. It was only the disorganized, disgruntled, those who were in debt to the king, or the king had something in for them — they were the ones who went down to the cave of Adullam with David. So he [Sutherland] would say,

"This is like Madison. All those who are disgruntled with the work they are in, they don't feel the church is treating them right or something, that's the kind we have down here." He would say,

"Now you have to learn how to work this type if we are going to get along and finally carry this thing on. Everybody must bear his share, and there must not be too much complaining about ten cent an hour wages, or less privileges than you have other places."

These chapel talks were always given with real punch and fervor. But Dr. Sutherland frequently in the middle of his talk would stop and say,

"All those who are not in favor of this don't say aye."

And while we were figuring out just what we were supposed to do, he would say, "This is carried," or "Not carried," and go on with his talk. Everybody had voted. It was passed. But you never knew which hand he was going to ask you to raise, or whether it was going to be a "don't" or a "do."

Another favorite story of Dr. Sutherland's started:

"You see, the self-supporting schools were the ones where they trained the prophets."

And he would then tell the story how he [Elisha] went down to the river with the whole faculty. They took their axes and began to chop down trees and get ready to move the school. They were going to have to have larger quarters. You remember the story [II Kings 6:1-7]. One of the boy's axe heads fell off in the water and he said to the prophet: "Oh, it was a borrowed axe." And so a miracle was performed, the axe head floated, and they carried on their work.

Sutherland would conclude: "This is what we can expect when we are running a self-supporting school: The Lord will perform miracles for us, if everybody will do his part."

MM Tell the cricket story.

JW In [this] instance, he [Dr. Sutherland] was very upset because the students had permitted the grounds to get a little big unkempt . . . and [Dr. Sutherland] wanted everything as neat as a pin. This time in his chapel talk he got up and read as his text [the one that goes something like]: The summer is past The grasshopper played his fiddle all summer long, didn't store any grain, then came along winter and brother he was out of luck [Nahum 3:17].

"There are a great many of you students just like this grasshopper. You never see what ought to be done. There are papers all over the place. You ought to be picking these up. You are just nothing but a batch of crickets."

This got next to Ernie Biggs [whose medical career was cut short in a fatal ambulance accident later] and myself and a few others, including Lyle Hermann [M.D., Hilliard, Florida] — which was what Dr. Sutherland wanted — and we decided to do something about it.

During his early years at the General Conference, Dr. McFarland worked closely with Dr. Sutherland.
courtesy: Margaret McFarland

Ernie Biggs got to his feet and said, "We're not going to stand for this. We'll show him."

So we formed a Cricket Club. And out of the Cricket Club we decided our first project would be to just tear up the old sidewalk, which was getting pretty worn out, between Funk Hall and the Sanitarium. It was very rough. We decided that one noon hour all of us that were on the construction gang would put in that sidewalk.

We did. There was a crew of about ten of us. We cranked up the cement mixer and dug everything up and poured it. At the upper end there is a plaque, which I believe is still there today, that reads, "The Cricket Club" and gives the year.[4]

We never performed any other deeds. Apparently that was all that was necessary, for we never heard about crickets again from Dr. Sutherland.

MM What do you remember about the disagreements between your father and Dr. Sutherland when you were a student?

JW As a youngster growing up, I can remember the many

[4] According to Mable Towery, editor of the *Madison Survey and Alumni News*, both the Cricket Club and its female counterpoint, the Katydid Klub, were organized at the urging of Dr. Sutherland for the students to take more responsibility for the upkeep of the school. The school newspaper, the *Survey*, recorded several more deeds during 1931 and 1932 by both clubs, following the reconstruction of the sidewalk during the night hours by "an active group of young men."

courtesy: Madison Survey

As members of the 1951 executive committee of the ASI, E. A. Sutherland is seated center; J. W. McFarland is seated second from the left.

long hours of committee meetings and the many hours that my father spent in devotion and prayer out in the Tennessee woods. Apparently the rugged individualism of both of them led them to an impasse and for a while it seemed to be going to disrupt the whole school: the food factory, the students that worked there, and the faculty. After a good many meetings they finally resolved their problems and Dr. Sutherland and Father parted as friends.

When I had the privilege of working with Dr. E. A. Sutherland years later, he said, "Well, your father was quite a man. He used to pray a lot didn't he?"

And I said, "Yes, he spent a lot of time in the woods."

MM What kind of work did you do with Dr. Sutherland?

JW Elder Carlyle B. Haynes,[5] who had a country living program going, urged the brethren to bring Dr. Sutherland to the General Conference, since this was one of the areas Dr. Sutherland had spent a lifetime at.

When Dr. Sutherland came to the General Conference in 1946 he immediately set about to work with Elder Haynes starting the Commission on Rural Living.[6] One of the things that was done was a compilation called "Country Living," and another "From City to Country Living," both from the White Estate.

The Commission also had as part of its work the Association of Self-Supporting Institutions,[7] as Dr. Sutherland was the father of a great many such institutions in the South. It was during this time, when I was editor of *Life and Health*, that I had the privilege of working with Dr. Sutherland as the secretary of the Commission.[8]

In this work I [spent] many, many hours with Dr. Sutherland both at the General Conference offices and in trips locating properties outside of the cities, visiting churches and going to Union commission meetings. Most of this work was done driving by car, since Dr. Sutherland didn't like to ride trains.

One day, when we were riding along, he said, "You know, Wayne, I had the idea that Loma Linda would never succeed and I made a trip all the way up to Elmshaven to convince her [Ellen White] that it just never would work, because I felt we needed P. T. Magan[9] in the South.

"I went to Healdsburg and spent all day with her. I explained to her why it just wouldn't work: We didn't have the funds and where would we get the students? And when the day was through the only remark that she would make was:

> 'I don't understand it, Dr. Sutherland, but this is what the Lord has shown me. We must have a medical school.'

"That's all the word I could get from her. I came back and told P. T. Magan,

> 'P. T., she is talking exactly as she did when she told us to leave Berrien and go down South.' "[10]

Then he [Sutherland] remarked, "Now wasn't that foolish of me thinking I could change the Lord's mind through the messenger to God's people. Just look what we have now: this great complex at Loma Linda and the wonderful work it is doing around the world."

MM Did Dr. Sutherland live up to his reputation as a great manipulator?

[5] Carlyle Boynton Haynes (1882-1958) was director of the SDA War Service Commission of the General Conference from 1941 to 1947, but was also actively working on the problem of church members unable to find work in the cities without joining a labor union.

[6] The Commission on Rural Living with Dr. Sutherland as secretary and Carlyle B. Haynes as assistant secretary was created in 1946 by a merger of the Committee on Country Living and the North American Commission for Self-Supporting Missionary Work, of which Dr. Sutherland had been secretary. It was reorganized as the General Conference Commission for Self-Supporting Missionary Enterprises in 1950 with W. A. Butler as secretary.

The organizational shuffling between 1946 and 1951 coincides with E. A. Sutherland's years at the General Conference, and it seems his presence, rather than international events as suggested by the *SDA Encyclopedia*, accounted for most of the denominational emphasis on country living during these years.

[7] The Association of Seventh-day Adventist Self-Supporting Institutions was organized in 1947 with Dr. Sutherland as president, Dr. W. E. Malin as vice-president, and Dr. J. W. McFarland as secretary-treasurer, as part of the work of the Commission on Rural Living. Then in 1951 it was reorganized as the Association of Self-Supporting Institutions by the merger of the Commission for Self-Supporting Missionary Enterprises and the Assocation of S.D.A. Self-Supporting Institutions.

[8] Dr. J. Wayne McFarland was editor of *Life and Health* from 1946 to 1949, then moved to the Medical Department of the General Conference as a full-time associate secretary from 1949 to 1958. He was secretary-treasurer of the ASI from 1947 to 1951 and worked with Dr. Sutherland on the Commission on Rural Living.

[9] Percy T. Magan (1867-1947) was co-founder with E. A. Sutherland of Madison College in 1904. His wife, Dr. Lillian Magan, started the Madison Sanitarium in 1906. In 1915, having completed his medical degree at the University of Tennessee Medical College, he was asked to become dean of the College of Medical Evangelists.

[10] In 1904, P. T. Magan and E. A. Sutherland resigned from Emmanuel Missionary College (Berrien Springs, Michigan, now Andrews University) and went south intending to work directly with the people. However, Mrs. White urged them to establish a school and insisted on the present site of Madison, despite grave misgivings of those who saw the old plantation.

Dr. Sutherland was a leading voice in promoting rural living and self-supporting institutions.

JW Well, Dr. Sutherland was a real psychologist and he had the ability to get across his idea. People that didn't agree with him would end up saying, "I guess you're right, Dr. Sutherland." He was a real master of the art of persuasion.

I can recall one day we were at a union committee in which the union president had made it known before we ever arrived that he would have nothing to do with this Commission on Rural Living. It just wouldn't work.

But Dr. Sutherland had a very clever way of conducting his strategy. He didn't talk about the Commission on Rural Living — he started on another topic. The president wondered what in the world he [was] taking that up for. And sooner or later he [Sutherland] brought this around to the various works of the various departments. And with all the conference presidents sitting there, he turned to the union president and said,

"Now, Elder ------, if you were in my position and were asked by the union president to head up a commission to help people, who wanted to, to leave the city and go into the country, and you didn't want them to make a mistake and go out prematurely and leave the churches stranded, what would you do?"

Well, it took the dear president completely by surprise and he said, "Well, I suppose we'd appoint someone."

So, he [Sutherland] said, "Elder, I can think of no one who could possibly conduct the work in this union better than yourself, because you seem to understand the problem so well."

That was that. And that man became the head of the Commission [for] that Union. And incidentally they did begin several small self-supporting institutions [in that Union] that started with people leaving the cities and going into the country.

MM You saw Dr. Sutherland work on committees, then?

JW Oh yes. In fact I learned more about working on committees from him than almost anybody else.

I never once saw him lose his equanimity. No matter how hard the committee would be going against him, or the vote, he never once lost his calm, deliberate way, and he would keep right on. If he didn't make it the first time, he'd make it the next time around. Never once did he lose his control. He was fantastic. If he didn't get everything the first time, it didn't worry him. He'd just wait.

One day we were riding along and I was a bit discouraged because it was really going rough in the Commission on Rural Living. There was a problem of getting the Commission accepted and the fact that we should have a North American Division-wide push of leaving the cities to go into the country. (I was an associate in the Medical Department at the General Conference, as well as the Executive Secretary for the Association of Self-supporting Institutions at the time.) I was complaining to Dr. Sutherland, "We are just not making it. We have a lot of static getting back to us on this."

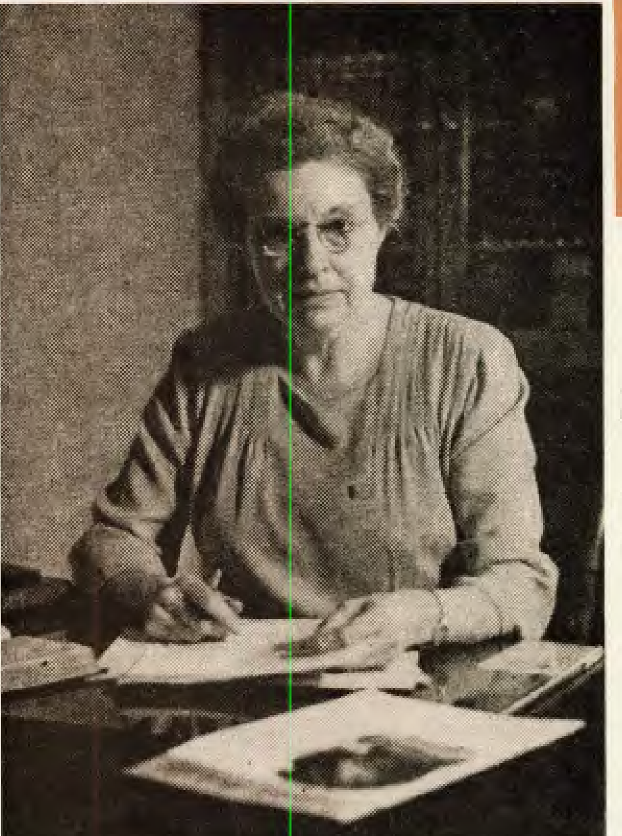
Dr. Sutherland looked at me and said, "Wayne, this isn't your work. This isn't my work. This is God's work. Now I don't want to hear you talk that way any more. Don't you remember she [Ellen White] tells us in the *Testimonies* that we are not to utter one word of discouragement. If it doesn't work, we don't have anything to worry about. That's the Lord's problem. We just do what we're supposed to and don't talk discouragement. Don't let me hear you say that again."

And the fact is, I never did say it again.

Lora E.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE YOUTH'S INSTRUCTOR FOR 30 YEARS AND AUTHOR OF THE WEEKLY COLUMN, "LET'S TALK IT OVER".

LaVonne Neff


credit: Review and Herald

Lora E. Clement was editor of the YOUTH'S INSTRUCTOR from 1923 to 1952.

AT eight o'clock every morning she stepped off the elevator, clutching two shopping bags full of the work she had taken home the night before. Pleasantly greeting fellow workers, she clicked her brown arch-supports across the tiled floor to her office, where, with the help of one or two assistants, she plunged into the day's work — writing, editing, dictating, sitting on committees.

Midafternoons she took an hour off to eat at the lunch counter in the drug store across the street. One afternoon a week she had her hair done at a nearby beauty parlor. And every evening, often past quitting time, she filled her shopping bags, called "Good night, thank you for everything!" to anyone remaining in the office, clicked down the hall to the elevator, and vanished until the next morning.

For fifty years Lora E. Clement worked for the Seventh-day Adventist church. Forty of those years she worked for the *Youth's Instructor,* as staff assistant, associate editor, acting editor, and for thirty years, editor-in-chief. Her weekly column, "Let's Talk It Over," was read by thousands of Adventist young people and their parents from 1927 to 1952, when she retired.

Yet apart from her business dealings with them, Miss Clement was virtually unknown to her associates. In the words of the late Harry M. Tippett, former book editor for the Review and Herald, "I never knew anyone so secretive of the intimate details of her life."

Until after her death in 1958 not even her best friend knew her age. An only child who did not seek close family ties, she had no kinfolk at her funeral. She burned most of her personal records before leaving the *Youth's Instructor*, and shortly before her death she cleaned out her desk at the Review and Herald library. The few items that she left to her successor, Walter Crandall, were disposed of in a general housecleaning at the *Instructor* office some years later.

If Miss Clement were alive today she would be eighty-five years old. Many of her contemporaries are dead or can no longer write letters. Hoping to learn more about her life before all traces disappear, I wrote letters to and personally interviewed dozens of her co-workers. From their reports I have pieced together a picture of Miss Clement.

LaVonne Neff is a free-lance writer living in San Diego, California.

Clement

This portrait is based largely on unverifiable remembrances, some of which are contradictory. Many people who answered my letters or talked with me requested that I keep their names confidential. From all the reports received, I have put together a picture whose details are indistinct but whose broad outlines are clear. It is the portrait of a hard-working, capable, earnest, but lonely woman.

Lora E. Clement was born in 1890 to E. Wesley Clement and his wife, Melissa Rankin, then or shortly thereafter residents of College View, Nebraska. The Clements were probably in their forties at the time of Lora's birth.

Union College opened its doors when Lora was less than two years old, and her mother's family was heavily involved with the new school. Lora's aunt Ida was the first preceptress; her aunt Effie, the first matron. Her aunt Mary's husband, Joseph Sutherland, was one of the early business managers (1895-1905). Young Lora apparently suffered much at the hands of well-meaning aunts and uncles.

Many of Miss Clement's associates, recalling her difficulty in relating to people, blame her strict upbringing. An acquaintance remembers hearing that Lora often stood by her window and watched other children play. She was not permitted to join them. Allowed only two meals a day, even drinking between meals was discouraged. And when she was sent on errands, such as delivering lunch to her uncle at the college, she was permitted to be gone only the minimal amount of time necessary to walk to his office and back.

Was she raised by her parents, her mother, or her aunts? One early resident of College View has "no remembrance of a father." She suggests that Mrs. Clement may have been widowed. Another suggests that the Clements were separated. Both of these conjectures are apparently untrue, since Wesley Clement survived his wife by more than six years (they are buried in Lincoln, Nebraska), and since later residents of College View remember the Clements as a couple.

credit: Union College

When Lora Clement was a girl, Union College looked like this.

Mrs. Wanda Craig, a neighbor of the Clements after Lora left for Washington, says that Wesley and Melissa used to bring green beans from their garden plot around to their neighbors. "Mrs. Clement was the domineering member — she may have been taller than Mr. Clement," she recalls. "They were both very proud of their daughter."

No doubt Mr. Clement simply bowed to the stronger wills of the Rankin sisters and kept out of sight, leading some acquaintances to doubt his existence. He may also have been physically absent during part of Lora's childhood. Mary R. Welch, whose brother Charles was among the original seventy-three students at Union College in 1891, says that "Mr. Clement was away some of the time canvassing for some of our books."

Lora emerged from childhood socially awkward but intellectually precocious. She graduated from Union College in 1908, just five months past her eighteenth birthday. While in college she made lifelong friends with Matilda Erickson, ten years her senior but with similar interests, and with M. E. Kern, a young teacher.

In 1907 the General Conference established what was to become the Missionary Volunteer Department. M. E. Kern was made the first chairman and Miss Erickson went to Washington to work as his secretary. A year later Miss Clement followed her friends and joined the M. V. Department. The two young women roomed together for a time at the Kern home while the three college friends worked together.

In 1911 Miss Clement joined the staff of the *Youth's Instructor*. Seven years later she became associate editor, then acting editor, and finally, in 1923, editor-in-chief.

When she retired from the *Instructor* in 1952 she explained to her associates why she was not immediately made editor-in-chief. "They told me they were looking for a man," she said. "I told them I understood; I was looking for one too. But the *Instructor* found its man before I found mine."

Thus began thirty years of service, the longest record for any female Adventist editor. Tippett recalls, "Miss Clement ruled her editorial domain with a zeal that would not countenance insubordination. She would dismiss suggestions on procedures with a wave of the hand and 'We've tried that before and it doesn't work.' And she was usually right."

Perhaps her editorial zeal explains the long succession of secretaries and assistants, few of whom lasted more than two years. "Everyone who worked for her had a blow-up at some time," says one of her associates.

Yet nobody I interviewed accused Miss Clement of having bad intentions. "She made every effort to be sweet," the same associate says. "She genuinely wanted to be nice, but she was not easy to get along with."

Her overriding devotion to her magazine increased both the *Instructor's* circulation and office hostilities. All copy must be letter-perfect before it was passed on to the composing room. If the page required only one word changed, the entire page must be retyped. In her early years she allowed no erasures, but she apparently later relaxed this requirement.

courtesy: Vera Flatz

Lora Clement (L) poses with a friend.

credit: Review and Herald

The Review and Herald still looked like this when Lora Clement arrived in Takoma Park.

Ruth Conard, Miss Clement's secretary in the late twenties, recalls that "before she dictated, she always wrote out in shorthand what she was going to say in the letters, and read this to her stenographer at quite a rapid rate." Her purpose, of course, was to increase her secretary's speed.

Miss Clement was a hard worker herself. "She wanted the copy as nearly perfect as possible," a secretary recalls. "She did her own typing on 'Let's Talk It Over.' Her heart was in the right place, but I think she was under tension from trying to do too much."

Another associate elaborates. "She was driven by her large responsibility. She had a strong personal desire to succeed as well as a great deal of regard for the institution of the *Youth's Instructor*. She was driven beyond her capacity. Her back was against the wall from the massiveness of her job. Of course she was edgy."

Clearly her responsibility was great. For over twenty years she edited the magazine almost single-handedly, more than doubling its circulation until by 1952 it had passed 50,000. By 1925, Miss Clement's third year as editor, she had practically phased out reprints from other magazines (ten years earlier reprints had averaged over five per issue). In 1929 she organized the Pen League, a yearly writing contest drawing entries from Seventh-day Adventist colleges and academies across North America. Suitable manuscripts were retained for publication, creating a backlog of usable material from Adventist contributors. The Pen League continued until the demise of the *Instructor*.

Yet while doing the work of two editors, she received little more pay than the stenographers. When she became editor-in-chief, editorial stenographers received $22 weekly, while editors got $34 or $35. Miss Clement's check was for $27. All the same, according to a co-worker, "there was always a little jealousy on the part of other woman employees because Miss Clement received more pay than the other female workers."

Miss Clement often took a personal interest in her secretaries and associates. Some resented her for mothering them. Others were unaware of her interest until they decided to leave.

"In September of 1947," writes Mrs. Mary Cronk, secretary for a little over a year, "I decided to go to Emmanuel Missionary College to take more college work. When I first told Miss Clement of my decision, she acted as if I had betrayed her, and was very upset. Later she almost begged me to stay. When I left she gave me $10, with tears in her eyes, and asked me to buy a bedspread so I would think about her while I was away at school. That was probably when I realized how very lonesome she was. It is hard to imagine that someone whose pen influenced so many had so few to share her heart with."

Some people thought Miss Clement intended to be aloof. Julia Neuffer, who worked in the same building, does not agree. "Once she gave my mother a glimpse into her inner feelings," she writes. "Sometimes when I worked late Mother would come and sit in my office reading a magazine from the library, and sometimes Miss Clement would drop in to chat. One night I was suddenly aware, in mid-sentence, of what Miss Clement was saying: 'Yes, I like people — I really like people, but somehow I never can express it.' "

courtesy Elizabeth Koppel

A friend took this candid picture of Lora Clement in Wurtzburg, Germany, on her 1951 trip to Europe.

courtesy Elizabeth Koppel

In 1951 Miss Clement spoke at the Youth Congress in Paris, France.

Idamae Melendy, editorial secretary at the *Review*, remembers a conversation with Miss Clement after she returned from the European Youth Congress in 1951. Miss Clement, it seems, had not been as well received as she had hoped, while another American woman had been very popular with the young people. "All the young folks were following Mrs. K--- like the tail of a kite," she lamented, "and she wasn't dressed in the latest style, either." (Miss Clement, on the other hand, was a meticulous dresser. One of the first Adventist women to have her hair tinted, she shopped for well-made, conservative clothing at Garfinkels in downtown Washington, D. C.)

credit Review and Herald

Lora Clement's weekly column was read by thousands from 1927 to 1952.

Mrs. Betty Brooks, a secretary in the M. V. Department, remembers working in the luncheonette across from the Review when Miss Clement came in to eat. "She came to the Luncheonette about two o'clock in the afternoon," Mrs. Brooks says, suggesting that perhaps she was afraid of coming when crowds of people were there. She did, however, talk to Betty, and because of her interest Mrs. Brooks decided to attend an Adventist college and was later baptized.

Social functions frightened Miss Clement. On her birthdays she stayed away from the office if she suspected a surprise party was planned. She also usually refused invitations to parties and showers, although she always sent an appropriate gift. Yet when her hairdresser and good friend, Vera Lockwood, decided to marry Dr. Ted Flaiz, Miss Clement personally engineered a large surprise party for her in the Review and Herald chapel.

Never owning her own home, Miss Clement rented rooms in the homes or offices of her friends. She slept on a sofa-bed, cooked on a hotplate, and decorated her small living quarters with souvenirs given to her by returned missionaries. When she was not working on the next issue of the *Instructor*, she enjoyed listening to semi-classical and poetry records on her record player. She did not own a car and, despite an attempt in 1937, never learned to drive.

She was thoughtful of her landlords. M. E. Kern's daughter, Geneva Alcorn, recalls that "she used to read the *Little Friend* to me on Sabbath afternoon giving Mother and Dad, if he was at home, a little rest." Edna Howard, a co-worker, recalls that "she always admired nice loving families with children. She felt a lack in immediate family, so she made up for it with friends."

Perhaps the best way to remember Lora Clement is through her weekly column, "Let's Talk It Over," which gives a composite picture of the kind of person she admired. No doubt in reaction against her strict upbringing she used little or no Ellen White material in her column. She did, however, strongly promote the moral virtues — honesty, diligence, perseverance, thrift. She often warned her readers against whatever evils were current at the time, notably cigarette smoking and drinking but also more specialized pursuits such as "wild midnight joy rides." The frequency of her columns advocating strict moral virtue indicates that public rectitude was her major concern, yet she interspersed these with occasional columns on the unearned grace of Christ that could melt the heart of the wildest midnight joy rider.

"Let's Talk It Over" was unanimously loved in its early years (except perhaps by those residents of Takoma Park who found themselves caricatured therein). Many a college or academy breathlessly invited Miss Clement to speak to their student assemblies. The students were uniformly disappointed.

Her voice was high-pitched, her delivery flat. No doubt her overpowering shyness was at fault. Giving a worship talk to one academy group, she unconsciously backed up as she spoke until she was halfway across the room from her audience. R. F. Cottrell, book editor for the Review, compares her to the apostle Paul: "His letters . . . are weighty and powerful; but his bodily presence is weak" (2 Cor. 10:10).

Indeed Miss Clement's letters were "weighty and powerful." Often running a page or more in length, they were warm and newsy. She took particular

pains to keep missionaries posted on the happenings in Washington. She also wrote totally unsolicited letters just to brighten people's days, like the one she wrote to Mary Jane Dybdahl (now Mrs. R. H. Mitchell, head librarian at Andrews University): "The other day it was my privilege to look through one of the annuals for this year, and I want to compliment you on the very fine piece of work which you and your associates have done. . . . It seems to me it is the nicest annual I have ever seen put out by any of our colleges through the years."

In 1952 Miss Clement wrote her last editorial and moved out of the *Instructor* office to become librarian for the Review and Herald. She was touchy about the move, as her sustentation application shows: "My health is perfectly all right. I resigned as editor of the *Instructor* just because I felt that I had done it long enough, and wished a change of work."

As a matter of fact, Miss Clement's health left something to be desired. Her blood pressure, always too high, rose higher after she went to work at the library. She feared she had been judged incompetent to continue editing a paper for young people. More than anything else, she dreaded retirement. Tippett recalls, "On two or three occasions she dropped into my office and expressed her fears that she could not live on her sustentation and social security checks. This was strange, because it was so unfounded in probability."

"When it comes time for me to retire," she told a secretary, "and the Lord impresses the brethren that I should quit, I hope He impresses me at the same time."

"When she was getting ready to retire," writes Julia Neuffer, "she had several long conversations with someone in the office next to mine, about which I was told afterward. She had dreaded retirement since she had spent day and night at her work for so many years. She mentioned taking almost the last things out of her desk, and said she was ready to retire. Everything was okay except herself, but she was now prepared for retirement and expected to be happy."

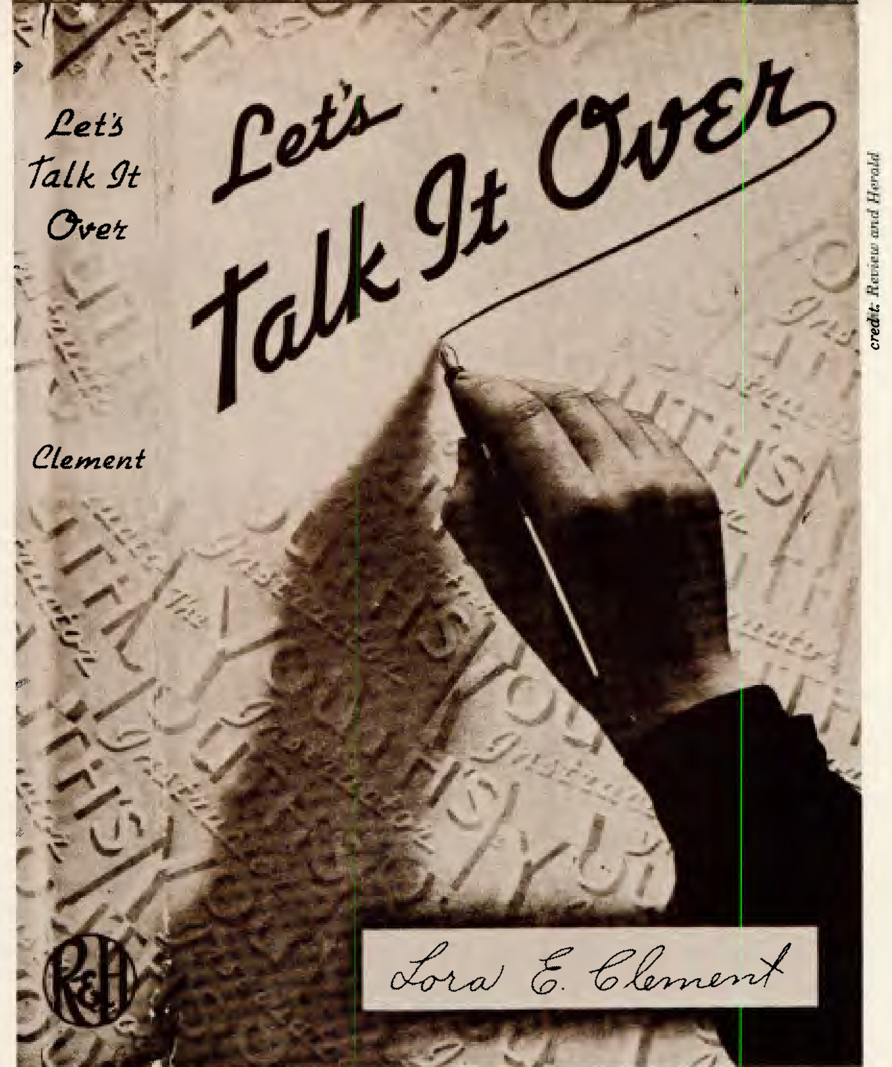
"I can take all I own away now in a shopping bag," Miss Clement confided to a fellow worker. "I want no fanfare when I go. I want to be here today and gone tomorrow."

Miss Clement (L) and a friend pause in front of the old Takoma Park church. *courtesy: Vera Flaiz*

Lora Clement (L), Vera Flaiz (C), and Ann Rogers (R) are pictured at Christmas, 1957.
courtesy: Vera Flaiz

As retirement approached, Miss Clement's high blood pressure began causing her to have dizzy spells. Her friend Dr. Flaiz made a practice of reading her blood pressure every time he dropped by the library to visit her. One Sabbath morning when Dr. and Mrs. Flaiz were expecting to meet her for church, she did not show up. After church they found her at her apartment, too dizzy to walk across the room. She stayed home from work for a few days but soon was back at her desk, giving away the last of her belongings and conferring with J. D. Snider about a book she hoped to write after she retired.

On Tuesday, December 9, 1958, Miss Clement's wish for a quiet departure was fulfilled. Walking home from work that evening, she stepped off a curb just as a car rounded the corner. The car did not



In her book Lora Clement combined insight and understanding in presenting her philosphy of life to youth.

strike her, but it may have caught her coat and thrown her to the ground. This was the explanation offered by the female occupant of the car. Or perhaps Miss Clement suffered a sudden dizzy spell and fell just as the car brushed by her. At any rate, she struck her head against the curb and went into a coma from which she never regained consciousness. The driver of the car was not held. (His wife was so upset by the accident that she herself had a mild heart attack shortly thereafter.)

Miss Clement was rushed to Washington Sanitarium and Hospital where she was carefully observed for a week with no sign of improvement. Her doctor decided to operate — perhaps there was a clot on her brain that he could remove.

Miss Clement lived for two days after her surgery. On Wednesday, December 17, only weeks before her sixty-ninth birthday, she stopped breathing. Funeral services were held on Friday, December 19. H. M. Tippett preached and W. H. Teesdale read her obituary.

Lora E. Clement intentionally and expertly covered her tracks. Yet she neglected to destroy one glimpse into her personality. Under the glass cover of her desk in the library she left a verse by Mary Carolyn Davies that shows both her high ideals and her easily wounded soul:

> Make me too brave to lie or be unkind
> Make me too understanding to mind
> The little hurts companions give, and friends,
> The careless hurts that no one quite intends.

Walter Crandall, her successor as editor of the *Youth's Instructor*, commented: "Her life rested firmly 'on the Rock Christ Jesus.' We are confident that all her deadlines had been met."

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The letters, interviews, and employment records used in this biographical sketch are now on file at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Washington, D.C.

The Lucinda Abbey Hall Collection

Lucinda Abbey Hall *courtesy: White Estate*

Ron Graybill

IN 1971 an antique dealer in Battle Creek, Michigan, sold an old trunk to his mother-in-law. The mother-in-law, in turn, sold the trunk again, but not before she had scooped out the hundreds of old letters she found inside. Later she passed the letters on to her niece, a high school student named Susan Jaquette.

Susan had a special interest in history, so she began to sort and copy the letters. Gradually she realized that they were not only extremely interesting, but had enormous historical value as well. Although she is not an Adventist herself, the contents of the letters made obvious that they were documents of importance to the church. Finally she contacted Adventists in Battle Creek, and eventually arrangements were made by the Ellen G. White Estate to purchase the collection from her.

The letters involved were virtually all addressed to Lucinda Abbey Hall, a member of a prominent Adventist family in western New York, who was a close friend and confidante of Ellen White and later matron of the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

Among the hundreds of letters were about 40 from Ellen White herself, and naturally these have received the most attention in the denominational press. But the collection also included letters by other persons, both prominent and obscure. In recent years historians have attempted to write history from the "grass roots," moving beyond the opinions of the "elites" to dwell on the perceptions of common people. The difficulty is that most common people left no written records. This is what makes the Lucinda Hall Collection so important. Among Lucinda's correspondents are simple, common people. What is more, there was something about Lucinda Hall which inspired confidence and intimacy. In letters to her people are extraordinarily open.

Marietta V. Cook was one of these persons who found in Lucinda Hall a close and intimate friend. She

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Ron Graybill is a research assistant at the Ellen G. White Estate in Washington, D. C.

Fayetteville August 2nd 1856

Dear Lucinda.

It is with tender emotion, that I now sit down upon the pleasant sabbath morning, to write you, to let you know that I have made up my mind, to serve the Lord, the rest of my days. I can hardly describe my feelings to you, as I think of the important step, which I am now taking. I expect to have the ridicule, of the world upon me, and it is a bitter struggle that I shall have to pass through; but I know, that if I try to love and serve the Lord, I shall have his help to guide me in the straight path, which leadeth unto life Eternal.

I want to live so that I can have the blessed spirit of the Lord, to direct me and I know that I shall not do wrong I want his spirit to guide me in all the truth. I want to keep all the Commandments of God, that I may have a right to the tree of life and enter in through the gates into the city.

Lucinda I hardly know what to think of myself, as I look back and think over the many opportunities of grace, which I have slighted the many prayers offered for me, I feel that my day of salvation is past; then as I think this conviction has followed me, all my life as I might say; I am still led to think, that the Devil, would not convict me of sin, but would make me think that I was all right now, and that it was the spirit of the Lord which has been striving with me so long, then I am led to hope that the Lord, in his mercy will yet pardon me of all my sins which are many and make me his own child.

first emerges from obscurity in her letter of August 2, 1856, written to Lucinda on the occasion of her decision to "serve the Lord, the rest of my days." Her letter provides an intimate glimpse of the personal religious experience of an Adventist girl, probably in her late teens. In her post script, she writes of the family's health, a theme that runs through all her letters.

On January 17, 1858, Marietta again writes Lucinda, labeling the letter "private" and scrawling in the upper right hand corner: "Write, write, all the news next time you write." In this letter she tells just what it has cost her — a vivacious and sociable girl — to live the Christian life in a community where worldly interests occupied the attention of most young people: "I have had to give up all my young companions. There never has been a time when there was as much going on around here as there is this winter. The young folks have parties two, or three times a week, and everything to keep their mind on the things of this world. I have not been with them at all, nor do I wish their society . . . I feel very lonely, how I do want you to come and see us."

Marietta's letters from 1856-58 are written from Fayetteville, New York, a little town just east of Syracuse. From 1859 and onward she writes from Kirkville, just five miles to the northeast of Fayetteville — a spot which now lies right next to the New York State Thruway. Lucinda, meanwhile, is living with her parents in North Brookfield, New York, about 35 miles to the southeast.

In 1858 or perhaps early in 1859, Marietta met a Ranslo Bennett. Their courtship was apparently carried on by mail. Prior to their marriage, Marietta learned that Ranslo suffered from epileptic seizures. She had seen only one, and he assured her that they were less and less frequent and that a doctor had told him they would cease if he were to marry. In October, 1859, they married. But the seizures became more frequent. In their first month of marriage Ranslo was stricken eight times.

With so little understanding of the malady, Marietta and her family were terrified. She wrote Ellen White on November 21, 1859, pleading that the church in Battle Creek set aside a special day of fasting and prayer for her husband. Marietta's mother wrote at the same time and strongly implied that her daughter had been mislead by Mr. Bennett as to the seriousness of his illness. In a later undated letter to Lucinda Hall it appears that Ranslo and Marietta are at least temporarily separated while he is taking treatment. Late in 1860 Ranslo died, and by 1863 Marietta had resumed the use of her maiden name.

There are no more letters from Marietta in the Lucinda Hall collection, but she does reappear briefly in two other sources. It is not surprising that with her own poor health and that of her family and husband, Marietta should take an interest in health reform. So it is that when Dr. James Caleb Jackson and Dr. Harriet Austin of Dansville, New York, appealed in their paper, the *Laws of Life*, for testimonials concerning the "American Costume," Marietta Cook led the list of responses published in March, 1863:

"I send you sixty-nine names of women who wear the American Costume more or less. I think this does well, for most of them are in the town of Manlius [Dr. Jackson's home town, just a few miles from Kirkville, where Marietta lived at this time]. . . . For myself money could not hire me to lay aside my short dress. I feel better than I ever did before in my life. All my old aches and pains have almost entirely left me. I feel cheerful, hopeful and far happier. My appetite is good. I enjoy my meals of plain food more than I ever did a mixed diet. In short I almost consider myself a new woman."

Having burst into print, Marietta was back again the next month with an endorsement for the *Laws of Life*: "I love the teachings of the dear *Laws*. I should not be without it for many times its price, and can hardly wait for its monthly visits. I wish it came oftener. It seems to me that its circulation ought to be much increased, and I mean to get up a new club." Later that same year she appears again in the paper, saying she has been working hard to get subscribers.

Mrs. White's health reform vision occurred June 5, 1863. After the vision but before she had published an account of it, she says that many Adventists asked her if she had read the *Laws of Life* or books by Trall, Jackson, and others. She replied that she had not and would not till she had written out her views. The Whites visited nearby Brookfield, New York, for a conference in November, 1863. This was Lucinda Abbey Hall's hometown. With Marietta zealously promoting the *Laws of Life* in the area, it is almost certain that this is one occasion on which Mrs. White was asked about her acquaintance with the paper.

Apparently Marietta's interest in Drs. Jackson and Austin continued unabated. The last reference to her comes from the diary of Angeline Andrews, wife of J. N. Andrews. In her entry of Tuesday, February 16, 1864, Angeline writes: "Called at Mr. Cook's. Marietta returned from Dansville Friday — intends to return again and spend the month of March. She hardly looks natural to me — has taken some cold and is not feeling as well as usual. Thinks she is much better than when she first went there. It snows a little."

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Marietta V. Cook-Bennett to Ellen G. White. November 21, 1859.

Mother of Marietta V. Cook-Bennett to Ellen G. White. Circa November, 1859.

Marietta V. Cook to Dear Sister [Lucinda Hall]. Undated, circa 1860.

Ellen G. White to James White. November 7, 1860. Ellen G. White Estate, Washington, D. C. File #W-13-1860.

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In a letter to Lucinda Hall, Marietta Cook tells of her decision to serve the Lord.

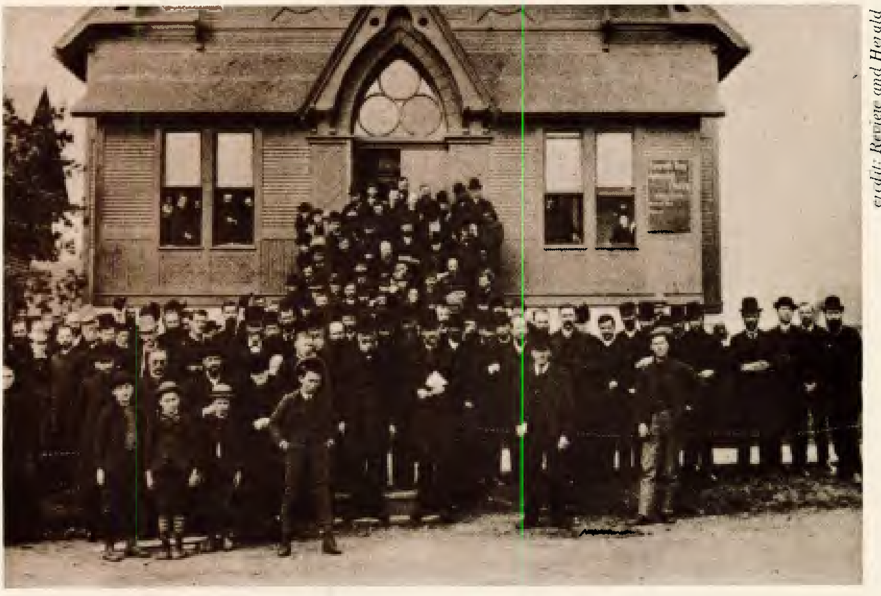
courtesy: White Estate

BOOK MARKS

RIGHTEOUSNESS BY FAITH

Richard W. Schwarz

A. V. Olson, THROUGH CRISIS TO VICTORY, 1888-1901, Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1966, pp. 320. OP


credit: Review and Herald

Delegates to the General Conference in 1888 met in the Minneapolis, Minnesota, Seventh-day Adventist church.

ONE SHOULD always be a little wary of book titles. This is especially true of those which give prominence to emotionally charged words, such as "crisis" and "victory." The potential reader of the volume under review will gain a more accurate idea of the subject matter treated by noting the dates, which appear tacked on to the title almost as an afterthought.

Almost anyone with a passing knowledge of Seventh-day Adventist history recognizes 1888 as the year of the significant General Conference meeting in Minneapolis. Here was one of the few times that a major theological argument dominated a General Conference session. In their zeal to champion the seventh-day Sabbath and the moral law, Adventist preachers were failing to emphasize the fact that no amount of law keeping could save a sinner. Salvation as a gift made possible solely by the righteous life and death of Jesus was not getting the prime emphasis basic to the Christian faith. Adventist preachers were labeled legalists. It seems many almost relished the title.

Then two young knights, E. J. Waggoner and A. T. Jones, came riding out of the West. They bore high a banner inscribed "Righteousness by Faith." Jones also carried a smaller one with the legend "Alamanni not Huns." As the "old guard" rallied to defend their positions, they also felt they were defending their respected leader, George I. Butler, home ill in Battle Creek.

The first third of Olson's book is devoted to the theological issues which were highlighted at Minneapolis and to the gradual acceptance of righteousness by faith concepts by those who had opposed them in 1888.

As a veteran minister, Olson is more concerned with the broad issues than with a detailed account of men and events. He is also predominantly concerned with the role played by Ellen White, who stood shoulder to shoulder with Waggoner and Jones in the main fight, but refused to be identified as either a "Hun" or an "Alamanni" in the identification of the horns of the fourth beast of Daniel 7.

When one considers that Olson was serving as chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Ellen G. White Estate when he wrote this book, and that he was drawing almost exclusively on its valuable research resources, the dominant role assigned Ellen White is not surprising. Yet the careful reader will probably feel that only part of the story, though certainly a very important part, has been told.

Not all of those who opposed Jones and Waggoner saw the light. Some who did not, like Clement Eldridge, Harmon Lindsay and Archibald R. Henry, remained influential in the Battle Creek church

Richard W. Schwarz is professor of history at Andrews University on leave to write a college-level textbook of Seventh-day Adventist history.

GENERAL CONFERENCE DAILY BULLETIN

VOL. 1. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., OCT. 19, 1888. NO. 1.

First Day's Proceedings.

The Twenty-seventh Annual Session of the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists began at the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Minneapolis, Minn., at 9:30 a. m., Oct. 17, 1888, being called to order by Elder U. Smith, secretary of the conference, the President being detained at home by sickness.

Prayer was offered by Elder U. Smith.

On motion Elder S. N. Haskell was appointed temporary chairman.

Credentials of delegates being called for, showed the following list of delegates, with the state or mission-field represented:

CALIFORNIA—W. C. White, S. N. Haskell, A. T. Jones,

VIRGINIA—R. D. Hattell.

WEST VIRGINIA—W. J. Stone.

WISCONSIN—A. J. Breed, W. W. Sharp,
M. Shull, P. H. Cady.

CENTRAL AMERICA—T. H. Gibbs.

GENERAL SOUTHERN FIELD—T. H.

The following were counted among th
of their having been in the employ of th
during the whole or part of the year:

S. H. Lane, O. C. Godsmark, D. T.
E. W. Farnsworth, D. E. Lindsey, F.
R. M. Kilgore, J. F. Hanson, C. W.

By vote of the conference, W. H.
represent the Northern Pacific C
field being without representation,
S. N. Haskell represent that field.

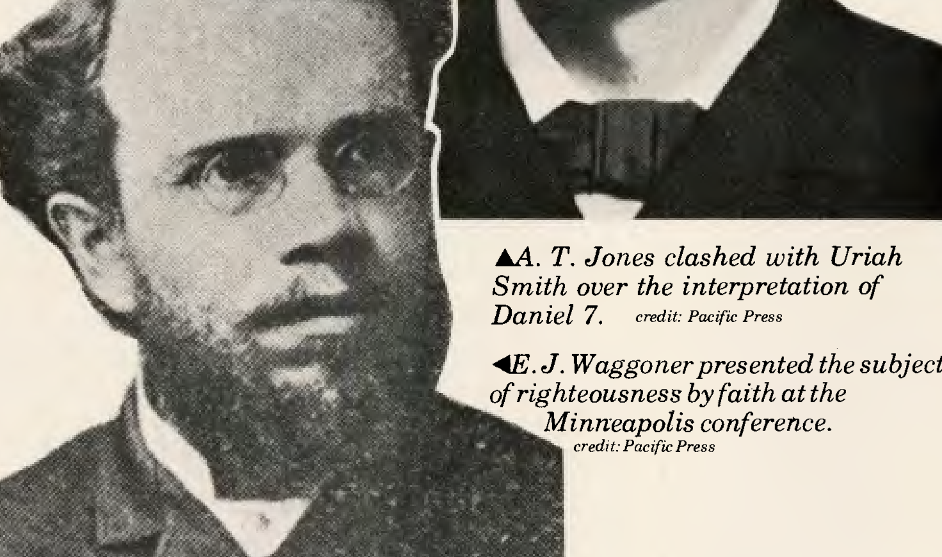
courtesy: Loma Linda University Heritage Room

The proceedings of the 1888 conference were recorded in the GENERAL CONFERENCE DAILY BULLETIN.

bureaucracy during much of the 1890's. These men were also involved in problems that developed within the church's publishing house: over salary and wages; over the printing of secular materials of a questionable nature.

1901 was the year of the great SDA administrative reorganization. Just as the theological crisis of 1888 had been brewing for months (Olson fails to note this), so feeble reorganization attempts were made throughout the 1890's. At last they bore fruit in 1901, although they were not really completed for another three or four years. Was this the victory promised by the title? And did crisis end in 1901? Hardly.

Herein lies the greatest weakness of Olson's book. It appears that the author was so determined to counter those church critics who see the dismal side of the 1888 experience, that he has leaned over back-



▲A. T. Jones clashed with Uriah Smith over the interpretation of Daniel 7. credit: Pacific Press

◀E. J. Waggoner presented the subject of righteousness by faith at the Minneapolis conference. credit: Pacific Press

. . . THE . . .

GENERAL CONFERENCE BULLETIN

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION

VOL. IV. BATTLE CREEK, MICH., FIRST QUARTER, APRIL 3, 1901. EXTRA NO. 1.

T[illegible] GENERAL CONFERENCE
BULLETIN

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

The S[illegible]enth-day Adventist General Conference

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BATTLE CREEK, MICH., FIRST QUARTER, 1901.

thy sparing mercy that has been over us, and that we have this privilege of meeting once more in this General Conference under circumstances so favorable; and we pray, in a special manner that thou wilt come into our midst, and that thou wilt preside over us. We ask O Lord! that thou wilt work for us as thou didst for the disciples in early days. We are convinced that we have reached a time when we need more of thy Holy Spirit. We need a baptism of thy Spirit as the disciples had on the day of Pentecost: and we pray that thou wilt help us individually so to relate ourselves to thee that we can receive in large measure of thy Holy Spirit, that this Conference may be a success in the may there be angels that surround us, to keep back every influence that is not from thee, that Satan's power may be paralyzed, and that God may be glorified.

"We commit ourselves to thee. We thank thee that thou hearest the prayers of thy people, and that thou hast a care for thy people here upon the earth. Accept us in Christ this morning. We believe that thou dost do this, O Lord! Let angels stand by each individual, we pray thee, that has a part to act in this Conference — each delegate, and those friends that have come in. O Holy Father! we pray that there may be a manifestation of thy power. And we ask thee to forgive us our sins — our

courtesy: Loma Linda University Heritage Room

1901 was the year of great administrative reorganization.

wards to show that Seventh-day Adventists, some perhaps too slowly, had accepted the concepts of righteousness by faith by 1901. Perhaps this is true as to the theory of the doctrine. But if it had been made a vital part of church leaders' and church members' lives it is hard to see how the victory would not have been much more pronounced and glorious.

Crisis continued within the Adventist church. The first half dozen years of the twentieth century saw some of the most violent debates and threats to rupture the entire church structure that the denomination has ever known. Perhaps Olson intended to cover this period as well. Unfortunately he died before his manuscript was finished, and associates put it in final form for publication.

We can be glad that it was not left unpublished. If it is not all a historian would desire, still it must be said that Olson clearly identifies the major issues of an exciting and controversial period of Adventist history. If he is too kind to some of the participants, generosity is a virtue to be admired and copied.

The appendices, which make up the final third of the book, contain all the sermons Ellen White preached at Minneapolis as well as a brief historical account of the later days of Jones and Waggoner. The Ellen White sermons in themselves form a valuable primary source for understanding the period. They also make excellent devotional readings.

The debate about 1888 and 1901 will go on. Those who would enter it must consider the insights A. V. Olson left as his final legacy to his church.

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SOURCES OF ADVENTISM

Gary Land

Edwin Scott Gaustad, Ed., THE RISE OF ADVENTISM: RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1975, 329 pp., $12.50.

THE ESSAYS that compose *The Rise of Adventism* originated as a series of lectures sponsored by the University Church in Loma Linda. The publishers have seen fit to make that lecture series available to a wider audience, and the resulting book helps fill a major gap in our understanding of Adventist histtory.

Most of the histories of Adventism written to date give the impression that William Miller and his followers arose in a vacuum. Alice Felt Tyler in *Freedom's Ferment* and Whitney Cross in *The Burned-Over District* partially corrected this approach, but neither of their books focused on Adventism. It is this situation that makes *The Rise of Adventism* important.

After Winthrop S. Hudson sketches the religious ferment that pervaded America in the 1830's and 1840's, seven historians examine various aspects of American society during that period. Their approaches and the degree to which they tie their subjects to the history of Adventism vary. The most unique essay is Timothy L. Smith's examination of social reform. Rather than giving us a capsule history of the social reform movements of the period, he looks at the problem of causation as it has appeared in the literature on the subject and in the development of his own thinking. Significantly, he has concluded that "we really do not yet have sufficient research to make judgments."

The other essays are more traditional histories. John B. Blake shows how the health reform movement of the mid-nineteenth century had origins in a long tradition of health literature, but argues that its millenial zeal gave it a "special flavor and meaning." In his discussion of "Science and Religion" John C. Greene focuses on Taylor Lewis of Union College (New York), a man who in his objections to "superficial reconciliations in which the language of Scripture [is] perpetually reinterpreted to make it agree with the ever-changing discoveries and theories of science" foreshadowed the view of Karl Barth.

Robert V. Hine's chapter on "Communitarianism" is unfortunately too brief to substantiate his argument that the modern commune movement and nineteenth century communitarianism are parts of one long tradition. Spiritualism receives excellent coverage from R. Lawrence Moore who states that those who made communion with the spirits an integral part of their religious experi-

THE RISE OF Adventism

Edwin Scott Gaustad, EDITOR

credit Harper and Row

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

ence had little appreciation for Christian orthodoxy. Ernest R. Sandeen notes that British and American millenarians of the 1830's taught a traditional apocalyptic millenarian theology but differed from their predecessors in that they were "prosperous, relatively influential, and free from threats of imminent destruction." But the rapid social change of the Jacksonian period created anxiety that forced many people to conclude that the world was nearing its end. And William G. McLoughlin, viewing revivalism's function in American society, suggests that as developed by Charles Finney revivalism after 1825 enabled Americans "to reject predestination and to join in a mass effort to seek their own salvation."

With these eight essays providing insights into the social milieu of early Adventism, the final two essays directly address the Advent movement. David T. Arthur traces the process by which the Millerites, who did not want to establish a church of their own, became a separate movement as a result of external circumstances and their own internal dynamic. They did not have to seriously address the problem of separation, however, until after the Great Disappointment of 1844. Finally, in the volume's most groundbreaking chapter, Jonathan Butler examines the early Adventist view of the American republic. He finds nineteenth century Adventism going through three stages of apocalyptic thought as it related to government: the Millerites shunned government; the Sabbath-keeping Adventists from the mid-1840's to the mid-1870's denounced the republic; and the Seventh-day Adventists of the 1880's sought as a prophetic people to sustain the republic for as long as possible.

The volume closes with a "Bibliographic Essay," better termed an annotated bibliography, that identifies the major sources for the study of Adventist history and their location. This bibliography, based on work at Aurora College, Andrews University, and Loma Linda University, should prove a boon to scholars in the field. It is by far the most complete and accurate bibliography on the subject to date.

Scholars will find *The Rise of Adventism* useful not only for the bibliography but also because several of the authors incorporate the results of previously unpublished research. At the same time, the book should appeal to the general reader who is curious about Adventist history. It was for such people that these essays were originally prepared; hopefully, the addition of scholarly apparatus will not frighten them away.

Because the volume is a collaborative one, however, it cannot give a unified answer to the basic question that lies behind the whole effort: what is the relationship between the American experience and the nature of Adventism? In other words, Adventist historians still have work to do.

These essays were originally presented as a series of lectures at the University Church in Loma Linda.
courtesy: Loma Linda University Heritage Room

MARGINAL NOTES

Dear Editor:

Because of a misunderstanding between myself and Michael McGuckin, the article "The Lincoln City Mission" (Summer, 1975) went to press before Mr. McGuckin had completed the final draft. As a result, a few inaccuracies appeared and some information was not included. The following should set the record straight.

First, the Nebraska Conference, in response to Ellen White's call for city evangelism, made the decision to evangelize Lincoln prior to (not after) the 1885 General Conference session. A. J. Cudney's discussion with denominational leaders at the 1885 session led to the decision to establish a city mission in Lincoln. Secondly, Cudney's principal objective remained to establish a congregation in Lincoln. This congregation in turn would support the city mission.

Additional information not incorporated into the published draft reveals that Cudney applied to the General Conference to be sent as a missionary to the South Seas and left Nebraska in 1888. This action followed a common pattern where once a minister got a project going he left it in the hands of a subordinate and went on to other activities. The mission also suffered from a severe depression that hit Nebraska in the late 1880's. Other problems that led to the mission's decline were the lack of managers with business training and the fact that the General Conference and local conference disagreed over its function. The former saw the institutes as centers of Bible study and instruction while the latter increasingly looked upon them as centers for book distribution.

Sincerely,
Gary Land

Erratum: In the last issue of **Adventist Heritage,** Annie Smith's engraving of a cat (p. 22) was mistakenly credited to the Ellen G. White Estate. As indicated in the Editor's Stump, the print of the engraving was loaned by Paul and Jane Bonynge. The White Estate had the engraving copied for us, but credit for the engraving should have gone to the Bonynges.

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