

Adventist Heritage

A JOURNAL OF ADVENTIST HISTORY



ABOUT OUR CONTRIBUTORS

EVERETT N. DICK, Ph.D., Research Professor of American History at Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska, has contributed several articles to *ADVENTIST HERITAGE* through the years. Well known for his numerous publications on frontier social history as well as Adventist church history, Dr. Dick once again combines his interests in the fascinating story of Sabbath-keepers and Tennessee Sunday laws in the 1890's.

WAYNE R. JUDD, Ph.D., is Vice President for College Advancement at Columbia Union College, Takoma Park, Maryland. A specialist in the history of American Christianity, his article on the Millerites was originally developed for a doctoral seminar at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California. A seasoned author, he has published 18 books and booklets and over 125 articles.

PAUL J. LANDA, Ph.D., is Professor of Church History at Loma Linda University. An expert in Reformation studies, he has also maintained a lively interest in the history of Seventh-day Adventism. His association with *ADVENTIST HERITAGE* goes back to the early days, some thirteen years ago, when the idea of publishing a journal on Adventist history was born. Managing Editor for the past five years, this is Dr. Landa's last issue in that capacity. As of April 1 of this year, he has become the Director of the Lifelong Learning Center at Loma Linda University.

It can be said that **MARTYN "DOLLY" INGRAM McFARLAND** has been associated with the Five-Day Plan to stop smoking ever since its inception. Married to Dr. Wayne McFarland, M.D., one of the two architects of the Plan, she has witnessed its growth, development and success over a quarter of a century. Her article represents a first-hand account, enriched by illustrations from her comprehensive collection of photographs and materials.

LAWRENCE W. ONSAGER, M.L., is Director of Library at Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska. He is a member of the Beta Phi Mu International Library Science Honor Society and a past President of the Association of Seventh-day Adventist Librarians. His publications include articles in the field of library science as well as denominational history.

CHARLES TEEL, Jr., Ph.D., is Professor of Christian Ethics and Chairman of the Department of Christian Ethics in the Division of Religion of Loma Linda University. A former Danforth and Woodrow Wilson Fellow, Teel received his doctorate from Boston University. His stimulating article on *Nineteenth Century Adventists and the American Mainstream* was developed while attending a summer seminar sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities at Harvard University.

RENNIE B. SCHOEPFLIN is Assistant Professor of History at Loma Linda University. He is a doctoral candidate at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), specializing in the history of science and medicine. He is an active member of the American Association for the History of Medicine, the History of Science Society, the American Society of Church History and the Organization of American Historians. He has published a number of scholarly articles and reviews on Christian Science and on Adventist history.

GILBERT M. VALENTINE, Ph.D., was educated at Avondale College in his native Australia and at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, where he was awarded the doctorate in 1982. He is the author of several important studies on Adventist history and a past contributor to *ADVENTIST HERITAGE*. Following a successful pastoral experience in the Greater Sydney Conference, Dr. Valentine and his family transferred to Bangladesh Adventist Seminary and College where he is Dean of the Seminary.



Front Cover: William Miller's preaching of the coming of Christ "about the year 1843" held audiences spellbound. (Harry Anderson, Artist)

Spring, 1986
Volume 11
Number 1

ISSN 0360-389X

Adventist Heritage

A JOURNAL OF ADVENTIST HISTORY

MANAGING EDITOR
Paul J. Landa
Loma Linda University

EDITORS
Dorothy Minchin-Comm
Loma Linda University
Gary Land
Andrews University

ASSISTANT EDITORS
Ronald Graybill
Columbia Union
James R. Nix
Loma Linda University

ASSISTANT TO THE MANAGING
EDITOR
Mary E. Khalaf
Loma Linda University

DESIGN AND LAYOUT EDITOR
Judy Larson
Lake Elsinore

PHOTOGRAPHY
Carol Fisk
Loma Linda University

TYPESETTING
Mary E. Khalaf

MANAGING BOARD
Helen Ward Thompson, *Chairperson*
Frederick G. Hoyt, *Secretary*
James Greene
Maurice Hodgen
Paul J. Landa
Judy Larson
Dorothy Minchin-Comm
Kenneth L. Vine
Norman J. Woods

EDITORIAL BOARD
Frederick J. Hoyt, *Chairman*
Paul J. Landa, *Secretary*
Gary Land
Judy Larson
Dorothy Minchin-Comm
Mary E. Khalaf

PROMOTIONAL BOARD
James Greene, *Chairman*
Paul J. Landa, *Secretary*
Viktor Christensen
Frederick G. Hoyt
R. Dale McCune
Richard Weismeyer
Norman J. Woods

- Editor's Stamp:** 2
Paul J. Landa
- FROM ECUMENISTS TO COME-OUTERS: The Millerites, 1831-1845** 3
Wayne Judd
- BRIDEGROOM OR BABYLON? DRAGON OR LAMB?** 13
Nineteenth Century Adventists and the American Mainstream
Charles Teel, Jr.
- THE COST OF DISCIPLESHIP** 26
Seventh-day Adventists and Tennessee Sunday Laws in the 1890's
Everett Dick
- PILGRIMS IN A STRANGE LAND** 33
The First Norwegian-American S.D.A. Church in the United States
Lawrence W. Onsager
- AN ALUMNUS OF DISTINCTION: Sir Maui Pomare, K.B.E.,
C.M.G., M.D., M.P.** 40
Gilbert M. Valentine
- PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF "POM": Reminiscences of
Florence "Nettie" Keller, M.D.** 48
Edited by Paul J. Landa
- HEIRLOOM:** 50
CATHOLICS, LENTILS, AND STRANGE BYWAYS OF REFORM
An "Outsider's" View of the Battle Creek Scene in the 1890's
Edited by Rennie B. Schoepflin
- WHEN FIVE BECOMES TWENTY-FIVE** 56
A Silver Anniversary of the Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking
Martyn Ingram McFarland

ADVENTIST HERITAGE is published by the Department of History and Political Science, Loma Linda University, Riverside, California 92515. Bulk postage rates paid at Riverside, Calif. Copyright 1986 by Loma Linda University, Department of History and Political Science, Riverside, Calif., 92515.

Subscription rates: \$7.00 per year (additional postage outside U.S.). Available back issues are sold at \$5.00 each.

Subscription orders, change of address notices, editorial correspondence and manuscripts should be sent to: Adventist Heritage, Loma Linda University, Box 1844, Riverside, CA 92515.

ADVENTIST HERITAGE invites manuscripts. Each will be considered, but no responsibility will be assumed for unsolicited materials.

ADVENTIST HERITAGE is indexed in the *S.D.A. Periodical Index*, and is available from University Microfilms International.

The



Editor's Stump

Unlike recent numbers of *ADVENTIST HERITAGE*, this particular issue does not appear, at first glance, to focus upon a single central theme. Yet, a closer examination of our seven articles does reveal a common thread weaving its way through each essay. This common thread is best expressed by the antonyms “insiders” and “outsiders,”—contrary terms which aptly underscore the tensions (theological, organizational, political and social) facing all religious groups and especially newly emerging ones.

In the lead article, Wayne Judd examines the dynamics operating in the Millerite movement and in the broader religious environment which led the earliest Adventists to shift from an inclusive stance to an exclusive one as they achieved a sense of their unique identity as a religious body over against other churches and denominations. Charles Teel, Jr., building upon insights derived from Ernest Sandeen, Jonathan Butler, Roy Branson and Ronald Graybill expands and refines Judd's explanation and shows that, despite the call to “Come Out of Babylon” and the development of a sense of unique identity, the Millerites remained in the American ideological mainstream of the mid nineteenth century. In other words, they were still “insiders.” Following the Great Disappointment of 1844, Miller's sabbath-keeping heirs came to see themselves as “come-outers

of the come-outers, a remnant of the remnant.” Yet, within a relatively short time, in the process of becoming an established denomination, they could not help develop their own “insiderness”—a prophetic vantage point which came to nourish a highly successful international evangelical body.

Everett Dick's article reminds us that “outsiderness” often exacts a high price. The early Seventh-day Adventists of Springville, Tennessee, were quite willing to pay that price in order to remain true to their God and their conscience.

Viewed from an American and a Seventh-day Adventist perspective, the Norwegians of Onsager's article were “outsiders” in every respect. However, in their newly adopted homeland, they came to appreciate the religious convictions and practices of other “outsiders,” finding among them a new church home where their spiritual hunger found nourishment and satisfaction. The same cannot be said of Hjalmar Holand who lived and worked among Seventh-day Adventists in Battle Creek for several years but chose to remain an “outsider.” His memoirs, often humorous and occasionally whimsical point to a certain oddity about “insiders” which, when viewed from the outside, can repel just as much as it can attract.

From the same perspective, Sir Maui Pomare was also an “outsider” whose personal odyssey led him to become an “insider” for a time. While choosing to spend all of his professional and political career as an “outsider,” he could not shed the vision, values and principles which he had gained as an “insider.” And when the end was approaching, he returned to be among those with whom he felt “at one.” Insiders often enjoy certain benefits and privileges. This is true of Seventh-day Adventists whose abstinence from smoking and all tobacco products has resulted in the benefit of better health for themselves and the privilege of sharing their positive experience with interested “outsiders” by means of the Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking which celebrated its silver anniversary in 1985. In so doing, contemporary Adventists attempt to fulfill the will of their Lord who wished that his followers remain *in* the world while keeping themselves *from* the world—at once “insiders” and “outsiders.”

Paul J. Landa



In November of 1840, the fledgling Millerite paper, *The Signs of the Times*, opened its columns in a broad "ecumenical" embrace with the goal of enlisting the united efforts of all mainstream Protestant churches in the proclamation of the imminent return of Jesus:

Our fellow laborers are among the choicest of the faithful in Christ from among all denominations. We know no sect, or party as such, while we respect all; and wish them to have an equal privilege to our columns, to address the people and diffuse their views on the advent near. . . . We have no purpose to distract the churches with any new inventions, or to get to ourselves a name by starting another sect among the followers of the Lamb. We neither condemn, nor rudely assail, others of a faith different from our own, nor seek

ism, like other religious impulses in America, evoked such fervent commitment from its adherents that sectarian withdrawal was an historical inevitability. Even if the Millerites had not been rejected by the churches to which they belonged, their zeal for the "blessed hope" of Christ's return probably would have brought about the separation. The time would come when it would no longer be enough simply to be a Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian believer in the second coming.

As one probes the Millerites' self-perceptions and their rapid progression from a commitment to working within their churches to a spirit of come-outerism, one needs to consider also the Millerite attitude toward the religious groups they rejected from the beginning: the Catholics, Mormons, and Universalists. The same argu-

FROM ECUMENISTS TO COME-OUTERS: the Millerites 1831-1843 WAYNE JUDD

to demolish their organizations; nor build new ones of our own.¹

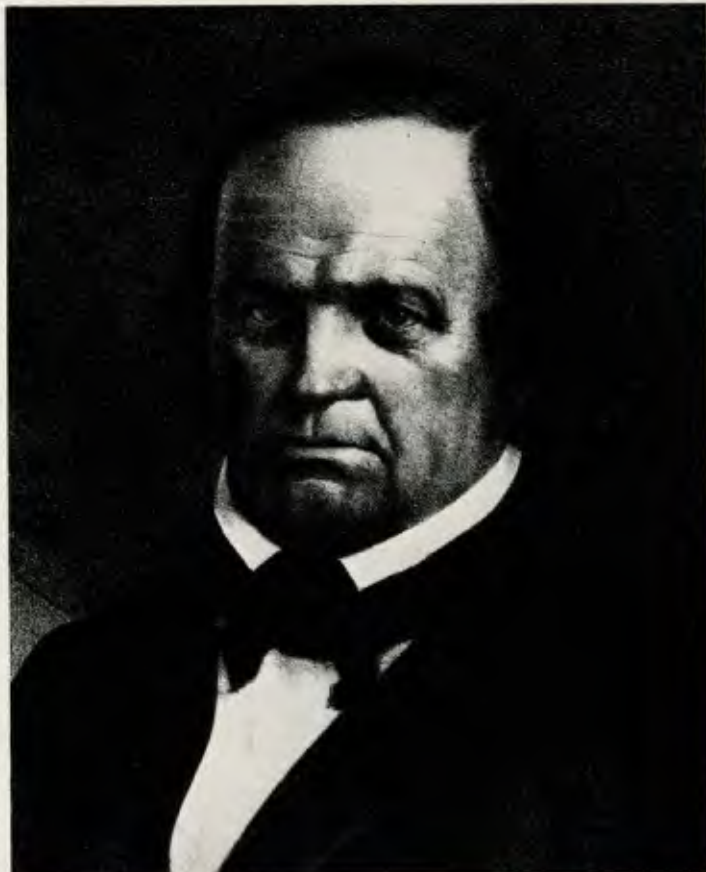
Consistent with the intensity of the movement whose life was compressed into a brief, historical moment, the Millerites published a remarkably different view two-and-one-half years later;

The practical motto in this day is, *by their creeds ye shall know them*. If a man subscribes to an Orthodox creed, and covenants to deny himself all ungodliness and every worldly lust, he may after this serve the devil with both hands, and yet be regarded as a good Christian. With a Presbyterian, or Episcopalian, or a Methodist, or a Baptist book of discipline in his pocket, he may gird up all the energies of his being to amass wealth, and live solely for purposes of personal aggrandizement, and yet pass among professedly Christian sects as a disciple. . . . Inasmuch as all these multiplied sects are opposed to the plain Bible truth of Christ's personal reign on earth, **THEY** are **ANTI-CHRIST**. . . . If you intend to be found a Christian when Christ appears, come out of Babylon, and come out **NOW!**²

Although it is difficult to chart a precise chronology for the deterioration of the Millerites' relationship with their churches, it is clear that as the churches turned their backs on Millerism, believers in the "advent near" reciprocated the rejection. At a broader level, Advent-

ments advanced against these groups would soon be appropriated in rejecting their own churches. In short, the enlargement of the apostate camp of Babylon finally eliminated all but the Adventists, for only those who espoused the doctrine of the imminent second coming of Christ would be ready to meet him.

From 1831 to 1839, William Miller trudged about northern New York and western Vermont preaching that the world was scheduled to end sometime in the year 1843, a date later revised to October 22, 1844. Miller was neither prophet nor administrator. He had received no training, no vision, no plates. The fifty-year-old farmer was equipped with only a Bible and the enduring effects of a serious courtship with deistic rationalism. Reluctant to enter the religious arena, Miller kept the stunning news of the soon return of Christ to himself for over twelve years. When under deep conviction he forsook his farm to preach, he took with him his mathematical proof of the advent near, a fervent commitment to the universal priesthood, and a disdain for the professional clergy—as befitted his Calvinist Baptist dissenter background. He was "compelled by the spirit of God, the power of truth and the love of souls, to take up [his] cross and proclaim these things to a dying and perishing world." His message was not a system, nor a theology, but a singular warning: the end



Portraits of William Miller, army captain, prosperous farmer, Bible student and indefatigable proclaimer of the second advent of Christ.



(Below left): Baptist license issued to Miller in September 1833 giving him ministerial standing and the authority to preach.

(From: Froom, *Prophets, Faith on Our Fathers*, Vol. 4)

Let. Brotherly love continue

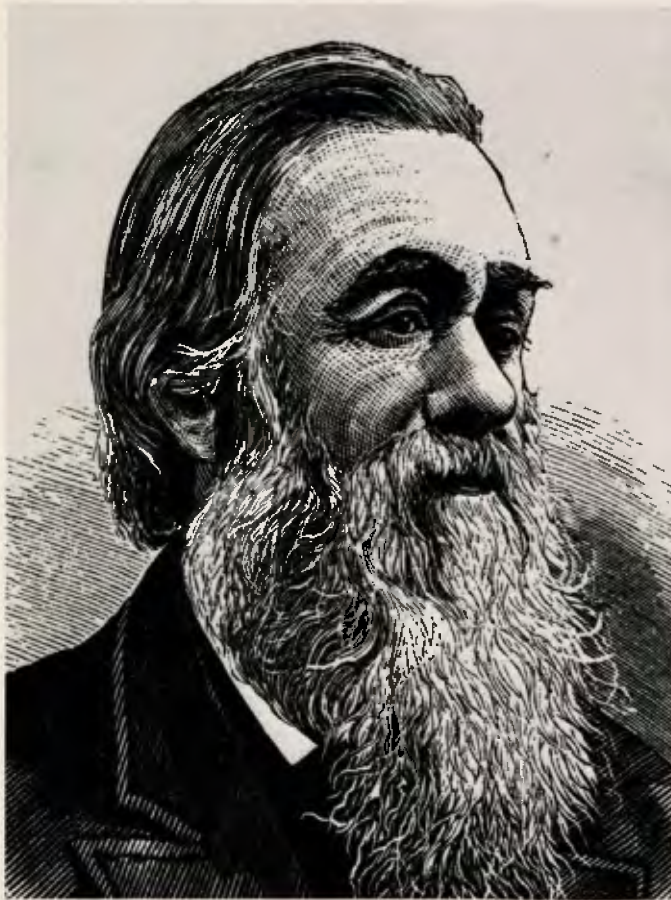
The Baptist Church of Christ in Hampton and White Hall Co., certifying that Bro Geo Millers is a member in regular standing in this Church - Bro Miller has been improving his gifts with us in expounding the words of Divine truth in Public for some time past, to the approbation and edification of the Church -

We are satisfied Bro Miller has a gift to improve in Public and are willing he should improve the same wherever he goes may he cast in the Zion of God - that the name of the Lord may be glorified and his followers edified

Done in Church Meeting Saturday September 12th 1833 By orders of the Church

Byrns, L. Charles Ch. Secy





(Adventist Heritage Collection) *Joshua V. Himes*



Charles G. Finney

was at hand. Such knowledge could not be ignored indefinitely without bringing judgment down upon his own head. His conscience rose almost to a shout, "Go and tell it to the world."

Millerism became a significant religious movement only after 1839, when Joshua V. Himes invited Miller to speak at his church in Boston. As a movement, however, it still lacked an effective organization, largely because unlike withdrawing groups, the early Millerites did not believe they were called to found a "true church" nor would they have time to do so. The imminent end was as certain as elementary addition. And since the wait would not be long, it made good sense to practical Millerites to remain in their own churches, where they could warn others.

To be a good Millerite, assuming an already established Christian commitment, the individual was asked only to attach the premillennial advent-near to his Protestant faith. It was soon evident, however, that this singular attachment was large indeed. The church member who was converted to Miller's doctrine could not simply come home to share the sort of joyous rebirth Charles G. Finney might have mediated. His message to his fellow believers was not the blessedness of the Spirit-filled life. He returned to his church to proclaim doom — absolute, inevitable, and imminent.

The answer to the question, "Who were the Millerites?" is that they were who they had been. To ask how the Millerites identified with the other religious groups is irrelevant in their early years, for they *were* the "other groups." They considered themselves Protestants in the highest Reformation tradition, refusing to press withdrawal from the mainstream churches to which they belonged. Miller celebrated the advance of Protestantism, made possible by the French overthrow of the papacy in 1798. Theological subtleties and ideological differences were eclipsed by the shadow of the impending cataclysm. When doctrinal conflict did arise, it was inevitably connected with the time of Christ's coming and the nature of his reign.

If theology did not occupy the attention of the Millerites, a practical sense of urgency did. Without administrators, without organization, without churches or institutions, the Millerites managed to develop very specific goals that reveal their earliest self-perceptions. Advent Christian church historian, David T. Arthur, summarizes these goals, as recommended by a general conference of Adventists in 1841:

Among the recommendations were (1) personal conversation with others on religion and especially on the near coming of Christ, (2) the formation of Bible classes for mutual study of the advent question, (3) social meetings for prayer and exhortation wherever there was a sufficient number of believers to sustain them, (4) the questioning of ministers on the Second Advent, asking them to explain related Scripture, (5) the circulation of books and pamphlets and the provision of funds with which to do this, (6) remaining within and working within existing churches to "bring the church to a better mind" rather than withdrawing from them and forming a new one, (7) the establishment of Second Advent libraries in every town and village.³

While it is not difficult to recognize some hints of a sep-

arate Millerite identity in these recommendations, it is fair to say that throughout the early phase of the movement, Miller's followers maintained their ideological commitment to ecumenical unity. Such a commitment necessarily minimized theological differences. Thus, in the same year that Charles Fitch called Adventists out of Babylon, the editors of the *Signs of the Times* counseled:

Second Advent believers are from all religious denominations; and to act in unison, it is necessary to meet on common ground; to meet it is necessary to lay aside all sectarian views. All true brethren should therefore guard against making their own private views or sectarian belief too prominent, or as a necessary belief for those whose views are different.⁴

Because the end was near, sectarian quarreling was an offense. A *Signs* article on Christian union declared that the devil delights in seeing the church divided, since he recognizes that "the world will not believe" if it does not see unity. Adventism was the ideal solution: "The doctrine of the advent has shown to the world that Christians can forget all sectarian differences; and where true advent believers are found there they will be found of one heart and one spirit, waiting for the coming of the Lord."⁵

Demonstrating unity through commitment to the approaching second advent was not enough, however, to satisfy the ecumenically-minded Millerites. The *Signs* promoted "Christian union" by announcing meetings and reporting the progress of attempts by the churches to work together. Repeatedly they stressed that there was to be one fold, an emphasis that led them to object to the doctrine of the restoration of the Jews. Miller lamented Protestant ignorance of Ezekiel's prophecy, "And there shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all" (Ez. 37:22). He rebuked, "Your judaizing teachers tell you that the Jews, as Jews, must be brought back into their own land, have their own old Jewish kingdom restored, their city, temple worship, and David their king restored

unto them." He went on to clinch his point with the words of Jesus, "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: Them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice: and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd." No doubt Miller opposed Jewish restoration, not only because he considered it non-biblical, but also because he feared it would delay personal preparation for the up-coming judgment.

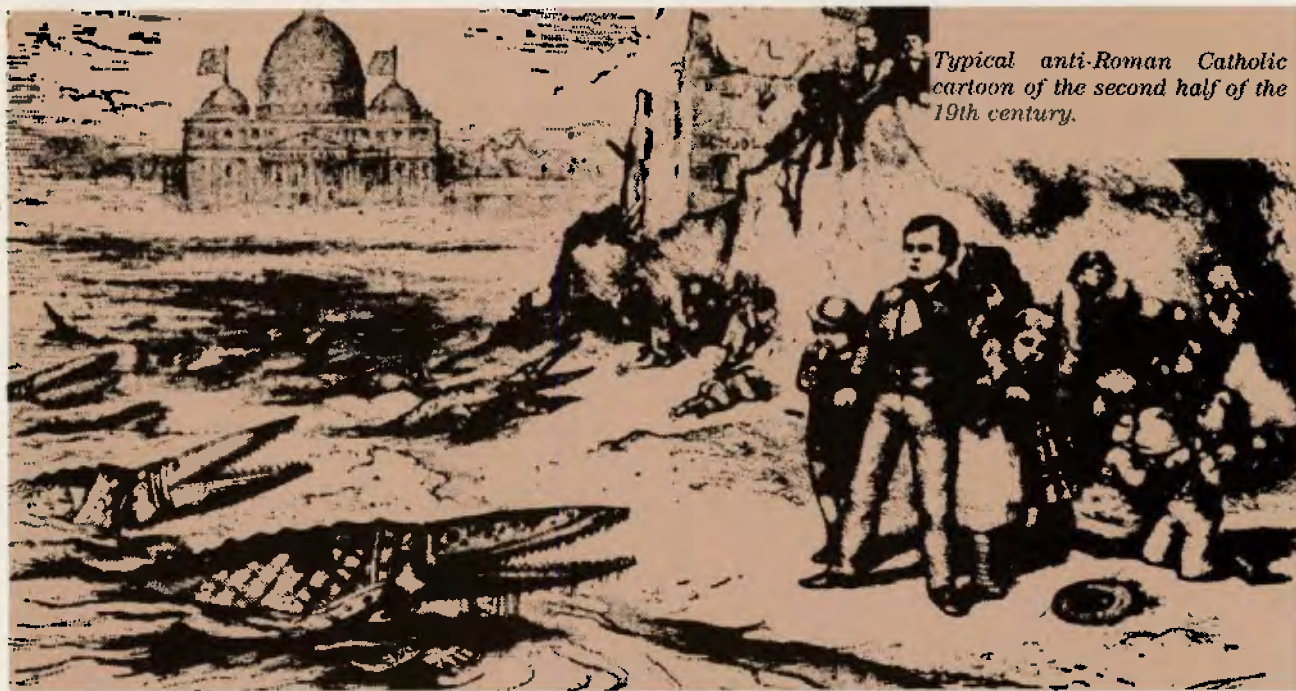
Disclaiming the prophetic call, Miller still took his dreams seriously, often publishing them for others to read. His elaboration of a dream he had had on heaven confirms his ecumenical commitment:

No silent one was there. I thought of the love they had one for another. I thought I felt its flame—its pure, unadulterated love. No mixture of self beyond another. I saw persons of all denominations of Christians, yet all distinctions were taken away. Here was a communion indeed—here was no ennuï—no hatred—no selfish principles to build up—no evil thoughts—nothing to hurt or annoy. (O! ye selfish votaries, could you but see this happy throng, you would cover your faces with shame; you would hide yourselves, if possible, from the face of the Lamb, and Him that sitteth on the throne.)⁶

Always eager to chronicle fulfilled signs of the end, Millerites insisted that "sectarianism" was one of them. Among the very last signs was "the scattering of the holy people."

Yea, the sects are all divided now. Presbyterians are divided into Old and New School, and then again into Perfectionists. Congregationalists are divided between Orthodox and Unitarian, old and new measures, Unionists, &c. Methodists are divided between Episcopal and Protestant. Baptists are divided between old and new measures, Antimasons, Campbellites, open and closed communion &c. &c. Quakers are divided between Orthodox and Hicksites; and thus might we go on and name the divisions and subdivisions of all sects who have taken Christ for their captain.⁷

Not surprisingly, Miller excluded Roman Catholics from his ecumenical dream, since only *Christian* churches qualified. Commenting on Daniel 11:35, "And



Typical anti-Roman Catholic cartoon of the second half of the 19th century.

(Courtesy of Paul J. Larch)

MILLER OVERTHROWN:

OR THE

FALSE PROPHET CONFOUNDED.

BY A COSMOPOLITE.

"Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father."

BOSTON:
ABEL TOMPKINS.
1840.

some of them of understanding shall fall," he stated, "This verse shows us that even Christians would be led into some of the errors of Papacy." Ray Allen Billington generalizes that in America arguments were advanced "to demonstrate that Romanism was not Christianity." While we cannot know whether Miller's pious mother taught him to play the family game, "Break the Pope's Neck," around their New England hearth, we can assume that Millerite preachers contributed to the "marked increase in the number of sermons against Popery" in the 1830's. Miller believed in a Catholic invasion, not because of Protestant propaganda, but because of his interpretation of the wrathful and warring dragon of Revelation 12:17: "I am, therefore, constrained to believe that this battle of the dragon's last power will be in America; and if so, it must be mainly in these United States"—a conclusion not inconsistent with his conviction that Jesus' appearance would first be seen in North America, probably in New England. Since the Papal dragon makes war with "the remnant" of the church, Miller implies a special election of the Millerites, a notion that would become a theological axiom before many years had passed.

Very nearly a carbon copy of other anti-Catholic zealots in America, the Millerites had somewhat differ-

ent motivations for their antipathy towards Catholics. Certainly Millerite pilgrims, so soon to meet their Lord, were not concerned about a Catholic threat to a Protestant America. Such dreams were for post-millennialists. Like other Protestants, Millerites deplored the idolatry and authority of Rome. Unlike most Protestants, however, they were indebted to Rome for its prophetic punctuality. Without the Catholic contribution to fulfilled signs (all negative, to be sure), Miller could not have located the date for the advent.

Almost every issue of the *Signs* carried anti-Catholic articles, directed both at evangelizing the Catholics, and showing how Catholicism's past, present, and future are all outlined in Scripture. Typical headlines include, "Popery, an Argument for the Truth, by its fulfillment of Scripture Prophecies;" "Danger from Roman Catholic Schools;" "Prof. Gaussen on Papacy;" "The Pope and the Bible;" "Rome as She is;" "How Popery will be Destroyed." Three decades after the great disappointment of 1844, Isaac Wellcome, Advent Christian chronicler, noted with pride: "We have heard it remarked by those competent to judge, and not Adventists, that the Second Advent doctrine has given more light on Catholicism than all other Protestant teaching in America." Apparently sensitive to Millerite anti-Catholicism, the Catholics countered in 1840 with the book, *Millerism Overthrown*—a work which ended up being used by both Catholics and Protestants against Miller's disciples!

The Mormons fared little better than the Catholics in Millerite publications. Early Adventists greatly resented being identified with the Mormons. The fact that they were suggests that religious bodies did not always take the Millerite sectarian disclaimer very seriously. As anti-Millerism increased, so did Millerite anti-Mormonism. The Adventists probably found some comfort in attacking a group that received even less societal affection than their movement did. Millerite editors denounced "Mormonism, Shakerism, Swedenborgianism, or any other *ism* depending on special prophecies of these *last-times* prophets."

The Millerites compared the Mormons with the Catholics: "Jo Smith's government is a sort of politico-Religious-Military Government; . . . Jo's power is some-



(Adventist Heritage Collection)

Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon church.

thing like that of the Pope. He thunders out his Decrees and papal Bulls, and none dare say, why do ye so?" Smith's followers were accused of lawlessness, violence, licentiousness, crime—all the results of falsehood: "The shocking licentiousness, the disregard of all moral obligation, and the atrocious sentiments of the Mormons, can only be traced to their utter repudiation of conscience in thus lying against God." The Millerites published a letter from J. N. T. Tucker, who printed translations of Joseph Smith's plates. Tucker withheld an inspired page, claiming he lost it, and waited to see whether the replacement would match. He reported that the replacement was a fraud, obviously a mere contextual invention.

More concerned with space than time, the Mormons were not unaware of the Millerite prophecy. "Joseph Smith felt obliged to restrain his followers, particularly during the excitement caused by Miller's prediction of the advent in 1843." The necessity for restraint betrays a sizable Mormon millenarian interest that no doubt posed a threat to the Millerites. As Fawn M. Brodie has summarized,

Many Mormon converts had been caught by the contagion of millennialism and saw in the rise of the prophet, with his private and mysterious illumination, final evidence of the impending arrival of Christ. Many sprang to Joseph's cause hoping to stand at his right hand at the Judgment Day. And since Joseph himself was infected with the millennial spirit, he encouraged this sentiment.⁸

If Mormonism threatened Millerism by coming dangerously near, Universalism made its challenge from afar. Of all religious ideologies, none constituted a larger theological threat to the Millerites than did the Universalists. Universalism was guilty of at least two major sins: it denied the doctrine of judgment, and it rejected premillennialism. If all were to be saved eventually, there could be no judgment. If there were no judgment, it followed that there would be no urgency in preparing for the advent and the millennium. Millerites frequently boasted conversions of Universalists, whom Miller always handled with "gloves of steel." So did the Bible: "For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then suddenly destruction cometh upon them" (1 Thess. 5:3). Like the Catholics and Mormons, the Universalists were another sign that time was running out.

Yet it was ultimately the mainstream Protestant churches that interrelated with Millerism. When he began to preach in 1831, Miller posed little threat to New England congregations. There is evidence that he was not at first an unpleasant presence in the churches. "The old man with his Concordance" embodied the useful combination of being a humble lay preacher with a powerful message—a message that had obvious implications for revival. Recognizing the moral content of Miller's warning, "evangelists who wished Miller to stir their flocks asked him and other adventist lecturers to work with their congregations." Preparation for the end implies a perfectionism incompatible neither with the theology of Finney nor the Methodists. Himes declared that while Mr. Miller's preaching had called forth the "highest state of Christian holiness, as a preparation for the advent," the sinner could choose either the

Methodist or Finneyite path to holiness. "Some have taken the Methodist view of sanctification, and yet another class, the Oberlin view. These views, as held by either class, and carried out in a holy state of the affections, and the life, have been instrumental in preparing souls for the kingdom of God." Predictably, a number of holiness ministers welcomed the Millerite message, some choosing to join the ranks with the Adventists in spreading the word.

Miller's reluctance to "go and tell it to the world" was based on his own perceived limitations, not on a fear of rejection. "William Miller never had any other idea than that the churches would receive his explanation of the Scriptures gladly and rejoice with him in expecting their Saviour soon in the clouds of heaven to take His faithful children home." He reflected on his decision to share the news of Christ's coming: "I supposed that it would call forth the opposition of the ungodly; but it never came into my mind that any Christian would oppose it. I supposed that all such would be so rejoiced in view of the glorious prospect, that it would only be necessary to present it, for them to receive it."

Ernest R. Sandeen accurately summarizes, "Apart from his millenarianism, Miller taught no doctrines that set him off from his evangelical neighbors and even his millenarianism was scarcely ever described by his critics as anything but a mistake of a delusion—not heresy."⁹

But Miller and his disciples would not continue to be welcomed into Protestant pulpits as the end drew near. As early as 1834, Miller reported that he was meeting with opposition. Inevitably, the dramatic message borne by Millerite preachers attracted fanatical and unbalanced souls. Moreover, those who preached and published the final warning became more hardened in their views as time ran out. Defying their own principles of charity and compromise, Millerites became increasingly intolerant of those who differed with them on the advent near. Naturally the churches reciprocated, first with caution, then rejection, and finally open warfare.

As the tension mounted, the editors of Millerite papers maintained their commitment to a free press. From its beginning in 1840, *The Signs of the Times* willingly printed anti-Millerite materials, often without editorial response. An early issue carried an article against the Millerite humbug by the Rev. Parsons Cooke, editor of the *Puritan*. Cooke preferred to ignore such "glaringly preposterous" theories, since they always "fall by their own weight" in the end. However, Millerism had made a startling headway and had to be refuted. The Millerite message had a "more pernicious" influence "than that of any other system of errors," namely the capacity to "blunt the moral sensibilities." The article ended with an appeal to parents to protect their children from the influence of Millerism. The editors made no response to Cooke. In August, 1840, the *Signs* carried the announcement that Dartmouth College would no longer grant aid to students who espoused Millerism.

Signs editors did respond to a piece they borrowed from a Providence paper, the *Republican Herald*. The headline read, "IS THERE ANY EVIL IN THE LAND AND MILLER NOT DONE IT?" The "horrible tragedy" the *Herald* reported involved murder in Maine:

Mr. Moses Butterfield, a highly respected citizen, murdered his wife and two of his children a few days since. He had been subject to fits of insanity, and it is said that, in a fit of religious frenzy he committed this horrid deed, "to save his family from eternal ruin, at the approaching end of the world." This, we presume, is another fruit of the Miller humbug. If the public, and especially sensible people, will countenance such a quack pretender in his efforts to excite the minds of ignorant, superstitious, and sensitive people, they, as well as he, should bear the responsibility.

The Millerite editors protested the *Herald's* "we presume," lest they next presume that the failure of the United States bank be attributed to Millerite humbug, too. They did not question whether all the "highly respectable" citizens of Sumner, Maine, were afflicted with "fits of insanity," however.

The *Portland Tribune*, dubbed "A UNIVERSALIST paper" by the *Signs*, reported that "hundreds, yes thousands of young men, once enterprising and imbued with a laudable ambition to obtain rank and influence among their fellow men" had "suddenly become misanthropes" because of Millerism. Two paragraphs later, the *Tribune* concluded: "But few, save of the *uninformed, and illiterate, embrace Millerism.*" Again the incongruity of the anti-Millerite assault reveals the emotional level of the conflict. Perhaps the editors of the *Signs* printed these attacks without comment as a means of revealing the inconsistencies of their opponents. The *Olive Branch* provides another example by denouncing Millerism: "Of all the foolish dreams which curse the present age, there is none more weak or wicked than this ism." The piece concludes with a warning against Millerite teachings, which "are little better than the delusions of Mormonism."

By 1843, the *Signs* regularly included material addressing the opposition. Whereas earlier issues did not contain editorial commentary, now entire articles defended the Millerite faith. The August 30, 1843, issue printed several anti-Millerite attacks:

"It is the most stupid and mischievous delusion that ever existed."—J. Dowling

"It is like a blight and mildew upon the piety of the churches."

"It is a curse to the community."

"It is a disgrace and reproach to those who encourage or countenance those who preach it."—*Christian Watchman*

"They are grossly deluded by the great Adversary of souls."—*Prof. Pond*

"If there are in Heaven's Magazine any bolts red with uncommon wrath, they must be reserved for such fellows as Himes and his tools, who have thus deluded and tormented society. We must speak out, and we will; these men are the worst enemies of God."—*Olive Branch*

There is evidence that the conflict was more than a paper war. Millerite successes, at first seen as enhancing church life, were soon recognized as disrupting church life. In 1843, the *Signs* printed a lament from a Vermont paper that claimed Millerism had "already broken up many religious societies," and that the movement might "completely disorganize community." Mill-

IS THERE ANY EVIL IN THE LAND, AND MILLER NOT DONE IT?

From the *Republican Herald*. Providence R. I.

HORRIBLE TRAGEDY.

The *Portland Advertiser* gives an account of a horrid occurrence at Sumner, Maine.—Mr. Moses Butterfield, a highly respectable citizen, murdered his wife and two of his children a few days since. He had been subject to fits of insanity, and it is said that, in a fit of religious frenzy he committed this horrid deed, "to save his family from eternal ruin, at the approaching end of the world." This, we presume, is another fruit of the Miller humbug. If the public, and especially sensible people, will countenance such a quack pretender in his efforts to excite the minds of ignorant, superstitious, and sensitive people, they, as well as he, should bear the responsibility. His labors, we venture to say, will inflict an evil on society, and on the cause of religion, which will not be speedily removed. The saying is common among his followers, "If Miller's calculations are not true, then the Scriptures are not true." Thousands will take these calculations as their criterion; and when they find they have been deceived, they will cast the fault on the Bible, and reject it.—Such is human nature, and such is the pride of opinion.

This, we PRESUME, is another fruit of the Miller humbug." Dost you know certain, Mr. Editor? Dare you only presume that this "horrible tragedy", was the "fruit of the Miller humbug." This sagacious editor ought to have known, that no murders, or any dreadful evils could take place without Mr. Miller's aid. He should have known that the above is only a solitary instance: while in the United States, during the last year, there have been about two hundred murders or "horrible tragedies." All "WE PRESUME" were the fruit of the "Miller Humbug." Besides the United States bank has failed, and this no doubt is a legitimate fruit of the Miller humbug. Any sensible man, who looks at these things candidly, can but say, in the language of the person who sent us the paper, "too true."

erism was also seen as exhausting spirituality. In 1888, Daniel Dorchester wrote, "The Millerite excitement left the churches in a low condition" that persisted into the 1850's. David M. Ludlum's study, *Social Ferment in Vermont*, supports Dorchester's claim:

The aftermath of the excitement produced two important social effects: first, an extensive prevalence of spiritual lethargy among the deluded; secondly, frequent outbursts of fanaticism among incurable Adventists. "There has been a long time of spiritual death and famine," noted the *Baptist Vermont Observer* in March, 1845. "There is an almost total dearth of revivals throughout the country. A moral chill has pervaded the churches, and a death like stupor, on the mind of the impenitent, the like of which has not been often witnessed."¹⁰

By 1846, the General Convention of Baptists could declare, "The Second Advent delusion has proved the greatest calamity that has befallen us since our organization."

Maine Methodists had also become sufficiently afflicted with Millerism by 1843 to call a special confer-

MILLER USED UP FOR A SHILLING!

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

Showing his ERRORS in Calculation of TIME, &c. &c. &c.

BY J. DOWLING, A. M.

Pastor of the Pine-Street Baptist Church, Providence, R. I.

SECOND EDITION WITH ADDITIONAL REMARKS, ETC.

Published by J. R. BIGELOW,

130 NASSAU-ST.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

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

For Sale Here.

ence to deal with the problem. Four resolutions included the following: (1) A commitment of loyal ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church "to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word;" (2) a definition of Millerism as that which must be banished and driven away; (3) the assertion that while those preaching Millerite doctrine may have pure motives, such activity is "irreconcilably inconsistent with their ecclesiastical obligations," and ultimately productive of disaster; (4) a strong admonition that those preaching Adventist views "refrain entirely from disseminating them" in the future. The *Signs* published these resolutions as part of an article on an "unjust" trial of a Methodist minister who had accepted Millerism.¹¹ From 1843 onward, the same paper included stories of Millerites who had been disfellowshipped, no doubt evoking not only reader sympathy, but also heightening a sense of separate Millerite identity.

David L. Rowe points out that "men and women who had taken upon themselves the mantle of divinely appointed authority and the thankless task of preaching spectacular and peculiar ideas before public audiences were not likely to allow themselves to be persuaded that they were wrong." The same spirit that led people to identify with Millerism hardened their commitment

under pressure. They comforted themselves with the words of the Apostle, "Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you" (1 John 3; 13).

Although disappointed in rejection, Miller was stoical. He assured himself that while the "bigot, the proud, haughty, and selfish, scoff at and ridicule" his teachings, "the most pious, devoted, and living members of the churches do most readily embrace the views thus proclaimed." He taunted his opponents, "If you are safe and have no need to fear, why are you in such a bluster?" Near the end of 1842, he wrote to his friend, Joshua V. Himes,

I find that, as I grow old, I grow more peevish, and cannot bear so much contradiction. Therefore I am called uncharitable and severe. No matter; this frail life will soon be over. My Master will soon call me home, and soon after the scoffer and I shall be in another world, to render our account before a righteous tribunal. I will therefore appeal to the Supreme Court of the Universe for the redress of grievances, and the rendering of judgment in my favor, by a revocation of the judgment in the court below. *The World and Clergy vs. Miller.*¹²

To some extent, Miller's attitude represents the changing mood of the movement. The longer the Millerites struggled to warn a doomed world, the more "peevish" they became. First pleading for understanding, "We would therefore affectionately and earnestly entreat you to show us wherein consists our great wickedness and delusion for which we are thus condemned," they gradually became defensive, "The press and a portion of the pulpits, with a large portion of the people, seemed to unite in one burst of indignation upon our devoted heads, with the evident object of thereby sweeping the last vestige of Adventism from

SECOND ADVENT LIBRARY.

NO. XI.

MARCH 12, 1842.

REFUTATION

DOWLING'S REPLY TO MILLER,

OR THE

SECOND COMING OF CHRIST
IN 1843.

BY JOSIAH LITCH.

WITH A PREFACE, BY JOSHUA V. HIMES.

BOSTON:

the world." Even with the growing resentment against Millerism, the Adventists persisted in their commitment to work for the churches. In a special address written in May, 1844, leading Millerites asserted: "And if by taking this course we give offense to the churches, and they threaten us with expulsion unless we remain silent (though if we see fit to dissolve our relation to the churches amicably, it may be the better way), *let us do our duty*, and when we are expelled, be patient in suffering the wrong."¹³ The parenthesis is enlightening—better to withdraw than to be expelled. Expulsion was certain to come, but when other comforts failed, the beleaguered pessimists could console themselves that anti-Millerism was yet another sign that their reward was near.

It would be inaccurate to assume that the Millerites were merely the unfortunate victims of an insensitive mainstream majority. David Rowe finds the Millerite movement to be "an evangelical reaction against the formalization, or maturation, of the evangelical sects." From the beginning, Millerite preaching was devoid of affection for members of the clergy. This part of the Adventist message would spill over into a generalized rejection of the churches in the 1840's—hardly the formula to win friends and evoke cooperation. Miller himself was ever suspicious of those who attached degrees to their names. He protested, "The church is evidently worshipping her god Baalim [sic]; her teachers are seeking to be called by great names, such as A.B., A.M., B.D., D.D., or Rev., &c; to lord it over each other, and to be called master." In 1840 he appealed to church members, "You see, my dear reader, how your ministers will stoop to the meanest subterfuges to deceive you, and 'cry peace.' But not all of them. No: I bless God there are a few honest ones left yet." He labeled his clerical opponents "Wise-head," "Wise-acre," "dumb dogs," and "ravens wolves." Their sin was a post-millennial postponement of the advent, and their rejection of the one who bore the endtime warning. In contrast, Miller praised the laity: "Some of you will remember, when the old man was turned from a clergyman's door and pulpit in a cold winter's night, you opened the doors, chaffed his stiffened feet and hands, and warmed his cheerless heart by your kindnesses."

The editors of *The Signs of the Times* joined the protest without reluctance. Sometimes they were moderate and gentle: "In the spirit of the utmost kindness, we inquire, why is it that the ministers of the gospel are so slow to embrace the glorious second advent doctrine? These are reasons that call for the exercise of charity and sympathy." But usually, they were abrasively direct. Introducing a Charles Finney reprint on the responsibility of ministers, the editors wrote, "A speculating, worldly minded, Selfish, Money-making, Lukewarm, Lazy, temporizing Ministry, is now the bane of the church and the world." Not a humorless people, the Millerites could muster an occasional smile while waiting for judgment:

SCOFFER.—What if it don't come in 1843?

CHRISTIAN.—I'll continue to do just what I am now doing, viz. patiently wait till it *does* come; knowing assuredly that it is *so* near that I may expect it every hour.

S.—Ha, ha, ha; you Millerites [sic] can creep out of a small hole.

C.—Perhaps so; but my dear man can you tell me what you will do if it *does* come?

S.—Oh I'll risk his coming. I don't believe a word about it. It's all humbug; besides it has been proved false by some of our ablest preachers.

C.—Yes, so I learn; I hear daily, also, infidels, drunkards, and profane swearers, cursing and disclaiming against the Lord's appearing, and pronouncing it a fable. I suppose you add their testimony to that of your worldly-minded, salary-loving, *able* preachers, and thus manage to quiet your fears and pacify your conscience....¹⁴

If the ministers were fair game, Millerites hesitated to attack the churches to which they belonged. Although nearly every issue of the *Signs* included anti-Catholic propaganda, few direct attacks were made on Protestant churches. When Protestants were included, it was because of their inclination toward Rome. A statement in an April, 1842, issue of the *Signs* anticipated Millerite come-outerism: "The Protestant Church appears to be hastening back to the embraces of the 'Mother of abominations.' Already, in several places, they have adopted some of the most abominable principles and practices of the Roman Catholic Church."¹⁵ Significantly, the otherwise passionately Protestant Millerite editors did not employ the corporate "we" when writing about such churches, again a betrayal of a *de facto* separatism.

Millerite concern over Protestant churches was twofold. First, the Adventists resented sectarian insistence on pressing doctrinal differences at a time in the world's history when unity ought to be ultimate. Second, and far more important to Millerism, they could



(Adventist Heritage Collection)

Josiah Litch

not endure the postmillennial commitment of the churches—a commitment contrary to the Millerite truth of immediacy. Prominent Millerite preacher, Josiah Litch, defended Adventist come-outers after the first disappointment.

“But why not give up your meetings, now that the time has gone by?” “There as now no difference between you and us, for we are all looking for the Lord.” The plain answer is, because we never can, and the Lord helping us, we never will, sit down under the lullaby song of this world’s conversion, and the return of the Jews from Palestine. . . . If the churches or ministers think to draw the Advent believers back to their fold with such a doctrine, they are sadly mistaken.¹⁶

Litch concludes that because the ministers and churches had not taken up the last warning that “the Judge is at the door,” Adventist leaders could not encourage their “dear brethren” to remain loyal to the churches.

Growing tensions between Millerites and the churches finally led the Adventists to link Protestants with the apocalyptic whore of Babylon. Charles Fitch proclaimed the new belief most vigorously, but he was not alone. By early 1844, Miller taught that if the papacy was the “mother of harlots,” then her harlot daughters were the apostate Protestant churches. Also in 1844, Adventist papers began urging Millerites to “come out of her, my people.” Caught up in the new come-outer spirit, a convert to Millerism wrote, “I was overwhelmed with astonishment to find in what perfect confusion the religious world was, so that I involuntarily cried out, ‘O what a Babylon we are all in!’” Another Millerite ventured, “At present I feel as though much might be said in favor of entirely withdrawing all connection from those sects or churches that reject the

great scripture truth of Christ at the door.”

Coming out was not easy. Apparently forgetting previous Adventist tirades, Miller implored,

Dear Brethren: We would ask, in the name of our dear Master, Jesus Christ, by all that is holy, by the fellowship of the saints, and the love of the truth, why you cast us off as if we were heretics? What have we believed, that we have not been commanded to believe by the word of God, which you yourselves allow is the rule and only rule of our faith and practice? What have we done that should call down such virulent denunciations against us from pulpit and press, and give you just cause to exclude us from your churches and fellowship?¹⁷

In April, 1846, more than a year after he had been unchurched, Miller maintained, “We are walking in the ordinances and fellowship as formerly in the church, and think it a small thing to be judged of men.”

In reviewing his relationship with his church shortly after the great disappointment of 1844, Miller recalled, “The first objection my Baptist brethren brought against me, was, that I mixed with, and preached unto all denominations.” In contrition he then confessed that his movement had become sectarian. “But we have recently, my brethren, been guilty of raising up a sect of our own; for the very things which our fathers did when they became sects, we have been doing. We have, like them, cried Babylon! Babylon! Babylon! against *all but Adventists*.” He concluded, “May God forgive us!”¹⁸

Miller’s dream had never changed. And although he repented, there could be no turning back; he no longer controlled the movement that bore his name. What Miller apparently never understood was that the power of his message would inevitably draw men and women away from their churches, welding them together in the “blessed hope” of the soon return of Christ. Moreover, these people, like Miller himself, would demand unity on their own terms, namely, the premillennial advent near. Christ’s coming could not be a negotiable doctrine in their desire for unity among the churches. When Christ did not come in October, 1844, few of the blushing Millerites returned to their churches. The Great Disappointment virtually assured the completion of Adventist sectarian withdrawal. But those who survived the crises of rejection and disappointment would now have to learn to cope with an indefinite delay of the advent, while retaining the “advent near” as a continuing symbol of their apocalyptic identity.

1. *Signs of the Times*, November 16, 1846.
2. Charles Fitch, *Come Out of Her, My People* (1843), pp. 12, 13, 19.
3. David Arthur, “Millerism,” in *Rise of Adventism*, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad (1974), pp. 157-158.
4. *Signs of the Times*, May 3, 1843.
5. *Ibid.*, July 14, 1843.
6. Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller* (1853), p. 90.
7. *Miller’s Works*, ed. by Joshua V. Himes, Vol. II (1841), p. 113.
8. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (1946), p. 101.
9. Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (1970) p. 53.
10. David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont: 1791-1850* (1939), p. 269.
11. *Signs of the Times*, February 14, 1844.
12. Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller*, p. 170.
13. Cited in John Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement* (1905), p. 178.
14. *Signs of the Times*, October 12, 1842.
15. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1842.
16. *Advent Herald*, July 24, 1844.
17. Joshua V. Himes, ed. *A Brief History of William Miller* (1915), p. 228.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 257.



(Adventist Heritage Collection)

Charles Fitch

BRIDEGROOM OR BABYLON? *Dragon or Lamb?*

Nineteenth-Century Adventists and the American Mainstream

Charles Teel, Jr.

Behold the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him!
(Matt XXV)

Babylon is fallen! Come out of her my people.
(Apoc XVIII)

*And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth;
and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a
dragon. (Apoc XIII)*

Just as Adam named the animals in the Edenic garden, so nineteenth-century Bible expositors rushed to name those beasts which prowl the Patmos zoo of St. John the Divine. While many such classifiers of the Apocalypse were confounded by the lamb-dragon mutation of Revelation 13, Seventh-day Adventists were unique in their insistence that this beast be named none other than the United States of America. The spiritual forebears of these Adventists, the Millerites, also had wrestled long and hard with John's beasts. Some decades earlier the Millerites had fleshed out the Apocalypse timetable and discerned that the heavenly Bridegroom would return to earth by mid-century to save his church. In their proclamation the Millerites had raised two Apocalyptic cries: "Behold the Bridegroom Cometh!" and "Come out of her my people!"

This study suggests that the dual "cries" of the Millerite Adventists no less than the dual "naming" by the Seventh-day Adventists illuminate the relation of these movements to the American religious mainstream. The purpose here is thus to examine the complexity of two easily stereotyped millennial groups by exploring

whether their use of the different "name" or "cry" presents an alternate stance towards the American Republic.

I. The Millerite Adventists as Insiders/Outsiders

For the reformers, at least, Boston was the Hub of the Universe. They could preach pantheism in the pulpit, transcendentalism in the schoolroom, socialism in the marketplace, abolition in Faneuil Hall; they could agitate the most extravagant causes and you would have to listen to them. And they consorted with the worst of men, and of women too. Whether they went they trailed behind them clouds of high flying enthusiasts — spiritualists, phrenologists, Swedenborgians, Millerites, vegetarians, Grahamites, prohibitionists, feminists, non-resisters, Thomsonians, Comouters of every shape and hue.

What had they in common, these reformers, men and women, rich and poor, educated and illiterate? . . .

What had they in common — what but belief in the perfectibility of man and in the doctrine of progress?

—Henry Steele Commager, *Theodore Parker: Yankee Crusader*, pp. 152-153.

William Miller's version of the perfectibility of man and his doctrine of progress was first preached in Boston in the year 1839. Miller held forth twice daily for nine days at the Chardon Street Chapel—a site claimed as home turf by such reform bodies as unionists, abolitionists, non-resisters, and the temperance crowd. Indeed, when Miller delivered his third series of

William
Lloyd
Garrison



(Credit E. P. Dutton & Co.)

Livy
The
end
is the
end

lectures in Boston in as many months, William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* carried notice of these meetings and hailed Miller as a "thorough" ally of the various reform movements: "Mr. Miller, being a thorough abolitionist, temperance man etc., will no doubt give much truth in the course of his lectures, that will be of a salutary character—aside from his computation of the end of the world."¹

For the heady reformers, at least, America appeared bathed in a millennial hope. Movements for change had sprouted through New England like mushrooms in the spring rain. God was in his heaven, Jacksonian democracy had emanated from the White House, and all was to be well with the world. Andrew Johnson, one of Jackson's ardent supporters, spoke for many in affirming that "The millennial morning had dawned":

The democratic party proper of the whole world, and especially of the United States, has undertaken the *political redemption* of man, and sooner or later the great work will be accomplished. In the political world it corresponds to that of Christianity in the moral. They are going along, not in divergent nor in parallel but in converging lines—the one purifying and elevating man politically, the other religiously.²

The reformers thus proclaimed their belief in the perfectibility of man and Jacksonian optimists exuded an assurance that humankind's political and religious redemption inevitably would be accomplished "sooner or later."

For William Miller this great work of redemption would be accomplished sooner rather than later: "around 1843" give or take a few months. This Baptist Sunday-schooler turned Deist turned Baptist preacher agreed that history was on converging lines: human history was about to meet divine judgment. This self-educated farmer from Low Hampton, New York, whose world enlarged as he rose to the rank of Army captain during the War of 1812, now announced that this world

SCRIPTURE & HISTORY

OF THE

Second Coming of Christ

ABOUT THE YEAR A. D. 1843,

AND OF HIS

PERSONAL REIGN OF 1000 YEAR

BY WM. MILLER.

"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."
1 Thes. 5:21

BRANDON,
Vermont Telegraph Office.
1832.



(Harry Anderson, Artist. Courtesy of Review and Herald Publishing Association)

William Miller in his study.



(LLU Department of Archives and Special Collections)

(Left): Well-known portrait of William Miller.

(Below): The Miller farmhouse, built in 1815 in Low Hampton, New York.

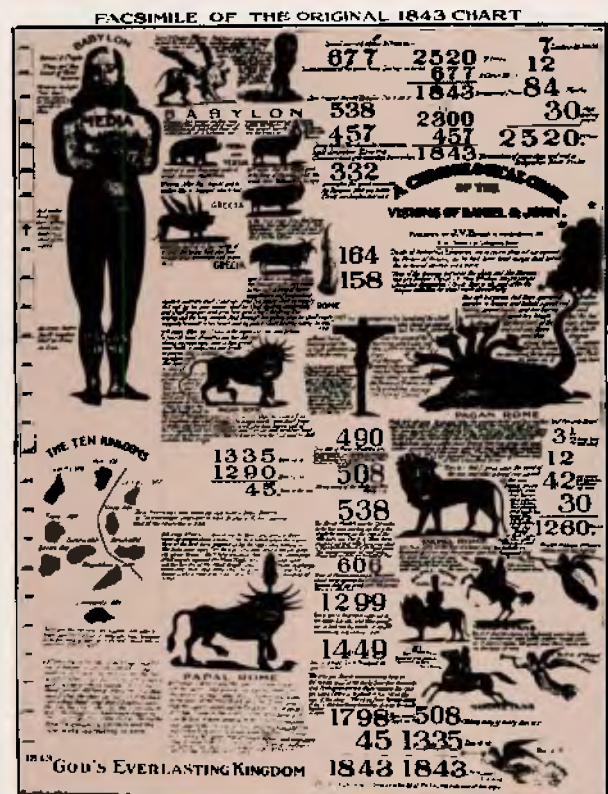
(Bottom): The 1843 prophetic chart designed by Presbyterian preacher Charles Fitch.



(LLU Department of Archives and Special Collections)

was doomed and that the millennial morning would dawn only through divine intervention. This hometown boy who left home, made good, and returned home in a position not only to pay off his mother's mortgage but also to set himself up comfortably on a two-hundred acre farm, now called for a commitment to a reality beyond the things of this world. Armed only with Bible, concordance, and a wooden literalism that allowed the prophetic and apocalyptic works of scripture to interpret themselves when compared line upon line and precept upon precept and number upon number as in the numerical calculations of Sir Isaac Newton, Miller developed an eschatological schema that was generally open to discussion and modification on all points but two: Christ would return, and he would return about 1843.

On his own, Miller heralded the bridegroom's return for fully a half dozen years before Methodist minister Josiah Litch and Christian Connection cleric Joshua V. Himes joined the cause. Of the two hundred ministers estimated to have eventually joined the movement, Miller's reflective *Apology* reserves the affectionate "my brother . . ." designation for these two leaders. Himes is credited with having been "more instrumental in the spread of these views than any other ten men who have embarked in the cause" and Litch is cited as one who early on embraced Miller's ideas and then "aided their



NO LITERAL RETURN OF THE CARNAL JEWS AS A NATION TO PALESTINE

VOL. I.	SECOND ADVENT REPORTS.	NO. I.	<p>Watch, for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come. Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.</p> <p>CONTENTS.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE. <i>Josiah Litch.</i> 2. DISSERTATION ON THE SECOND ADVENT, <i>Josiah Litch.</i> 3. THE CHRONOLOGY OF PROPHECY, <i>Henry Jones.</i> 4. THE RESTORATION OF ISRAEL, <i>William Miller.</i> 5. PROPHECIC CHRONOLOGY, <i>William Miller.</i> 6. PROPHECIC TABLE, <i>William Miller.</i> 7. DISSERTATION ON THE JUDGMENT, <i>Henry Dana Ward.</i> 8. THE MILLENNIUM.
<p>No Millennium prior to the Resurrection of the Dead.</p> <p>WITNESSES.</p> <p><i>The Fathers.</i> BERNABAB. CLEMENT. IGNATIUS. POLYCARP. JUSTIN MARTYR. TERTULLIAN. CYPRIAN. ORIGEN. DIONYSIUS. METRODIUS. COUNCIL OF NICE. CYRIL. JEROME, and others, together with the Roman Catholic Church.</p> <p><i>The Reformers.</i> LUTHER and MELANCTHON in the Confession of Augsburg, A. D. 1530. LATIMER, CRANMER, and RIDLEY in Articles of the Church Ed. VI., A. D. 1532.</p> <p>Congregational, Presbyterian, Kirk of Scotland, and Dutch Reformed Creeds, Art. "Judgment."</p> <p>Catechism of Edward VI., and of Westminster Assembly. "Thy kingdom come."</p> <p>JOS. MEDE. JOHN MILTON. BISHOP NEWTON. JOHN KNOX. CHALLINWORTH. DR. GILL. COWPER. HEBER. POLLOCK. DR. GREENWELL.</p>	<p>BEHOLD, I CREATE NEW HEAVENS, AND A NEW EARTH.</p> <p>NO MILLENNIUM PRIOR TO THE RESURRECTION.</p> <p>DIVINE TESTIMONY. Dan. vii. 9-13, 21, 22. Luke xvii. 26-30. Mark xiii. 23-29. 1 Thess. iv. 14-18. v. 1-4. 2 Thess. ii. 7-10. Rev. xiv. 14-20.</p> <p>NO PROMISE TO JEWS BUT COMMON TO GENTILES.</p> <p>DIVINE TESTIMONY. Rom. x. 12. i. 16, 17. ii. 7-11, 23, 29. iii. 1, 9. Isa. xl. 10, 12. Mark xiii. 27. Jer. xxxii. 37, 40. Gal. vi. 15. Amos ix. 15. Heb. xi. 8-16.</p>	<p>Take heed lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon you unawares.</p> <p>No Return of the Jews prior to the Resurrection of the Dead.</p> <p>WITNESSES.</p> <p><i>The Fathers.</i> JUSTIN MARTYR. IRENEUS. EUSEBIUS. CHRYSOSTOM. AMBROSE. AUGUSTINE. JEROME.</p> <p><i>Jewish Rabbis.</i> FISCHAZER. JONATHAN. KIMCHI. GAMALIEL. MENASSER B. ISRAEL. SIMON. MOSES GREENNUS.</p> <p><i>Distinguished Ministers & Laymen.</i> JOS. MEDE. BISHOP NEWTON. FARRER. FRYE. BROOKS. BICKERSTETH. BRAD. NOL. M'NEILE. Rev. Wm. Scott, of the (Wesleyan) Canada Conference. See two important articles in Methodist Magazine, Oct. 1839, and April, 1840. Articles: "The Case of the Jews, considered with particular reference to their supposed literal gathering." These articles are written with great ability and are names added, same I.</p>	
<p>REPORT</p> <p>OF THE</p> <p>GENERAL CONFERENCE</p> <p>OF</p> <p>CHRISTIANS</p> <p>EXPECTING THE ADVENT</p> <p>OF</p> <p>OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.</p> <p>HELD IN BOSTON,</p> <p>OCT. 14, 15, 1840.</p>			
<p>Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.—For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and heaven with a trumpet of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air. Acts i. 11; 1 Thes. iv. 16, 17.</p> <p>AND THE FORMER SHALL NOT BE REMEMBERED.</p>			
<p>PUBLISHED BY</p> <p>JOSHUA V. HIMES,</p> <p>BOSTON,</p> <p>204 HANOVER STREET AND 14 DEVONSHIRE STREET.</p>			
<p>Postage—Under 100 miles, 16½ cents; over 100 miles, 27½ cts.</p>			

extension." Charles Fitch, Congregationalist *cum* Presbyterian pastor and an early recruit of Josiah Litch, in turn emerged as one of the movement's most aggressive communicators—by word, pen and chart. That the Millerite leadership reflected diverse communions illustrated the cross-denominational appeal and inclusive nature of the movement.

The positive affirmation, "The Bridegroom Cometh!" allowed for broad appeal to the various Protestant groups. The Millerite leaders disparaged sectarian fracturing and resolutely viewed their message as a general call to awaken or strengthen Christian commitment. In 1840, at the First General Conference of Advent Believers, the Millerites affirmed that their movement was devoid of sectarian intent:

We have no purpose to distract the churches with any new inventions or to get to ourselves a name by starting another sect among the followers of the Lamb. We neither condemn, nor rudely assail, others of a faith different from our own nor dictate in matters of conscience for our brethren, nor seek to demolish their organizations, nor build up new ones of our own; but simply to express our convictions like Christians, with the reason for entertaining them which have persuaded us to understand the word and promises, the prophecies and the gospel, of our Lord, as the first Christians, the primitive ages of the church, and the profoundly learned

RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD



Christian Connection minister Joshua V. Himes and his wife. Himes was the organizational and publishing genius of the Millerite movement and an active social reformer.



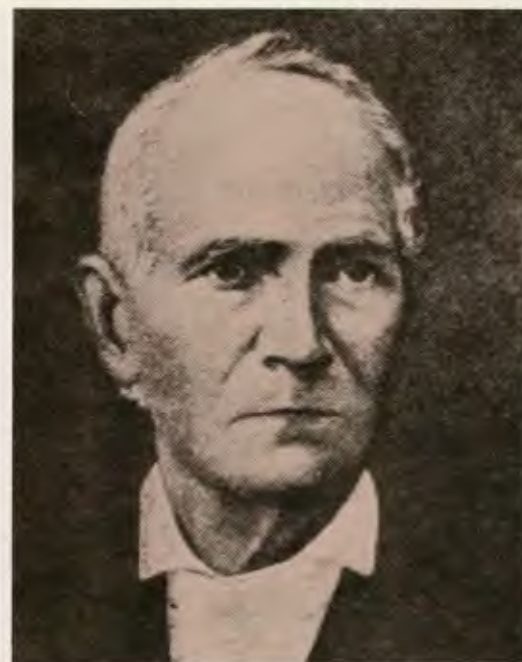
(LLU Department of Archives and Special Collections)

and intelligent reformers, have unanimously done, in the faith and hope that the Lord will "come quickly," "in his glory" to fulfill all his promises in the resurrection of the dead.³

"We know no sect, or party as such," wrote Himes that same year, "while we respect all." Though this respect would be tested in the ensuing years, it would evaporate only when the separatist call was sounded: "Come out of her my people."

In addition to sharing a commitment to the advent movement, each Millerite leader had devoted extensive energies to reform movements as well. Fitch published his *Slaveholding Weighed in the Balance of Truth and its Comparative Guilt* in 1837. Litch was constantly in the forefront of early anti-slavery and temperance agitation. And Himes' credentials were well established among the reformist circles in Boston as being "among the most radical of the radicals."

Nor were these leaders exceptional in their zeal for reform. Millerite editor and lecturer Henry Jones carried the cause of temperance throughout the North and had been banned from churches for his abolitionist stance. Millerite convention leader Henry Dana Ward was not only an ardent New York city abolitionist but also a temperance organizer who had cut his reform teeth in the anti-Masonic movement of the 'twenties. Baptist Millerite churchman Elon Galusha, son of the governor of Vermont, was chairman of a county anti-slavery society and chaired an interdenominational convention in 1841 which called for resolutions against slave-holding churches. *Midnight Cry* editor Nathaniel Stoddard was deeply involved in the issues of temperance, anti-slavery, and education and served as acting editor of the *Emancipator*, an anti-slavery paper. Methodist minister George Storrs preached his abolitionist activism not only to anti-slavery types but also to resistive Methodist bishops who did not share his enthusiasm for reforming either church or world. And seasoned Millerite preacher and conference or-



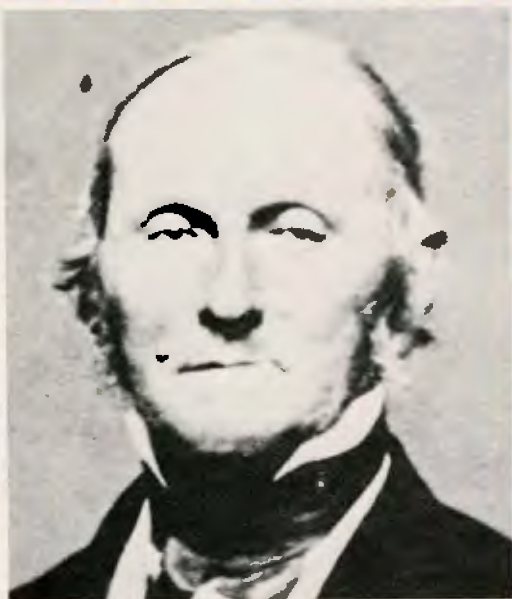
Captain Joseph Bates

ganizer Joseph Bates earned the dual distinctions of carrying his abolitionist attitudes into hostile territory and captaining the crew of a "dry" merchant ship which plied the seven seas.

An examination of Himes' involvements demonstrates that he was indisputably the most active of the Millerites while at the same time championing movements for social reform—right up until the expected year of Jubilee in 1843. Criticized by conservatives in his congregations who claimed that his "benevolent activities" had become "too progressive and radical," Himes countered that such past activities constituted but a "drop in the bucket" to what they would become in the future. The Chardon Street Chapel, which Himes established in 1837 as Boston's Second Christian Church, rocked with such an assortment of reformist activities that in 1842 William Lloyd Garrison hailed it as "a building which is destined to become famous in the City of Boston, and for which we entertain more respect and affection than for any other in the city."

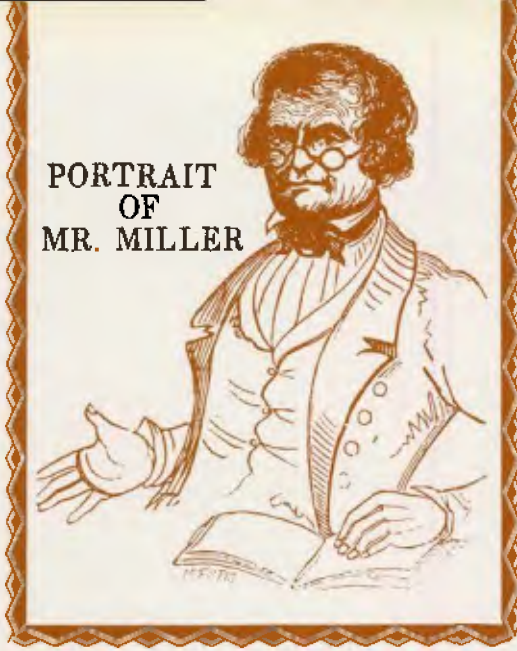
Garrison's respect was deserved. During the years of Himes' ministry, Chardon Street Chapel was up to its steeple in reform activities. Himes hosted annual meetings of the radical Non-Resistance Society (which featured, among others, Henry C. Write, Lucretia Mott, Samuel J. May, Edmund Quincy, and Adin Ballou) and as a charter member served repeated terms on its executive committee. Garrison's New England Anti-Slavery Conventions were held at Chardon Street and Himes continued to be re-elected as one of the counselors of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—along with such bona fide activists as Wendell Phillips, Ellis Gray Loring, Oliver Johnson, Amasa Walker, Edmund Quincy and David Lee Child. Further, the Friends of Universal Reform gathered at the Chapel and issued a call for a wide-ranging series of Chardon Street Conventions. Ralph Waldo Emerson, writing in *The Dial*, offered the following description of these exchanges:

(From: Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, Vol. 4)



Dr. Henry Dana Ward

PORTRAIT
OF
MR. MILLER



MILLENNIAL HARP,

SECOND ADVENT HYMNS;

DESIGNED FOR

MEETINGS ON THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.

By JOSHUA V. HIMES.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED 14 DEVONSHIRE STREET.

1841.

PREFACE

The Harp, in its present form, is the hymns contained in our well-known "Millennial Harp," "Mornings," and "Evenings," (those only having been omitted which were never sung,) and is designed to furnish a complete and convenient selection, to be used at Advent meetings. The hurry with which named works were got through the press, and the hurry with which they were made them, in many respects, defective. With all their defects, they have been accomplishing a vast amount of good, and awakening the careless; by inspiring the fainting soul, quickening the languid utterance to the burning desire of utterance to the burning desire of the expectations of those who are longing for the coming of Jesus Christ.

We are aware of the difficulty of supplying all classes in musical and devotional hymns; the greatest possible diversity of taste, which is consistent with the nature of the hymn, in which we are engaged, must therefore be observed. Some of our hymns, which might be considered more grave and intellectual, and to ourselves have never felt any great pain in the means of reaching, for good, those who, probably, would not otherwise be affected; and, as our object, like that of the Harp, is to save men, we should not hesitate to use any means lawful, that may promise to "save souls."

The general expression of approbation of former works have called forth, assures us of the effort to improve our *Advent Harp* will be appreciated by all the true friends of the *Advent*.
Boston, October 23, 1843.



Joshua V. Himes in his clerical robe.



(LHU Department of Archives and Special Collections)

If the assembly was disorderly, it was picturesque. Madmen, madwomen, men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come-outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-Day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, Unitarians, and Philosophers — all came successively to the top, and seized their moment, if not their hour, wherein to chide, or to pray, or preach, or protest. The faces were a study. The most daring innovators and the champions-until-death of the old cause sat side by side.⁴

Himes' involvement in temperance, Christian unionism, abolition, and non-resistance thus continued through the very years of Millerism's rise to movement status. After bringing Miller to Boston in 1839, Himes functioned as the organization's publicist and organizer. The Chardon Street pastor purchased the "biggest tent in the country" for Miller's meetings and recruited and scheduled other evangelists for speaking tours. He organized campmeetings and convened numerous second advent conferences. He edited two journals — the *Midnight Cry* in New York and the *Signs of the Times* in Boston — and helped found others in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Rochester, and Montreal.

Never did Himes view his fellow reformers through rose-colored glasses, however. Indeed, he once characterized conference participants hosted by his church as those who were "always pulling down Babylon but knew not how to lay a single brick in building up the walls of Jerusalem." Nor did Himes expect his efforts at reform to supplant the necessity of the Coming, or even function in a way to make the Coming possible. With regard to the ideal of Christian union, for example, he despaired of "ever seeing the church united in this state of things." Such would be possible only when the "Ancient of Days shall come and gather [the saints] to-

How long, O Lord. 3

1. "How long, O Lord, how long?"—It was in heav'n
 2. Was heav-en not enough? Happy, se-cure,

3. Jesu! they would have more—Even in bliss,
 That prayerful voice was heard. From souls forgiven.

Robed in eter-nal bliss Would they have more.
 The souls ex-pec-tant wait More hap-pi-ty.

4. They wait, even in heaven, Impatiently,
 To see this troubled world At peace with thee.

6. Jesu! they would behold Thy work complete,
 And misery and sin Beneath thy feet.

5. They would behold their King, Once crucified,
 Mistrusted still, disowned, And still denied,—

7. And may not we, too, join In heav'n's song?
 Should we alone not ask, "How long, how long?"

braces nearly all own works,—the "Melodies," which are rarely, if not more com- bly used in our churches, the above-press, necessa- tive; though, the means of by conveying e in the dark, ing new hope guid, and giv- and sublime r the appear-

ng the taste al composi- of this pur- be allowed. ected to by hich we sity, have hearts of have b- A point; use all me." hich our that this appre- ause.

gether in one."

Until 1843—longer than the other Millerite leaders—Himes waited to switch from multiple movement involvements to a single movement focus. Most of his Millerite colleagues had already made the decision to give all their time, means, and energies to the proclamation of the imminent second advent. And as they did so, the broad-based Millerite movement which had eschewed sectarianism took on the baggage of an organization. The "Ministerial Conferences" and "General Conferences" led by Miller, Himes, *et. al.*, came to include such activities as celebrating communion, examining movement preachers, naming an executive committee, authorizing and endorsing newspapers, magazines, and even a hymnal—*The Millennial Harp*. Consolidation—and outsidership—was effectively guaranteed when Charles Fitch's mid-1843 apocalyptic sermon, "Come Out of Her, My People" was preached, printed, and scattered like the leaves of autumn. Fitch's point was stark: the saved remnant consisted of those who embraced the Advent movement, while Babylon was made up of those who did not—including Catholics and "all sects in Protestant Christendom." Once these two categories were discounted from mainstream American Christianity in the 1840's, the remaining population certainly numbered less than the one hundred and forty four thousand faithful celebrated in St. John's Apocalypse.

Fitch's call to come out was a signal that the moderate middle would not hold against the pressure of the militant left wing—the date setters and the come-outers. Millerite lecturer George Storrs had anticipated Fitch's call months earlier "... aware that by some this will be called ultra-ism, come-outerism, or some

other ism." Storrs, along with *Voice of Truth* editor Joseph Marsh and others, amplified the Fitch call, with Marsh contending in September of 1844 that "It is now evident that the true cry 'Come out of her, my people,' is now being made."

The reflections of Joshua Himes on the issue of Millerism and separatism, published the same month as the Marsh endorsement, are instructive in examining the two Millerite cries under consideration. "When we commenced the work of giving the 'Midnight cry' with *Brother Miller* in 1849," noted Himes,

He made no attempt to convert men to a sect... Believing that the members of the different communions could retain their standings, and at the same time prepare for the advent of their king and labor for the salvation of men in these relations until the consummation of their hope.

While Himes does not go so far as Marsh in hailing the forth-coming Babylon cry as the "true cry," his endorsement of the come-outer cry is emphatic—even enthusiastic:



Millerite lecturer George Storrs

(From: *Fromm, Prophecy: Faith of Our Fathers, Vol. 4*)

But when they were ridiculed, oppressed, and in various ways cut off from their former privileges and enjoyments, . . . they were soon weaned from their party predilections, and rose in the majesty of their strength, shook off the yoke, and raised the cry, "Come out of her my people."⁶⁵

In his study of the Millerites, David Rowe has suggested that the Millerite come-outer movement constituted an exodus by the militant adventists from the established churches and from the established order in general: "not only the churches, but the governments of the world, too, were a part of Babylon." The call to the faithful was a call to come out of governments, churches, and reform movements alike. An 1844 warning is recorded in the *Midnight Cry* against "being connected with the human governments of this world." Christians should refrain from voting or backing candidates in the coming elections, but should "be united to a man in our glorious candidate, the Son of God, the

true heir to David's throne."

What had begun as an inclusive movement assumed an embattled—indeed embittered—position. That beast of Revelation which most Protestants interpreted as Catholicism had sprouted horns. The wanton Babylonian woman had given birth to daughters. And only the separated Millerite remnant remained to usher in the Coming.

Miller did not wish to support this fracturing. "I have not ordained anyone to separate from the churches to which they may have belonged unless their brethren cast them out," he wrote as late as January of 1844. "I have never designed to make a new sect, or to give you a *nickname*." Only in an uncharacteristic moment did he appear to align himself with the language of the Fitch Call. But with this new cry the separatist faction gained a momentum of its own, a momentum which Miller "feared." Shrinking from the brethren giving "another cry, *'Come out of her, my people,'*" Miller confided his anxiety: "I fear the enemy has a hand in this, to direct our attitude from the true issue, the midnight cry, *'Behold the Bridegroom cometh.'*" The inclusive Bridegroom cry was drowned out by the exclusive Babylon cry.

There the Millerite Adventists insiders or outsiders? Their hymns portray world-rejecting pilgrims. Their diaries of October 22, 1844 bespeak their aloneness. And the sermon, "Come Out of Her, My People!" explicitly affirms that "outsiderness" in this order is a prerequisite to "kingdomness." It is perhaps less than surprising that biographers' reviews are mixed regarding the issue of outsiderness and mainstream. Clara Endicott Sears (*Days of Delusion: A Strange Bit of History*) and Francis D. Nichol (*The Midnight Cry: A Defense of the Character and Conduct of William Miller and the Millerites Who Mistakenly Believed that the Second Coming of Christ Would Take Place in the Year 1844*) are rivers apart. Sears, drawing largely on responses to her newspaper notices of the early 1920's which solicited recollections passed down from the Millerite era, places these deluded Millerites in a backwater swamp. Nichol, a self-proclaimed apologist, copiously footnotes the argument that while any broad-based social or religious movement includes "marshy spots along the banks, a backwater or stagnant lagoon here and there," the Millerites generally paddled their canoe down what could be regarded as a main watercourse of the mid-nineteenth century.

On this point, current historians of the Millerite era—notably Whitney Cross, Ernest R. Sandeen, David Arthur and David Rowe—come down distinctly closer to Nichol than to Sears. Sandeen, for example, notes that the traditional explanations of Millenarianism (disinheritance, crisis, hypocrisy, demagoguery, wild fanaticism) do not apply to either William Miller or his British premillennialist contemporaries. He in turn argues that revisionist history now charts such millenarian themes as biblicism, literalism, catastrophism, perfectionism (hope) and apocalypticism as much more mainstream than earlier historians suggested. Shifting focus from message to method, it is further noted that in contrast to their British cousins, the Millerites were

less inhibited, more flamboyant, more given to extremes, and more tending toward sectarianism—"characteristics of the society as a whole at that time." That Miller's appeal was as broad as it was, especially up to the come-outer period, suggests that Miller was scratching where many people itched.

Thus Miller's initial course is now charted far closer to mainstream waters than earlier histories record. That Miller's "expectancy" would not place him at odds with currents in the 'thirties and 'forties is attested by Cross, who dubs Millerism "the logical absolute of fundamentalist orthodoxy, as perfection was the extreme of revivalism." Those historians who challenge the textbook picture of the age of Jackson as an era of harmonious optimism also construct a more mainstream Miller. For a significant portion of the inhabitants of the Republic, the reformists had panned out small and their chants of optimism and human progress were suspected to be just so much whistling in the dark. Marvin Meyers suggests that these members of the Jacksonian rank and file were desperately anxious for assurance that America's quest to be the promised land amounted to more than wilderness wandering.

When Himes brought Miller to the cities in 1839, the movement fashioned by the Chardon Street pastor appeared to function reasonably within the parameters of "insiderness." Millerite leaders generally moved easily between Millerism and denominationalism. The revivalistic preaching of the Millerites was credited with building up congregations among the various Protestant groups. Further, the experience of Himes—though the exception rather than the rule—demonstrates that the chief architect of the Millerite movement could concurrently direct several reform movements. Former reform leaders all, the movers and shakers of the Millerites would be joined by Himes in focusing exclusively on the imminent Coming, that event which would answer the yearnings for certainty, cast down the mighty, elevate the downtrodden, and usher in the utopia sought by Emerson's "Madmen, Madwomen, Men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come-outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-Day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, Unitarians, and Philosophers." Building on the enthusiasm begun with the Second Awakening, heightened by Finney's New Measures, and kindled further by reformists of every hue, Miller promised more: the millennium. Now. About 1843. Miller's early cry, "The Bridegroom Cometh," was an inclusive cry which generally allowed the Millerites to function as insiders. Yet as the movement swept toward the day of Jubilee when "the sanctuary would be cleansed," separatist forces gained control. The pressure for setting a specific date mounted steadily and the Millerites sounded the call to sever ties with the religious and civil established order. The cry, "Come out of her, my people!" was an exclusive cry that ordered Millerites to become outsiders.

That fifty thousand Millerites waited expectantly and perhaps as many as one million onlookers waited anxiously suggests that Miller's followers represented a popular movement of some standing. They were ruggedly individual, woodenly literal, and hopelessly sectarian. They found an issue and they founded a

movement. Were they outsiders to the American scene because they moved out? Or were they insiders because they founded a movement?

Is the Millerite experience capable of informing, inspiring and infusing meaning in a world one full century removed from the Great Disappointment? To those evangelists still calculating the Coming with Newton's precision and not yet out of the nineteenth-century woods, the Millerite experience serves as a blunt reminder of what happens when the forest is obscured by the trees. In this state of "wooden literalism" individuals and communities are pushed further and further out on the proverbial limb. And when the end comes, it is an end informed less by Newton's numerical calculations than by his law of gravity.

But might the Millerite experience hold meaning for those who have long since wandered out of the nineteenth-century woods and who now bask in the enlightenment of the modern—even post-modern—age? The late Ernest R. Sandeen, a student of American and British millenarianism, suggests that twentieth-century humankind still experiences some of the basic ambiguities which haunted Millerites and their ilk. The metaphor shifts—not inappropriately for students of the mainstream—from woods to rivers:

Nineteenth-century society was very much like its most famous mechanical invention, the steamboat. Many millenarian newspapers in that day carried a column entitled "Signs of the Times," which contained news of ominous events and portents of the end of the world. One of the most common items in those columns was the notice of the explosion of a steamboat. The steamboat harnessed new power and moved with unprecedented rapidity. It was exciting, but it was also dangerous. The passengers knew that their voyage might possibly end by their being blown to smithereens. In such a world, millenarianism was not out of place, nor will it ever disappear while men still yearn for deliverance from imminent destruction.⁶

II. Seventh-day Adventists as Insiders/Outsiders⁷

Since the second advent did not occur with the rapidity with which millenarians predicted, it has been too easily assumed that the movement failed. This is quite unfair. Millenarian leaders did not believe that they could do anything to hasten, much less bring about, the second coming of Christ. Their aim was to awaken the sleeping church to the imminence of judgment and call sinners to repentance before the day of salvation passed away. Although apparently paradoxical, it is possible to show that the millenarians were at the same time convinced of the irreversible downgrade tendencies at work in human society and the utter futility of attempts to ameliorate the effects of same, while working for the success of their own movement when that success was defined as awakening Christians to their peril.

—Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, pp. xvi, xvii

What does a Millerite do once those symbols that shape his cosmology have been shattered? The options reported by a believer writing on the aftermath of 1844 suggest that territorial loyalty survived the Great Disap-

pointment: some believers in the Advent near struggled on in hope, others turned to strong drink, and others went to California! A more conventional response to this question regarding the Millerite legacy is to observe that two sustained Adventist communions emerged. The Advent Christians affirmed Miller's emphasis on the imminence of the Advent while admitting error in his prophetic chronology. Those who were later to become the Seventh-day Adventists, however, affirmed both Miller's Advent imminence and his chronology: the significance of the year 1844 was recast to have inaugurated a final era of divine judgment.

This remnant of the disappointed Millerites who elected to struggle with judgment rather than with strong drink or California, focused on the characteristics of those saints acquitted at the judgment. The faithful were determined to be a commandment-keeping people as delineated in the Apocalypse blessing: "Here is the patience of the saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus." Determined to uphold all of the (ten) commandments—including the seventh day sabbath—a body of sabbath-keeping Adventists emerged which found its place in history: heralding the message of the "third angel" of Revelation 14. All bodies which had preached the imminent advent pronounced the first angel's message ("Judgment is come!"); the Millerites had sounded the second angel's message ("Come Out!"); and they, the sabbath-keeping Adventists, were now to proclaim the message of the third—and final—angel ("Keep the Commandments!").

This responsibility for human history notwithstanding, parochial presuppositions pared the job down to size. The potential audience was limited to that group on whom the door of salvation was not forever shut in 1844: Millerites who had prepared for the bridegroom and who had "come out." Buoyed by this discovery of meaning and mission, this band of believers pooled their monies, founded a journal, published the sabbath truth and set exegetes to work naming those apocalyptic beasts that remained as yet undeciphered.

It is precisely this, the naming of the two-horned beast of Revelation 13, which defined the relation of these early Adventists not only to the Republic but to the very cosmos. These Adventists concurred with other Protestant scholars that the first beast of Revelation referred to the Papacy. Yet the second beast which boasted twin horns like a lamb and the voice of a dragon posed a conundrum. Its description in Revelation 13: 11-15 reads:

And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast [of verses 1-10] whose deadly wound was healed. And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, that had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed.

Neither the Protestant world in general nor the Millerites in particular had been able to name this beast. "If asked for my opinion as to what will constitute that beast with two horns," volunteered Josiah Litch in the course of his copious commentary, "I must frankly confess I do not know."

(Adventist Heritage Collection)



John N. Andrews

Young biblical exegete John N. Andrews took to the pages of the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* in 1851 to demonstrate that the sabbath-keeping Adventists in fact *did* know what constituted the beast with two horns. What power has arisen beyond the westward-marching empires of Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, and the ten kingdoms of Europe? What power has arisen concurrently with the healing of the 1798 deadly wound and resurgence of the Papacy? What power has arisen peacefully from the unoccupied territories of earth rather than as a result of warring winds hovering over seas of inhabitants? Indeed, what power had exhibited such a rise to nationhood as to amaze the world by its miracles and power? In two series of articles comprising forty three columns of fine print, Andrews roped, tied, and squarely branded this beast as the United States of America.

The beast is not all bad. The lamb-like horns denote, first, an enviable youthful energy. The *Dublin News* is quoted approvingly to document the vigorous expansion of the American Republic from the pilgrims' Massachusetts to the Mormon founders of Deseret to the settlers of California. In turn, the "gray powers of the old world" are called to read the handwriting on the wall: "Let despotism count every man of these millions as a mortal enemy, and every acre of that vast commonwealth as an inheritance of mankind mortgaged to

the cause of freedom." Andrews draws on census data to document increases in population, territory, imports, exports, railroads, telegraph and post offices enjoyed by the American beast over roughly the past half century. Thus he exudes: "Mark its onward progress and tell, if it would be possible, what would be its destiny, if the coming of the Just One should not check its astonishing career?"

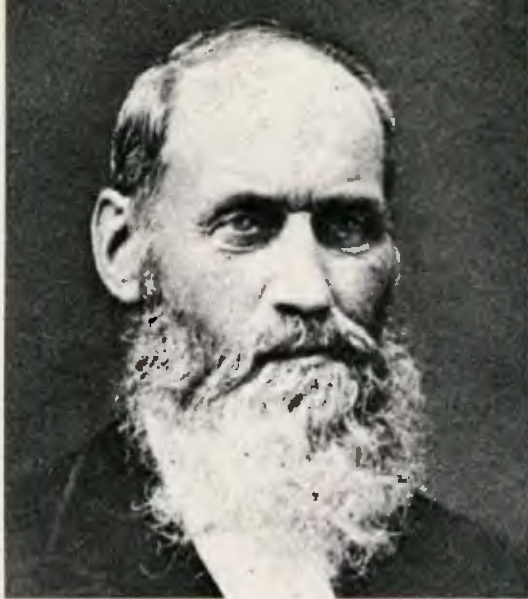
The lamb-like horns of this beast also suggest the "mildness" of this power. The "uncrowned" horns signify its Republican civil power and its Protestant ecclesiastical power. These twin virtues are extolled with some passion:

No civil power could ever compare with Republicanism in its lamb-like character. The grand principle recognized by this form of power, is thus expressed: "All men are born free and equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights, as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Hence all have a right to participate in making the laws, and in designating who shall execute them. Was there ever a development of civil power so lamb-like before? and what, in religious matters, can be compared to Protestantism? its leading sentiment is the distinct recognition of the right of private judgment in matters of conscience. "The Bible is the only religion of Protestants." Was there ever in the religious world anything to equal this in its lamb-like professions?⁸

The problem of the Republic is not one of profession, but of practice. Its professions are lamb-like. Its practice is dragon-like. The Republic professes republicanism; it practices slavery. "If 'all man are born free and equal,[]' how do we hold three million slaves in bondage?" asks Andrews. The Republic professes Protestantism; its churches try its members by man-made creeds and, further, appeal to the civil power to enforce sabbath laws. Even fugitives from religious oppression become oppressors, thunders Andrews, once possessed of civil power. Ask Quakers about the Puritans! Ask Servetus about John Calvin!

"Father" Joseph Bates—sometime sea captain, veteran Millerite preacher, and eventual co-founder of the Seventh-day Adventists—had anticipated Andrews' disillusionment with America a few years earlier when commenting on another portion of the Apocalypse. He had fired off a broadside protesting what he saw as slavery-motivated expansionism by the United States in waging an undeclared war on Mexico: "The third woe has come upon this nation, this boasted land of liberty; this heaven-daring, soul-destroying, slave-holding, neighbor-murdering country."⁹ Within a matter of weeks after Andrews published his identification of the two-horned beast, Joseph Bates and the other Seventh-day Adventist co-founder, James White, rushed into print with enthusiastic endorsements.

The pre-civil war interpretation of this beast was summed up by Uriah Smith, editor and prodigious expositor of Daniel and the Revelation: "The lamb feature is a fit emblem of the profession and the incipient acts of this government. But it now speaks like a dragon—a fit emblem of the practice of this hypocritical nation." Taking a page from Andrews, he continued: "Look at the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution; and then look at Slavery, look at the religious intolerance, the corruption and oppression existing throughout



Roswell F. Cottrell

the land." In the same vein, esteemed Adventist leader John Loughborough offered a caustic revision for the Declaration of Independence: It should say that all men are free and equal "except 3,500,000." After devoting a full column of florid prose to describe the capture of a fictional escaped slave, Loughborough opines: "This, reader, is not a fancy sketch; but a real echo of the dragon voice." The dragonic nature of the Republic became indelibly clear in the enactment and enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Acts. Ellen G. White, emerging as the movement's charismatic voice, agreed by placing the fugitive slave law in the category of a "bad" law that was not to be obeyed. The *Review and Herald* furnished extensive editorial comment sympathetic to the anti-slavery movement. William Lloyd Garrison's activities were reported, the Kansas-Nebraska Act was chastised, and Congress was chided for its "gag-rule" as was the South for violating freedom of speech.

These Adventists did not view the struggle merely as a struggle between Republicans and Whigs. The stakes were higher. Slavery, "a sin of the darkest dye," represented the cosmic controversy between Heavenly

Jerusalem and Earthly Babylon. Under the heading "The Sins of Babylon," Ellen White wrote in 1858:

All heaven beholds with indignation human beings, the workmanship of God, reduced by their fellow men to the lowest depths of degradation and placed on a level with brute creation. Professed followers of that dear Savior whose compassion was ever moved at the sight of human woe, heartily engage in this enormous and grievous sin, and deal in slaves and souls of man. God will restrain His angels but little longer. His wrath burns against this nation and especially the religious bodies. . . .

The cries of the oppressed have reached unto heaven, and the angels stand amazed at the untold, agonizing sufferings which man, formed in the image of his Maker, causes his fellow man. Said the angel, "The names of the oppressors are written in blood, crossed with stripes, and flooded with agonizing, burning tears of suffering. God's anger will not cease until He has rewarded unto Babylon double."¹⁰

By drawing on the apocalyptic imagery of universal history, these Adventists could speak the language of the radical reformers. Yet it was this very point of eternity which separated the Adventists from the reformers. Precisely because this controversy was cosmic in scope it was left to the cosmic forces of angels and winds and vials and plagues unleashed by God—and not to reform movements—to reward Babylon double. Adventists need not even vote.

This boycott of the ballot box illustrates not only the extent to which sabbath-keeping Adventists defined themselves as outsiders to the processes of the Republic but also the extent to which apocalypticism and the lamb-dragon beast informed this definition. Writing "How Shall I Vote?" with an eye toward the 1856 elections, pioneer *Review* contributor R. F. Cottrell opens by stating his apocalyptic presuppositions: "The government of the United States, I have no doubt, is the one symbolized in prophecy, by a beast with horns like a lamb." The dragonic nature of this beast is clear in that the lamb-like Protestantism of America is making an image to the Catholic beast as decreed by prophecy. How shall I vote? "I cannot aid in a work that God hates, certainly. On the other hand, if I vote against this work, I shall vote against the fulfillment of prophecy." Can I vote against slavery? Because bondsmen will exist until the end, one cannot free the slaves: "I cannot, therefore, vote against slavery; neither can I vote for it." Can I vote against cruel, persecuting Catholics? "Persecution is coming; and since I must meet it, what difference does it make from whom it comes?" Can I vote at all? "I cannot vote for a bad man, for that is against my principles; and . . . I could not wish to elevate a good man to office, for it would ruin him." The concluding lines resolutely affirm outsidership in apocalyptic language that carries a clear Millerite ring; "Babylon is fallen. Come out of her my people. Ephraim is joined to his idols; let him alone."¹¹

In this context Adventist historian Jonathan Butler observes: "Quite consistently the Radical Republicanism of Adventists remained 'paper radicalism' that evoked more verbiage than action." Thus the same Uriah Smith who created a woodcut of the lamb-dragon beast to include forked tongue, razor-sharp teeth, pointed horns



John N. Loughborough



Review and Herald Editor Uriah Smith with evolving representations of the prophetic beast of Revelation 13:11-15.

(Adventist Heritage Collection)



and a whip-like tail could author an editorial on politics and urge passivity in the face of the 1856 elections. Adventists favored temperance, Protestantism, Republicanism, and abolitionism, yet they eschewed the reform movements and the political process. Because the lamb-dragon beast now spoke as a dragon, God's timetable was certainly unfolding. Irrespective of how they voted, nothing could "hasten or retard" that timetable. Butler continues: "They adhered to a prophetic determinism that would neutralize any political effort of their own and leave the great juggernaut of political history in God's firm hand."

This prophetic determinism was in one sense heightened when war came. Although Adventists sought ways to avoid combat, they sang Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn" with gusto from the sidelines. But the "coming of the Lord" heralded by the Adventists was altogether different from that of which the Union troops sang. Slavery was one of the irrefutable "signs of the times" and would be rectified not by the marching of truth through an earthly millennium, but by the Lord coming in judgment in the clouds of heaven. Wrote Ellen White in words that echo Miller's: "God alone can wrench the slave from the land of his desperate oppressor."

When the slave became free as a result of Appomattox rather than Armageddon, the newly-formed Seventh-day Adventists prepared to put down roots and settle in for the long haul. If the end was not yet, the judgment message would go to the world (conversions of non-Millerites had demonstrated that the "shut door" had not been locked). And to take the message to the world, institutions were needed. Co-founders James White, Ellen White and Joseph Bates had just earlier nudged the scattered flock of sabbath-keeping adventists to "take a name;" James also astutely substituted the euphemism "gospel order" for the term "organization" in an effort to please fellow come-outers who had exited Babylon and who feared resembling "the iron wheel" of Methodism. White was to the sabbath-keeping adventists what Himes had been to the Millerite Ad-

ventists. Yet White had some advantages: he had a co-founder spouse endowed with a prophetic gift; he had a second co-founder who had grown up with Himes and served as his right arm during the heyday of Millerism; and James had the further advantage of not working under an imminent deadline. By the time of his death in 1881, James White had implemented medical, educational, and publishing institutions at home and abroad that were to give a permanence to Adventist expression for the next full century. By 1901 the Seventh-day Adventist membership of 75,000 supported sixteen colleges and high schools, a medical school, twenty-seven hospitals and sanitariums, thirteen publishing houses and thirty-one other miscellaneous institutions. On the basis of these endeavors Edwin Gaustad has observed that while "Seventh-day Adventists were expecting a kingdom of God from the heavens, they worked diligently for one on earth."

Not surprisingly, as passive sect becomes active denomination the dragon pulls in its horns. In the last decades of the century, Ellen White's eschatology increasingly places the dragonic roar of the two-horned beast in the future. Thus, by century's end the stentorian rhetoric of the pre-civil war evangelist had cooled. In relation to the Republic, the turn-of-the-century evangelist spoke less as dragon slayer than as shepherd.

In a climate more conducive to activism and reform, Adventists found themselves facing two national reform issues: temperance and Sunday legislation. The interest in health, an area of outreach that had previously been defined at the individual level only. Now that the issues could be defined at the structural level, alliances with the Anti-saloon League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U), and the political parties were possible. In contrast with the counsel to sit out the civil war and to eschew the ballot box, Adventist leadership now determined to wage war on demon rum "by voice and pen and vote — in favor of prohibition and total abstinence!"

Sunday legislation also raised a public issue which in-

vited Seventh-day Adventist response. In the last two decades of the century, well over one hundred Adventists were arrested, fined, jailed and/or sentenced to prison chain gangs as a result of violating state "Blue Laws." Some decades earlier the National Reform Association (N.R.A.) had formed in opposition to those movements in America which sought "to prohibit the reading of the Bible in our Public Schools, to overthrow our Sabbath laws, to corrupt the family . . ." Although the Association had been unsuccessful in its push to include a religious amendment in the United States Constitution, by 1888 the N.R.A. had been joined by the American Sabbath Union Party, the National Sabbath Committee, and the W.C.T.U. in an effort to enact a national Sunday law. Accordingly, in that year Senator H. W. Blair of New Hampshire introduced "A Bill to Secure to the People the Enjoyment of the First Day of the Week, Commonly Known as the Lord's Day, as Day of Rest, and to Promote Its Observance as a Day of Religious Worship."

Adjusting to their new participatory role in the American Republic with some relish, Adventists displayed a zeal that would have done the American Civil Liberties Union proud. Subordinating their teetotaling sympathies



to "religious liberty principles," Adventists now found themselves aligned against the W.C.T.U. and major Protestant church groups and on the side of the liquor interests, Jews, and Seventh-Day Baptists. Having begun publishing the *Sabbath Sentinel* in 1844 (which became the *American Sentinel* two years later), they trotted their articulate editor before congressional hearings, circulated petitions to gain 300,000 signatures, lobbied the Senate, and received good press. (The 1888 arrest of Tennessee Adventist farmer R. M. King for plowing his field on Sunday prompted the *Louisville Courier-Journal* to deplore a return "to the days of Cotton Mather of the Spanish Inquisition," and the *Chicago Tribune* viewed such proceedings as nothing less than religious persecution). The Blair Bill failed in Congress. Some years later an N.R.A. executive secretary, reflecting on the various state skirmishes that preceded the Blair defeat, singled out the work of the California Adventists

for a compliment of sorts. He lamented that 26,000 Adventists had done more petitioning than 26,000,000 "Christians." Thus even though Seventh-day Adventists may have moved some distance toward accommodation with the Republic by naming America as a lamb and in turn becoming more directly involved in the life of the Republic, at least one N.R.A. official was not yet inclined to include Miller's grandchildren within the mainstream of Christian America.

Were the Seventh-Day Adventists insiders or outsiders? The original sabbath-keeping adventists were self-proclaimed outsiders revelling in remnantness. They alone had passed the two-fold cosmic litmus test: they had "come out of Babylon" and they had kept *all* of "the commandments of God." They had come out of Christendom and her sectarian daughters. They had come out of the Republic and its institutions. Moreover, they had evolved out of the Millerite movement. They were come-outers of the come-outers, a remnant of the remnant.

The radicalism of these sabbath-keeping adventists in defining America as the dragonic beast allowed them to run with the rhetoric of the radical reformers. But their come-outerness and eschatological vision kept them from running with the reforms. They could not help. They could only hope. They were outsiders to the Republic and its institutions.

Yet within a relatively short period, the dragonic roar faded to a bleat. Naming America as lamb rather than dragon allowed Seventh-day Adventists to form coalitions with the daughters of Christendom and work through selected vehicles of the Republic. Seventh-day Adventists were moving toward insiderness.

What legacy will present-day Seventh-day Adventists, one full century removed from their spiritual forebears, pass on to their children and their children's children? Will this come-outer sect which called down woes on "beastly" institutions of a century past speak out forcefully against demonic principalities and powers in this time and place? Will the descendants of those whose apocalyptic vision enabled them to perceive "signs of the times" continue to see signs in these times? Will the offspring of those who venerated the "spirit of prophecy" take seriously the task of asking what it means to witness as a prophetic community in the face of contemporary culture? Will the sons and daughters of those whose eschatological time tables proclaimed the imminence of the "Blessed Hope" be challenged to act out those hopes for the heavenly city within the warp and woof of this present order?

Or will the movement from outsidersness toward insidersness signal an irreversible accommodation to prevailing culture as dragonic beast becomes playful lamb?

1. *The Liberator*, 14 February, 1840.
2. Dixon Wecter, *The Saga of American Society* (1937), p. 100.
3. William Miller, *Apology and Defense* (1845), p.23.
4. *The Dial*, July 1842.
5. Joshua V. Himes, *The Midnight Cry*, 12 September, 1844.
6. Ernest Sandeen, "Millenarianism," in *The Rise of Adventism*, ed. Edwin Gaustad (1974), p. 117.
7. I am indebted to Jonathan Butler for providing insights for this section of the article. See his definitive chapter "Adventism and the American Experience," in *The Rise of Adventism*, ed. Edwin Gaustad (1974). See also Roy Branson, "Ellen G. White—Racist or Champion of Equality?" *Review and Herald*, 9 April 1970; 23 April 1970. Ronald Graybill, "America the Magic Dragon," *Insight*, 30 November 1971.
8. John N. Andrews, *Review and Herald*, 19 May, 1851.
9. Joseph Bates, *Second Advent Waymarks and High Heaps* (1847), pp. 47-48.
10. Ellen G. White, *Early Writings* (1882), pp. 275-276 (originally published in 1858).
11. R. F. Cottrell, *Review and Herald*, 30 October, 1856.

L. J. Cox (not an Adventist), who testified as follows:

Attorney General Lowry: Do you live in the settlement down there in which members of his church live?

Mr. Cox: I suppose it is nearly a mile.

Q. Do you live in the settlement down there in which members of his church live?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you seen Mr. Lowry engaged in his secular work on Sunday within a mile before January last?

A. I do not think I have.

Q. Is it the habit and custom of that church, of this people, to labor on Sunday?

A. I think it is.

The Court: You should inquire concerning the habit and custom of this particular defendant.

Q. Does that create confusion and dissatisfac-

the same solemn protection given him in that worship that you have in your own church, yet he has not broken the laws of the State of Tennessee; he has not broken the laws of the State of Tennessee; he has not broken the laws of the State of Tennessee; and he has not broken the laws of the State of Tennessee.

And if he feels that it is his duty to keep Saturday.

And if he feels that it is his duty to keep Saturday.

And if he feels that it is his duty to keep Saturday.

And if he feels that it is his duty to keep Saturday.

And if he feels that it is his duty to keep Saturday.

And if he feels that it is his duty to keep Saturday.

And if he feels that it is his duty to keep Saturday.

And if he feels that it is his duty to keep Saturday.

And if he feels that it is his duty to keep Saturday.

religious opinions of other people in the community. It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

It is a question of observing Sunday as a civil institution under the laws of the State.

THE COST OF DISCIPLESHIP

Seventh-day Adventists and Tennessee Sunday Laws in the 1890's

Everett Dick

In the eighteen hundred eighties and nineties Adventists, in the pursuit of giving the message of the soon-returning Lord to the whole United States, reached into the Bible belt where their proselytizing created great concern among the other Protestant churches. The Adventists' mistake in setting the time for the second coming of Christ and their oddity in observing the "Jewish Sabbath" set them off as undesirable in the minds of many of their Christian contemporaries. And when they started gaining enough converts from other churches to found congregations of their own, the leaders of these non-Adventist denominations became sufficiently concerned to force the Adventists to conform to their practice of honoring Sunday as the holy day of rest. A Tennessee law of 1803 forbidding Sunday labor, although hoary with age and not enforced, was invoked and used to compel the Adventists to keep Sunday like all other Christians. As a result, a wave of prosecution swept over Seventh-day Adventists in Tennessee and other Southern States. In an effort to make them conform, civil authorities prosecuted, imprisoned and condemned to chain gangs over one hundred Sabbath-keepers.

Adventists had been taught to believe that the closing days of earth's history would be accompanied by persecution and that "perilous times" could be anticipated. Events in the South seemed to indicate that they were indeed living in the time of the end, or the "last days." It might appear that it would have been wiser for Adventists to have refrained from work on Sunday without attaching any religious significance to this action and thus escape prosecution. But not so: the Adventist church at that time taught that Sunday work was as much a matter of conscientious duty as Sabbath observance and Sabbath rest, although that should be done in an unprovocative and inoffensive manner. In expressing this sentiment, the *Review and Herald* declared that the seventh day should be held distinct and separate from all other days. In an editorial it maintained that if mankind should regularly refrain from work on two days a week, there would be nothing to show which specific day God rested on and hallowed; furthermore, by refraining from work on Sunday one would make of that day a rival of the Sabbath. The editor also noted that the eyes of the world were upon the Adventists and wrote: "We think therefore that it should

be a matter on conscience with all observers of the true Sabbath not to comply with the demand to rest on the first day of the week."

Things came to a head, in 1892, in the small community of Springville, Tennessee—a flag station on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, about 125 miles northwest of Nashville. The total population of the village was only 75. A mile and a half east of the village was the Seventh-day Adventist church, and nearby resided the forty or more Adventist members. The railroad and a single county road ran through the neighborhood but a number of private and local roads made the small farms easily accessible. There were plans at the time to build a new church with subscribed money and use the old building as a school.

The prosecuting attorney of the northwest judicial district apparently had received many complaints about the Springville Adventists' lack of compliance with prevailing Tennessee church customs. In response, he stated his plans to make a clean sweep—to "purge" the county of the Adventist leader, his followers, and their practices. This proved to be more difficult than he had anticipated, as there was no resident pastor to prosecute and it was almost impossible to find anyone to testify against the church members. In the end the court had to content itself in using the Adventists to testify against themselves or one another contrary to their wishes.

In May 1892 five Springville Adventist brethren were indicted by the Grand Jury at Paris, the county seat: J. H. Dortch, W. S. Lowry, J. Moon, J. Stern and W. H. Ward. In an effort to emphasize the seriousness of the offense the prosecuting attorney alleged that the Sunday work was more than a violation of the law forbidding desecration of the day. He charged that it was done "publicly, notoriously, and continuously" and "to the great annoyance of the people of the county." He declared it, therefore, a public nuisance.

When arraigned, none of the Sabbath-keeping brethren employed counsel, feeling that since they were being tried for their faith they should stand upon the word of God:

And when they shall bring you unto magistrates, and powers, take ye no thought how or what thing ye shall answer, for the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say (Luke 12:11-12).

a Mr. Cox, who was not an Adventist: "Do you consider it necessary for a man to work six days?" *Answer*:—"Yes sir." The witness was then asked by the Attorney-General: "You do not think it necessary for people to work on Sunday, do you?" *Answer*:—"No, sir." But Mr. Cox had already testified that it was necessary to work six days; therefore, according to this witness for the State of Tennessee, the man who believes that he ought to keep the seventh day, is, by the Sunday law of Tennessee, under the necessity of violating either his conscience or

lence it is necessary to enter a plea of not guilty for him.

The Court (to clerk). Enter a plea of not guilty.

The witnesses for the State were called, and as with the jury, each witness placed his hand upon a copy of the Bible while being sworn.

Mr. T. F. Dortch (an Adventist) was then called by the State, and testified as follows:—

DIRECT EXAMINATION.

Attorney-General. Mr. Dortch, do you know the defendant, Mr. W. S. Lowry?

Mr. T. F. Dortch. Yes, sir.

Q. How long do you live with him, Mr. Dortch?

A. About a hundred yards.

Q. How long have you lived there, Mr. Dortch?

A. I have been living there for several years.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday at labor, his labor, within that time?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year you mean?

Q. How long in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Attorney-General. Mr. Fitch, do you know defendant, Mr. Lowry?

Mr. A. W. Fitch. Yes, sir.

Q. How long do you live with him?

A. About a mile and a half, I suppose.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Fitch, if you know what he follows his every day avocations on Sunday?

A. Well, I have never seen him.

Q. Have you heard him say that he did?

A. No, sir, I do not know that I have.

Q. And you have never seen him at work on Sunday?

A. Well, I could not say that.

Q. Have you seen him on Sundays?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What have you seen him doing?

A. It was not in this county that I have seen him.

Q. Have you seen him at work in this county at all?

A. Not within the last eight or ten months.

Q. Have you within twelve months before last January?

A. I saw him loading some wood on a wagon one Sunday.

Q. Where was that, Mr. Fitch?

A. Down there near the railroad.

Q. In this county?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where was he hauling it?

A. He was putting it in a car.

Q. Did you see him at that more than once?

A. No, sir.

Q. Have you seen him doing anything else in the way of labor within twelve months before last time?

A. No, sir, I do not remember.

Q. Are you a member of that church, Mr. Fitch?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it the habit of members of your church to labor on Sunday, to follow your secular business on Sunday?

A. Yes, sir, I think it is.

Q. There is a number of you gentlemen that belong to that church living in that same neighborhood?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it is your custom, and your belief, and your habit—

A. Well, I have not been a member of that church but a few months.

Q. It is their custom, and belief, and habit, to labor on Sunday?

A. Well, I think so.

(No cross-examination.)

The next witness called for the State was Mr. J. C. Fitch (not an Adventist).

He testified as follows:—

Attorney-General. Mr. Fitch where do you live?

Mr. J. C. Fitch. Well, sir, I live in the neighborhood of Mr. Lowry.

Q. Have you known of Mr. Lowry's working on Sunday?

A. No, sir, I never saw him.

Q. You live in the settlement where the people of this church live, do you?

A. Yes, sir, within half a mile of the church.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Fitch, if that laboring on Sunday by members of that church is a nuisance to the people there?

A. Well, sir, I do not know; I could not say whether it is or not. I believe some claim they are annoyed, and some say they do not mind it.

Q. Of course it is no annoyance to members of that church; but outside of that?

A. Yes, I have heard others say they were annoyed, and others that it did not bother them at all.

Q. And you have heard others complain?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And there is a dissatisfaction among a good element of people about it?

A. Well, yes; there are some that claim to feel dissatisfied about it; while others do not seem to care about it.

Q. It is the habit and custom of this people, so far as you know, to work on Sunday?

A. I think so; that is my opinion about it.

CROSS EXAMINATION.

Mr. Lowry. Mr. Fitch, were you yourself disturbed?

Mr. J. C. Fitch. Not at all.

Q. Do you know of any...

A. I do not know of any...

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

If the charge was valid that the brethren were committing a great nuisance it would seem that in a close-knit community like Springville, someone could have been found to testify against them; but such was not the case. At the trial six witnesses were called by the prosecution, each of whom, unfortunately for the State's case, testified that he had not been disturbed by the defendants' labor! In fact, the prosecution found difficulty in getting anyone to testify against the brethren at all. In order to find someone whose testimony would inculpate them for working on Sunday, it was necessary to call Adventist church members to the stand and ask them to confess that they worked on Sunday or that they had seen their fellow church members work on that day.

The records indicate that brother Lowry was seen one time cutting firewood, and on another Sunday loading it onto a wagon. Dortch had been seen plowing his strawberry bed. Some of the brethren simply confessed that they went about their work on Sunday as they did every other day except Saturday. For the most part, their fields could not be seen from the road and therefore any argument that Sunday work was a nuisance seemed untenable.

The sheriff's office had a record for kindness toward its prisoners of conscience. As early as 1886, some Adventist men were incarcerated at the Paris County jail for working on Sunday. The Tennessee Adventist campmeeting was held near the town and, at their request, the sheriff escorted his prisoners to campmeeting, sat with them through the day's services, and returned them to the jail in the evening.

Of the five brethren indicted in May 1892, four, including J. H. Dortch, were convicted. The prisoners had the choice of paying the fine of one dollar plus costs or of "laying it out in jail" at the rate of 25 cents a day. Dortch was the only one who was financially able to pay and go home. Even so it would be a sizeable sum, and he doubted that it was right to pay the fine and thus admit guilt, not to mention leaving his brethren in jail while he went free. He explained how he reached a decision:

When the clerk ran up my costs which with the dollar fine amounted to \$24.56, I buried my face in my hands, and could not keep from giving vent to tears. But I felt that something said, "Don't do it. I think I shall wait awhile." I don't think I ever had such a victory as I did in not paying that thing off. I came back to jail and told the brethren about it and we all felt to praise the Lord.

EXAMINATION.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

Q. How long have you seen him at work on Sunday in the last year, up to the first of the year?

A. I have seen him at work on Sunday in the last year.

PRISON EXPERIENCE.

"Paris Jail, Henry Co., Tenn., June 19, 1892.
 "REVIEW AND HERALD: There have been so many inquiries about how long we would have to stay here, and divers other questions, that we thought best to answer through the REVIEW, as we might neglect to answer all the letters personally. I want to say to all that we do appreciate your good letters. It has been a source of great strength and courage to us, to know we are not forgotten by those of like precious faith. While it is ours to suffer imprisonment first, for our faith, it will soon come harder and harder; but there is one consolation, for the promise is, "He that endureth unto the end, the same shall be saved." If our confinement here in jail is a means of our people drawing nearer to the Lord, we are willing to stay; and who knows but that it will touch the hearts of those who are not fully united with us, and cause them to give themselves to the Lord, as four of our dear boys did, at our own Springville church, the first Sabbath we were in jail here?"

"Brother Frank Stem, who is our present Sabbath-school superintendent, dates his conversion from the time his father, who is in jail with us here, was in jail before. That is the way it is; it will drive us nearer to the Lord, and we may just as well make up our minds to be whole-hearted Christians; for if we are not, we shall not be able to go through the persecutions that are before us. Brethren, is it not time we were drawing nearer to God, and realizing some of the power of God that the apostles had on the day of Pentecost? If we would, I believe that the truth would cut its way to the hearts of the people, when presented to them.

"We will be here from forty-five to sixty-four days, from the time we came here. We are permitted to send and receive our mail, and we are allowed to get our drinking water, also to have a walk each day. We have many good books to read, and are all permitted to be together, each of us having a chair. We have cleaned the jail the best we could, and we are quite comfortable to what we were at the first. We want to tender our thanks to many dear brethren and sisters for their good letters to us. Time passes away rapidly here. The good Lord blesses us every day. We praise his holy name.
 J. H. Dortch."

On June 2 1892 in Tenn.
 In my little farm near Springville
 I was arrested with 3 other men
 W. S. Loney, J. Asstom and Jerry
 Moon for working on Sunday
 we were tried & fined \$1.00 each
 "Which we did not like it was
 right for us to pay so we had
 to go to jail for refusing to pay
 these fines & cost which amounted
 in all close to 23.00 each
 but just before the sheriff
 Bob Blake more, put us in jail
 he asked us if we were going
 to jail, or pay our fines, I said
 to him we feel that its unjust

Sample of J. H. Dortch's handwritten account of his experience. (Courtesy of the author)

The sheriff, not aware of Dortch's struggle, gathered the prisoners in the courthouse yard and asked if the men were going to pay their fines. When Dortch told him that they were not, the sheriff choked up and cried like a child saying "I don't want to put you gentlemen in jail." Dortch spoke for the brethren: "We all love the sheriff and hope the Lord will convert him. He is kind to us." But, the judge was less sympathetic. When the sheriff said, "These men are conscientious," his honor replied, "Let them educate their consciences by the laws of Tennessee."

A more mundane reason for the sheriff's reluctance to incarcerate the Seventh-day Adventists was that the jail itself was not fit for human occupation. The cells were apparently like pigsties and the beds were in such condition that the sheriff purchased new bedding at his own expense. Moreover, rather than locking them up in the filthy cells, he permitted them to sleep in the halls with the doors unlocked. In the daytime he allowed them to sit outdoors "with never a key turned upon them." His wife also invited them as guests in their home and served them a good meal. And on at least one occasion, she sent her young son to ask the men to sing for her family in the evening after her husband came home. The prisoners were happy to accept this request, feeling that it was good missionary work.

When the news of their imprisonment reached the Adventist world community, the people rallied to their aid. Numerous letters came in from all over the United States and abroad. The tedium of incarceration was relieved by answering these letters. Many enclosed money, and nearly all enclosed a good hearty exhortation to be faithful. The General Conference appointed A. O. Tait at the Battle Creek headquarters to manage a relief program for the families of the jailed men. Barrels



The old Paris (TN) county jail where Dortch and three other Sabbath-keepers were held for violation of Sunday laws in 1895. Dortch's daughter, Mrs. Flora Moyers stands at the door. (Courtesy of the author)

THE TENNESSEE IMPRISONMENTS.

As the readers of the REVIEW are aware, our brethren who have been prosecuted for Sunday labor in Tennessee, are now lying in jail. Their imprisonments came just at a time when they should be putting in their crops, and unless we help them, their families will have to suffer.

One of the things for which the Religious Liberty Association was organized, was to look after cases of this kind, and see that families are not left to suffer, while some of their members are lying in prisons.

When some were in prison in the past, money was sent direct to them from friends of the cause in various parts of the field. But we have found that this plan is not satisfactory. Sometimes more is sent than is needed, and again not as much as is required to supply actual necessities.

So we will ask our brethren and friends throughout the field to send all their contributions for these sufferers to the undersigned, at Battle Creek, Mich. It is now about the time of year for the annual dues of members of the Religious Liberty Association to be paid, and if they will send us the amount, it will enable us to meet the needs of these brethren, and at the same time will pay their annual dues to the Association.

A. O. TAIT, *Cor. Sec. N. R. L. Ass'n.*

of flour and other items were supplied to those who had been left without providers. Money was also contributed to hire help to harvest the crops. The denomination also endeavored to influence public opinion in their favor. The National Religious Liberty Association mailed more than 300,000 pages of literature to ministers in Tennessee and almost an equal amount was distributed throughout the State by other means. The local brethren filled saddlebags with religious liberty literature and rode through the countryside distributing it to the homes of the people. Every newspaper received pro-religious liberty materials to be used in their news items.

Prominent in this religious liberty literature was the *American Sentinel* with New York City listed on the mast head, although it was printed by the Pacific Press at Oakland, California. As its name suggests, it warned of religious intolerance and persecution such as that in Tennessee.

The Henry County authorities, sensing that keeping the Adventists in jail was not a sufficient deterrent to the custom of the Sabbatarians working on Sunday, decided to compel them to pay their fines instead of boarding them for an extended period. They found that the court had the legal right to appraise their property and sell it at auction to satisfy the fine instead of paying for their upkeep while in jail. After hearing a discussion of garnisheeing Dortch's bank account, the sheriff warned him and allowed him, although a prisoner, to go to the bank and withdraw his money. When Dortch learned that the authorities were thinking of auctioning off his wife's pedal organ he wrote warning her. She was equal to the occasion: "I just sent for my husband's brother," she later explained, "and sold it to him with the understanding that I could have it back at the same price when I wanted it."

THE following private letter, which we are permitted to publish, will be readily understood by all those familiar with the facts in the cases of the Henry County, Tenn., Adventists, suffering imprisonment for working on Sunday:—

Henry Co. Jail, Paris, Tenn., July 17, 1892.

Mr. ————Dear Brother: I will drop you a few lines to let you know how things are shaping themselves here. Brother Dortch's time was out yesterday, and he went home. His buggy has been levied on, and is advertised to be sold on the Sabbath to pay the State costs, amounting in his case to \$10.65.

The sheriff came in last evening and told us that we would have to go out on the public road and work at forty cents per day to pay the rest of our costs. One of the jail committee says that we will have to work on the Sabbath. We do not know what we will have to suffer when we refuse to work on the Sabbath.

It is going to be very hard on us to go out in the hot sun to work after being shut up so long. I tell you things are closing in on us very fast. To be a Seventh-day Adventist in Tennessee means a great deal. Old laws in regard to fines and costs that have been covered up and ignored for years are being looked up in order to inflict heavier punishment on us. But we are of good courage in the Lord.

Your brother in Christ,

W. S. LOWRY.

(Courtesy of the author)



Mrs. Flora Moyers stands by the pedal organ which the Tennessee authorities threatened to sell to pay her father's fine for Sunday law violation.



NATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION.



IN THE CHAIN-GANG
FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE.

JULY 18, in the year of our Lord 1892, witnessed a sight that revives the memories of the religious persecutions of the Dark Ages. At Paris, Tenn., four Christian men had been lying in jail since June 8, 1893, for the crime (?) of following their "common avocations on Sunday, by working on the farm, plowing, hoeing," etc. The term of one having expired, the other three, after having lain in jail forty-four days, were, Monday, July 18, marched through the streets in company with some colored criminals, and put to work shoveling on the common highway. All three were men of families, one fifty-five and another sixty-two years of age.

As to the character of these men who were thus imprisoned and driven through the county seat of their county in the chain-gang, let the prosecuting attorney in the case, Mr. A. W. Lewis, answer. In his argument before the court, May 27, referring to their prosecution, he made the following statement, as appears from a stenographic report of the trial:—

"It is to be regretted, because of the fact that otherwise [aside from their observing the seventh day as the Sabbath, and working on their farms on Sunday] they are good citizens."

These "good citizens" have suffered this humiliating imprisonment and convict servitude, notwithstanding the constitution of Tennessee declares that "all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship."—Art. 1, Sec. 2.

WHEN ordered by the Court to imprison the four convicted Adventists, Sheriff Blakemore, of Henry County, protested that the men were conscientious. The Judge unfeelingly replied, "Let them educate their consciences by the laws of Tennessee." What a standard!

Another obviously vulnerable piece of property was a two-seater spring wagon in which the Dortch family rode to church. As the auction was held on Sabbath, attendance by any of the brethren was excluded; but warm-hearted non-Adventist neighbors decided to thwart the plans of the authorities. Taking advantage of the sympathetic community solidarity, no one bid up the price of the rig. As a result, the vehicle was sold for a small figure to a neighbor who returned it to Dortch at the price paid for it. Mrs. Dortch later reported that during the time she did not have the rig, her family never missed a single Sabbath service. An older neighbor boy carried the baby to and from the church while she, with the other little children, trudged along afoot, happy they could still attend church.

The \$8.00 which the spring wagon brought at the sale shortened Dortch's jail time by about two weeks. Upon his release, a telegram was sent from Paris letting the church folk know that Brother Dortch would arrive by train on Sabbath after the church service. As he later told it:

The end finally came, after a stay of 44 days, for my deliverance on Sabbath, about ten o'clock. Well, I bid the brethren farewell as my time was up a few days before theirs. I came out, and the next thing was to get home, so I knew the local train was about to leave Paris, so was well acquainted with Charlie Satherwhite the engineer and his conductor and they told me they would stop at the Ridge [apparently a high spot near the church] and let me off. And when we got there I hardly knew who appreciated meeting the big crowd of

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

179

World's Fair, but in the Committee on the World's Fair, at the January term of Court found indictments against five Seventh-day Adventists, residents of that county for maintaining a nuisance by working on Sunday. The parties indicted were J. H. Dortch, W. S. Lowry, J. Moon James Stern, and W. H. Ward. The following is a verbatim copy of one of the indictments which differed only in name and dates:—

Seventh-day Adventists in Court.

As the readers of THE SENTINEL are aware, the Grand Jury of Henry County Tenn., at the January term of Court found indictments against five Seventh-day Adventists, residents of that county for maintaining a nuisance by working on Sunday. The parties indicted were J. H. Dortch, W. S. Lowry, J. Moon James Stern, and W. H. Ward. The following is a verbatim copy of one of the indictments which differed only in name and dates:—

State of Tennessee, }
Henry County, }

Jan. Term, A. D. 1892

The Grand Jurors of the State of Tennessee, elected, impeached, sworn and charged to inquire in and for the body of the county of Henry, in the State aforesaid, upon their oath, present that:—

W. S. Lowry, do hereby certify that on the 8th day of Nov., A. D. 1891, that day being Sunday, and divers other Sundays before that date and up to the taking of this indictment, in the county of Henry, aforesaid, then and there, unlawfully, openly, publicly, notoriously and unreasonably did engage in his secular business, and did perform, and follow his common avocations of life on Sundays by working on the farm, plowing, hoeing, chopping, hauling wood, mauling rails, and doing various and divers other kinds of work on Sundays, said work not being necessary or a matter of necessity, and it was and is to the great annoyance and disturbance of the people, to the evil example of society, prejudicial to public morals and a public nuisance to the citizens of the county and against the peace and dignity of the State.

J. W. Lewis, Att. Gen.
Sec. Court.—And the Grand Jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do further present that the said W. S. Lowry, on the days and dates aforesaid, and in manner and form as aforesaid:

the cases was asked if the work disturbed or annoyed him? and each witness testified that it did not.

The reader will naturally inquire, if those living in the immediate neighborhood in which the work was done were not annoyed by it, and if the indictments were not found at their instigation, why were they found at all? The facts, as nearly as the writer has been able to ascertain them, are as follows:—

WRITING to the *Signs of the Times* of the charge that the Tennessee Adventists "offended the moral sense of the community," a Methodist minister says: "The gospel itself may be an offense to some." Christ himself was "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense," and he said that he "came not to send peace, but a sword." But why a sword?—Simply because the natural heart would war against the truth.

Two lawyers, in Ripley, Tenn., have written to us saying:—

Although we reside in the State of Tennessee, where men are deprived of their liberty and are immured in prison for observing Sunday contrary to the popular custom, we desire to say that we are strongly opposed to the shameful persecution. We most heartily concur in the opinions of your most valuable paper on this subject.

These gentlemen send us a year's subscription, and will hereafter read THE SENTINEL regularly.

but as members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. This is clearly shown by witness of his questions; for instance, one thing was asked: "Do you know any Adventist Church?" Another was asked, "Are you a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church?" "Is it the habit of that church to do secular business on Sunday?" This question was asked of every witness until it was answered in the affirmative.

THE PRISONER.

OR A MANSION FOR A CELL.

BY A. F. BALLENGER

I STOOD in a Southern prison,
And held a comrade's hand;
Not when the war cloud sullen,
Hung o'er that sunny land:

The nation's strife was over,
And Peace, with gentle hand,
'Round blue and grey was weaving
Love's shining, golden band.

My friend was not war's prisoner;
Nor of his own misdeeds;
The victim of passions more cruel,
Of cold, relentless creeds.

I asked the kindly jailer
To loose the iron door,
And there in that loathsome dungeon
We knelt upon the floor.

Not often, no, not often,
Is heard the voice of prayer
In a dark and loathsome prison,
With its poison-laden air.

Yet, often, ah, too often,
Has the scene I witnessed there

Made Freedom's cheek blush crimson,
And tarnished her name so fair.

"O what?" I asked the jailer,
As he barred again the door,
"What deed of shame committed
The prison records bore?"

What crime against his fellows
Now barred him a prisoner lone,
And left a wife and children
In a widowed orphan's home?"

"O shame!" he muttered sternly,
"The crime is of the State,
Your friend is another victim
Of a bigot's cruel hate."

For obedience to his Maker
He lay in that prison cell,
Till the shadow of death came o'er him
The sun could ne'er dispel.

My comrade and brother is sleeping,
He lies buried where he fell,
Awaiting the roll-call of heaven,
A mansion for a cell.

FOR GOD, HOME, AND NATIVE LAND

SONGS OF

FREEDOM

R. D. Hottel
New Market, Va.

BY F. E. BELDEN

"My Kingdom is not of this world." "Render therefore to Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."—*Jesus Christ.*
"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are happiness."—*Declaration of Independence.*
"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of exercise thereof."—*Article I, Amendments to the United States.*

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY A
43 BOND ST., NEW YORK CITY; 1823 9th St., N. W. WASH.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS; 267 W. MAIN ST., BAY
18 POST ST., SAN FRANCISCO.
1891

Through articles, pamphlets and songs, the National Religious Liberty Association attempted to arouse the nation's conscience.

89 THE SOUTHERN NIGHT IS SLEEPING.

(QUARTET FOR MALE VOICES.)

F. E. B.

With feeling.

F. E. BELDEN.

1. The South-ern night is sleep-ing A-long the Ten-nes-see. A
2. With-in a pris-on drear-y Is heard the fa-ther's sigh, He
3. A-gain is he in-dict-ed, A-gain has naught to pay: His
4. O cru-el hearts, re-mem-ber (Who wrought the ru-in dire), Your

rit. except 4th stanza.

gray-haired wife is weep-ing, And pray-ing si-lent-ly: Weeping, weeping, in the
dream of cottage cheer-y, Of wife, and her good-bye: Sigh-ing, sigh-ing, in the
home, his hope, are blight-ed, In life's December gray: In-dict-ed, in-dict-ed, for
hate shall, like an em-ber, Set loy-al hearts on fire: Re-mem-ber, re-mem-ber, 'tis the

dim.

coun-try of the free, Pray-ing, pray-ing, for home and lib-er-ty.
coun-try of the free, Dreaming, dreaming, of home and lib-er-ty.
dar-ing to o-bey! Blighted, blight-ed, for toil-ing the first day!
land of lib-er-ty: Its ora-dle, free conscience, rocks no babe of tyr-an-ny!

8

Copyrighted 1891, by F. E. Belden.

friends—Mr. Satherwhite and his conductor or I. That was a happy day not only for the prisoner set free but also for many of his friends, as well. Especially my own dear family. A happy day long to be remembered and never to be forgotten.

Of the same occasion Mrs. Dortch wrote: "Even the train men were brot to tears when they saw papa and his family meet."

Dortch got out of jail just in time to miss another embarrassing experience. The officers discovered another legal provision: the jailed person could be made to work off his fine. So, the other Adventist men were compelled to work on the roads in a chain gang under the direction of an overseer armed with a revolver. The three Adventists were teamed with three other men: one had been convicted of drunkenness, a second for discharging fire arms on the street, and a third for shooting at the marshall.

This new development evoked sympathy from the Paris residents for the brethren and made excellent fuel for pro-Adventist publicity in the press nation-wide. But not content with that punishment, the authorities proposed that the men also be ordered to work on Sabbath. At that the sheriff utterly balked, declaring, "Gentlemen, if you undertake to work these men on Saturday, I will have nothing whatsoever to do with this matter." The authorities dropped the proposal. With their fines finally paid and their time served, the brethren returned home and resumed their normal lives and their witnessing.

Possibly as a result of the wide distribution of literature by the American Religious Liberty Association some of the local newspapers became supportive of religious freedom but others remained quite conservative. The *News Banner* of Troy, Tennessee, one of the latter, censured Northerners for foisting upon Tennessee this new affliction, declaring that there was a nest of Seventh-day Adventists in the Paris district who were backed by Northern agitators. According to the editor they were as bullheaded as they were ignorant but "many newspapers North and South have been tricked into defending these rascals."

The district attorney may have been a bit reluctant to prosecute the Adventists but once more he was goaded on by many who felt that lack of uniformity in the observance of a rest day would tend to endanger the standards of the local Christian churches. The State's attorney complained that every day petitions were pouring in on him signed by scores of citizens urging him to prosecute the Adventists, but "for goodness' sake don't call on us as witnesses."

In the September term of 1892, he made another effort to enforce the law. Not expecting serious opposition, his office drew up the indictments in a loose and negligent fashion. Several of the accused were not identified by given name or initials. All the witnesses but two were Seventh-day Adventists, and the Sabbath-keepers were summoned to testify against one another. J. H. Dortch and two other men who had been in the county jail previously found their sons testifying against them. The prosecution even asked the boys if they had seen their mothers and sisters doing their washing and sewing on Sunday. The prosecution was abashed when

the defense called attention to legal deficiencies.

To compound the problems of the court, the attorney ran into a hornet's nest of outside opposition. According to the *General Conference Bulletin* of 1893, a local reporter telegraphed that 300 Seventh-day Adventists from Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois were protesting. But the climactic moment came when three noted lawyers made an appearance. Former State senator William P. Tolley, former governor James Davis Porter of Tennessee and J. J. Ringgold, a brilliant advocate of the Baltimore bar, appeared on behalf of the defense. Ringgold had volunteered his services and handled the case in a superb manner.

The prosecuting attorney made an effort to bring out the serious nature of the charge and prove that the Sunday labor of the Adventists was obnoxious to Sunday keepers. In support of this he called a witness who testified that some of the labor took place near a church. Such Sunday desecration at a church door, he charged, was a disturbing affront to church people and constituted a nuisance.

During cross examination of the witness, an alert Ringgold brought out the fact that the church mentioned was the Springville Adventist Church! This revelation exploded the whole allegation that the Adventists created a nuisance.

So ridiculous were some of the charges that the proceedings in their entirety were quashed and the Adventists went home rejoicing. An interesting side note revealed that all but two of the witnesses were Adventists, and they could draw out of the Henry County treasury about \$85.00 for witness fees. Attorney Ringgold, speaking humorously at the dinner table in the presence of lawyers and others, remarked that the people of Tennessee ought to be indicted as accomplices to public nuisances because they furnished money in this way to the Seventh-day Adventist Church for their work. The donation did indeed add significantly to the church building fund.

Attorney Ringgold was fulsome in his praise of the people he had come to defend:

There is another thing about these people which connects them remarkably with the Christians of the first era, and distinguishes them as sharply as well as anything could do from the average Christian of these days. This is their willingness to suffer for opinion's sake. Perhaps this contributes even more than their orderly clean and upright manner of life to make them valuable citizens just now. They are history makers just as were the first Christian martyrs.

GOOD NEWS FROM TENNESSEE.

A LETTER just at hand from brother J. H. Dortch states that they have had four more additions to their church, making eight in all that have taken their stand for the truth and united with the church there, since the brethren were put in jail. Let the good work go on.

A. O. T.

In December, 1861, several Norwegian families led by Andrew Olsen and Tarel Johnson organized the first Norwegian-American Seventh-day Adventist church in Oakland township, Jefferson County, Wisconsin.

The initial steps which led to the organization of this church began in Norway in the 1840's. The Olsen, Johnson, Loe, and Serns families were all farmers in a rural district of Vest-Agder County, twenty-eight miles northwest of Kristiansand, an ice-free seaport in the south of Norway. Andrew Olsen wrote, "My early days were spent in the rural district among the rocks and hills of that mountainous country, where hard work with economy and frugality is the usual lot of the people."

The families had been baptized and instructed into

Pilgrims in a Strange Land

The First Norwegian-American
Seventh-day Adventist Church
in the United States

Lawrence W. Onsager

(ILLU: Department of Archives and Special Collections)



Tarel Johnson and his wife, the first Scandinavian converts to Seventh-day Adventism.

the Lutheran church—the state church of Norway—and they were members of the Bjelland parish. Dissatisfied with the formalism of the state church, they had invited to their homes Quaker representatives and other lay preachers. Under their influence, they had begun to question some Lutheran doctrines, feeling that they were not in harmony with the Scriptures. At the end of one of these cottage meetings in the fall of 1848, an itinerant Swedish lay minister remembered only as Nyland stated, "If we should strictly follow the Scriptures, we would keep Saturday and not Sunday; for there is no Scripture evidence for keeping Sunday." This was a surprise to the group and led to a great deal of discussion although it did not lead to the observance of the seventh day at the time because of a reluctance to break away from a long-standing Christian tradition as well as fear of persecution.

Despite the dominance of the Lutheran state church, Norway in the nineteenth century did feel the dissenting influence of the Quakers and of the followers of Hans Nielsen Hauge, known as Haugeans. Hauge (1771-

1824), a religious protester who wished to substitute a living faith for the formalism in the state church, stressed personal piety, a spiritual outlook on life, and a simple form of worship. From 1796 to 1804 he carried his message of repentance and conversion throughout southern Norway, causing a social conflict between officialdom and the religiously awakened common people. Arrested in 1804 after having set up a printing press in Kristiansand, he spent a decade in prison and was finally released in 1814 after payment of a fine. He died near Christiania (Oslo) in 1824. Most of the early Norwegian immigrants to America were from rural Norway and had been deeply influenced by Haugeanism.

Quakerism was established in Norway by a small group of sailors captured and imprisoned in England in 1807 where they were converted by the Quakers. Upon their return, small societies were established in Christiania and Stavanger. Both the Quakers and Haugeans were harshly dealt with by the government and the state church.

During this time, dissenters longed for a place where they could follow their religious convictions without being harassed. Inevitably, their attention turned to the vast land across the ocean. Their knowledge of the United States came from letters sent back by the first immigrants. These letters were copied, passed among friends and neighbors, and carried from parish to parish by lay preachers. Several immigrant guidebooks were published during this period, the most influential being Ole Rynning's *True Account of America*, published in



Andrew Olsen who, with Tarel Johnson, organized the first Norwegian-American SDA church in Oakland, Wisconsin.

1838, which declared that in America every man could worship God as he saw fit.

The mainstream of Norwegian immigration to the United States began in 1836 with approximately 19,000 Norwegians emigrating by 1850. Several factors—besides religion—contributed to this population movement: three-fourths of Norway cannot be cultivated and much of the remaining one-fourth is suitable only for trees. Political discontent also played a role and, of course, the strong reaction against the oppressive state church.

Wishing for religious freedom and improved economic conditions, the Olsen, Johnson, Loe, and Serns families decided to emigrate to North America. First to leave, on March 26, 1850, were Andrew Olsen, his half-brother Holver Olsen, Ole Hegland Serns, and their families. The immigrant guidebooks recommended an early start in spring so that crops could be raised for food the first year and the new settlers would have time to find or build housing and prepare for winter. The entire trip took the Olsen and Serns families thirteen weeks. They spent nine weeks crossing the Atlantic in the sailing ship *Hermes*. Four weeks were spent in making the trip from New York City to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. They traveled first by steamboat up the winding Hudson River past numerous farms and then by way of the Erie Canal to Buffalo; from there they sailed the Great Lakes to Milwaukee where they were met by a Norwegian named Peter Larson who transported the families by bullock cart the seventy miles to his home in southern Oakland township in Jefferson County, which was part of the Norwegian-American settlement of Koshkonong, Wisconsin.

Jefferson County, five hundred and seventy-six square miles in area, had more forests and swampy areas than the rolling prairies of Dane County, which lies directly to the east. The Rock river is the largest stream and lake Koshkonong lies in the southwestern part of the

county.

The settlement had been established in 1840 and took its name from Koshkonong Lake and Creek—an Ojibway word meaning “shut-in-with-fog.” The most important and prosperous of the Wisconsin Norwegian-American settlements, its name was applied to a general region that extended a considerable distance from Lake Koshkonong and included the southeastern portion of Dane County, the southwestern part of Jefferson County, and the northern part of Rock County. By 1859 greater Koshkonong had a population of 2,670 Norwegians.

The settlement was well known in Norway as evidenced by an early report from an immigrant dating from about 1845 which,

... told of the fertility of the soil, the low prices of land, and the good chances for employment. In a letter ... received from Ivor Hove, he wrote that he received thirty-five bushels of wheat per acre and that the grass was so high that it was possible in a single day to cut enough for the winter's provision for a cow. ... The America fever grew worse with each letter that came from the land of wonders.

Andrew Olsen bought a farm of two hundred and forty acres and immediately began the task of clearing and improving it. The first Olsen home was a log cabin, but harvests were good and cattle raising successful and soon there was enough money to build a large frame house. Ole Serns purchased eighty acres nearby for one hundred dollars on July 11, 1850. The hard work of making a new home, learning English, and otherwise adjusting to a new culture gave the three families little time for their spiritual life.

In 1854 the families of Soren Loe and Tarel Johnson moved to Oakland to be near their relatives. Berte Olsen, Andrew's wife, was the sister of Soren Loe and Tarel Johnson's second wife Todne. The Loes and Johnsons had emigrated in the spring of 1849 and settled in the Fox River Norwegian-American settlement about ten or twelve miles from Ottawa, Illinois.

Founded in 1834, the Fox River settlement, in LaSalle County, Illinois, was another Norwegian-American community established in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. It numbered two hundred and twenty-one families for a total population of 1,252 by the year 1850.

According to Andrew Olsen, the families began their Christian experience in America some time after settling in Oakland when Christian B. Willerup invited them to a series of Methodist evangelistic meetings in Cambridge, Wisconsin, five miles from the Olsen home. Finding Methodism to be a partial answer to their spiritual questions, the Olsen, Johnson, Serns and Loe families soon became members of the Willerup Methodist Church in Cambridge.

Organized in April 1851, with fifty-two charter members, by Willerup, a Danish-American missionary supported by the Methodist Home Missionary society, the Willerup Methodist Church was the first Scandinavian Methodist church in the world. A native of Copenhagen, Willerup had emigrated to the United States at an early age. He became a teacher in Savannah, Georgia, at seventeen and was converted to Methodism prior to 1838.

He settled in Pennsylvania where he became a circuit rider—a member of the traveling ministry. In 1850 he was sent to Wisconsin to work among the Scandinavians. Finding their numbers in Milwaukee to be too small, he set out on horseback to minister to the Norwegians in the Koshkonong area.

When recording his first impressions of the Norwegian settlements, Willerup wrote:

I left Milwaukee for a trip out into the country toward the west. When I got out on the prairie to visit families, it was exactly as if I were in Norway. I heard no other language than the Norwegian—their dress, conduct, customs, and the like were just what they were in Norway. Since I found no church, I preached in private homes out in the prairie.

Meetings were held in a log schoolhouse or settlers' cabins in the Cambridge area with people walking as far as five or six miles even in stormy weather to attend the services. Soon after organizing a congregation, Willerup began to plan a small stone church building. Farmers mortgaged their farms and Willerup contributed most of his mission allowance to pay for the church which was dedicated on July 21, 1852. Willerup used the church in Cambridge as a base while founding other Norwegian Methodist congregations in Wisconsin until 1856, when he was transferred to Racine, Wisconsin.

Joining the Methodist church renewed the interest of the four families in the study of the Scriptures, and the Sabbath question again occupied their thoughts. At first they consoled themselves with the thought that the Methodist minister, who seemed possessed by the Holy Spirit, would surely know if the keeping of Sunday was not right. After much soul searching, in the autumn of 1854 they decided to study the Scriptures pertaining to this matter themselves.

During that time, Soren Loe and Tarel Johnson made the acquaintance of Gustaf Mellberg, who urged them to keep the Sabbath. Mellberg, a Swedish neighbor, had become a Seventh-day Adventist after his arrival in the United States. He may have been converted in June of 1854 by James White, who wrote Mellberg, "We shall never forget the season when we wept together by the roadside on parting last June."

On January 22, 1855, Mellberg wrote James White expressing a desire to translate a Sabbath tract of sixteen pages for the Norwegians in his area because he had had several short conversations with four of them about the Sabbath and had convinced three of the four to observe the day as a holy day. He indicated that Elisha S. Sheffield, an Adventist minister, had collected five dollars toward the printing costs. Unfortunately, Mellberg became involved with the age-to-come controversy advocated by J. M. Stephenson and D. P. Hall, two Adventist ministers in Wisconsin, and did not follow through with his work among the Norwegians. The believers of the age-to-come were a minority group of defectors from Seventh-day Adventism who held that probation would continue after the Second Advent and sinners would receive a second chance. In 1855 Stephenson and Hall joined the Messenger party, another group of dissidents led by H. S. Case and C. P. Russell and named for their paper, the *Messenger of*

Truth. By 1858 this group had scattered because of internal disagreements and lack of financial support.

The Johnson and Serns families began to observe the Sabbath during the latter part of 1854. About Easter of 1855, Andrew and Berte Olsen and Soren and Bertha Loe kept their first Sabbath at the home of Andrew Olsen.

Realizing that they would meet opposition, they agreed to give up the seventh day as the Sabbath if Pastor Willerup could convince them that Sunday was the true Biblical Sabbath. When the expected visit came, Willerup brought two associates along. Andrew Olsen stated that, "their efforts only confirmed us the more in the truth; for we saw that they could produce no evidence from the Scriptures that the keeping of Sunday was ordained of the Lord."

Wishing to keep these families as members of his church, Willerup proposed a compromise: they could "keep their Jewish Sabbath, if they would keep the Christian Sabbath also." This compromise worked for a while. The four families talked to their associates in the Methodist church and by 1858 four other families had joined them in keeping the Sabbath. Because their beliefs agreed with the Methodists in all but the Sabbath, they were called Seventh-day Methodists.

Prior to 1858, these families had no connection with the Seventh-day Adventists. But in the early spring of 1858, several of the younger members of this company of Sabbath keepers, who understood English, attended meetings held by Elisha S. Sheffield, a Seventh-day Adventist minister, on the subject of baptism by immersion. This caused a lively discussion and when all but a few decided to be baptized the first real break with the Methodists resulted. They were disfellowshipped from their congregation for heresy.

Acceptance of baptism by immersion opened the way for the Advent message to be preached in the community. Waterman Phelps, a Seventh-day Adventist minister who lived near Hebron, Jefferson County, Wisconsin, went to Oakland and began holding meetings in April, 1858. It was a difficult undertaking because he did not speak Norwegian and there was no interpreter. Those who understood a few words would whisper them to their neighbors. Phelps was a powerful speaker and held many stirring sessions.

As a result of these meetings, Andrew and Berte Olsen and one other unknown person were baptized in May of 1858. Later in the month, six more were baptized one Sabbath and five the next for a total of fourteen. Further baptisms followed and in the last week of December, 1858, several young people, including Ole A. Olsen, the son of Andrew Olsen, followed their parents' example and were baptized. The work in Oakland advanced rapidly. Meetings were held that winter in both Koshkonong and Oakland townships. A number of Americans joined the group and services were held both in English and Norwegian. By March of 1859, the number of baptized Sabbath keepers had reached over twenty.

J. M. Stephenson and D. P., Hall, mentioned previously, held meetings in the neighborhood and visited the church members at their homes advocating their age-to-come theories. Francis Johnson, son of Tarel

Johnson, confessed in March, 1859, that:

I fought that which I now consider truth, and embraced the theory of the future age. I became worldly-minded, and I might say dead; but thank God, I was not plucked up by the roots. I spoke hard words against the gift of prophecy which had been manifested in the church, and against the *Review*. I feel to confess all my wrongs to my brethren and friends, and ask their forgiveness. I have confessed my faults to the Lord, and I believe that he has forgiven my sins.

According to John G. Matteson, the Oakland church was not seriously affected by these theories.

By 1858 the Messenger party, of which Stephenson and Hall were members, had lost most of its support. Early in 1858, James White reported:

Not one of the eighteen messengers of which they once boasted as being with them is now bearing a public testimony, and not one place of regular meeting exists to our knowledge among them.

However, age-to-come Adventists did remain a factor in Jefferson County. In 1890 they had a group of thirty-six

meeting in a rented hall. At that time, the Oakland church was the only Seventh-day Adventist church in the county and had a membership of thirty-eight.

Church organization was a problem for the early Sabbath keeping Adventists. "Coming out of Babylon" or separating from the organized churches of the day was considered one of the marks of those expecting the soon return of Christ. As Roswell F. Cottrell, a pioneer Adventist minister expressed it: "To 'make us a name' and to have any legal organization would be to become part of Babylon; legal incorporation would be union of church and state."

Still, the subject of church organization in the state on Wisconsin and at Oakland could not be side-stepped indefinitely. At a conference held in September of 1861 at Avon, Wisconsin, all the arguments for and against organization were presented and it was finally voted to follow the Battle Creek model for church and conference organization. Later that year, the Norwegians implemented the decision locally under the guidance of Elders Isaac Sanborn and William S. Ingraham, the two leading Seventh-day Adventist ministers in the state. It is interesting to note that while the Norwegians supported the move to organize, the Americans, including Waterman Phelps, drew back. This was attributed to the fact that some held age-to-come views and that others, Phelps among them, were addicted to tobacco, the use of which would not be allowed after organization.

Nevertheless, before leaving Oakland, Waterman Phelps gave the following testimony concerning the Norwegian Adventists:

I wish to say to the Norwegian brethren, that I am thankful and indebted to them for what they have done for me, since I started to preach among them, and I'll add for their benefit, that in benevolence, meekness, and righteousness, they rank above most people that I have known and lived among. God bless them!

William S. Ingraham reported to James White from Monroe, Wisconsin, on April 15, 1862, that:

I have just returned from Oakland. We had a good meeting there. Three more joined the church. Probably Bro. Phelps is beyond the reach of the truth. He is going into the future age delusion.

Until 1864 the church members met in private homes or the neighborhood school house, but in that year Andrew Olsen donated a plot of land which was the highest point in the community, a pleasant, low hill overlooking the surrounding countryside, large enough for both a church and cemetery. The church building was completed the same year, and the members began to look for an Adventist pastor who spoke their mother tongue.

The felt their prayers were answered when John G. Matteson, a Danish Adventist from Poysippi, Wisconsin, visited them in the summer of 1864. Matteson had become a Seventh-day Adventist in 1863 and was to spend the remainder of his life preaching to the Scandinavians both in the United States and in Scandinavia. He met several times with the Oakland church members and promised to come back in October to hold a series of revival meetings.



Old and fuzzy portraits of Elders William S. Ingraham (top) and Isaac Sanborn (bottom).



(Adventist Heritage Collection)



The first Scandinavian-American Seventh-day Adventist church building, in Oakland, Wisconsin.



(Above): John G. Matteson's writing desk with O. A. Olsen's oldest sister (age 92 when this photo was taken) standing beside it.



(LLU Department of Archives and Special Collections)



(Bottom): Elder John G. Matteson and his wife Anna Sieverson who lived and worked in Oakland from 1864 until 1877.

That Matteson was as pleased to contact the Oakland members as they were to welcome him is evidenced by his statement:

When I began working among Adventists I met with little encouragement, except among a few Norwegian Sabbathkeepers, the Olsen and Johnson families in Oakland, Wisconsin. They were at the time the only Scandinavians who observed the seventh-day Sabbath.

The Oakland Adventists desired that Matteson live near them; to this end, Andrew Olsen built a cabin in 1865, hoping to induce him to move to the area. He did, together with his wife and their three children, early in 1866, and remained in Oakland for eleven happy years:

We never lived in a more quiet and peaceable place. The climate was healthful, the children could run about the field and grove, and they grew up as happy and healthy as any children I have ever seen. It was a great loss to them, healthwise and otherwise, that they had to move away from our home in Oakland.

While in Oakland, Matteson had a dream about James and Ellen White, in July 1867. This was a time when the Whites were being severely criticized by some members of the church, and the letter he wrote to them reporting the dream in detail must have been of some encouragement:

I was in a large house where there was a pulpit somewhat like those we use in our meetinghouses. On it stood many lamps which were burning. These lamps needed a constant supply of oil, and quite a number of

us were engaged in carrying oil and filling them. Elder White and his companion were busily engaged, and I noticed that Mrs. White poured in more oil than any other. Then Elder White went to a door which opened into a warehouse, where there were many barrels of oil. He opened the door and went in, and Mrs. White followed. Just then a company of men came along, with a great quantity of black stuff that looked like soot, and heaped it all upon Elder and Mrs. White, completely covering them with it. I felt grieved, and looked anxiously to see the end of these things. I could see Elder and Mrs. White both working hard to get out from under the soot, and after a long struggle they came out as bright as ever, and the evil men and soot disappeared. Then Elder and Mrs. White engaged more heartily than ever in supplying the lamps with oil, but Mrs. White still had the precedence.

I dreamed that the following was the interpretation: The lamps represented the remnant people. The oil was the truth and heavenly love, of which God's people need a constant supply. The people engaged in supplying lamps were the servants of God laboring in the harvest. Who the evil company were in particular I could not tell, but they were men moved upon by the devil, who directed their evil influence specially against Elder and Mrs. White. The latter were in great distress for a season, but were at last delivered by the grace of God and their own earnest effort. Then finally the power of God rested upon them and they acted a prominent part in the proclamation of the last message of mercy. But Mrs. White had a richer supply of heavenly wisdom and love than the rest.

(LLU Department of Archives and Special Collections)

Coming when it did, Matteson's letter must have brought a note of cheer to the Whites in their struggles.

Toward the turn of the century, a church school was developed in Oakland. The first teacher was Hettie Huntington of Green Bay, Wisconsin, who arrived from Battle Creek College in January 1899. Initially, there were eight pupils and for a time the school was held in the church and later in a private home. By the second year, the number of students increased to ten. Their program was quite spartan. In Hettie Huntington's words:

We had only a wood heater, which did poor service. No textbooks. We searched our arithmetic problems out of the Bible. For readers we used the *Gospel Primer*, *Christ's Object Lessons*, and whatever we could find. Our only blackboard was about three feet by four feet. And no busy work excepting as we would cut up picture post cards for puzzles, or cut out letters and paste them on small cardboard squares for jumbled words. There was nothing to buy not even crayolas.

I received twelve dollars per month wages, and boarded around, from two to four weeks at a place. Our needs were few, our lives simple. We were in the country, four miles from a post office, and once a week—usually on Saturday night one farmer would hitch up a horse to go after the neighborhood mail, which was the event of the week.

Miss Huntington married Henry A. Olsen, a nephew of Andrew Olsen, in August, 1900, and became a member of the community. She continued to teach for five years but her wages were reduced to ten dollars a month because it was felt that her husband could help contribute to her support. Four other young teachers followed her pattern and married into the community.

Through the years, the Oakland church served as a center from which evangelistic work spread among Scandinavians both in the United States and Europe. Matteson, the first minister, was provided with a base of operation for spreading the Advent message to Scandinavians throughout the Middle West for eleven years before he was sent to Europe to continue his work among the Scandinavians there.

Eleven children from the families of the pioneer members of the Oakland church became church workers. This was in many cases the result of their upbringing. Matteson testified to this:



Students at the Oakland Seventh-day Adventist church school in 1897 with Miss Hettie Huntington.

U.S. Department of Archives and Special Collections



Ole A. Olsen with his brothers and sisters in 1879. Mentioned in the article are Andrew D. (Seated, front row, right); Martin M. (Standing, second from left); Edward G. (Standing, center); Albert J. (Standing, right); Anna (Seated, third from left).

Our brethren in Oakland took great pains to make their children useful. They had to work diligently on the farm when they did not attend school. They had a very good English day school and a good Sabbath-school.

Martin M. Olsen, sone of Andrew, reminisced, "for my parents the most important goal was not to work hard and get rich. The most important question to them was: How can we bring up our children for the Lord?" His mother was always concerned that they not come under poor influences at school. Morning and evening worship were part of their daily calendar, and the ushering in of the Sabbath on Friday was an occasion for special celebration. Martin remembered that "once in the middle of the week my brother E. G. and I were some distance away from home and one said to the other, 'I wish we had Friday night twice a week.' We thought there was too much time between each."

The Andrew Olsen family contributed six children to church work. The oldest son, Ole Andres, attended Milton College in Wisconsin and Battle Creek College in Michigan for a total of two years. Ordained to the ministry in 1873, he was president of the Wisconsin (1874-76, 1880-81), Dakota (1882-83), Minnesota (1883-85), and Iowa (1884-85) conferences before going overseas to serve as president of the Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish conferences. In 1888 he was elected president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. During his administration, 1888-1897, there was a tremendous growth of the church and its institutions not only in the United States but also in Europe, Africa, Asia, South America, and the Pacific Islands. Beginning in 1898, he labored successively in South Africa, Europe, Britain and Australasia. When he died in 1915 at the age of 69, he was serving as vice-president of the North American Division and secretary of the North American Foreign Department.

Andrew's second son, Andrew D., received his ministerial license in 1876 and was ordained in 1880. He served as president of the Dakota (1883-1887) and Minnesota (1888-1889) conferences. He died in 1890 of pulmonary consumption at the age of thirty-eight.

Martin M. Olsen received his ministerial license when he was twenty-two and served as a minister for ten years in Michigan and the Dakota Territory. In 1889 he was sent to Denmark, where he remained until his death in 1940. He served the church as a teacher, minister, editor, and conference president.

Edward Gunder Olsen was educated at Battle Creek College, received his ministerial license in 1879, and was ordained in 1881. He was a missionary to Norway and Denmark for seven years, president of the Iowa conference (1893-1896) and church pastor in Wisconsin, South Dakota, Colorado, and Iowa. He died in 1931 at Mason City, Iowa.

A fifth son, Albert J., was a Bible worker and colporteur and eventually became a publishing department secretary. He worked in the states of Alabama, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

The youngest daughter, Anna married Frank Armitage, a minister. They went as missionaries to Solusi Mission, in Africa, in 1898, where she died of malaria that same year.



Ole Andres Olsen, General Conference President (1888-1897).

Two of Tarel F. Johnson's sons became ministers. Ole Andres attended for one year the Seventh-Day Baptist college in Milton, Wisconsin, spent four years at Battle Creek College, and one year in New York City studying Greek and Hebrew. Ordained to the ministry in 1876, he served as a church pastor and evangelist in Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Montana, and was president of the Wisconsin Conference (1894-1896). In 1900 he became president of the Norwegian conference where he remained seven years. He taught in the Scandinavian department at Union College (1891-93, 1897-99) and at Walla Walla College (1908-1922). He authored *The Bible Textbook*. Ole died at Loma Linda, California, in 1923.

Henry R. Johnson was a minister in Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. He taught at Union College and the Danish-Norwegian Seminary at Hutchinson, Minnesota. He died in 1933 at Luck, Wisconsin.

The Serns family contributed two sons to the ministry. Mahlon H. was a pastor-evangelist in Wisconsin. Arthur Eugene was a minister until 1925 when he became a medical student at the College of Medical Evangelists in Loma Linda, California. He practiced in Santa Barbara, California, and died there in 1957.

From humble beginnings in the American Midwest, the Norwegian-American Seventh-day Adventists exerted a mighty influence for good in their adopted homeland and the world at large, proclaiming the soon return of their Lord and living the hope of the second Advent in all their relations. Like the Biblical worthies, they "all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off" (Hebrews 11:3).

AN ALUMNUS OF DISTINCTION

SIR MAUI POMARE
K.B.E., C.M.G., M.D., M.P.*

Gilbert M. Valentine

*Knight of the British Empire, Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, Doctor of Medicine, Member of Parliament



Dr. Maui Pomare (right) with Prince Hinoi of Tahiti (left). (Adventist Heritage Collection)

YEARS OF PREPARATION

New, if any alumni of Seventh-day Adventists schools have achieved the distinction attained by Battle Creek College alumnus, Sir Maui Pomare (1876-1930). A student at Battle Creek College in the mid-1890's, Pomare, a New Zealand Maori, is probably the only alumnus of the institution or its successors to have been knighted by an English monarch or to have had a marble statue erected in his honor to preserve his memory.

In the early years of this century the indigenous Maori population of New Zealand was in severe decline. Traditional unhygienic patterns of life in the *pa* (Maori village) had sapped the strength and vitality of the race, and disease was rapidly thinning its ranks. At the same time these indigenous people were experiencing great difficulty in accommodating their culture to that of the dominating English settlers in the colony. Drunkenness and dissolute habits adopted from the Europeans robbed the Maori race of much of its spirit and self-respect. Into the midst of this grave extremity came Maui Pomare as "an evangel of new life," proclaiming the "gospel of health." Three decades of untiring work, ended by Pomare's untimely death, succeeded first in arresting and then reversing the decline of the race. As a result, Pomare came to be eulogized throughout the nation as the "saviour of his people."

Pomare's very large contribution to the "betterment of his race and to the welfare of his fellow countrymen was made possible in large part because of the education the young Maori had received at Battle Creek College under W. W. Prescott. Subsequently, he worked in the Battle Creek Sanitarium and in the denomination's first medical school led by Dr. J. H. Kellogg. Pomare's achievements do credit to his *alma mater*, to Adventist

education and to the health program of the Adventist church.

The story of Sir Maui Pomare's career is a fascinating one. The son of a Maori chief, Pomare was born in 1876 at Urenui near New Plymouth on the west coast of the north island of New Zealand. His early education was received in schools in the Chatham Islands (a small group of wind-swept islands 700 miles east of New Zealand) and at the Boys High School in Christchurch. Later he attended the now prestigious Te Aute College for Maori youth near Hastings. Another important part of his education during this period was his training as a Maori chieftain. Tribal elders took pains to pass on to him the sacred heritage and folklore of his people. Thus it was that even in these early years he developed a concern for the welfare of his people, particularly their physical and social health. At this time he was also influential in helping to establish the Young Maori Party which later did much to raise Maori aspirations.

While attending Te Aute College in 1892 Pomare was converted to the Seventh-day Adventist faith. A sailor by the name of Everson had left shipboard life on one of New Zealand's coastal steamers to take a position as cook at Te Aute College. Recently interested in Adventism, Everson soon shared his new found interest with some of the senior students at the school. Subsequently, Pomare was baptized and began attending the Napier church. This decision brought considerable opposition from his family and friends. For a time he had to withdraw from Te Aute, but the Caro family of Napier provided him with accommodation until other arrangements could be made. In early March 1893, Pomare was apparently introduced to leaders of the church who had assembled in Napier for a conference meeting. Among these leaders were A. G. Daniells and Mrs. E. G. White. Mrs. White was very much encouraged

by Pomare's conversion and the prospect of further conversions among the Maori people as a result of Pomare's witness. She regarded him as a very promising young man. Keen to continue his education, Pomare shared his ambitions with friends in the church. He wanted to become a medical missionary to his own people. Consequently, Pomare was advised by church leaders and fellow church members to go to Battle Creek to study at the Adventist college and Sanitarium to prepare himself for service.

A visit to relatives helped allay fears and suspicions about the prospect of study overseas but brought no promise of financial assistance. Mrs. Margaret Caro, a lady dentist in Napier and friend of Mrs. White offered to sponsor him. Mrs. White also offered to help with tuition costs. Thus it was that some time prior to the commencement of the 1892-93 school year Pomare arrived in Battle Creek to further his studies. It was apparently Pomare's and Mrs. Caro's understanding that he should complete some preliminary work at Battle Creek and then proceed to Ann Arbor to complete his medical training. After consulting with W. W. Prescott, and other church leaders, Pomare decided to spend a year at Battle Creek College doing pre-medical studies. This would enable him to take advantage of some newly introduced Bible courses.

The time Pomare spent at Battle Creek College was during a particularly interesting and turbulent period of the institution's history. Anxious to make the college curriculum more appropriate to the needs of those who desired to serve the church, President Prescott had instituted some reforms. These involved eliminating the study of the classical languages and substituting them with Bible study and some history subjects. The moves encountered spirited resistance from a large part of the faculty. In the ensuing debate, the whole student body was exposed to the issues of educational reform.

Mrs. White contributed to the debate with a series of strongly worded testimonies on the need to make the college more like a school of the prophets. Her counsel at this time on the elimination of football and other sports from the school program was actually occasioned by the difficulty Pomare (and the other Caro boys who were also at Battle Creek College) experienced in finding football a popular pastime on campus. At some sacrifice, Pomare had given up playing football in New Zealand when he became an Adventist. The reports from the Caro boys about the "fun" and the football at the college stirred the ire of Mrs. Caro and seriously embarrassed Mrs. White who had recommended the institution to her and who was at the time staying with Mrs. Caro.

The exposure to the debate seems to have had a positive impact on Pomare. In his later work he spoke vigorously at times of the need for educational reforms, of the inadequacy of classical study and of the need for incorporating practical manual training into the curriculum. He saw these ideas as being particularly helpful to his own people.

After completing his studies at Battle Creek College, Pomare moved across the street to the Sanitarium where he undertook a number of health-related courses. Dr. J. H. Kellogg, the director of the Sanitarium was im-



(From: J. F. Coody, *Min of Taro Woylads*)

Mrs. Margaret Caro who practised dentistry in Napier, New Zealand, sponsored Maui Pomare's education in the United States.

Maui Pomare as a student at Battle Creek College.



(From *Seventh-day Adventists in the South Pacific, 1883-1985*)

pressed with Pomare, observing that he was a "remarkably bright young man". He noted further that he was "an apt scholar and very enthusiastic in health principles," and that he had "done his work with fidelity and thoroughness far beyond that of the average American." So impressed was Kellogg with the young Maori's abilities and dedication that he gave him personal instruction on how to prepare lectures on practical subjects for his people.

To augment his finances Pomare had taken work in the college kitchen. Later he found that the public lecture platform was a more lucrative source of funds. Possessed of a ready wit and eloquent of speech, Pomare gave very able addresses on New Zealand and on the history and culture of the Maori people. The young chieftain regaled his audience with tales of his forefathers' predilection for missionaries, fried or stewed. Such speeches delighted the public and brought him considerable acclaim. Kellogg became somewhat concerned about these successes and the fact that some at the Sanitarium were encouraging Pomare to think of further study in England, flattering him in such a way as to distract him from his object of returning to New Zealand to work. He shared these concerns with Mrs. White who had, apparently, already heard about the advice being given to Pomare.

By April, 1895, Mrs. Caro had become financially embarrassed through her sponsorship of Pomare and her own sons and sought relief. The hope was expressed that perhaps the Foreign Mission Board or Kellogg's Sanitarium Association would take over the burden of supporting Pomare. Worried by the influence of Battle Creek, however, Ellen White suggested that it was time for Pomare to return to New Zealand. She complained about the practice of adding course to course and asserted that Pomare "ought to have been back to work among his people before." Acting on Mrs. White's advice the Foreign Mission Board appointed the young Maori to the New Zealand Conference for evangelistic work. Kellogg concurred with this decision and personally gave a farewell tea at his home for Pomare. "He is a splendid young man who will be a good man for the work if he is properly managed," Kellogg wrote to Mrs. White on May 3, 1895.

W. C. White, the senior administrator of the church in Australia, thought differently about Pomare's return. He saw difficulty in arranging work for Pomare in New Zealand especially since the Mission Board had not made any financial provision for the appointment. The problem, as a highly irritated and annoyed W. C. White expressed it to Kellogg and to the General Conference President O. A. Olsen, was that the New Zealand Conference with its meager tithe could not afford to support the ministers it already had. The budget could simply not afford more workers. With his mother's consent, he cabled Pomare to stay in America and wrote to Kellogg urging him to find some way of helping Pomare finish his medical training so that he might qualify as a doctor. Mrs. Caro was also annoyed that she had not been consulted on the matter of Pomare's return. She did not understand Mrs. White's counsel (what she had seen of it), in the same way as the Foreign Mission Board and Kellogg had. Disturbed to think that Pomare

(Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand)



Anatomy lab at American Medical Missionary College. Pomare is seated in the foreground.



(LLU Department of Archives and Special Collections)

The American Medical Missionary College in Chicago where Pomare received his medical education under the supervision of Dr. John H. Kellogg.

was coming back without finishing his study program, she urged him to stay.

The conflicting advice, complicated by crossed letters and delayed mails gave rise to a very heated and prolonged exchange of correspondence (more than 20 letters) amongst church leaders. Kellogg was "extremely embarrassed" in trying to explain the whole situation to Pomare and the young Maori himself was put in "great perplexity." How could W. C. White countermand his mother who was leading the church, Kellogg wanted to know. Who should dictate? Mrs. White? W. C. White? Or Mrs. Caro? Or should Pomare simply decide for himself? Later, Mrs. White wrote personally to Pomare to try and clarify the situation. She reiterated her earlier counsel. In the interim, a very unsettled Pomare was sent to Chicago to work at a city mission in order to gain experience as a bible worker in preparation for his work in New Zealand. It was possibly during this time that he completed the translation of some tracts on the Sabbath into the Maori language.

While Pomare's ambition right from the start had been to qualify as a doctor it was with good grace and a spirit of submission that he accepted the counsel to return to New Zealand. With the continuing mixing of signals from church officials as to his future, however, he began to get discouraged. In the midst of the confusion a racial slur made by Mrs. Caro was read by Pomare. This caused him further pain. After he eventually arrived back in New Zealand in late 1895, on a fare paid by the General Conference, communications again broke down and the situation regarding his work deteriorated. Several plans for him to work with another

minister in mission work failed to carry, and in the end the church offered him work as a self-supporting colporteur. In the meantime, after spending some months in New Zealand, Pomare resolved to return to America. Kellogg had offered to sponsor him through his medical studies. But when church leaders proved to be reluctant to cash the money order Dr. Kellogg provided to help Pomare with his fare, it was apparently too much for the young Maori. He returned to America anyhow but was not a little disappointed and disillusioned.

Although Mrs. White's counsel had related to Battle Creek, Pomare returned to Chicago and entered the American Medical Missionary College. This college, sponsored by the Battle Creek Sanitarium, had opened its doors in the autumn of 1895. It was the first medical school operated by the church, and offered a four-year course leading to an M. D. degree. Faculty at the school included doctors from the Sanitarium in Battle Creek and several eminent Chicago physicians who gave clinical instruction. The students, all of them carefully hand-picked were assigned to Cook County Hospital and St. Luke's Hospital for their clinical work.

What set the school apart from others was its strong emphasis on "hygienic living." John Harvey Kellogg, as president of the school, ensured that all his students were thoroughly acquainted with the principles of healthful living—principles that had brought the Battle Creek Sanitarium to national attention. Vegetarianism, temperance, exercise and the use of natural remedies were among the hallmarks of the Kellogg program. During the long vacations Pomare had opportunity to extend his education by travelling. One memorable vaca-



(Courtesy of James R. Nix)

(Below): Typical laboratory facilities at American Medical Missionary College



(LLU Department of Archives and Special Collections)

AMMC's class of 1900. Maui Pomare is standing in the top row (second from right). Dr. John Harvey Kellogg is seated in the second row (third from right).



Maui Pomare, M.D. Graduation picture from American Medical Missionary College in 1900.



Lady Miria Woodbine Johnson Pomare.

tion was spent on a trip to England and Europe as a medical advisor to a millionaire who had been a patient at the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

In 1899, Pomare graduated as a member of the first graduating class to have conferred upon them the degree of M.D. After four years in Kellogg's classes, he had become an ardent advocate of the "gospel of health" promoted by the diminutive but dynamic health reformer. He enthusiastically promoted Kellogg's program for the betterment of the race. As he expressed in a public address midway through his study program, he hoped to be able to establish a college and a sanitarium in his own country. "In that way I can extend the life of my nation many generations, if not perpetuate it."

When Pomare returned to New Zealand in August, 1901, as the first member of his race to ever qualify as a doctor, he had either lost interest in working directly in church employ, or there was again no position available for him at the time. As it turned out, shortly after his arrival in his homeland, the government passed a Maori Councils Act that made provision for the appointment of a Native Health Officer. Pomare, then twenty-five years of age, was appointed to the position. Though not in church employ, Dr. Kellogg regarded him as a missionary nonetheless. He proudly reported to the 1901 General Conference Session that the New Zealand government had recognized Dr. Pomare's qualifications as a physician and that as Medical Commissioner he would be "a missionary to the very men who were formerly his tribesmen." Kellogg saw this development as a signal honor and a vindication of the medical school program. The young Maori doctor did not, however, remain an Adventist. His membership lapsed some time after his return. In 1902, he married Miria Woodbine Johnson, the daughter of an Anglican bishop and a Maori chief-tainess.

WORKING FOR REGENERATION

During the last years of the nineteenth century, the Maori population of New Zealand had dwindled to less than 40,000, and their numbers were continuing to decline when Pomare entered government service. The task before the new doctor was enormous, but he addressed it with enthusiasm and vision. In a speech outlining his policy he stated, "Our effort will be in the direction of the eradication of all things which ensure the demoralization and decay of the Maori—drunkenness, smoking, gambling, sanitation, diseases of animals. . . . In a word we seek the regeneration of the Maori and unless we effect that, our race is doomed."

Pomare embarked on a vigorous program of education. He traversed the country, even to the remote "backblocks" and sparsely settled districts. He met with tribal elders, inspected sanitary conditions, gave lectures and treated the sick. He came not as a *pakeha* (European) speaking down to the natives, but as one of their own, speaking their own language with simile and metaphor as eloquent as any addressed to him. Thus he gained respect. Audiences became attentive. Customs and tribal ways began to change. Slowly the condition of the Maori population improved.

By 1911 Pomare became aware that he could more effectively advance the well-being of his race and thus accomplish his objective, by entering the political arena. He stood successfully for the seat of Western Maori in Parliament, retaining it and continuing to be an advocate of the Maori cause until his death. A very able and entertaining debater, Pomare was highly respected by his colleagues who derived much amusement from his seemingly exhaustless fund of humor. Pomare effectively used his humor in his attempts to convince his



(From J. F. Cody, *Man of Two Worlds*)



(From J. F. Cody, *Man of Two Worlds*)

At Rarotonga, during a tour of the Cook Islands. From left: Lord Liverpool, Lady Pomare, Lady Liverpool, Sir Maui Pomare.

Some members of the New Zealand Cabinet pose with Governor General, Lord Islington (Seated, center). Dr. Maui Pomare is standing (second from the right).

Sir Maui Pomare in 1924, when he was New Zealand's Minister of Health.

opponents of the wisdom of his policies. One colleague stated later, "never in the history of our Parliament has there been one who amongst his opponents had so few enemies."

Pomare's career in Parliament was outstanding. Shortly after his election in 1911 he was nominated to the Executive Council as the representative of the native race. He held the position for sixteen years, through four changes of government, and gained the admiration of his peers by his ability to hold together the many and diverse tribes that comprised his electorate. For the same period he held the portfolio of Minister in charge of the Cook and other South Sea islands under New Zealand's flag. For a period of three years in the 1920's he served as Minister of Health and for two years as Minister of Internal Affairs. In these official capacities Pomare's primary concern continued to be the regeneration of his race. He instilled a new sense of pride, purpose, and self-worth, in his people and successfully initiated procedures to have ancient wrongs redressed in parliament by the restoration of previously confiscated lands. During these busy years Pomare also made time for collecting and publishing a large volume of Maori legends and traditions that had been passed on to him. A second volume, *Legends of the Maori*, was published posthumously in 1934, four years after his death. Both volumes still stand today as an invaluable resource of the heritage of the Maori people.

As Minister of Health, Pomare is particularly remembered for initiating significant reforms in the area of mental health care. As Minister for the Island Territories his most notable contribution was his work among the Cook Island lepers. At a time when the disease was decimating the island population, and at great risk to his own health, Pomare led out in establishing on the island of Makogai in the Fiji group, the first

(From J. F. Cody, *Man of Two Worlds*)





The ceremonial meeting house at Manukorihi Pa, next to the statue of Sir Maui Pomare (right) on the occasion of the visit of Sir Willoughby Norrie, Governor General of New Zealand, in August 1954. (From: J. F. Cody, Man of Two Worlds)

Sir Maui Wiremu Pih Naera Pomare shortly after he was knighted by King George V, in 1922.



(From: J. F. Cody, Man of Two Worlds)

segregated leper colony in the South Pacific. The task involved great skills in diplomacy and persuasion because of the strong prejudices of the Polynesian people that forbade even the thought of removal of the sick from their homes and families. The project required months of close personal work among the people, but the effort paid off. The colony contributed a great deal in the treatment and finally the eradication of the disease in the area.

Pomare is also remembered for his work during the first world war when he served as chairman of the Maori recruitment board. In later years he continued to spend a great deal of energy in promoting the welfare of Maori servicemen and their families. These and other humanitarian efforts on behalf of his people were recognized in 1920 when Pomare was awarded the honorary title of Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, C.M.G. Two years later, in 1922, in further recognition of his work, King George V conferred on Pomare the distinguished title of Knight of the British Empire, K.B.E.

Whether Pomare kept contact with Dr. Kellogg during his later years while working for the betterment of the Maori people is not known, but it is clear that Kellogg's humanitarian emphasis and the principles of his race betterment program gave shape and substance to Pomare's work. Some time after taking up his position with the New Zealand Government in 1900, Pomare allowed his connection with the Adventist church to lapse. He continued, however, to maintain contact with Mrs. Caro and with Adventist colleagues of his medical school days, Drs. Martin and Nettie Keller. The Drs. Keller had come out to work for the church in Australia at the request of Mrs. White. When the doctors were unable to obtain registration in Australia, Pomare assisted them in obtaining registration to practice as physicians



(Left): Twenty-one foot high Sicilian marble statue of Sir Maui Pomare, dressed in the mats of a great Maori chief. The monument stands over the family vault which contain his ashes.

(Right): The motor vessel Maui Pomare, named in honor of Sir Maui Pomare. Built in Dublin in 1929, it sailed for 32 years before being sold for scrap.



(Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand)

in New Zealand.

On one occasion, when Dr. Pomare visited the Kellers he jovially hid his pipe in his in his back pocket. With gentle double entendre, Nettie Keller urged him "Take that pipe out of your pocket or you'll burn." Pomare met the playful exhortation with the rejoinder, "Nettie, when you see Turkey make a move toward the Holy land, be sure to let me know for I'll run like hell to get back into the Adventist Church."

Pomare never rejoined the church, although his last days were spent in its care. During his last illness the honored doctor sought the help of his former Adventist colleagues in California in an effort to recover his health.

In 1928 Pomare had contracted tuberculosis. Steadily his condition deteriorated until in May 1930, accompanied by his wife, he decided to seek treatment in America. His longtime colleague Dr. Martin Keller met him and accompanied him to the Glendale Adventist Hospital where he was admitted on June 8, 1930. The disease, however, was too far advanced, and treatment by Drs. Keller, Ben Grant and others unfortunately proved ineffective. On July 27, 1930, Sir Maui Died of a coronary brought on by the tuberculosis.

Caught somewhat by surprise by the sad turn of events, Lady Pomare was advised and decided to have her late husband's body cremated. The decision caused a considerable stir throughout the Maori community in New Zealand because cremation was contrary to custom and traditional beliefs. Lengthy explanations were called for to account for the highly unusual step. These were given and the matter was ultimately resolved.

On August 25, 1930, Lady Pomare returned to New Zealand with the ashes enclosed in a casket. Immediately upon the arrival a service was held in St. Paul's cathedral in Wellington, the nation's capital.

From thence the casket was taken to Parliament House where the remains lay in state for three days. On August 28, Sir Maui's ashes were borne with honor to the deceased's tribal home. There they were interred to the accompaniment of traditional Maori lamentations at Manukorihi Pa near Waitara on the west coast of the north island of New Zealand. The state ceremony was attended by the Governor General, Prime Minister, representatives of both houses of Parliament and many other government dignitaries and tribal representatives. Pomare left to mourn him, his widow, two sons, a daughter and a race of his kinsmen who loved and admired him.

On July 1, 1930, the House of Representatives formally recorded its "high sense of the distinguished services rendered to New Zealand by the late Hon. Sir Maui Pomare." Six years later on the anniversary of his death, a monument erected above the vault which sheltered his ashes was officially unveiled. At the same time, on the same historic site, a specially carved Maori ceremonial meeting house (*runanga*) was opened by representatives of the crown in the presences of tribal elders and representatives from throughout the dominion. These monuments continue to stand today as a tribute to the life and humanitarian endeavors of this distinguished alumnus of Battle Creek College.

In New Zealand and among his people Pomare is still remembered as one of the most "illustrious statesman" of his race and "a great Maori ambassador" whose life was devoted to "the succor of the Maori and the elevating of him to his former high estate." Therefore, Adventism's first educational institution—Battle Creek College and its successor, Andrews University, can rightly be proud of the accomplishments of one of its most notable sons and of its significant contribution through him to the welfare of humanity.



Personal Recollections of "Pom"

Reminiscences of Florence "Nettie" Keller, M.D.

Edited by Paul J. Landa



Editor's Note: What follows is an edited transcription of a presentation by Florence "Nettie" Keller, M.D. (1875-1974) given at Camp Cedar Falls in the early summer of 1947. The wire recording was provided through the courtesy of James R. Nix, Chairman, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Loma Linda University, and Assistant Editor of Adventist Heritage. Dr. Keller obtained her medical degree from the American Medical Missionary College at Chicago and graduated with Maui Pomare (Class of 1900). She was the first woman physician to be sent overseas by the Seventh-day Adventist church, serving with her physician husband, Dr. Peter M. Keller, for nineteen years in New Zealand. She was the first woman physician to be elected to the board of management of all hospitals in the city of Auckland. Upon returning to the United States, she joined the faculty of the College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University) and spearheaded the campaign to raise funds to build the White Memorial Medical Center in Los Angeles. A woman of remarkable stamina, she was still doing surgery and seeing patients six days a week at the age of 92!

"Maui Pomare . . . was a full-blooded native [who] came in contact with Mrs. [Margaret] Caro. She sent him over to this country. He is the only member of our class [Class of 1900 of the American Medical Missionary College at Chicago] . . . entertained at the White House, as a guest, by President McKinley, because he was of royal blood of the natives of the Maoris of New Zealand, and of course for the wonderful work he did there in reforming and helping the natives. They were dying out but he went back as a graduate from our school and was appointed by the government [Minister] for Native Affairs in New Zealand. And he did such an outstanding piece of work and was, I suppose, one of the most silver-tongued orators that I have ever heard speak. . . . For that reason, while he was in parliament, the Governor General [the Crown's Representative] and Mr. [W. F.] Massey [the] Prime Minister at the time, whenever they wanted to make a very impressive set upon their audiences, they'd have Pomare or "Pom" give the address.

One time there I [wanted] to run for parliament in New Zealand; but I couldn't because I was an American citizen. I could not, on my own, get to be a citizen, because a woman in that country is what her husband is. Of course I begged, pled, and did everything imaginable to get Dr. Keller to take out the naturalization papers. And he wouldn't do it. As a result I could not represent my district, the Park of Altman. And so I thought I would appeal to Pomare, or "Pom" to get the law changed.

[So] I went down to the Star Hotel where the parliament parlor was and where [the Governor General] Lord Pluncket and [the Premier] Massey worked. . . . The proprietor of the hotel was a patient of mine, and I said [to him]: "I want to see Sir Maui Pomare." He said: "He and Lord Pluncket are out, but I'm expecting them back any minute." So I said: "Well, I'll just wait a few minutes," because I knew that soon Pom and Mr. Massey, the Prime Minister [would return, and I was] certain that I could get the law changed.

So . . . I waited, and [a] big limousine drove up in front of the Star Hotel, and Pom got out after Lord Pluncket, and I

went to the door. Pom saw me there and he said: "Hello Net." That was what they used to call me, "Nettie" or "Net." And I said: "Well, hello Pom." And I saw Mr. Massey [whom] I had known in the northern part of the state pretty well, . . . I saw him give me a strange look. To think that I was on such familiar terms with Sir Maui Pomare to be addressing him by his given name and for him to address me by my given name! I explained to Lord Pluncket and Mr. Massey that Dr. Pomare and myself graduated [from] the same medical course. We'd had our ups and downs, . . . living in that intimate way in which you do as medical students, [so] that I felt at perfect liberty to speak to him in that manner, and that he spoke to me that way. I didn't want [them] to think for one minute that we were too familiar . . .

So Pom got out of his limousine and he was smoking a pipe. He had forgotten the truth. And so we started out, and I said: "Pom, I want to see you about a parliamentary matter, and I may have to talk to you for a little while, and I don't want to talk down here in the hallway, so let's go to your parlor"—that is, the parliamentary parlor that they had there. And as we were going up the steps, I said: "Pom, look here! You'd better take that pipe out of your pocket because I'd hate to have you break into flames here, as we're going up, because I know it's lighted."

Pom took the pipe out and said: "I am ashamed of myself Nettie, to think that I am smoking this pipe. But I want to talk to you about that. Has the church . . . what are the prospects of the church going out . . . as far as our Adventist beliefs [are] concerned?"

I said: "I don't know, but I know that the Lord is going to come soon, I believe."

He said: "Just as soon as that Turk goes out, I'm going to kick up a great dust and get back and be a good Adventist."

So as we were going up, I asked him about his family and so on. I knew he'd married a girl by the name of [Miria] Johnson, a half-cast Maori [from] Gisborne. And I said: "Pom, what are you doing about your children?"

"Well," he said, "I'm doing nothing about my children at all."

I have two sons and a daughter, and I won't have anything to do with the church of England that Mrs. Pomare is a member of because I know that's a lot of bosh! I won't have anything to do with them and as a result I've never been into a church and I'm not an Adventist, so I'm giving them no religion at all. I decided just a little while ago that I'd better let Mrs. Pomare have them christened into the Church of England. . . . Can you imagine what a fool I felt when I was walking up that aisle with those great robes on to see them have a little water sprinkled on them. The only virtue in it was that the water of New Zealand was sterile when it came out of the artesian well, so I knew it wouldn't hurt them any!"

I talked to him very earnestly about what I wanted, and he said: "Why, of course, I can get that law changed." But it wasn't long after that that Dr. Keller decided to come back to this country because he didn't want a politician for a wife. And so, as I was a very obedient wife, we came back to America, and we have been here ever since. . . .

[It was really in part because of Sir Maui Pomare that Dr. Keller and I] had as good a standing as we did have in [New Zealand]. I operated there on Lady Pomare and had her in the hospital [as my patient]. The Governor, Lord Pluncket and Mrs. Pluncket, and all of the greats of New Zealand and all of their type of people came to visit Lady Pomare, of course. And Pom was always delighted to tell that his classmate was his family physician, and when they wanted any care, they came up from Wellington and I always attended the family.

Pomare was appointed by the British government as the High Commissioner for the Cook Islands. He was, from the standpoint of the world, a great man.

[As a man] . . . he was about six foot three. When I saw him the last time, just as we left New Zealand, he weighed about 260 pounds. He was not a dark man. He had jet black curly hair, black eyes, and when he was first elected [to the Western Maori Seat] to be a member of parliament, he was challenged by [Dr. (later Sir Peter) Buck, an assistant Health Officer working under him]. This man challenged Pomare's position as a member of parliament because [according to him] no one could represent the [Western] district who was not a pure Maori. He must not have any white blood in him at all.

Pomare went down to the district to [confirm] his election as a member of parliament. In a speech which he gave, he said:

"I must say that Dr. Buck very likely may be right in the fact that I am not a pure Maori, that I may have some white blood, because I know very definitely that my grandfather and my father both . . . ate several English fellows that were out here. They were cannibals! So," he said, "I may have some white blood in me. But I will challenge Dr. Buck, too, because I know that his ancestors were cannibals as well as mine." He held his seat in parliament unchallenged anymore.

Anyway, Pom took ill. I think we had been over here about 3 or 4 years at the time, and . . . the first thing we knew, we got a message that Sir Maui Pomare would be landing in San Francisco from a certain boat. Well, Dr. George Thomason, Dr. Keller, Dr. Newton Evans, Dr. Stanford Edwards and I, and one other of the old AMMC that knew Pomare very well went down to the station here [in Los Angeles]. He was brought in on a stretcher, and he weighed about 102 pounds . . . He'd lost about 150 pounds in weight from the [last] time I had seen him. . . .

They took him to the Glendale Sanitarium, and I thought I would give him a few days to get rested before I would go out and see him. Dr. Keller saw him every day and they were very good friends. At last, he sent word out by Dr. Keller that he would like to have me come to the sanitarium and see him; he wanted to have a little dinner party in his room for me there.

And so I went out. He had brought over one of these Tai-poi rugs — one of the most beautiful things that I think I had ever seen. And he presented that to me as a present, [saying] that he had always wanted to give me something there because I had attended his family for many years . . . and he wanted me to remember that I was a classmate of his. And so we talked very earnestly there. I talked to him about the truth and so did Dr. Keller. We were in the room together and Lady Pomare was there, and I think one of the nurses was there also. As I was the one who knew him better than any of the rest of them, I said: "Now, Pom, . . . I want to see you many times while you're here. But before I leave, I want to have a word of prayer with you. Dad and I want to kneel here by the bedside and have a word of prayer with you." And he said: "All right." He wished to God that we would. And so we knelt down by the side of the bed and we prayed. Dr. Keller and I both did. And as we rose from our knees, . . . I said: "Pom, now what about you?" And he put his old withered hands up — he wasn't so old either — he put his hands up over his head and he prayed in this way and said: "Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner. I've wandered far from the path of right, but I want you to forgive me and accept me as a child of yours. I came back to die among my people, the Seventh-day Adventists."

That was his humble prayer and, of course, I kissed Pom on the forehead and shook hands with him and I kissed Mrs. Pomare and told them that I would be out in a few days. And he died the next day; I didn't get to see him any more.

So I have every reason to believe that although Pom wandered far away in the world, received all of the honors and glory that the world could give to him, when he faced life as it really is . . . as every one of us must face it, he knew where his strength was and where truth and integrity and all that were. And he came back to his people and his first love — to the Adventists to die. . . ."



UJLJ Department of Archives and Special Collections



Florence "Nettie" Keller, M.D. Medical student with and lifelong friend of Sir Maui Pomare.

CATHOLICS, LENTILS, AND STRANGE BYWAYS OF REFORM: An "Outsider's" View of the Battle Creek Scene in the 1890's

From an original manuscript by Hjalmar Rued Holand, edited by Rennie B. Schoepflin

*Hjalmar Rued Holand (1872-1963) devoted much of his life to tracing the story of Norwegian immigration to North America. When he deciphered the runic inscriptions on the Kensington Stone, which had been discovered in 1898 in Minnesota, Americans were led to consider the possibility that Viking explorers had preceded Christopher Columbus to the New World by at least 100 years. Author of numerous historical publications that captured the imagination of Americans, Holand especially highlighted the pre-Columbian expeditions of the Vikings and the more recent history of the Great Lakes region. While in his early twenties, Holand worked and attended high school in Chicago, but he contracted an eye ailment that forced him to exhaust his savings in seeking treatment. In debt and unable to continue his schooling, he retired to his sister's farm in central Wisconsin. It is during his stay there that we pick up Holand's own narrative of his experiences as a non-Adventist in Battle Creek, Michigan. The incidents described were later incorporated into his autobiography, *My First Eighty Years* (1957). The version which follows has been slightly edited and retitled and can be found in the Wisconsin State Historical Society: "Chapter 10: Some Personal History," *Harold Holand Papers 1929-1968, Greenway MSS 60, Box 12, Folder 1.**



Hjalmar Rued Holand

One rainy day I was sitting by a window reading . . . [when] there was a knock on the door, and in stepped a young man of about my own age. His name was Malcolm Campbell, and he was from Milwaukee. Now he was out selling books to keep from starvation. He was a very bright and witty lad, and for many years I was more fond of him than of any other person. He was a Seventh-day Adventist, [sic] and my sister, who was also fond of that persuasion, invited him to spend his weekends in her home while he was canvassing in the county. Like myself, he was eager to get an education and had dreams of going to college.

One Friday afternoon he came with big news. He said the big sanitarium in Battle Creek, Michigan, planned to start a preparatory course for medical missionaries and would furnish room and board for five hours' work daily. He proposed that we apply for membership.

"But I have no desire to become a medical missionary," I objected.

"Well, I don't know as I have either. But think of the opportunity! Only five hours work! That leaves nineteen for study. The college is just across the street."

I was planning to return to Chicago and seek another job, but the outlook was very poor. It was in the early Nineties, and a clammy depression had thrown half the working population out of work. . . . As it seemed unwise to join the ranks of the unemployed in Chicago, we sent in our applications to Battle Creek, and I followed Malcolm's example and became a pedestrian salesman of books. In September we went to Battle Creek and received a gray coat with brass buttons. Of medical missionary instruction there was none. We discovered that the purpose was to obtain bellboys without paying wages. But that was immaterial. Across the street we entered the college, and there were hard, driving professors who gave us plenty to do.

What was of real concern was the food, or rather the lack of it. There were only two meals a day. Breakfast came at 6:30 and it was a long, long wait until dinner at 1:30. After that we went around like famished hyenas, vainly seeking something we could devour. Of course there was nothing, and we had no money to buy anything. Even the two meals were unsatisfactory because there was a constant lack of fats and a super-abundance of lentils. These lentils were properly ashamed to appear under their own names

(Courtesy of James E. Nix)



The Battle Creek Sanitarium hospital buildings.

and sought to beguile us into eating them by masquerading as "roast turkey" or "Canadian venison." But no matter how fancy the name, it was the same tasteless lentils.

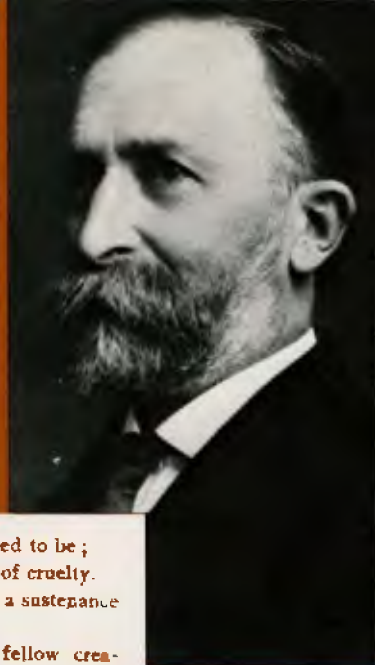
This sanitarium was a well known health institution with patients from all parts of the world, most of them dyspeptics. Dr. [John Harvey] Kellogg [(1852-1943)] was an energetic man of small stature, most capable and clever. His principal remedy was to put patients on a baby diet and give them only two meals a day. This not only gave their poor distended stomachs a chance to return to normal size and resume their muscular operations, but it was also inexpensive for the sanitarium. He had a group of students from the college who earned their board by playing the part of guinea pigs. Each morning they were given a sumptuous breakfast of roasts and savory dishes, but they were allowed to keep this only one hour. Then it was pumped out of them with stomach pumps. Then they were given a breakfast of oatmeal and toast, which they were allowed to retain. Meanwhile the Doctor's chemists wrote reports on the digestive processes of the lost breakfasts. By such experiments the Doctor became a famous authority on dietetics. Eventually he died at the age of 91 and could therefore claim that he had vindicated the merits of his two-meal vegetarian diet. But I am of the opinion that if he had added a third meal of properly cooked flesh food, his age would have reached three figures.

The school year came to an end and we returned to Wisconsin and resumed our book selling. But the depression had reached a new low. The price of potatoes was ten cents per bushel, and oats was thirteen cents. It was almost an insult to ask a farmer to buy books when his income was so completely ruined. Our sales were therefore few and far between. But we had our "medical missionary" promise for the next school year, and we were determined to go, even if we had to walk the 300 miles to Battle Creek.

My work that fall was to put up stoves for winter use in the innumerable cottages that belonged to the sanitarium. After that I was assigned to the laundry, which was well equipped with up to date machinery. My principal job was to operate the "wringer," which did no wringing at all, but expelled the water from the wash by centrifugal action. To me this machine was a marvel of efficiency. It resembled a huge kettle with a broken bottom. Around the inside of this 'kettle' I packed the wet clothes, whereupon I moved a lever, and presto, the kettle began to rotate at a tre-



The home of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg.



The formidable John H. Kellogg, M.D., Medical Director of the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

God, we are vegetarians, and glad indeed to be ;
We dine on Eden's diet pure, no taint of cruelty.
We find in fruits and grains and nuts a sustenance complete,
And nevermore desire to kill and fellow creature eat.

CHORUS

"It just suits me,
It just suits me,
The fare that God gave Adam,
It just suits me.

Promoting and selling health foods was a common student undertaking during the summer vacation.



Hygiene laboratory at Battle Creek Sanitarium.



(Adventist Heritage Collection)

(Below): The Sanitarium laundry girls.

(Right): Elder Alonzo T. Jones, pastor of the Battle Creek Tabernacle.



(Adventist Heritage Collection)



THE
TWO REPUBLICS
OR
ROME
AND THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY
ALONZO T. JONES

The great event has any intrinsic importance. The knowledge of it is valuable only as it leads us to have our calculations with respect to the future.
— Macaulay.

REVIEW AND HERALD PUBLISHING CO.
BATTLE CREEK, MICH.; CHICAGO, ILL.;
TORONTO, ONT.; ANN ARBOR, MICH.
1891.

mendous speed. In a few moments the water had been forced out, whereupon I took the clothes to the hot air drying chamber which was another ingenious device. The operations were so efficient that it was a pleasure to take part in them.

However, the pleasure I took in my work brought me to sudden disaster. In an adjoining room some women were constantly occupied in making repairs to tableclothes, curtains and other things belonging to the sanitarium before they were ironed. One day I brought them some articles from the drying room. There were four women sitting around a table, and they reminded me of a cozy little card party. So I remarked, "Well, ladies, now if you had a deck of cards, you could have a pleasant time." It was not meant as a suggestion, but purely as a sprightly salutation. But I had miscalculated my audience. Evidently the saintly matrons were shocked to the very base of their being. Eight baleful eyes stared at me, whereupon one of the women heaved a deep sigh and raised her eyes heavenward as if to implore the Almighty to strike me dead. Realizing that I had committed a faux pas, I beat a hasty retreat and forgot the incident in watching my merry-go-round.

But the four women did not forget it. So little happened out of the ordinary flow of frayed linen, that this remark of mine was given thorough consideration. After comparing notes they came to the conclusion that a wolf in sheep's clothing had sneaked in and was menacing the innocent lambs of God. Defensive measures were imperative. They reported the matter to the foreman in a body.

The next day the foreman called me into his dingy little office and gave me a stern tongue lashing. At that time I was no more interested in card playing than were the four uppermost elders of the Adventist Church, and I explained that my remark was just an expression of thoughtless frivolity. But that did not help me nor gain me any fatherly counsel. The fore-

man was a dyspeptic old chap whose life was an unending struggle with dirty clothes, and people who laughed and joked were an abomination to him. After delivering a scorching lecture on the damnable sin of frivolity he brusquely told me to pack my grip and get [*@o!*] out of there. While he as a sanctified member of the Adventist Church would not use that bad word, it was plain that he meant it and had no doubt of my destination. Then he righteously marched back to his tubs.

It was a long way back to Wisconsin, and I had, all told, \$1.24. But I sold some of my school books at 60% discount and collected enough to take a train to Chicago. On the way I had plenty of time to reflect on the use and abuse of humor.

The following year I was lucky enough to get a job [at Battle Creek] college from three to eight in the morning. My job was to light five fires in different buildings and assist in baking the 1200 gems needed for breakfast. It was all very good except the labor of getting out of bed at that unearthly hour.

All the students residing in the college dormitory were supposed to go to Sabbath School and church every Saturday. Those who neglected to do so were prayed with on bended knees. As this was an unpleasant experience, the church attendance was almost perfect. Battle Creek was at that time the headquarters of the Adventists, and they had a church seating a couple of thousand. The singing was fine, but the sermons were acceptable only to those who believed in the literal inspiration of every word in the Bible. The Adventists were a very militant church body, and something was going on every day in the church, especially revival meetings, because, figuratively speaking, there was no cessation of the beating of drums among them.

Unlike their chief enemy, the Catholic Church, the Adventists had little patience with ceremony of any kind. There was a deficiency of quiet serenity and an

excess of aggressiveness. Just as their creed is challenging, so their members were inclined to be argumentative and intolerant. Nothing was taken for granted except the Old and New Testaments, and their avowed purpose was nothing less than to reform and save a torpid world.

This infatuation for reform in creed, food, drink, dress, etc., led them into many strange byways. While I was in Battle Creek, Reverend Alonzo T. Jones [(1850-1923)], the head pastor of the church, gave a series of talks on improper breathing. He reminded his hearers that "your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost," and that temple was defiled when we breathed in the ordinary way by expanding the chest. This was wrong and therefore sinful. The proper way to breathe was to expand the diaphragm! Mr. Jones was a big, powerful man and a good advertisement of the value of his theory, and we went through many contortions to master the art of "abdominal breathing," as he called it, but being "slothful," we soon relapsed. But many of the church members, being made of sterner stuff, hailed Elder Jones' abdominal breathing as a new revelation from on high.

But Dr. Kellogg threw a bomb shell into this happy multitude by declaring that Jones was completely in error about the correct way of breathing. As Dr. Kellogg was the great arbiter in all questions of health reform, this was a stunning body blow to the abdominal theorists.

There was a period of confusion, but then the followers of Jones rallied. They pointed out that Kellogg as a modern scientist was a man of very dubious standing in the church of the elect, while Elder Jones was a man of divine eloquence who moreover was the author of a ponderous volume entitled [The] *Two Republics* [(1891)]. In this he proved to his own satisfaction and that of many others that America was bound to go to wreck and ruin just like ancient Rome. And was not the proof of the pudding to be found in the eating? Here was Elder Jones, a big brawny man, the result of his abdominal breathing, while Dr. Kellogg with his chest breathing was a mere runt of a man in comparison. For a while it looked as if the Church would be rent by a serious schism, but fortunately this was averted by the report of a new, and, to the Adventists, damnable encyclical of the Pope. Confronted by this danger, the Adventists forgot about their breathing.

The Pope really exercised a most beneficial influence on the Adventists. To them he was the arch-enemy of all true believers, and their common watchfulness against this enemy kept them firm and united.

I spent four school years in the college at Battle Creek and did all kinds of work: carrying planks, cutting corn stalks, assisting carpenters, splitting wood, and tutoring an aged Negro Methodist minister. One fall I served as a companion to a demented fellow who was a patient in the sanitarium. I was told by the Doctor to keep him quiet, as any excitement would aggravate his ailment and seriously impede his recovery. This seemed like an easy job, but I got heartily sick of it because my patient was such a foolish fellow. He had a fixed idea that he was a boxer, and all his talk

was about what John L. Sullivan thought of him or what he thought of Sullivan. As I was not interested in boxing and could tell him nothing about Sullivan or any other pugilist, he lost all respect for me, became insolent, and repeatedly threatened to "make prune sauce" of me. The situation became intolerable, and finally I told him we would fight it out. It was a decidedly ticklish thing for me to challenge him, because, who knows? perhaps the silly idiot *was* a boxer? He came at me, swinging his fists like a boy of twelve, which was somewhat reassuring. However, this might be a feint, and for a while I cautiously sparred and twisted about. But as he continued his windmill operations, leaving his face unprotected, I gave him a sudden clip under the jaw, and he went down in a heap. The result was most gratifying, because it took all fight out of him, and immediately I became a hero. He became servile in his attitude and begged me to arrange for a contest with his great hero, John L. Sullivan. The Doctor praised me for my "tact and patience," as he called it, and said the patient was improving nicely. I did not tell him of our boxing bout.

One semester Malcolm and I rented a room in the poorest part of the town and boarded ourselves so as to escape all this work which took so much time from our studies. I was fortunate to get a job washing dishes in a restaurant, for which I was to have two meals daily. That is, I thought I was fortunate, but the cooking was the most atrocious I ever found in a restaurant. If the scullery work exceeded three hours per day, I was to get ten cents per hour for overtime. Washing the crockery was easy, but the pots and pans seemed lined with glue, and it took hours to get the devilish things clean. After some weeks I had seven dollars in overtime coming to me, but the Portuguese proprietor refused to pay me a cent, whereupon I returned to our housekeeping attempts in our room, which were a sorry mess indeed. Neither Malcolm nor I had any aptitude or desire for cooking, and most of the time we dined on stale bread and wormy apples.



Busy Main Street in Battle Creek, looking west from the corner of Main and Jefferson Avenue.

Malcolm was such a charming fellow that he quickly made friends. While I was battling with the greasy pans in the Portuguese restaurant, he told me of the good meals he now and then had had with Rose Gavin, an Irish Catholic grass widow, whose husband had deserted her. She supported herself and her little girl by scrubbing floors at night. She was a remarkably kindhearted and uncomplaining person. When I left my restaurant job, she told Malcolm to bring me along, and I found that his praise of her cooking was well deserved. One day in spring she mentioned the necessity of housecleaning and said she was going to put new wallpaper in the sittingroom. Neither Malcolm nor I had ever hung wallpaper before, but it seemed like an easy job, and we therefore offered our services. She prepared the paste before she left for her work, and all evening we struggled with paper, shears and glue. We were fairly well satisfied with the walls, but the ceiling was another matter. The pesky paper would fall down, or get askew, or tear in two. Finally we got the last strip up, but saw to our horror that we had left a number of 'sausages,' that is, the paper showed many kinks and corrugations. What should we do now? We had no money to buy new paper, and we had spoiled the room for our kind friend. Dismayed and crestfallen, we slunk off to our

den.

After that we did our best to avoid Rose, because we felt unequal to meeting her reproachful eyes. But one day on turning a corner we almost collided with her. There was no escape. "Why boys," she said, "where have you been? I've had no chance to thank you for the nice job you did with the wallpaper."

We looked guiltily at each other. Was she being ironical? But no, she seemed most friendly. "Come right up now," she said, "I've just bought a steak and need your help to eat it." We tried to excuse ourselves, but as she insisted, we said we would be there in a half hour, hoping in the meantime to hit on some plan to make proper amends.

We could think of no remedy, and a little later we knocked on the door, deeply depressed. She opened it and immediately our eyes flew to the wretched ceiling. But there was nothing wrong with it! We were stricken dumb with amazement, but fortunately Rose had to rush into the kitchen to her steak. We now examined the ceiling critically, but could find nothing seriously wrong with it. Either she had repapered it or a miracle had happened, but that did not seem likely. Disgusted with the whole business, we decided to make a clean breast of it.

"It — it was too bad about the ceiling," we began, very clumsily. "We were afraid you'd have to tear it down."

She looked at us in surprise. "Why, I haven't torn it down! The ceiling is just fine as you left it."

"But the kinks, the 'sausages,' we —"

"O you mean those little folds? They all disappeared when the paste dried. That's always the way with cheap wallpaper." Then she broke into a merry laugh. "So *that's* why you boys were hiding for!" Again she laughed until her tears ran, and we finally joined in. Never in all my life have I been so relieved.

To young people who love learning, College [sic] days are glorious. Dr. [George W.] Caviness [(1857-1923)], the President of the college [(1894-1897)], was a man of fine, restful dignity, and most members of the faculty were good teachers. The students were like any other group of students, because youthful buoyancy merrily rides the waves even when burdened with much sectarian junk. Among those students of old was one whom I admired very much because of his eloquence and large grasp of scientific knowledge. His name was John Alexander Logan Derby, and he fully deserved all those sonorous syllables. As I was planning to go to the University of Wisconsin the next year, I wanted to treat Derby to a good dinner as a mark of my respect — a dinner as far removed from Adventist standards as possible. Downtown was a traveling men's hotel where a dinner cost fifty cents — a stiff price, and it was said that the cooking was just so-so. As I wanted to give Derby something worth remembering, I went to Rose and told her about my wonderful friend. Would she be willing to prepare a dinner for us with Porterhouse steak, vegetables, pickles, rolls, mince pie and coffee at my expense? Yes, she was very willing.

The great day came and finally also six o'clock when we sat down. On Rose's best table cloth was a bounte-

Dr. George W. Caviness who befriended Hjalmar Holand



Battle Creek College.



Adventist Heritage Collection

ous spread of good things, but nearly all proscribed at our vegetarian tables in the college dining room. We ate as only two healthy but half starved boys can eat. A second cut of mince pie appeared, and a second cup of coffee with cream. At last we were filled, and I went out in the kitchen, my satisfaction slightly dimmed by the conviction that my dollar would not be enough. I could honestly tell Rose it was the best meal I had ever eaten. "How much do I owe you, Rose?"

"Well, — the steak was twenty cents."

"Yes, but all the rest, and all the work. I have only a dollar with me, but I'll gladly pay you more."

"No, twenty cents is all I'll take. I had the other things in the house." And that was all she would take in spite of my protests. Good, kind, uncomplaining Rose, scrubbing offices at night and spending her money feeding hungry boys! I'll remember her on my death bed!

About this time a strange incident occurred which further increased my dissatisfaction with Battle Creek. A series of meetings was held in the church to raise money for missionary work, in which the Adventists excel all others. On the last evening the speaker was Elder [Roscoe Celester (?)] Porter [(1858-1918)], renowned for his piety. He was an emaciated man with solemn, introspective eyes indicating much spiritual turmoil. The church was filled to the doors. I found a seat on one of the two stairways that led from the back of the rostrum to the balcony; and was therefore in a most advantageous position for observation.

Some hymns were sung, whereupon one of the half dozen ministers on the rostrum offered prayer. Then Elder Porter read his scripture text and people settled back in their seats to listen to the sermon.

But no sermon came — not in words — because the minister stood silent, while his eyes passed slowly over the large audience. They seemed to be seeking someone, and then, having found him, they seemed to bore into his innermost being. People were at first bewildered and then apprehensive. What was the meaning of this intensive survey? Never was closer attention paid to any speaker than was given to this silent man who appeared to be animated by some supernatural power. Eventually his eyes shifted to someone else on the other side of the church, and the person thus singled out seemed to shrink as if his private sins and weaknesses were proclaimed from a housetop. Everyone was quiet except for now and then a subdued sob, because the conviction was spreading among all that a great hour in their life had come. They had prayed so many times for in outpouring of the pentecostal spirit — now it had come at last, and they recalled the prophet's words that God would pour out his spirit upon the people, and their young men would see visions and their old men dream dreams. Finally the tensions became so great that suddenly the big audience with one voice, was singing "Nearer My God to Thee."

At the conclusion of the hymn, another Elder stepped forward and said: "I am sure, dear brothers and sisters, that we all feel that the Lord is very near to us tonight. We feel the wings of the Holy Spirit sweeping over us, bringing us a new consecration to

live wholly for Christ. Let us show our gratitude for God's mercy by making a liberal donation to the missionary cause." The collection plates were quickly passed around by twenty ushers, and the congregation responded liberally and with a feeling of relief, because now was no time to be frugal.

During this interruption Elder Porter stood with bowed head as if oblivious of his surroundings. But when the last plate was brought in, he raised his eyes again, transfixing one trembling sinner after another. And his eyes were now stern and piercing and seemed to say: "Do you think you can buy God's favor with the gift of a paltry dollar? He is wearied with your pusillanimous conduct, and will have none of your vain pretensions! A contrite heart and a broken spirit is the only acceptable sacrifice!"

Each one now seemed to feel that this was God's last warning, and that Elder Porter was his chosen deputy calling each man and woman to the bar of justice. The agitation, silent in the beginning, now found expression in sobbing, weeping, hallelujah's and some discordant hysterical outbursts. Some attempts at singing were made but they broke pitifully. But still the relentless eyes of the man on the rostrum darted about, hailing sinners to the judgment seat of God. Twice more the plates were sent around, relieving the people of their last cash. But other contributions were found — watches, wedding rings, bracelets, earrings, checks and pledges.

Finally the other Elders on the rostrum seemed to become perturbed. There was something strange about this situation. They whispered together, and there was some shaking of heads. After the last collection was taken up, one of them stepped forward and briefly pronounced the benediction.

On the way back to the college, I overheard many remarks from the returning church goers. They were all to the effect that the Lord's second coming was surely very near, and that God had greatly blessed Brother Porter.

The next morning came two important news items. The collection amounted to more than 27,000 dollars! But this was almost forgotten in the more important report that Elder Porter was now in the sanitarium and had been declared by Dr. Kellogg to be a dangerous maniac, believing himself to be God's appointed inquisitor on earth. But many people would not believe this. They had had grave suspicions that the Doctor was a wolf in sheep's clothing, and now they knew it, because this was merely a trick of Satan to frustrate the work of God.

Elder Porter was sent to an asylum where he continued to impale patients and attendants alike with his mesmeric staring. I don't know how long he remained, but he will be long remembered by those who knew him, for he was perhaps the only insane man in history who was able, without force, argument or audible voice to obtain \$27,000 in one evening from a congregation of lower middle class people.

Spring came and I found it difficult to say goodbye to Professor and Mrs. Caviness who had been remarkably kind and helpful to me. There were also many other friends, but I saw little of them after that day."



When Five Became Twenty-five

A Silver Anniversary of the Five-Day
Plan to Stop Smoking

(All illustrative materials courtesy of the author)



by Martyn Ingram McFarland

The year was 1964; the day, Sunday, January 12; the event, the arrival of 1600 people in one of the worst snow storms of the winter season to learn how to stop smoking. On its first page that Sunday, the *New York Times* headlines boldly stated that a cancer link in the use of cigarettes had been found by the Surgeon General's Select Committee on Smoking and Health:

CIGARETTES PERIL HEALTH, U. S. REPORT CONCLUDES; REMEDIAL ACTION URGED Cancer Link Cited

After evaluating the committee's report containing "about 150,000 words over 387 pages" the Surgeon General of the United States had just declared that cigarette smoking was contributing in a large measure to the American death rate and that "cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action."

In response, 1600 people had come to Hunter College to attend the previously advertised Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking sponsored by the Atlantic Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists under the umbrella of its National Health Foundation. The timing was fortuitous. As the *New York Times Magazine* on January 25, 1964, put it:

For those who really want to quit, but cannot manage it unaided, there is a new approach: the smoking clinic. The most widely publicized example at the moment is the Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking developed jointly by a physician and a minister, Dr. J. Wayne McFarland and Pastor Elman J. Folkenberg of the Seventh-day Adventists.

For three-and-a-half years the Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking had been conducted by McFarland and Folkenberg in many places, first in the small towns of New England, and then nationwide—one hundred fifty-five times with almost 20,000 participants.

But the story starts long before these events. A patient with Buerger's disease (a vascular complaint caused by smoking which often results in one's losing a limb) was continuing to smoke after having lost part of one extremity. The chief physician making rounds explained most explicitly that further amputations were inevitable if the patient did not stop smoking. With tears in his voice the man exclaimed, "I've tried, Doc, but I can't quit."

That reply made an indelible impression on a young medical student, Wayne McFarland. From then on he began gathering information on how to help people stop smoking. He searched the book *Ministry of Healing* where Ellen White details the harmful effects of alcohol, tobacco and other drugs, and also examined the medical literature. As a young physician fresh from a fellowship at Mayo Clinic in 1942, he began using this information to help patients stop smoking. He worked on a one-to-one basis in the vascular clinic of Loma Linda University School of Medicine located at the

White Memorial Hospital in Los Angeles. There, his patients would lend their experience and helpful hints to the testing of the principles.

In 1958 the Battle Creek Sanitarium became the setting for an enlarged effort by Dr. McFarland to help people stop smoking. McFarland had been invited to join a group of physicians in helping to reestablish the Battle Creek health program which had been so successful in the days of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg. The institution had been out of the hands of the Seventh-day Adventist church for some time, but under the medical direction of Dr. Dunbar Smith members of the church had once again assumed management on a self-supporting basis.

While pursuing his specialty of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, McFarland lectured often in the patient's lounge on preventive medicine and physical fitness. People of fame and fortune came, such as J. C. Penney; Mrs. George Olmsted, wife of the founder of Long Island Lighting; Mr. and Mrs. Paul Little, who was the board chairman of Proctor and Gamble; Mrs. Leonard LeSourd, prominent leader in the Methodist church, and others. Despite the well entrenched advertizing from the tobacco companies, McFarland reported the results of this initial effort at Battle Creek with some trepidation. In a paper, "Physical Fitness and the Tobacco Habit," he presented his findings at a colloquium on Exercise and Fitness at the University of Illinois in December of 1959. The paper was well received and was later published in a book reporting the colloquium (1960).

While still at Battle Creek, McFarland did some post-graduate work in New York City and established a smoking cessation program at the New York Center, a church sponsored center for the metropolitan area of New York. Those who entered were invited to join the SOS Club—Stop Our Smoking. This program consisted of ten sessions—ten days with ten rules to shake the "habit." Thus the nucleus of the Five-Day Plan was born.

Meanwhile, Elman J. Folkenberg, a minister of the Seventh-day Adventist church, had returned from London in 1958 to do evangelistic work in New York City. He and Dr. McFarland had corresponded even while Folkenberg was in England concerning the principles of healthful living set forth in the writings of Ellen White. They considered the use of health education for meeting people in the large cities of the world with a combination medical-pastoral approach.

In the early 1950's, McFarland had also worked in London with evangelist George Vandeman. The film "One in Twenty Thousand," a graphic picture showing a cancerous lung being removed from a heavy smoker, had been developed by the Temperance Department of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. At McFarland's suggestion, Pastor Folkenberg showed the film with a good deal of success at London's New Gallery Evangelistic Center every hour during the day for a period of time to literally "hordes of worried looking Britishers." As a result he returned to New York feeling the need for a more organized plan to help smokers. In early 1959 with both men in the New York area they had opportunity to discuss their mutual interests.



Wayne McFarland, M.D.

PHYSICAL FITNESS AND TOBACCO: A STUDY OF THE BATTLE CREEK PROGRAM

J. Wayne McFarland, M.D.,
Box 458 South Lancaster, Mass.

Paper presented at the Colloquium on Exercise and Fitness, College of Physical Education, University of Illinois Urbana — December 8, 1959*

The average American is over-tired, over-anxious, over-fed, over-weight, over-cholesteralized, over-smoked, over-night-clubbed; and though over-stuffed he is actually under-nourished; under-exercised, under pressure, under paid and headed for "under the sod."

Any program of physical fitness would have to take into account the fact that one of our national pastimes (1) is not compatible with top physical efficiency, or even life itself. The evidence mounts that cardio vascular ills, particularly coronary artery disease, varying degrees of pneumonitis including chronic emphysema, and lastly the increasing number of men dying with cancer of the lung, is directly related to our use of tobacco, particularly cigarettes.

Dr. Ahon Ochsner (2), of Tulane University, in a recent address before the Rhode Island Medical Society, stated: "Approximately two years ago the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, the National Cancer Institute and the National Heart Institute (the latter two are agencies of the Federal government) appointed a committee of seven scientists to study and evaluate all the available data regarding the effects of smoking on health. These scientists were chosen because of their integrity and ability to analyze critically experimental and clinical investigations. After an intensive study of one year, they concluded: 'The sum total of scientific evidence establishes beyond reasonable doubt that cigarette smoking is a causative factor in the steadily increasing incidence of cancer of the lung.'"

Elder Elman J. Folkenberg



Distributed by
Folkenberg Associates

In July, 1959, McFarland was asked to join the staff of the Atlantic Union Conference as Medical Director, and Folkenberg soon joined the staff of the Southern New England Conference, both located in South Lancaster, Massachusetts. McFarland's next door neighbor, Noble Vining, was the genial manager of the Atlantic Union College Press, and McFarland arranged with him to have a pocket-size brochure printed of his "Ten Rules to Help You QUIT SMOKING." The idea was to have something the smoker could carry at all times to be taken from pocket or purse for reinforcement whenever needed.

With evidence mounting on the harmful effects of smoking, anti-smoking ideas promised to be a concern which the media would be publicizing more and more. In this area, the church could make a contribution in educating people on the real danger of "lighting up." A group of interested physicians and ministers, including Dr. Dunbar Smith, Dr. Laurence Senseman, Pastors Stanley and Elman Folkenberg, and Dr. Wayne McFarland met at the Fuller Memorial Hospital in South Attleboro, Massachusetts, to discuss making a smoking program available on a larger scale. The consensus was that ten days was too long for a program and that the ten-day program McFarland had used should be condensed into a five-day program.

Folkenberg next gathered a group of young workers of the Southern New England Conference and made a survey door-to-door in the town of Taunton, Massachusetts, of the people's health habits, including smoking. How many in the family smoked? Had anyone tried to quit? What was their success? At the same time, Willis Graves, pastor of the Taunton church, ran ads



Elder Willis Graves (left) and Dr. Wayne McFarland who presented the very first Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking in the summer of 1960.

May 17, 18, and 19, 1960, in the *Taunton Daily Gazette* featuring a "New 'Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking' soon to be presented in Taunton."

McFarland and Folkenberg enlarged on the "ten rules," combined them with some additional psychological aspects contributed by Folkenberg, and condensed the instruction into five two-hour sessions. And so the first Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking, as such, was conducted in Taunton, Massachusetts, June 12-16, 1960. The two men, assisted by Pastor Graves, carried out the first program.

The Five-Day Plan touched every facet of living—physical, mental, social, economic, and even spiritual. A physical fitness program with special emphasis on daily health habits that would lessen the craving for nicotine as rapidly as possible was the essence of the Five-Day Plan.

Soon after the Taunton effort, Folkenberg was asked to join the staff of the Atlantic Union Conference as ministerial director. With the encouragement of Willis Hackett, president of the Atlantic Union Conference, both of the pioneer planners now could present the Five-Day Plan as a community service throughout the New England states, the territory of the Atlantic Union Conference. As union president, Hackett showed unflagging interest and support for the program. From the early days, "asking God to help you" was one of McFarland's ten rules and in the Five-Day Plan, turning to a "Power greater than one's self" was suggested. And the program was always sponsored by the Seventh-day Adventist church. Still, it was never presented as a religious program but rather as a public service of the church to help people stop smoking.

Only six individuals attended the first Taunton Five-Day Plan. There was little publicity, if any, from the media. At each successive program, however, the number of participants grew and the publicity increased. Interest was spurred on with evidence now confirmed through a study done by the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research that male Adventist non-smokers had only one-tenth the amount of lung cancer as the average U. S. male population.

TEN RULES
TO
HELP YOU
**QUIT
SMOKING**

J. Wayne McFarland, M.D.

Price 15c
(See back for quantities)

BETTER LIVING CLUB
Box 458
South Lancaster, Mass.

LIFE & HEALTH ASSOCIATION

PRESENTS AS A COMMUNITY SERVICE

"THE FIVE DAY PLAN"

TO STOP THE SMOKING HABIT

MIDDLEBORO Y. M. C. A. SUNDAY, OCT. 23, 7:45 P. M.

AND CONTINUING FOR FIVE CONSECUTIVE EVENINGS THROUGH

THURSDAY, OCT. 27

INCLUDES: FILMS, GROUP DISCUSSION, PERSONAL CONTROL PROGRAM.

NO TUITION CHARGE - OPEN TO BOTH MEN AND WOMEN

A major breakthrough came as a result of the Five-Day Plan held in Claremont, New Hampshire, in March, 1962. A news editor, who had attempted to stop smoking before, said she would take the Five-Day Plan and report her progress each day in the local newspaper. She reported in the *Daily Eagle* that the first day "some of the new non-smokers were a little fuzzy," and the second day her head felt "like a big wad of absorbent cotton." But now more than forty smokers had begun an "all-out assault to break the habit." By the third day she reported, "As for us, we turned the corner yesterday noon. Our head came back from wherever it was and suddenly we felt great. . . . But we're not letting our defenses down. After all, our control booklet for the third day says, 'If you feel things are going quite well — then be on double guard.'"

For almost two years, the Five-Day Plan had been held in many small towns in New England—Athol, Burlington, Meriden, Pittsfield, Taunton, Stoneham, Clinton, Middleboro, to mention a few. Now the publicity from Claremont hit the national press. In her concluding editorial, Cynthia McKee reported that "The Five-Day Plan to quit smoking offered in Claremont this past week under the auspices of the Seventh-day Adventist church is a good one." After reading the newspaper editorials, R. R. Figuhr, president of the General Conference wrote Dr. McFarland, "It was thrilling to me to read what you and Brother Folkenberg have accomplished. This will make a real impact, I am certain. How wonderful that we have a philosophy of religion, divinely inspired that so definitely lifts people!"

In Stoneham, Massachusetts, the Five-Day Plan was sponsored by the New England Sanitarium and Hospital and was attended by the eminent cardiologist, Dr. Paul Dudley White at the invitation of Dr. Raymond Moore. Dr. White was assured by Dr. McFarland that he would not embarrass him by calling on him to speak. As the program progressed, however, Dr. White sent word that he would like to say a few words. He expressed appreciation not only for the importance of the diet suggested in the program but also for stress being laid on exercise. Dr. White himself was known for his bicycle riding and wood chopping — all of this in the days before physical fitness had become a byword in America.

Strong support was also given the program in the

early days by Mr. William Plymat, president of Preferred-Risk Insurance Company who early on had learned of the program through Dr. T. R. Flaiz, medical director of the General Conference. Plymat sent his secretary, Esther Renner, to the New England Sanitarium and Hospital to take the Five-Day Plan as a patient of Dr. McFarland. She often appeared at programs throughout the New England states and later at the University of Maryland, the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco and less well-known places to describe what the Five-Day Plan had done for her. Mr. Plymat continued to promote the Plan as well as the total temperance thrust of the church.

In May, 1962, Dr. McFarland conducted a program at the famous Rusk Rehabilitation Institute of New York University where he had previously done postgraduate work. The next month, two Five-Day Plans were conducted at Bates Memorial Hospital in Yonkers, New York. One of the large New York dailies sent a reporter to participate in the first live-in program. Front page publicity appeared each day in the *New York Herald Tribune*. By now, the program was growing so rapidly and interest was so high that other physicians and ministers were eager to conduct a Five-Day Plan. The General Conference Session which convened in June 1962 adopted the Five-Day Plan as part of the church's world health education outreach. A strategy was formulated for conducting pilot programs for the training of minister-doctor teams in the art of the Five-Day Plan, beginning in the United States and Canada.



The "Ten Rules to Help you QUIT SMOKING" for the vest pocket had evolved into a well-organized control booklet. This was also printed in vest pocket size, giving pointers for each of the five days to help the smoker every step of the way. Lecture outlines by McFarland and Folkenberg for both physicians and ministers were prepared. Folkenberg was largely responsible for the compilation of these materials.

The Autumn Council, on October 21, 1962, detailed recommendations on the Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking. These were drafted by representatives of the Bureau of Public Relations, the Ministerial Association, the Medical and Temperance Departments of the General Conference. The measures were presented to the Council and accepted for implementation.

Reporter Victorious In Battle of Smoke

By WES FRENCH
Rocky Mountain News Writer

Ah, sweet victory! The Five Day Plan came to an end Thursday night at the 11 p.m. with a grateful graduating class in a room at the University of Denver.

A show of hands indicated Dr. J. Wayne McFarland and the Rev. E. J. Folkenberg scored pretty much a 100 percent success rate in getting the smokers giving up the habit by the end of the course.

The vital statistics on the program will be gathered from questionnaires which will be turned in at a final reporting session next Monday.

This reporter is happy to say he had no trouble in getting the program to the public—at least, for the first five days. The future is another matter.

Of Great Value

The consensus seemed to be that the program was of great value to those who earnestly tried to give up smoking. A number indicated they couldn't have done it alone.

Many persons had their eyes opened about good health habits and it was impressed upon them that they should give up smoking permanently that keeping fit and trim is the answer.

Rev. Mr. Folkenberg handed a number of the reasons why people give up smoking, including fear, better health and to save money.

The blindest and stoutest proponent he said, is inherent in one's love for the "Big Kill."

The subject to the person, himself, and just to other people, he stressed. Abusing the body to the extent of smoking one's own grave.

This will allow the plan's directors to gather statistics to guide them in future programs. There also will be a panel of doctors on hand to answer questions and a film to encourage the feeling of the non-smoking people will be shown.

A new Five Day Plan will begin in about two weeks, the Rev. E. J. Folkenberg, pastor of the University Hospital chapel, said. The program will be held in the hospital auditorium and will be limited by registration to the size of the auditorium.

Enrollment ran or arranged to calling the Rev. Mr. Irish or his secretary at the hospital.

The plan's founders, Dr. McFarland and the Rev. Mr. Folkenberg, have been conducting the plan in Denver as a pilot program since 1958. It has been successful in getting thousands of smokers giving up the habit and losing weight.

Three people will conduct Five Day Plans in 1963 in some areas.



"Blonde Old Grad," Esther Renner, urging smokers to quit at the University of Maryland program.

Training sessions were held each morning at these pilot programs for the doctor-minister teams, and each evening the public came in to learn how to stop smoking. The evening sessions also included a demonstration by McFarland and Folkenberg of the techniques they had presented to the teams in the morning. The dynamics of the two men working with each other and their charisma in communicating with large groups of people was a rare team effort which inspired and stimulated not only the participants but the ministers and physicians who were in training.

Other training programs were held during 1963 in Orlando, Florida; Sacramento, California; and Calgary, Alberta, Canada, with large groups participating in each city. A continuing percentage of 75-80% of successful participants completed the course and stopped smoking at the end of the five days. The Five-Day Plan was no longer a small town affair.

The training programs were indeed a fulfillment of the dream McFarland and Folkenberg had held. They had often read such statements as "The Lord has ordained that Christian physicians and nurses shall labor in connection with those who preach the Word. The medical missionary work is to be bound up with the gospel ministry." Now a combined effort by ministers and doctors was being used successfully in a worldwide church-sponsored program, carrying out the instruction of Ellen White, as they saw it, in a combined medical-ministerial approach.

The General Conference president, R. R. Figuhr, wrote in *The Ministry* magazine. "Of all people, Seventh-day Adventists are the logical ones to carry on this important crusade of liberating people from nicotine enslavement. . . . The combination of doctor-minister called for in these clinics is precisely the type of cooperative service our denomination has long emphasized."

The time seemed ripe to conduct a program for New York City, and the program at Hunter College was scheduled with an opening date of January 12, 1964. No one knew that the Select Committee on Smoking and Health set up by the Surgeon General's office of the United States government would be issuing its report on January 11 with its subsequent splash on newspaper front pages across the country on January 12.

THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D. C., Friday, March 1, 1963 A-5

SMOKING Class Is Inspired By Blond Old Grad

Continued From Page A-1
to you," he said, "smoke at a cocktail party this week end, and they're going to offer you a cigarette. That is the time for you to smoke out, to publish your intentions. Say, 'Well, thanks, I've stopped.' Just say that. No thanks, I've stopped."

Take It Easy
"Take a glass of ginger ale and nurse it along through the evening. Just take it easy. You'll make it," he said.

Then Dr. McFarland introduced Esther Renner, a member of the class of November 1961. One look at her—blond, slightly plump—was an inspiration to us all. You could hardly make good.

Her dental background: Right you're addition to nicotine. Right smoking two or more packs of cigarettes a day, never able to quit for more than three hours at a time. Then her boss, ever kind as to the time she spent talking with a cigarette and enjoying it. They can get her to Boston, so, special enrollment in the Five-Day Plan.

"I feel much healthier, look better, not so nervous, can take my work and look my weight problems," she declared. "And your work output." Day Plan starts. "Well, Wash."

Dr. McFarland recognized good old TPDP, the weight-control schedule. "Course, but a little saddy, of meal nibbling, substantial and snatched at every meal. "One note, if necessary"—day and reminded on that exercise.

Try All-ups and non-ups—would the lessons be had especially push-ups away from. "Fit on the outside" would be the lesson," he said. "And an important exercise is the role take out places on the ground. Thank you! When someone of the ground, you that great piece of pie."

5th-DAY RULES

More are the rules for the final day of the Five-Day Plan to stop smoking:

Cold Milties: Friction over entire body; overkissed without condiments or coffee.

Test yourself at lunch. Don't avoid smoking companions—but don't push it. You'll have a nervous day in fatigue or overeating. But it's getting stronger every day. Stick to the diet and medicine suggestions.

Good luck and the very best of health.

as Mr. Folkenberg put it. They were little waltzing with the school. "MY DECISION," she declared. "I've signed up for the Five-Day Plan."

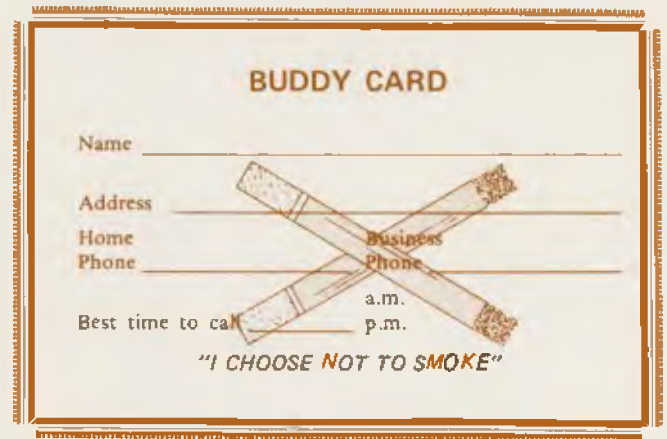
and my girl was a little waltzy. "I left the university with a diploma—'You Five-Day Plan had stopped my smoking.' Thank you, Lady Nico, but it had driven me to drink."

The *Atlantic Union Recorder* probably put it best, reporting on February 1, 1964:

Every unfolding facet of the Five-Day Plan was thrilling evidence of God's providence. First was the very successful record of the Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking conducted by Elder Elman Folkenberg and Dr. J. Wayne McFarland in 155 locations across the country. Nearly 20,000 have attended these Five-Day sessions since the plan's inception . . . three years ago. Then with its tested and proven status the plan returned to the Greater New York area where a pilot project was conducted at Bates Memorial Hospital, in Yonkers, (June, 1962). Now the plan was ready for its major debut in New York City. . . .

It was so evident that no human planning could be wiser than the devising of providence. News media men quipped that the promoters of the Five-Day Plan must have gazed into the 'crystal ball' in their timing of the program to coincide with the United States Surgeon General's strong attack on the evils of smoking. The 'crystal ball' actually was the leadings of God through prayerful planning, counselling, and listening. The constant build-up from the early medical research reports associating smoking with the various ailments of the body had crescendoed into the most recent report by the United States Surgeon General's office concerning smoking and citing its harmful effects.

As a result of the Five-Day Plan in New York, the focus of trend setting and image impact, Seventh-day Adventists have been projected into the limelight of national health education.



The Five-day Plan in New York also received nationwide coverage on the CBS Evening News; McFarland and Folkenberg appeared on the NBC "Today Show," Folkenberg on "What's My Line?" and McFarland on the Arlene Francis New York radio show. Reference to and reports of the Five-Day Plan appeared in a number of the popular magazines of the day. *Harper's Bazaar* of August, 1964, interviewed Dr. McFarland for an article entitled "Why do Women Who Swear off Cigarettes Gain Weight?" "The New Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking" was reported in depth in *Pageant*, August, 1963. And *Parents* in July, 1964, under the title "Our Children Made Us Stop Smoking" reported in detail a Five-Day Plan attended by the author. This program had been conducted by Pastor O. J. Mills and Dr. David Ruggles in Hartford, Connecticut.

One of the comments made at the Hunter College program was that the Plan's effectiveness was not limited to the personalities of the two men who had originated it. It was proving an effective program in the hands of trained ministers and physicians and other paramedical workers, many of whom added their personalities and ideas to the basic principles. As has been proven in more recent years, the Five-Day Plan can be effectively used by lay people as well. Instructional films were prepared showing McFarland and Folkenberg carrying on an actual Five-Day Plan. Any lay person could utilize the minister's lectures, or the physician's lectures, or both, and conduct the whole Plan even if a team was unavailable. These filmed materials were rendered even more effective with outstanding introductions obtained by Folkenberg from such well-known authorities as Alton Ochsner, M.D., of Tulane University who was always a supporter of the Five-Day Plan, and Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling, Ph.D.

During the period following the Surgeon General's report many people were frightened and eager to give up the cigarette habit. Tremendous coverage by the news media continued for the Five-Day Plan, as well as other smoking-cessation clinics which had sprung up, some of which incorporated parts of the Five-Day Plan.

In its survey of these various programs, the *New York Times Magazine* of January 26, 1964, gave prominence to the Five-Day Plan

. . . Sponsored by the National Health Foundation, a Seventh-day Adventist organization, [which] has been offered more than 200 times in cities across the coun-



try—most recently in New York, where a capacity crowd of 1,600 turned up at the opening session in the Hunter College auditorium. Participants attend one-and-a-half-hour sessions on five successive days. There is no charge.

A detailed description of the Plan followed, and the writer concluded that:

As the meetings continue, more and more participants report that they have stopped and that the withdrawal symptoms are diminishing. Some are already feeling fine; food tastes just wonderful and they are smelling delightful odors they had forgotten existed. "Get past the third day and you're around the corner," laggards are assured.

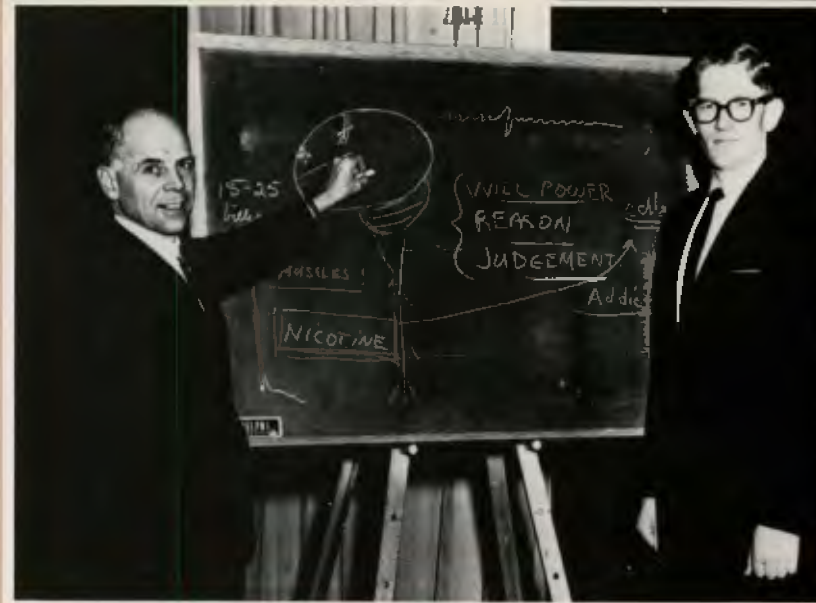
An atmosphere similar to a low-pitched revival meeting builds up at these later meetings, and participants may be gently reminded that praying, too, might help. By the fifth evening, some 70 per cent of those attending feel that they have indeed stopped smoking.

Recently Dr. Kenneth Cooper, in his book *The Aerobic Program for Total Well Being* (1983), has said that most of the recommendations he makes on stopping smoking "come from the 5-Day quit-smoking plans as developed by the Seventh-day Adventist church. Without question, the Adventist Program is one of the best available."

Because the Five-Day Plan was conducted as a community service, usually free of any charge or with a minimal fee of \$5-10 for materials, the church reaped tremendous benefits. The public saw Seventh-day Adventists as a church offering a "disinterested" service to the community. In the beginning, the Five-Day Plan was never conducted either before or following an evangelistic meeting. It was presented simply as a Seventh-day Adventist contribution to the community. In more recent years it has been used effectively as an introduction to other seminars, such as vegetarian cooking schools, Revelation seminars, and even evangelistic meetings. Physicians, dentists and other paramedical personnel, ministers and laymen have combined their efforts in many ways to use the Five-Day Plan for the glory of God and the benefit of millions of people. It has probably been one of the most effective public relations instruments the church has ever had.

In 1964 Elman Folkenberg went to the General Conference as head of the Temperance Department and McFarland went to Philadelphia to pursue postgraduate work and then to join the staff of Thomas Jefferson University Medical College. The General Conference Temperance Department assumed control and management of the Five-Day Plan. Today, it is still promoted by the Health and Temperance Department of the General Conference and in 1985 was updated and incorporated in a new Breathe-Free Plan to help people stop smoking.

From the very beginning, the Five-Day Plan was the product of a united effort by a physician, a pastor, and the leadership of the church. In addition to developing the psychological aspect of the Plan, Folkenberg did most of the promotion and publicity for the program. McFarland continued to contribute expertise as to content and format, providing scientific evidence and insisting on statistics being kept. He also urged a follow-up



Much of the success of the training sessions for the Five-Day Plan can be attributed to the remarkable working relationship and dynamics of the two architects of the Plan—McFarland and Folkenberg.

program to help the smoker remain a non-smoker. This was not done without some conflict among the brethren, however, as some saw no need for these measures. McFarland felt the need to give credibility to the program by working in cooperation with the already established health agencies and in the end there was opportunity to work with not only the American Cancer Society and the American Heart Association but also the American Lung Association. All of these entities continue their cooperation today. Dr. Luther Terry, the Surgeon General under whose direction the Surgeon General's report was issued in 1964 was a strong supporter of the Five-Day Plan and indeed contributed his services on a number of occasions here in the United States as well as overseas. Shortly before his death, and at the World Health Organization, he worked with Dr. McFarland in the British Isles.

McFarland began reporting the Five-Day Plan in the medical literature soon after its inception. Articles appeared in *Connecticut Medicine*, *Nursing Outlook*, *Archives of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation*, and *Modern Medicine*. Papers were presented at the Fourth International Congress of Physical Medicine, the First National Conference on Smoking and Health, the First European Council on Smoking and Health, the Conference on Hospital Programs for Respiratory Disease, the Workshop on Office Management of Cigarette Smoking, and the Second as well as the Third World Conference on Smoking and Health.

After McFarland joined the staff of Thomas Jefferson University Medical College in the Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Department, he was given a secretary, an office and the use of a teaching auditorium at the college for conducting the Five-Day Plan. He was also given an assignment in the Department of Preventative Medicine. The Alumni Bulletin of the University reported, "In Philadelphia the 5-Day Plan has received Jefferson's full support. Most important, the program has the confidence of those who have tried it and come out quitters."

TANAAN

Tapahtumapaistan on Sanomat. Tänään siv Turku.
Päiställe toivotut toimitettava perille meistään kolme päivä semistä.



Lääkeriiteen tohtori J. Wayne McFarland (vas.) selvitti 26-vuotiaasta vieroitushjelmaansa professori Leo Hirvosen avustuksella.

Vieroitushjelmalla sulku tupakalle

Vaikka tupakaton päivä tuli ja meni jo viime viikolla, voi pisteen sauhuttelulle laittaa muulloinkin. Suomessa parhaillaan vierailleva tohtori J. Wayne McFarland kehitti jo 25 vuotta sitten oivalleen menetelmän, jolla tupakan kiroista pääsee irti viidessä päivässä. Nimeltään tämä vieroitushjelma onkin irtu tupakasta viidessä päivässä.

McFarland on parhaillaan meassamme kouluttamassa henkilöitä, jotka puolestaan vetävät vieroituskursseja eri puolilla maata.

McFarlandin ot kokeiltu vuosien

hyvin tuloksin ympäri maailmaa. Tähän mennessä kurssin opit ovat saaneet tuta jo kymmenet miljoonat ihmiset Suomessa vieroituskursseille on osallistunut yli 10 000 tupakoitsijaa.

Tänä vuonna järjestetään Suomessa 12 kurssia, joista yksi pyritään ennen vuodenvaihdetta pitämään Turussakin. Täällä on aiemminkin järjestetty vastaavia kursseja, ja suosio on ollut suuri, kertoo professori Leo Hirvonen Oulun yliopiston fytologian laitokselta. Laitokseen on kutsuttu McFarlandin.

Kurssialasia seurataan kurssin jälkeinkin ja noin 20 prosenttia osallistujista on lupakoimattomia vielä vuoden kuluttua kurssin loppumisesta.

Irtu tupakasta viidessä päivässä vieroitushjelma perustuu tupakoitsijan elämän kokonaiskartoitukseen. Viisi iltapäivää kestävä kurssi pyritään tupakoitsija vieroitamaan sekä psyykkisistä että fyysisistä riippuvaisuudesta tupakkaan. Lisäksi kurssilla annetaan ohjeita oikeasta ruokavaliosta, liikunnasta ja rentoutumisesta.



Los Dros Habenicht y McFarland aconsejan a ex-alumnos del "Plan".

EVALUACION DE UN ESFUERZO PRO FUMADORES

La Asociación Puertorriqueña tuvo el privilegio de contar con la presencia del Dr. J. Wayne McFarland en una reunión celebrada para ex-pariticipantes de un "Plan de Cinco Días Para Dejar de Fumar", en el Colegio de Abogados de Puerto Rico el 28 de noviembre de 1965.

Los ex-fumadores fueron fortalecidos en su decisión de no fumar y de ayudar a otros a dejar el hábito por los consejos del Dr. McFarland. Entre seguir el plan, lo que, según el Dr. McFarland, constituye el récord más largo de que tenga conocimiento.

El grupo también tuvo ocasión de ver la última película de temperancia, titulada "Sin lugar a dudas".

Americo Ciuffardi

It was here that Elsa-Lil Berglund who had distinguished herself in research on smoking and health in Norway joined Dr. McFarland as research programmer sponsored with grants to Thomas Jefferson Medical College from the American Cancer Society for one year and the U. S. Public Health Service the second year. This research resulted in a paper entitled, "Present Status of Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking" by McFarland, Berglund and Albrecht. It was presented at the First National Conference on Smoking and Health in San Diego, California, September 9-11, 1970. A high degree of acceptance was accorded the statistical evidence as to the efficacy of the Five-Day Plan from national authorities on smoking and health. The percentage of those not smoking after one year was carefully analyzed for 378 individuals who had taken the Plan. Thirty-seven percent of those who attended three to five days of the program remained non-smokers at the end of the year. This success rate was above the 15-30% average reported for most other smoking cessation programs.

The research program at Jefferson was an important phase of the Five-Day Plan, for while the Temperance Department of the General Conference was in charge of organization and promotion and now directed the Five-Day Plan for the church, Dr. McFarland, with his appointment at Jefferson and research grants, was able to prove statistically that the Five-Day Plan is an effective and viable program for those who want to quit smoking. This research placed the Five-Day Plan on a sound scientific basis. Mrs. Berglund's contribution was immeasurable.

Pages of testimony could be written about experiences of scores of workers everywhere who have successfully used the Five-Day Plan. It has broken down barriers, reached all classes, races, religions with help for the body and mind. Ultimately it reaches the spirit of men everywhere. It has opened doors into churches, schools, universities, government agencies, hospitals and nations of the world. The Five-Day Plan has been used effectively in all eleven divisions of the Seventh-day Adventist world Church. Millions of people have been able to see the Adventist church as a caring community, and indeed many have chosen to join the body of believers.

Perhaps that special element of the Five-Day Plan which is missing in other smoking cessation clinics is best described by Charles Portis. He was the reporter of the *New York Herald Tribune* who was a participant in the live-in program at Bates Memorial Hospital in Yonkers, New York. It was the last day, and Portis wrote that a Miss Naderson, also a participant, had given a "moving testimony to the efficacy" of the Plan the day before. Now she said at the breakfast table that "she rather regretted leaving the place. We were eating our wheat germ and other rather roughish things . . . and she was, in her manner, addressing us at large, as if we were all in a lifeboat together.

"This food is better than you get at the Waldorf," she said, "And do you know why?"

"No, why is it better, Rosalie?" I asked.

"Because it's prepared with love, that's why. And there's little enough love in the world as it is."



GET TOGETHER WITH THE PAST!

Subscribe to *Adventist Heritage* — the only publication exclusively devoted to recounting the history of Adventism around the world

Regular Subscription: one year (2 issues)	\$7.00
Overseas (Surface Mail)	\$9.00
Overseas (Air Mail)	\$12.00

Send your check or International Money Order to:

ADVENTIST HERITAGE
Loma Linda University
Box 1844
Riverside, California 92515

ADVENTIST HERITAGE
LOMA LINDA UNIVERSITY
BOX 1844
RIVERSIDE, CA 92515

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
RIVERSIDE, CA
PERMIT NO. 206

