

# Adventist Heritage

VOL. 13, NO. 1



1888 Minneapolis General Conference

# CONTRIBUTORS

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

*Our cover shows the exterior of the Minneapolis Seventh-day Adventist church, where the 1888 General Conference was held. Courtesy of Dr. Elmer Martinson*

*Robert W. Olson*

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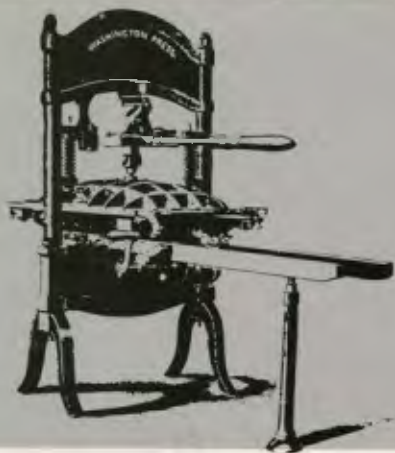
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# THE EDITOR'S STUMP

I'm not sure why it is, but Adventists seem to have a fascination with disaster and disappointment. It has become more and more common in recent years to commemorate October 22, the day of the "Great Disappointment." This year we add a commemoration of the 1888 General Conference Session, the dates of which, ironically, included October 22. Ellen White considered the 1888 session a disaster, "an incomprehensible tug-of-war." Maybe a people who expect the fiery destruction of the planet are drawn to all sorts of other disasters as well. After all, before ADRA added "development" to the church's relief activities, we specialized in "disaster relief."

But maybe that's what these commemorations are all about—not disaster, but disaster relief. We do not, after all, dwell on "disappointment" in our October 22 celebrations. We dwell on hope, the "blessed hope." For that matter, those who passed through the "Great Disappointment" didn't usually call it that; they referred to the "passing of the time." What they recalled was not the disappointment, but the tremendous joy and unity they experienced as they prepared for Christ's coming. Forever after, whenever they enjoyed a particularly inspiring occasion, they would say it was "just like the summer of 1844."

Nor do we celebrate the "incomprehensible tug-of-war" which took place in 1888. We celebrate the message of "faith and the righteousness of Christ" which was proclaimed there. Notice I did not say "righteousness by faith." Ellen White rarely if ever used that term to refer to the message of 1888. She spoke of "faith and the righteousness of Christ" or the "righteousness of Christ in connection with the law," or similar terms. There was a special emphasis on Christ and His righteousness, while obedience was not neglected.

In this issue, we learn a great deal more about what E. J. Waggoner actually said on these topics at the 1888 General Conference session itself. Clinton Wahlen, a young minister pastoring in Crescent City, California, has just completed a Master of Divinity thesis on E. J. Waggoner's theology, including the most authoritative analysis yet of what Waggoner said in Minneapolis. He allowed us to extract an article from his thesis.

ADVENTIST HERITAGE has always been a journal which

has broad, popular appeal rather than being one directed exclusively toward scholars. Yet when we touch on an issue that has occasioned as much debate as 1888, we owe it to the author and to our readers to include footnotes and references. This allows those readers who have a special interest in the topic to study further, and gives all of us some indication of the thoroughness with which the author has done his work.

Our 1888 special issue is further enriched by a large number of never-before-published photographs. Jim Nix, our managing editor, made contact with Dr. Elmer Martinson, a physician in Wayzata, Minnesota, who supplied us with photos actually taken at the 1888 session. Dorothy M. Burke, a retired librarian who worked in the Minneapolis public library, located and captioned a number of city scenes from the late 1880s and early 1890s. The Hennepin County Historical Society provided still more Minneapolis scenes.

Meanwhile, Beatrice Shafer of Portland, Tennessee, responding to an article about R. D. Hottel I wrote for *Ministry* magazine, sent me a photograph of the Hottel family and suggested I contact a grandson of Hottel, Kermit Dove, for more photos. Mr. Dove, who still lives in the Hottel family hometown of New Market, Virginia, did indeed have photographs of his grandfather, and he suggested I also contact retired minister Richard E. Harris, who serves as Archivist of Shenandoah Valley Academy in New Market. Pastor Harris kindly arranged for the copying of the Dove photos as well as some he had collected at the Academy.

This summer Jim Nix was visited by E. J. Waggoner's great-grandson, Dr. James Peters of St. Helena, California. Dr. Peter's mother, Mrs. Andrew (Hazel Howard) Peters, allowed us to copy her collection of pictures of her illustrious ancestor. All these individuals have helped us to do one of the things ADVENTIST HERITAGE does best: present a visual record of Adventist history. It is our hope that these photographs will allow our readers to recall 1888 with greater accuracy and interest, and that the message of that conference will inspire them as never before.

RONALD D. GRAYBILL

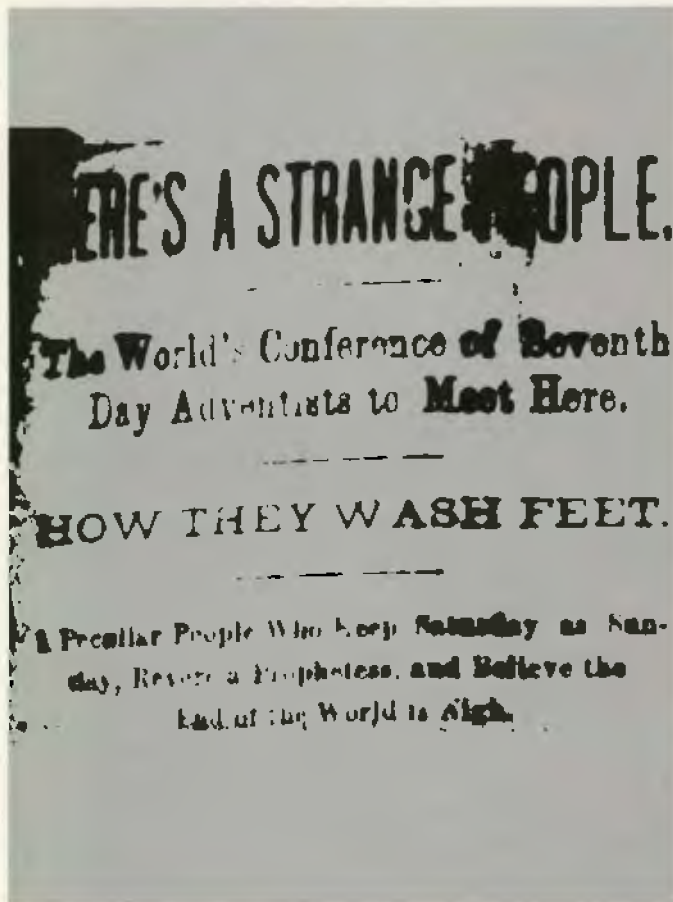


*This picturesque bridge was actually the city's second suspension bridge across the Mississippi River. It carried Hennepin Avenue across the waterway.*

Ronald D. Graybill

# FACES OF MINNEAPOLIS

THE CITY WELCOMES ADVENTISTS IN 1888



Next week one of the most peculiar religious sects in the country, the Seventh Day Adventists, begin a world's conference in this city. And while they are at it they mean to stay a matter of three weeks before they finish their business.

The Seventh Day Adventists sprang into existence in 1843 and 1844, when the famous William Miller, after long and deep study of the prophecies in the Bible, startled the country with the positive prediction that the world was to come to an end in 1844.

The Seventh Day Adventists have some peculiar ideas and as a result some peculiar men in their ranks. Elder James White, who died a few years ago, was for a long time at their head. He was a strong, hard-headed man whose word was law among his people. His widow, Mrs. Ellen G. White, now here at the conference, is the only prophetess the church ever had and she is revered accordingly. She is a homely, plain woman who preaches in the pulpit with all the fire and severity of a man. Of late years she has not had many "visions" but in the old days she had them frequently going into a trance-like condition. Her utterances were received as coming from God himself and were revered and obeyed accordingly.

Another peculiar custom of the Seventh Day Adventists is that they hold to the old biblical custom of washing one another's feet like the Dunkards. At stated seasons the ceremony takes place in the church with all the solemnity of a communion, the brethren and the sisters performing the service for each other with prayer.

—Minneapolis Journal, October 13, 1888, p.8

The annual general conference of the Seventh Day Adventists of America will convene next Wednesday morning at the Adventist church on Lake street. Extensive preparations are being [made] for the accommodation of the expected delegates and visitors, and as a sort of preparation for the regular exercises of the conference, daily sessions devoted to Bible study and theological instruction have been held since Wednesday last.

All the arrangements for the entertainment of the visiting delegates are in the hands of the Minnesota conference. Though it is not a thickly settled region up where the church is, it is thought that all can be accommodated within a radius of a few blocks. A big dining hall has been built across the street from the church and supplies have been bought in large quantities, and here the inner wants of the visitors will be cared for.

The dining room has twelve long tables, capable of accommodating at one sitting over two hundred people. For sleeping quarters a number of houses in the neighborhood have been rented, and the hospitable Adventists have also thrown open their own houses. To accommodate the overflow eight or ten army tents have been pitched in the open field just across the street, and in the lack of a better place the more hardy delegates will pass their nights under this shelter.

—St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 15, 1888, p.6

The preparations for the opening of the Adventist general conference to-day have gone on steadily, and now in a worldly as well as a spiritual way all things are in readiness for the reception of the visitors and delegates. A large attendance is looked for, and preparations have been made accordingly. The army tents pitched in regulation style in the vacant lot adjoining the dining hall, have been floored and yesterday were provided with cots, chairs, cooking stoves, a small mirror for each, and a few other of the adjuncts to temporary housekeeping. Tables are set in the dining room for 200 persons. Each table is covered with a bright red cloth, and the attendants are comely young ladies from church society. Everything in and about the culinary department looks as neat as a pin, and an especially appetizing odor of good, wholesome home-cooked food pervades the establishment.

The large basement of the church will be used as a reception room. In this are long tables, surrounded with chairs and a couple of extemporized toilet rooms, and in the center a roaring wood fire gives the room a genial warmth. Here is gathered all the reading matter published under the auspices of the conference, including both home and foreign synods, periodicals, pamphlets and general literature concerning Adventist work. Adjoining the church is the office of the international tract association, and this, with the reception room, will be the rendezvous of the delegates when the meetings are not in session.

—St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 17, 1888, p.6



*Minneapolis in 1888 was a major railroad and wheat milling center.*

*Delegates to the 1888 General Conference were able to get about Minneapolis aboard the city's horse-drawn streetcars.*



The Seventh Day Adventist biblical institute, which has been in session at the little church, Lake St. and 4th Ave S, finished its labors yesterday. This morning at 9 o'clock the great world's conference began, with some 175 delegates present.

The Adventists who had slumbered peacefully all night in their little tents pitched army fashion all about the church, were up betimes this morning and took a hearty breakfast in the big dining hall. Plainly dressed but rosy-cheeked Advent girls acted as Hebes and passed the edibles about. This peculiar people believe in good food, plainly cooked and plentifully eaten, and they carry their theories into practice, as the piles of graham bread and the quantities of well cooked oatmeal testified.

Dr. J. H. Kellogg, of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, is the leader of their health reform movement, which is looked upon in much the same light as a religious crusade. The Adventists are all vegetarians and refrain from eating meat, not because they think it sinful, but because they think it unhealthful. The more rigid of them use no salt, no sugar and no butter or lard. They eat largely of fruit and grain products. And the robust muscles and rosy glow of health which most of them display show how effective this regimen is.

—Minneapolis Journal, October 17, 1888, p.2

## A QUESTION OF TEN HORNS.

The Adventist Conference Tackles  
a Knotty Point.

FROM DISTANT CLIMES.

Thirty Widely Separated Conferences Represented at the Opening Session Today.



Courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society

*Local newspaper reporters attended the conference, listened intently to the General Conference debates, recounted the mission stories, and even dug into Adventist history to give their readers a better understanding of the "strange people" who were visiting their city.*





*Reporters like this one at the Minneapolis Journal and other local newspapers took a keen interest in the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference in 1888 and wrote almost daily about the personalities and proceedings of the conference.*

The Adventist began work bright and early this morning. At 7:15 a special committee met to consider measures and means to be taken in consequence of the introduction into congress of the Blair bill to make an amendment to the constitution providing for Sunday observance. The Adventists, holding as they do to the old Biblical idea of a seventh day Sabbath, do not, of course, relish this sort of legislation. This morning it was decided to send out 400,000 copies of the *American Sentinel*, which is published, as Rev. E. H. Gates said, to show up the sophistry of the National Reform party which is trying to bring about the religious legislation to which they are opposed. . . .

At 10:30 the conference took up the prophecy of Daniel, contained in the story of the "Beast With the Ten Horns." It is generally conceded that the prophecy refers to the breaking up of the Roman empire into the 10 kingdoms after the descent of the barbarians on Rome. The question that troubled the conference was as to the location of one of these kingdoms. Elder Geo P. Stahr [sic] wanted the conference to take a vote on the question.

"I'd like," he said, "to put an everlasting settler on this question so it would not come up for argument again."

Cries of "Amen," "Amen."

Elder Waggoner did not want the question settled until it had been investigated, and he moved an amendment that the council resolve to investigate the question until each member for

himself had arrived at an intelligent answer to the question. This proposition created considerable stir. A good many members of the conference wanted to know what they were to preach in the meantime.

W. C. White said he should feel compelled to preach what he believed, whatever way the conference decided the question, but he added: "If I should disagree with my brethren who have studied the question more than me, I'd touch just as light as I could on my view and try to bridge it clean over to theirs."

"Amen! Amen!" came the solemn tones of approval from all over the house.

Mr. White urged the passage of a motion that certain questions be made topics for consideration by congregations and not settled and decided for them beforehand by the general conference. Matters of this sort occupied the conference most of the day.

—Minneapolis Journal, October 18, 1888, p.2

The Seventh Day Adventists are a thrifty and sober people, and they have a thrifty and sober religion. Thrift, sobriety and industry are the cardinal virtues of their creed, and under the laws of their religion these virtues have become embedded in the character of the people. They are taught to take religion into their every-day life, and to consult the Bible in all the emergencies of life.



Courtesy of Dr. Elmer Martinson

*This familiar picture is commonly believed to have been taken at the 1888 General Conference Session.*



Courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society

*The Minneapolis Journal, ten years old in 1888, gave regular coverage to the General Conference Session.*



*Delegates like R. D. Hottel took time while in Minneapolis to visit the city's great flour mills and witness scenes like this one in the interior of the Pillsbury-Washburn Mills.*

But if they have made a religion of business they have also made a business of religion, and they tackle difficult problems in theology with about the same industry that an earnest man would assail a cord of wood. . . .

At precisely 9:45 what is known as the "prayer and social meeting" was called to order. Mrs. E. G. White, who is both priestess and prophet of this strange denomination, addressed the conference. Forty years of experience in the denomination, of which she is one of the founders, has given a sort of sacred character to the utterances of Mrs. White, and everything that she says is listened to with the greatest reverence by pastors and people. She spoke this morning on the necessity of a consecrated ministry. . . .

Elder Waggoner continued his instructions on the subject of "law and the gospel" when members of the conference were called together at 9 o'clock for Bible study.

—Minneapolis Journal, October 19, 1888, p.2

The tinkling church bell that hangs in the tower that crowns the little church, at the corner of Lake St. and 4th Ave. S, is hot with ringing today. Bright and early this morning its clear tones summoned the Adventists from their slumbers to breakfast. A little later it rang them into chapel and all day long it has been

## TRUTH TRAVELS IN SHIPS.

Adventists Load a South Sea Island Ship With Tracts.

A VERY THRIFTY FOLK.

Mrs. Ellen G. White, the Prophetess and Founder of the Sect, Lectures Her People This Morning—Conference Notes.

Courtesy of Dr. Elmer Morrison



*"Plainly dressed but rosy-cheeked Advent girls acted as Hebes and passed the edibles about," explained the Minneapolis Journal as it described these waitresses in the dining facilities at the General Conference of 1888.*

## JOAN OF ARC LIVES AGAIN.

At Least Sister White Sees Visions  
as Joan Did.

### A REMARKABLE WOMAN

The Story of Her Connection with Those  
Peculiar People, the Seventh Day  
Adventists.

hard worked toiling out the hours of various meetings that the industrious Adventists have taken upon themselves to attend.

Beginning next Sunday, the first meeting, the devotional, now held at 7:45 in the morning, will begin at 5:30. When this proposition was presented to the conference this morning one of the members objected. He said that he was as strong physically as any one, but when the work began, as it did yesterday, at 5:30 in the morning and continued all day until nine o'clock at night, with no more than 15 minutes intermission, it became wearisome.

At this point a little woman who was sitting in a large rocking

chair on the right hand side arose and addressed the meeting. She spoke in slow, distinct and impressive tones. Every word she uttered seemed to make an impression. She said:

"I feel that we cannot afford to lose these meetings. Here are young men who want instruction. Many of them understand the theological questions, but they want the demonstration of the spirit. Otherwise our labor is like water spilled on a rock."

The speaker was no less a person than the renowned Sister Ellen G. White, one of the most remarkable women in the world today. Mrs. White is now 61 years old but her hair is just tinged with gray. She has a peculiar dark, swarthy face, a low brow and thick lips. A misfortune in her childhood left her with a face disfigured, but when one hears her speak one does not think of the ugly marks that this misfortune has left upon her.

Mrs. White has fame not only as speaker on temperance and religious topics, but she is a voluminous writer. She has written a Life of Christ, Sketches of the Life of Paul, and a kind of history of Christianity which she has called the "Conflict of Christ and Satan." But the most remarkable product of her pen is a series of volumes called "Testimonies." These contain a history of her visions in which she received warnings and admonitions for the benefit of the "latter church." She is supposed to have "special light" in regard to the signs that were to indicate the coming of the last days that precede the end of the world.

—Minneapolis Journal, October 20, 1888, p.2

Yesterday was the Sabbath of the Seventh Day Adventists, and they recognized it accordingly. In the morning Elder S. N. Haskell preached at the Advent Church, and in the afternoon Mrs. E. G. White, of California. Mrs. White is a sort of pro-

phetess, and everything she says is listened to by the Seventh Day Adventists with awe. She has been connected with this sect ever since its origin, and has revealed a number of things to the believers. Every pew was filled in the afternoon when she spoke, and a great many people could scarcely get inside the doors of the church. Mrs. White spoke for nearly an hour and a half, and did not seem to tire any, although she is very old.

She has a very clear and high pitched voice, so that there was no trouble in hearing every word she uttered. She was clad in a straight dress of black with nothing to break the somberness, save a tiny white collar about her neck and a heavy metallic chain which hung suspended near her waist, and she stood by the side of the pulpit with arms outstretched as if appealing to those in front of her. During her discourse many of the elders were moved to tears and as she uttered some especially prophetic sentiment, they would break out in one long, hollow murmur of "Amen".

The most of Mrs. White's sermon related to the controversy between Christ and Satan. She said the laws of God had never changed, despite the fact that many claimed so, and that the iniquity of the world was but the work which Satan began in heaven, and which would continue on until the end. All the time she was speaking Mrs. White kept rubbing her hands together as

though washing them in invisible water. After she had finished the regular meeting broke up and a social prayer meeting was held.

—Minneapolis Tribune, October 21, 1888, p.5

The Adventist general conference is rapidly drawing to a close. A large number of delegates departed for their homes and new field of labor last night, and the remainder will disperse at the close of the meeting which convenes Sunday morning.

According to the testimony of the delegates, the present conference has been not only a significant one as regards the amount and character of the business done, but it has been unusually animated. Opinions have been freely expressed and discussed, perhaps with a little more freedom than customary. And yet the utmost harmony reigned, and all go away feeling that much has been accomplished.

The business will all be finished to-day. After that till adjournment this exercise will be of a devotional order. A portion of the delegates will reassemble at Battle Creek next week and there finish up some business matters that come under their own jurisdiction. They express themselves as highly pleased with Minneapolis and their treatment here. The quiet and seclusion of their headquarters on Lake street was especially pleasing to them.

—St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 2, 1888, p.6



Courtesy of Minneapolis Public Library

*This Minneapolis crowd, about 1889, appears to be watching a circus parade on Hennepin Avenue. The photo was taken from the southwest corner of 7th Street, looking towards the Lumber Exchange on 5th Street.*

# ❧ **FACES AT MINNEAPOLIS** ❧

## Delegates at the 1888 Conference

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### Beverly Herbrandson Koester

*A total of 96 delegates attended the 1888 General Conference session in Minneapolis. Photo collections in several Adventist institutions, family descendants and files of old periodicals have all been sources for the 77 photos published here. Only a few of the pictures show the delegates at the ages they were in 1888.*



Courtesy of Gerdlin Beckner

**Judson B. Beckner**  
1851-1916  
Missouri



**Franklin E. Belden**  
1858-1945  
General Conference



**Daniel T. Bourdeau**  
1835-1905  
General Conference



Courtesy of Pacific Press

**Willis C. Boynton**  
1857-1945  
Nebraska



Courtesy of Andrews University Heritage Center

**Almond Jerod Breed**  
1847-1938  
Wisconsin



**Marvin Herrick Brown**  
1844-1931  
New York

Courtesy of Mrs. Paul Hamel



**Philander H. Cady**  
1833-1897  
Wisconsin



**Louis Richard Conradi**  
1856-1939  
Central Europe

Courtesy of Review and Herald



**R. B. Craig**  
1856-1932  
Indiana



**Henry W. Decker**  
1837-1926  
Upper Columbia



**William Herbert Edwards**  
1854-1938  
General Conference

Courtesy of Review and Herald



**Clement Eldridge**  
Michigan



**Jerome Fargo**  
1824-1899  
Michigan



**Eugene William Farnsworth**  
1847-1935  
General Conference



**Charles William Flaiz**  
1858-1929  
Kentucky

Courtesy of Mildred Ireland



**John Preston Gardiner**  
1851-1933  
Nebraska

Courtesy of Andrews University Heritage Center



**Edward Harmon Gates**  
1855-1940  
Colorado



**J. B. Goodrich**  
1830-1912  
Maine

Courtesy of Andrews University Heritage Center



**Otho C. Godsmark**  
1861-1926  
General Conference



**John Everett Graham**  
1850-1935  
North Pacific Conference



**Harrison Grant**  
1821-1901  
Minnesota

Courtesy of E.G. White Estate



**William H. Hall**  
1841-1932  
Michigan

Courtesy of Mary E. Knight



**C. P. Haskell**  
1851-1930  
Colorado



**Stephen Nelson Haskell**  
1833-1922  
California and British Field





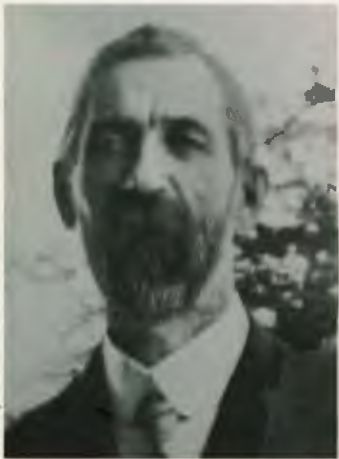
**Archibald R. Henry**  
1839-1909  
General Conference



**Robert DeWitt Hottel**  
1857-1943  
Virginia



**William S. Hyatt**  
1857-1936  
Wisconsin



Courtesy of Review and Herald

**Henry R. Johnson**  
1856-1933  
Iowa



Courtesy of E.G. White Estate

**Lewis Johnson**  
1851-1940  
Minnesota



**Alonzo T. Jones**  
1850-1923  
California & General Conf.



**Charles Harriman Jones**  
1850-1936  
California



Courtesy of General Conference Archives

**Dan T. Jones**  
1855-1901  
Missouri



**Robert Mead Kilgore**  
1839-1912  
General Conference



**Sands Harvey Lane**  
1844-1906  
General Conference



**Horatio S. Lay**  
1828-1900  
Michigan



Courtesy of Valentine Leer

**Valentine Leer**  
1850-1926  
Dakota



**Charles Clarke Lewis**  
1857-1924  
Minnesota



**Harmon Lindsay**  
1835-1919  
Michigan



Courtesy of Review and Herald

**David Edward Lindsey**  
1850-1927  
General Conference



Courtesy of Andrews University Heritage Center

**John Gottlieb Matteson**  
1835-1896  
Denmark, Norway and Sweden



**Chester C. McReynolds**  
1853-1937  
Kansas



Courtesy of Andrews University Heritage Center

**F. L. Mead**  
?-1901  
Minnesota



**E. Edgard Miles**  
1859-1933  
New England



**Madison Bottenfield Miller**  
1844-1917  
Michigan



Courtesy of General Conference Archives

**H. M. Mitchell**  
1848-1904  
Ohio



**Allen Moon**  
1845-1923  
Minnesota



**J. H. Morrison**  
1841-1918  
Iowa



Courtesy of Pacific Press

**N. P. Nelson**  
1870-1924  
Dakota



**Henry Nicola**  
1834-1929  
Iowa



**Andrew D. Olsen**  
1851-1890  
Minnesota



**William Ostrander**  
1849-1924  
Michigan



**William Warren Prescott**  
1855-1944  
Michigan



**Thomas H. Purdon**  
1841-1910  
Vermont



Courtesy of Review and Herald

**J. W. Raymond**  
1835-1924  
Pennsylvania

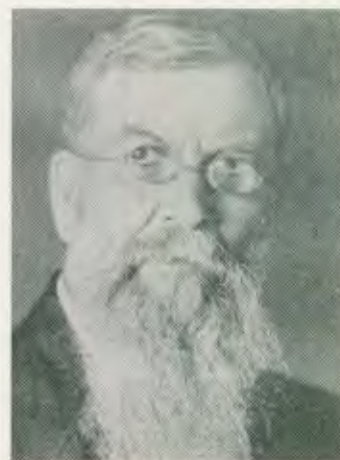


Courtesy of Review and Herald

**Joseph Madison Rees**  
1844-1909  
Tennessee



**Asa T. Robinson**  
1850-1949  
New England



**Greenberry G. Rupert**  
1848-?  
Michigan and South America



**William Wallace Sharp**  
1851-1936  
Wisconsin



**Bernt Mathias Shull**  
1861-1937  
Wisconsin



**Uriah Smith**  
1832-1903  
General Conference



**W. R. Smith**  
Iowa



**Thomas Haughey Starbuck**  
1843-1930  
Northern Pacific Conference



Courtesy of Review and Herald

**Frank Dixon Starr**  
1851-1925  
Michigan



**George Burt Starr**  
1854-1944  
Illinois



**William James Stone**  
1851-1930  
West Virginia



**Asa Oscar Tait**  
1858-1941  
Illinois



Courtesy of Lucile Meyer

**Victor Thompson**  
1853-1930  
Indiana



**R. A. Underwood**  
1850-1932  
Ohio



**Isaac Doren Van Horn**  
1834-1910  
Michigan



**Ellet Joseph Waggoner**  
1855-1916  
California



**William Henry Wakeham**  
1858-1946  
Iowa



**Calvin Augustus Washburn**  
1835-1905  
Iowa



**J. W. Watt**  
1852-1930  
Missouri



Courtesy of Ruth Lunt

**Frank Henry Westphal**  
1858-1944  
Wisconsin



**William Byington White**  
1856-1948  
Dakota



**William Clarence White**  
1854-1937  
California



**Milton Charles Wilcox**  
1853-1935  
New York

**PHOTOGRAPHS  
OF THE  
FOLLOWING  
WERE NOT  
FOUND:**

Jonathan W. Bagby  
1837-1917  
Kansas

James N. Brant  
1851-1935  
Michigan

L. L. Chadwick  
Pennsylvania

William Covert  
1842-1917  
Indiana

A. Craw  
Illinois

N. R. Dixon  
1841-1916  
Kansas

T. H. Gibbs  
Central America and  
General Southern Field

Charles Andrew Hall  
1866-1917  
Kansas

John Friedrich Hanson  
1840-1902  
General Conference

James P. Henderson  
1843-1902  
Arkansas

W. N. Hyatt  
1858-1896  
Nebraska

Howard W. Miller  
1848-1931  
Michigan

Charles Wesley Olds  
1832-1909  
General Conference

C. H. Parsons  
Kansas

B. F. Purdham  
?-1937  
Indiana

L. J. Rousseau  
1857-1898  
Kansas

Samuel S. Shrock  
1856-1924  
Kansas

Thomas Turner Stevenson  
1854-1937  
Texas

J. E. Swift  
1858-1889  
Ohio

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To understand the importance of Waggoner's 1888 lectures, one needs to know something of the background of the man who delivered them as well as of the conference itself.

The year 1882 marked a significant turning point in E. J. Waggoner's life. At a camp meeting in Healdsburg during October, 1882, he had a most remarkable religious experience.

Suddenly a light shone about me, and the tent seemed illuminated, as though the sun were shining; I saw Christ crucified for me, and to me was revealed for the first time in my life the fact that God loved me and that Christ gave Himself for me personally. It was all for me.<sup>4</sup>

By the time of his "Damascus road" experience, Waggoner had contributed many articles to *The Signs of the Times*. The next year Waggoner began teaching Bible at the newly-opened Healdsburg College.<sup>5</sup> Somehow he also found time to pastor the Oakland Seventh-day Adventist Church and to help his father

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## CLINTON WAHLEN

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### *What Did E. J. Waggoner Say at Minneapolis?*

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E. J. Waggoner's lectures at the Minneapolis General Conference are among the most important in all of Adventist history, yet they were never published and no transcription of them has come to light. Partly because of this lack of decisive evidence, researchers have arrived at widely different conclusions concerning what Waggoner may have said at the session. They have speculated that he presented the essence of *Christ and His Righteousness*,<sup>1</sup> *The Glad Tidings*,<sup>2</sup> and/or Luther's reformation gospel.<sup>3</sup>

Now, however, with the help of primary source documents discovered in the last decade, it is possible to get a much more accurate picture of what Waggoner said at the historic Minneapolis conference.

edit *The Signs of the Times*.<sup>6</sup> Waggoner soon became widely known through his many articles.

A. T. Jones, whose name would become linked to Waggoner's in all discussions of the 1888 Minneapolis Conference, came to California in 1884 and relieved Waggoner of his teaching responsibilities. However, Waggoner returned to the biblical department of Healdsburg College in the fall of 1888.<sup>7</sup> He worked successively as assistant editor, co-editor, and editor of *The Signs of the Times*, as well as co-editing (with A. T. Jones) the *American Sentinel* from its inception in 1886.

Waggoner's pen proved as provocative as it was prolific. Articles of his in *The Youth's Instructor* and *The Signs of the Times* aroused the opposition of General Conference President George



# GENERAL CONFERENCE

# DAILY BULLETIN

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

### First Day's Proceedings.

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

Prayer was offered by Elder U. Smith. On motion Elder S. N. Haskell was appointed temporary chairman.

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

- CALIFORNIA—W. C. White, S. N. Haskell, A. T. Jones, C. H. Jones, E. J. Waggoner.
- COLORADO—E. R. Gates, C. P. Haskell.
- DAKOTA—W. H. White, N. H. Nelson, Valentine Lew.
- DELMAR—J. G. Matteson.
- ILLINOIS—G. B. Starr, A. G. Tait.
- INDIANA—Wm. Conner, Victor Thompson, R. F. Paddock, R. B. Cowg.
- IOWA—J. H. Morrison, C. A. Washburn, H. R. Johnson, W. H. Wakeham, W. B. Smith, H. Nicoll.
- KANSAS—C. A. Hall, L. J. Rousseau, C. McKeenolds, J. W. Bagby, S. S. Stone.
- KENTUCKY—C. W. Flint.
- MAINE—J. B. Goodrich.
- MICHIGAN—J. D. McHorn, J. Fargo, H. W. Miller, G. G. Rupert, Jacobus Lindsey, M. B. Miller, C. Eldridge, J. N. Grant, H. S. Lay, Wm. Osterman, F. D. Starr.
- MINNESOTA—A. D. Olson, L. Johnson, H. Grant, C. C. Lewis, Alfred Moon, F. L. Bear.
- MISSOURI—B. T. Jones, J. W. Watt, J. B. Heckner.
- NEBRASKA—J. T. Gardner, W. C. Boyden, W. N. Hyatt.
- NEW ENGLAND—A. T. Robinson, E. M. Miles.
- NEW YORK—M. H. Brown, M. C. Widock.
- NORWAY—J. G. Matteson.
- OHIO—R. A. Underwood, H. M. Mitchell, J. E. Swift.
- PENNSYLVANIA—J. W. Raymond, L. C. Chaswick.
- SWEDEN—J. G. Matteson.
- CENTRAL EUROPE—J. B. Conrad.
- TENNESSE—J. M. Hess.
- TEXAS—T. T. Newbloom.
- UPPER CALIFORNIA—H. W. Decker.
- VIRGINIA—R. D. Hattell.
- WEST VIRGINIA—W. J. Stone.
- WISCONSIN—A. J. Reed, W. W. Sharp, W. S. Hyatt, E. M. Skull, P. H. Cady.

CENTRAL AMERICA—T. H. Gibbs.  
GENERAL SOUTHERN FIELD—T. H. Gibbs.

The following were counted among the delegates by virtue of their having been in the employ of the General Conference during the whole or part of the year:

- S. H. Lane, G. C. Grosmark, D. T. Bourdoin, A. T. Jopp, E. W. Parsons, D. E. Lindsey, F. E. Belden, A. B. Henry, R. M. Kilgore, J. F. Hanson, C. W. Ojts, Frank Smith.

By vote of the conference, W. H. Shackock was chosen to represent the Northern Pacific Conference. The British field being without representation, it was voted that Elder S. N. Haskell represent that field. Also voted that Elder G. G. Rupert represent the South American field.

It was moved that the secretary of the Foreign Mission represent the missionary fields not otherwise represented.

On this motion Elder W. C. White expressed doubts as to the legality of the action of the conference in appointing delegates to represent those fields that have neglected to appoint their delegates. He moved that a committee of three be appointed by the chair to carefully consider the matter of the propriety of the conference appointing delegates when the states have neglected their duty in this matter.

The motion was carried, and the following committee appointed: W. C. White, A. T. Robinson, D. T. Jones.

The Conference of Arkansas presented a petition to be admitted into the General Conference. After some questions had been asked by different delegates concerning the constitution of the conference, and answered by Elders Henderson and Jones, the Arkansas Conference was, by unanimous vote, received into the General Conference, with Elder J. P. Henderson as delegate.

The motion was carried, and the following committee appointed: W. C. White, A. T. Robinson, D. T. Jones. The secretary of the conference read an interesting report of the organization of that conference, and after some interesting remarks by Elder S. N. Haskell on the establishment of the work in that distant land, a motion to adjourn this conference was carried.

A motion was made and carried to leave the appointment of the standing committees to the chair.

The meeting then adjourned to the call of the chair.

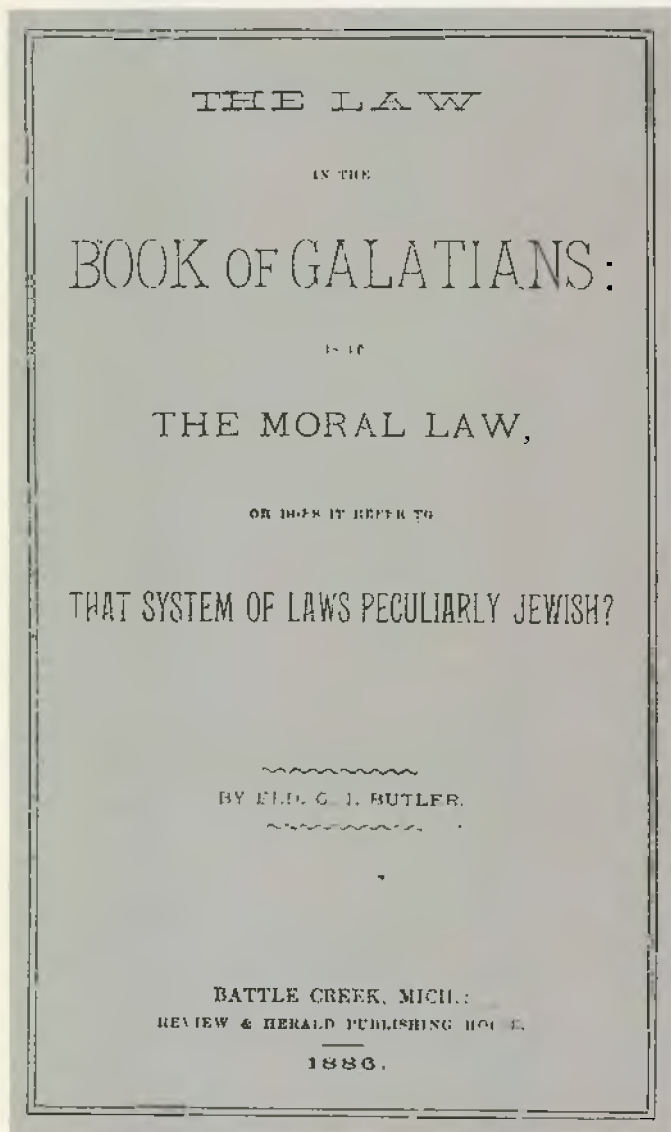
At 10:30 a. m., Elder Frank Smith discussed the question of the ten horns of the fourth beast of Daniel vii., the speaker taking the position of that the horns were one of the ten

*(Left page) Though only thirty-three years of age at the time of the 1888 General Conference, Ellet J. Waggoner was already a trained medical doctor and an ordained minister. His presentations there on the law and its relationship to the righteousness of Christ would prove to have a lasting impact on the Seventh-day Adventist church.*

*(Above) The 1888 General Conference Daily Bulletin printed only summaries of the various sermons given by speakers at the Minneapolis Conference.*

*(Right) Even before the 1888 General Conference session, Alonzo T. Jones was associated with E. J. Waggoner in California on the editorial staff of The Signs of the Times and The American Sentinel.*





I. Butler's, for Waggoner held that the term "under the law" always refers to the state of being condemned by the moral law. In Galatians this view led to some conclusions that were unpalatable to Butler, who preferred to think that, in Galatians at least, "under the law" denotes being under the authority of the ceremonial law.<sup>8</sup>

Apparently, Butler had decided that the 1886 General Conference Session would be a good time to rein in Waggoner, who served as a delegate to the conference from California. Butler prepared a pamphlet entitled, *The Law in the Book of Galatians: Is It the Moral Law or Does It Refer to That System of Laws Peculiarly Jewish?* and distributed it among the delegates. In addition, a "theological committee" was set up to investigate certain doctrinal issues, primary among them being Waggoner's view of Galatians.<sup>9</sup> A resolution formulated by the committee and approved by the full session condemned the promulgation of variant doctrinal views. The resolution urged

that it be kept constantly in view in our educational institutions and in our periodicals, and that we avoid as far as possible the agitation, in a public manner, of those questions concerning which there may be from any cause a difference of opinion among

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*(Left) At the 1886 General Conference session, George I. Butler circulated a pamphlet among the delegates advocating his position that the law spoken of in Galatians is only the ceremonial law.*

*(Below) E. J. Waggoner was on the religion faculty of Healdsburg College in California during the 1883-84 school year and again starting in the fall of 1888.*

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ourselves, and also avoid the introduction of points of doctrine contrary to the established faith of the body, before they are carefully considered by our leading brethren.<sup>10</sup>

Butler doubtless considered this a major victory. The reference to "our educational institutions and . . . our periodicals," was clearly directed at Waggoner and A. T. Jones, who had not only published their views but had also taught them in their classes at Healdsburg College.

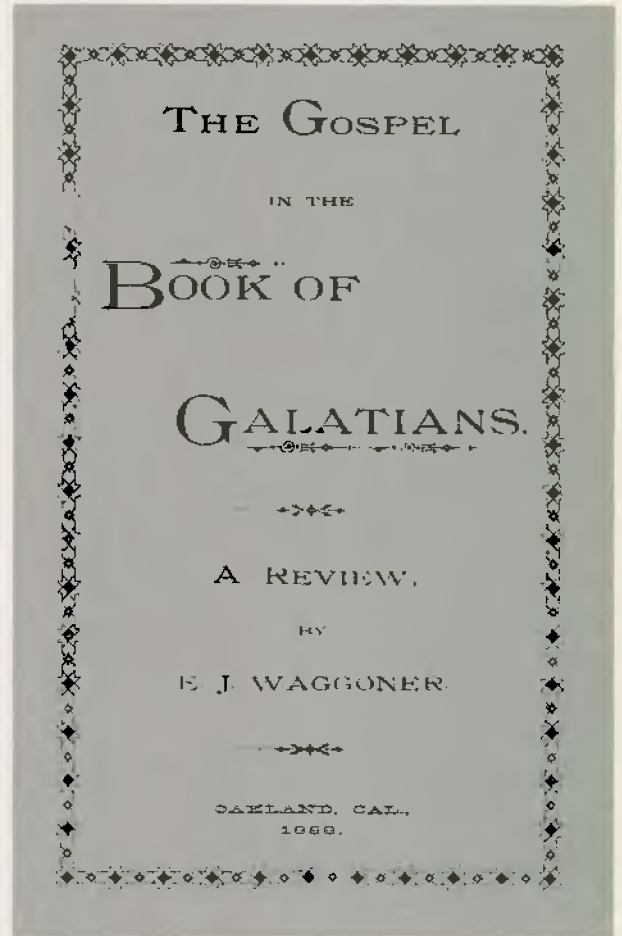
Butler apparently felt that the resolution did not apply to himself, however, for he published a very lengthy article against Waggoner's position just a few months later.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps he interpreted Ellen White's statement that J. H. Waggoner's "position in regard to the law was incorrect" as a blanket endorsement of his own position and a justification for publishing the article.<sup>12</sup> But Ellen White immediately shot a letter to Butler in which she said, "I was pained when I saw your article in the Review."<sup>13</sup> She had also read the first part of the pamphlet distributed at the 1886 General Conference session. Butler, she said, had been "too sharp." Mrs. White had had some "impressive dreams," which led her to believe that Butler was not "altogether in the light."<sup>14</sup>

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*(Right) E. J. Waggoner's letter that was later published and circulated at the 1888 session in which he responds to Butler's 1886 pamphlet, Waggoner argues that the phrase "under the law" includes the ceremonial law.*

*(Below) Though not a delegate at the 1888 General Conference, Ellen White was there and had presentations during the sessions that ran concurrently with E. J. Waggoner's series.*

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*(Above) Although G. I. Butler, General Conference president at the time, was ill and did not attend the 1888 session, his views were still very evident at the conference.*

*(Right) Robert D. Hottel, a young, recently married delegate to the 1888 session from Virginia, kept a diary that gives some glimpses into happenings at the conference.*

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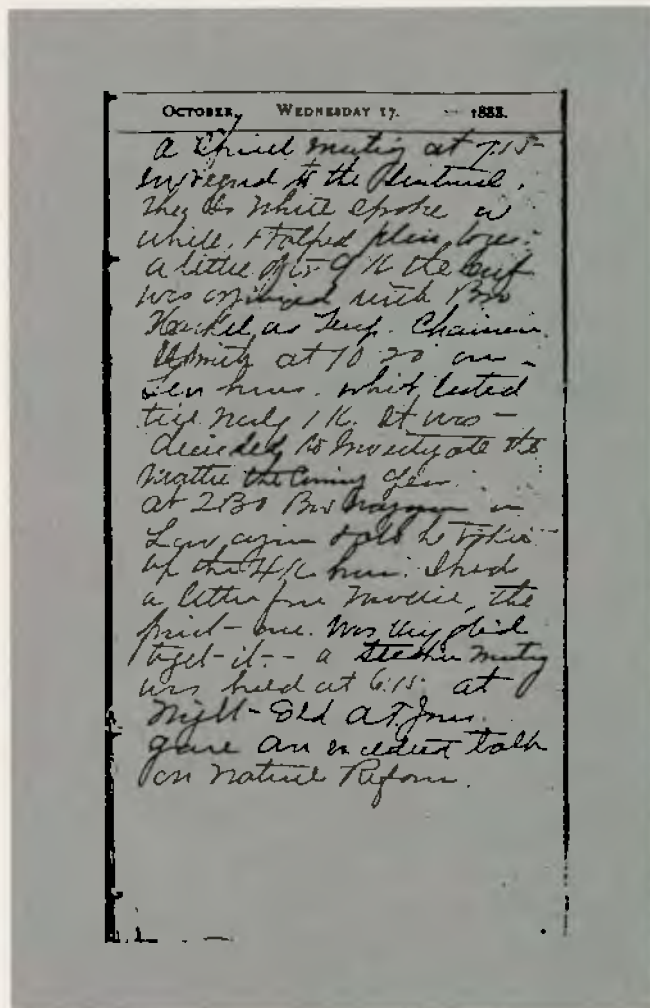


However, once Butler had circulated his pamphlet, she felt there must be "open discussion" of the question. "Now it is only fair that Dr. Waggoner should have just as fair a chance [to circulate his views] as you have had."<sup>15</sup>

And so it was that at the 1888 General Conference session, Waggoner got his "fair chance." And how can we know what he said on that occasion? A report of the conference by Waggoner, in which he summarized his role in the meetings, tersely describes his studies as dealing with "the law and the gospel in their various relations, coming under the general head of justification by faith."<sup>16</sup> A brief description of four of the meetings by Uriah Smith,<sup>17</sup> adds yet another bit of evidence.

Since the early 1980s, two independent records have come to light, considerably enhancing our awareness of what transpired as well as what was presented. These records are the diary of R. Dewitt Hottel, a delegate from Virginia, which gives a daily account of the topics discussed, and notes taken by Ellen White's son, W. C. White, during the proceedings. White's notes summarize many of Waggoner's lectures on justification by faith (as well as Morrison's lectures in rebuttal). Although these records are brief—primarily limited to Bible references and occasional summaries of Waggoner's argument—they provide a good indication of his major points.

But was W. C. White a good note-taker? Close inspection of W. C. White's record of Waggoner's principal points reveals a strong resemblance to certain material that Waggoner had already



published. Specifically, this record resembles the two series of articles on Galatians written in the 1884 and 1886 issues of *The Signs of the Times*, as well as certain articles written in 1888.

To further test his skills as a note-taker, the author carefully compared notes he took on one of his mother's sermons with a published account of that sermon. The results indicate that W. C. White kept fairly accurate notes.<sup>18</sup>

There are other clues to Waggoner's lectures as well. His letter to G. I. Butler of February 10, 1887, seems to provide a very representative view of what Waggoner said in 1888 about the law in Galatians, in spite of the form in which it appears. (It is not a full explanation of the epistle, but a refutation of Butler's arguments in *The Law in the Book of Galatians*.) This letter was published as *The Gospel in Galatians*<sup>19</sup> and was apparently distributed to the delegates of the 1888 Conference, as Butler had distributed his pamphlet two years before.<sup>20</sup> For more than ten years after the Minneapolis Conference, it remained Waggoner's most comprehensive statement on the subject.

But can Waggoner's earlier or later statements really shed any light on what he said at Minneapolis in 1888? Some have argued that his theology changed so rapidly as to preclude any attempt to use later materials as evidence for what he said in 1888. Yet an examination of Waggoner's soteriology and eschatology shows that his fundamental concepts underwent little change during the period from 1882 to 1888. Waggoner's two series of articles on Galatians are themselves illustrative of Waggoner's consis-

(Above) Besides briefly recording his impressions at the conference session, newlywed R. D. Hottel notes receiving his first letter from his wife and "was very glad to get it."

(Left) Besides taking notes at the conference that provide us with the most complete record of the presentations made there, William C. White, third son of Ellen G. White, was also elected acting General Conference president at the session until O. A. Olsen could return from Europe.

OCTOBER, MONDAY 15, 1888.

up at 8.30. Came from  
Prophet like to white  
Spoke in the morning being  
out many people that I  
was led by it.  
Prophet at 10-12 1/2  
in ten hours at 2.30  
Prophet began on  
the Law in Galatians -  
to the the 4th hour also.  
The whole thing will be  
described. If white was  
in the meetings - at  
7.30 Prophet would  
speak of the words  
of scripture -  
shows up to the  
where Paul said  
to get out of  
Christ. Shows come  
up to in many. Pro  
P. & D. would read the  
Laying as far as notes  
of the  
Hold faith with some about  
Pro H. Wagoner

(Above) R. D. Hottel recorded in his diary that Ellen White was present when E. J. Waggoner began his series of presentations on Monday afternoon, October 15.

(Right) J. H. Morrison was selected to deliver a series of presentations on the law in opposition to the views presented by E. J. Waggoner in his series.

cy. Although written two years apart, and although the later series appears to have been written without reference to the earlier one, they exhibit essentially the same content.

Armed with these sources, we can now begin to reconstruct Waggoner's lectures. Waggoner spoke at least twelve times at Minneapolis (besides the final question and answer period after the conference had officially ended).<sup>21</sup> His first two talks dealt with the duties and authority of church officers. On Monday, October 15, he began a series of at least nine lectures on the law and its relationship to the righteousness of Christ. J. H. Morrison, who was selected to present the opposing view, gave at least seven lectures, beginning Tuesday, October 23. Following his final rebuttal, Morrison reportedly left the conference, fearing that people would try to force him to abandon his position.<sup>22</sup> On the last full day of the conference, Sabbath, November 3, Waggoner gave the morning sermon.

In his articles on the law and in *The Gospel in Galatians* (the published form of his letter to Butler) Waggoner had tended to be argumentative. Ellen White, however, had sent a letter dated February 18, 1887 just eight days after Waggoner wrote to Butler, in which she warned Waggoner and Jones that they were "more self-confident and less cautious than they should be." Waggoner, she said, needed humility and meekness.<sup>23</sup> In his reply, Waggoner expressed gratitude that God's Spirit was still striving with him, revealing things of which he had been unconscious, and he admitted to cherishing "a spirit of criticism, which springs from the meanest kind of pride, I hate it, and want no more of it. I am determined that henceforth no word of mine, either in public or in private, shall tend to the detraction of any worker in the cause of God."<sup>24</sup> It appears that the spirit of his lectures



at Minneapolis must have reflected this resolution. In the midst of obviously difficult circumstances, Waggoner began his series on the righteousness of Christ and the law by quoting Luke 2:10, 11: "And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord."<sup>25</sup>

In this first lecture, Waggoner stressed that Christ was our hope (1 Tim. 1:1) and used Rom. 2:13 to indicate that our problem is not with the law. The law justifies anyone who obeys it. "The angels are doers of the law", he said.<sup>26</sup> If Satan accuses the angels, "they can appeal to the law." The Roman Catholic Church shows itself to be Antichrist in pointing people to something other than Christ (pilgrimages, penance, etc.) for justification. But who was it that gave the law? "Did Christ speak the Law[?]" Waggoner asked. Apparently, he then answered the question with 1 Cor. 10:9 and a reference to a book by Ellen White. It is possible he read the paragraph that contains this statement: "The same voice that declared the moral and ceremonial law . . . also uttered the words of instruction on the mount."<sup>27</sup> Waggoner continued by saying, that "we believe in the Divinity of Christ. He is God. He created all things in Heaven and in the Earth." He deserves the same honor as the Father. More than this, "God," he said, "has revealed himself through Christ," by offering Himself "to suffer the penalty of disobedience" and redeeming "the condemned."<sup>28</sup>

In the months prior to the Minneapolis Conference, Waggoner had penned a number of articles stressing man's inability to be justified apart from Christ. In one article, he called man's own attempts "outward righteousness." It "is as much righteousness as any man can attain by himself; but this is so far below the righteousness that God requires that it is in fact sin. It isn't real righteousness at all." Compared with the "spotlessness" of God's character, man's "own natural" righteousness "must be acknowledged to be but filthy rags." Because "no man is able of himself to keep the law, no matter how hard he may try," "all who trust in their own works, are necessarily under the curse of the law."<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, Waggoner wrote three weeks later, by "trusting wholly" in "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world . . . the sinner can find both pardon and holiness, cleansing from the guilt of sin, and from the love of it."<sup>30</sup>

Waggoner's second lecture, which immediately followed the first, stressed that the law is not contrary to God's plan of salvation. He asked a question that appears to be unparalleled in his writings up to this time: "If God's acts are always in harmony with His Law (am sorry for the If) is it not necessary for him to keep the Sabbath[?] How can he keep the fifth Com[mandment?]" Waggoner answered his own question by saying that "God is not a subject of law. But as it proceeded from Him, all his acts will be in harmony with it." Waggoner disagreed with those (like Butler) who "implied that God enacted part of His Law, and then added to it." "That is as men do," he said, who need to "meet new contingencies." But God's law is a perfect law from the beginning, providing "for all creatures and all time. The 10 Com[mandments] are the Rule of Heaven and Earth."<sup>31</sup> As he put it in *The Gospel in Galatians*: the law, as "the foundation of the throne of God, will exist unchanged to all eternity as it has from all eternity."<sup>32</sup>

But, as Waggoner had said in an article two years before, the

law justifies only those who are "doers of it." "It is not the fault of the law that it will not justify anybody; it would do so if it were possible; it is the fault of man that it cannot."<sup>33</sup> Christ, therefore, rather than the law, is the only way sinful humanity can be justified (Rom. 10:4).<sup>34</sup> In June 1888, Waggoner said that obedience is only possible "by the faith of Jesus Christ." "Those only will be saved whose faith reaches up to the throne where Christ sits at the right hand of God, and brings his own perfect righteousness down to round out and make perfect their own feeble efforts." That he was thinking of more than forensic righteousness is apparent from what follows: "We are saved by faith in Jesus Christ; but Christ saves us from our sins, and not in them. He is not the minister of sin."<sup>35</sup> At Minneapolis, Waggoner began connecting the reception of Christ's righteousness with receiving His life—a theme that was to become very important in the next period in this study. At Minneapolis, he told the delegates: "Christ justifies us, by giving us his Life," and he quoted Rom. 1:16, the gospel of Christ "is the power of God to salvation."<sup>36</sup>

Waggoner went on to say that the perfect law is the "highest plane" the Christian can reach.<sup>37</sup> In the pamphlet he distributed at Minneapolis, he wrote that the law

embodies all righteousness, even the righteousness of God, and nothing more can be required of any man than perfect obe-

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*Joseph H. Waggoner, father of E. J. Waggoner, was not at the 1888 General Conference. His early views on the law in Galatians were the basis for some of the controversy leading up to the 1888 session.*

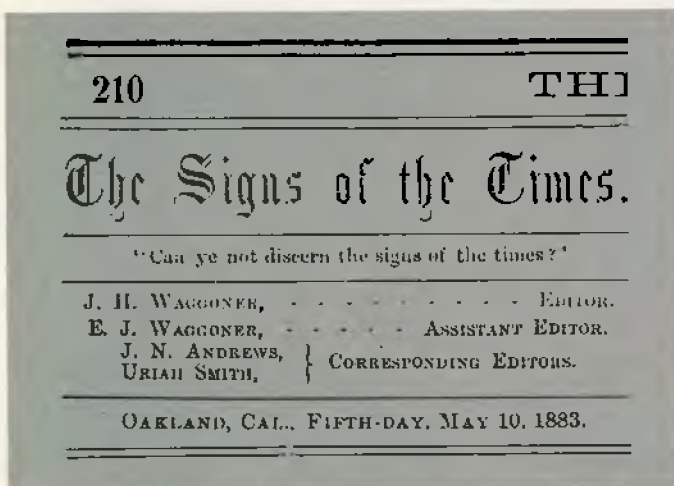
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dience to it. That law is so broad that it covers every act and every thought, so that it is utterly impossible for a person to conceive of a sin which is not forbidden by the moral law.<sup>38</sup> . . . Perfect compliance with the moral law alone is all that God can possibly require of any creature.<sup>39</sup>

But, reaching this high plane is only possible through a knowledge of the law to its fullest extent. God's promises are only on condition of perfect righteousness through Christ; and if men ever attain to this perfect righteousness, they must have the law in its fullest extent, and must know that many things were sinful, which they might previously have thought to be harmless. So the law entered that the offense might abound; and because the offense abounded, and men saw their depravity, they found that grace superabounded to cover their sins.<sup>40</sup>

According to W. C. White, Waggoner told the delegates to the Minneapolis meeting that when men deviate from the law, they fall beneath it and are said to be "under it."<sup>41</sup> Thus Waggoner introduced the subject that was next to be discussed.



(Above) E. J. Waggoner's name first appears on the masthead of *The Signs of the Times* as associate editor in the issue of May 10, 1883.

(Right) As editor of *The Signs of the Times*, E. J. Waggoner reported on the happenings of the 1888 Minneapolis General Conference in the columns of his paper.

Lectures three, four, and five (October 16 and 17) seem to have been pivotal in Waggoner's gospel presentation. It appears that he began his third lecture with a conclusion reached on the basis of the two previous studies: "Therefore, we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law" (Rom. 3:28). Perhaps for those in the audience who were afraid of disparaging the law, Waggoner was quick to add that works are necessary for making faith perfect (Jas. 2:17, 22). He stressed, however, that this was not "to gain the favor of God or for justification," but "to show our love to God." This results in freedom from condemnation (Rom. 8:1), we being "made free from sin" to become "the servants of righteousness" (Rom.

# The Signs of the Times.

"Can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

E. J. WAGGONER, }  
ALONZO T. JONES, } . . . . . EDITORS.

CORRESPONDING EDITORS.

S. N. HASKELL, } M. C. WILCOX,  
J. H. WAGGONER, } G. C. TENNEY.

OAKLAND, CAL., SIXTH-DAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1883.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

AFTER a pleasant journey of nearly six days, we arrived in Battle Creek, Mich., Tuesday night, October 2, and found a most comfortable home at the Sanitarium. Too much cannot well be said in praise of this excellent institution for the care of the sick. Every appliance necessary for the treatment of disease and the comfort of patients is found there, and best of all is a corps of well-drilled, faithful, and obliging nurses and attendants. The Sanitarium is meeting with abundant success, for the reason that it has deserved it.

The college located there is also having a prosperous year. The teachers are all of good courage, and the students seem to engage in their work with hearty enthusiasm. Best of all, there is a good spiritual interest. A Sabbath-school and prayer and social meeting are held solely for the students, and the interest seems to be good. We sincerely wish the laborers in the Sanitarium and college Godspeed in the good work which they are doing.

The few days that we had to spare passed too quickly, and on the night of the 8th we left with a party of Michigan delegates, for the General Conference at Minneapolis, where we arrived on the morning of the 10th.

Although but few delegates arrived before the 10th, the institute which had been appointed to precede the Conference was organized that day, according to appointment. The work of the institute was appointed as follows: Devotional meeting, at 7:45 A. M.; consideration of how to advance the work of the message, at 9 A. M.; Bible study, at 10:30 A. M.; and 2:30 P. M.; instruction in regard to the church and church officers, at 4 P. M.; and foreign missionary work, at 7:30 P. M. Each department of the work was placed in charge of a special committee, and the program was quite closely followed, with decidedly interesting results.

The principal subjects of Bible study were the ten kingdoms into which, according to the prophecy, the Roman Empire was divided, the establishment of the Papacy, and of its counterpart, the proposed National Reform Government; and the law and the gospel in their various relations, coming under the general head of justification by faith. These subjects have aroused a deep interest in the minds of all present; and thus far during the Conference one hour a day has been devoted to a continuance of their study.



6:18).<sup>42</sup>

In these three lectures, Waggoner discussed the various kinds of relations men have to the law. Some passages (Rom. 2:12; Acts 14:15; 17) make reference to those who are said to be "without law."<sup>43</sup> In an article written just after the conference concluded, Waggoner wrote that while some have no awareness of a written law, everyone has a certain knowledge of right and wrong on the basis of which they are judged.

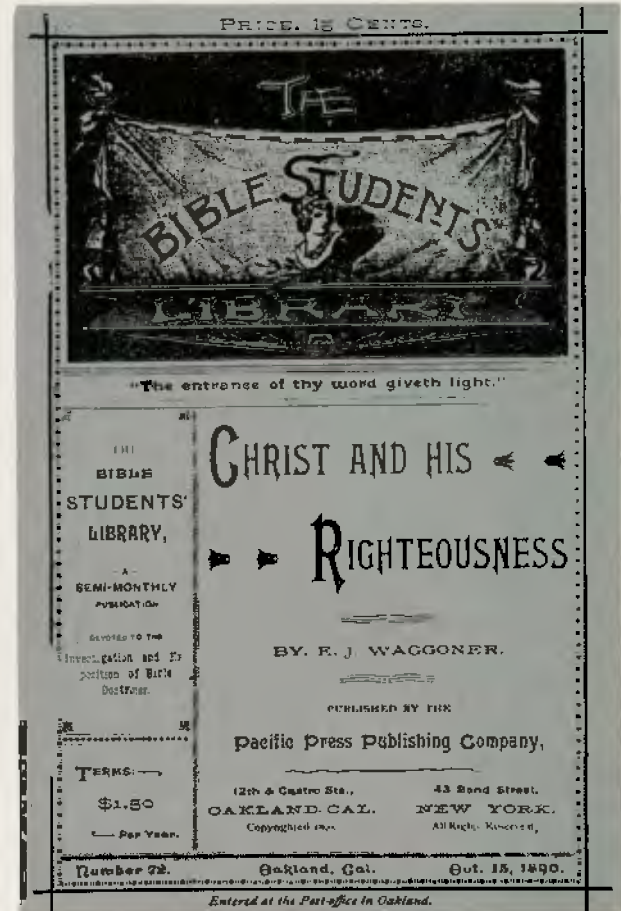
When Adam sinned, he suffered a complete moral fall. He placed himself in direct antagonism to God, and in perfect accord with Satan. If he had been left to himself, his desires would have been as fully toward the ways of the devil as are those of the fallen angels. But God in his mercy interposed. The plan of salvation provided not only a way of escape from sin, but the desire to escape. . . . Whatever desire for a higher and holier life any man has is due to the mercy of God. God has implanted in the soul of every man some knowledge of right and wrong, and some natural desire for the right; and whenever a man gives himself wholly to sin, he does so only by resisting the strivings of the Spirit.<sup>44</sup>

During the 1888 meetings, in referring to Gal. 5:18, Waggoner also discussed the meaning of the phrase "under the law."<sup>45</sup> In his pamphlet on Galatians, Waggoner wrote that this phrase, "wherever it occurs in the New Testament, means 'condemned by the law.' It never has any other signification."<sup>46</sup> He explained to the delegates that Rom. 3:19 and 1 Cor. 9:21, which seem to employ the phrase "under the law" with a different meaning, are not exceptions. Since the word *hupo* does not appear in those verses, the proper translation is "in the law," meaning "subject to the law."<sup>47</sup> Waggoner understood these phrases, "under the law" and "in the law" in terms of being either outside of or in Christ.<sup>48</sup> In *The Gospel in Galatians*, he described the change that takes place.

The law does not leave the man when he comes to Christ, but the man's relation to it has changed. Before he was 'under the law,' now he is 'in the law' (Psalm 119:1) and the law is in him (Psalm 37:31). He is in Christ, who is the personification of the law, and in him he is made the righteousness of God. 2 Corinthians 5:21.<sup>49</sup>

In 1884, in an article discussing this subject, Waggoner had written that "all men are under the law until they have faith in Christ; from that moment they are out from under the law, unless they again bring themselves into condemnation by again yielding themselves to sin."<sup>50</sup> At Minneapolis, Waggoner stated the matter a little differently: "He who is in the Law acts according to Law. He who is under the Law is acted upon according to Law."<sup>51</sup> Those who are under the law are actually slaves to sin (John 8:33-35). Rom. 7:19-21 depicts "the experience of those who struggle with condemnation." But this "is not [the] Christian's experience."<sup>52</sup>

Waggoner quoted several Bible passages to show that all are in bondage and in need of deliverance (Prov. 5:22; 2 Pet. 2:19). Christ has brought this deliverance: "Inasmuch then as the children have partaken of flesh and blood, He Himself likewise shared in the same, that through death He might destroy him who had the power of death, that is, the devil, and release those who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage" (Heb. 2:14-15).<sup>53</sup> In *The Gospel in Galatians*, Waggoner stressed the importance of Christ taking human nature, quoting



*Though published only two years after the 1888 General Conference session, there is no proof to substantiate the speculation that Christ and His Righteousness is an edited version of E. J. Waggoner's presentations at the conference.*

Rom. 1:3 which says that Christ "was made of the seed of David according to the flesh." What was the nature of David, 'according to the flesh'?" Waggoner asked. "Sinful, was it not? . . . [Ps. 51:5 quoted]. Don't start in horrified astonishment; I am not implying that Christ was a sinner."<sup>54</sup> He proceeded to explain:

His being made in all things like unto his brethren, is the same as his being made in the likeness of sinful flesh, 'made in the likeness of men.' One of the most encouraging things in the Bible is the knowledge that Christ took on him the nature of man; to know that his ancestors according to the flesh were sinners. When we read the record of the lives of the ancestors of Christ, and see that they had all the weaknesses and passions that we have, we find that no man has any right to excuse his sinful acts on the ground of heredity. If Christ had not been made in all things like unto his brethren, then his sinless life would be no encouragement to us. We might look at it with admiration, but it would be the admiration that would cause hopeless despair.

From birth, Christ "began to suffer the temptations and infirmities that are incident to sinful flesh."<sup>55</sup> More than taking man's nature, Christ also took man's sin and condemnation from birth,



*Although taken in the 1890s, this rare photograph of the interior of the Minneapolis Seventh-day Adventist Church enables us to visualize the scene where E. J. Waggoner calmly held up before the delegates the "matchless charms of Christ."*

"not his own sin, but ours; for as in his death, so in his life, our sins were counted as his. . . . It was not on his own account, but ours." "From the earliest childhood the cross was ever before him."<sup>56</sup> Christ "went to the very lowest depths to which man had fallen, in order that he might lift man to his own exalted throne; yet he never ceased to be God, or lost a particle of his holiness."<sup>57</sup> Only thus could He deliver human beings from the bondage of sin and penalty of death. "I cannot understand how God could be manifest in the flesh, and in the likeness of sinful flesh. I do not know how the pure and holy Saviour could endure all the infirmities of humanity, which are the result of sin, and be reckoned as a sinner, and suffer the death of a sinner. I simply accept the Scripture statement, that only so could he be the Saviour of men; and I rejoice in that knowledge, because since he was made sin, I may be made the righteousness of God in him."<sup>58</sup>

Returning to the imagery of Rom. 7, Waggoner said in his fourth lecture that "Paul was in prison. Manacles [were] on his hands."<sup>59</sup> In *The Gospel in Galatians*, this issue was presented in more general terms:

It is the law which arrests the criminal; the sheriff is simply the visible agent of the law. It is the law which locks the prisoner in his cell; the jailer, the iron walls, and heavy bars which surround the prisoner, are simply the emblems of the iron hand of the law which is upon him. . . . So it is with the sinner against God's government. The eyes of the Lord are in every place, so

that there is no possibility that he can escape arrest. As soon as he has sinned, he is seized by the law, and is at once under condemnation of death. . . . Now he is shut in on every side by the law. There is not one of the commandments which is not against him, because there is not a man on earth who has not broken every one of them. . . . The Spirit of God causes the prison walls to close in upon him, his cell becomes narrower and narrower, and he feels oppressed; and then he makes desperate struggles to escape. He starts out in one way, but there the first commandment rises up against him and will not let him go free. He turns in another direction, but he has taken the name of God in vain, and the third commandment refuses to let him get his liberty in that direction. . . . So with all the commandments. They utterly refuse to grant him liberty, because he has violated every one of them, and only those who keep the commandments can walk at liberty.<sup>60</sup>

The only way of escape is through Christ, as Waggoner had observed in 1886: "The law literally drives the sinner to Christ, by shutting up every other way of freedom from guilt."<sup>61</sup> "All his attempts to serve God are useless and vain," Waggoner told the Minneapolis gathering, "until he receives deliverance through Christ," who came "to preach deliverance to the captives" (Luke 4:18-20).<sup>62</sup> In *The Gospel in Galatians*, he wrote: "All are in the same bondage, all are under the law and none can be delivered from their prison until they come to Christ. He is the only door to freedom."<sup>63</sup>

In his fifth lecture, Waggoner identified these two opposite conditions of bondage to sin and freedom through Christ with the two "marriages" depicted in Rom. 7:1-6. The "fruit" of the marriage to the first husband shows that this husband symbolizes our "own sinful nature" and "carnal desires." We are married to them. "We are in love with our carnal natures," while God wants us to "hate" them. "The law shows the degradation of the union"; it is "unlawful and the end is death." On the other hand, "Christ wants us to be united to Him. He proposes a union with Himself."<sup>64</sup> These are the only two choices available. Our whole head is sick and our whole heart faint (Isa. 1:4-6). From the natural heart proceed all kinds of evil (Mark 7:21-22). We do not want to accept the offer of the second husband (Christ), "because when the old man dies, we die too." Yet, the old man is going to die if not now, then at the second death. "The wages of sin is death, without exception." The choice is ours: "What

shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid" (Rom. 6:1).<sup>65</sup>

In lectures six and seven (October 18 and 19), Waggoner applied to the book of Galatians the principles he had derived previously. All that we know about his sixth lecture is from Uriah Smith's summary:

The first and second chapters of Galatians, in connection with Acts 15, were partially presented by him to show that the same harmony existed there as elsewhere; that the key to the book was "justification by faith in Christ," with the emphasis on the latter word; that liberty in Christ was always freedom from sin, and that separation from Christ to some other means of justification always brought bondage. He stated incidentally that "the law of Moses" and "the law of God" were not distinctive terms as applied to the ceremonial and moral laws, and cited Num. xv., 22-24, and Luke ii., 23-24, as proof. He closed at 10:15 by ask-



The American Sentinel was started in 1886 with two editors whose names would later become very familiar to Seventh-day Adventists — Alonzo T. Jones and Ellet J. Waggoner.

"Corrupted Freedom are the worst of slaves."

VOLUME I. OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, JANUARY, 1886.

The American Sentinel.

PACIFIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, OAKLAND, CALIF.

Entered at the Post office in Oakland.

"A Christian Nation."

The idea which is advocated by many, that this may be made a Christian nation by simply making a change in the Constitution, was this particularly advocated upon by the Jesuitical *Wis. Gazette*.—

But independent of the question as to what extent we are a Christian nation, it may well be doubted whether, if the gentleman was answering this question should succeed, they would not thereby a very great injury. Such measures are not the initiatory steps which ultimately lead to restrictions of religious freedom, and to committing the Government to measures which are so foreign to its powers and purposes as would be its action if it should undertake to determine a disputed question of theology.

An Unprofitable Alliance.

In regard to the supposed benefit of the church by State patronage, or an alliance between the Church and the State, Lord Macaulay speaks as follows: "These words are worthy of careful consideration.—

"The ark of God was never taken till it was surrounded by the arms of worldly disbelievers. In captivity, its sanctity was sufficient to shield it from insult, and to lay the hostile hand prostrate on the threshold of his own temple. The real security of Christianity is to be found in its beneficent morality, in its assiduous adaptation to the human heart, in the facility with which its religious accommodations bend to the capacity of every human intellect, in the consolation which it bears in the hours of mourning, in the light which it brings to the great mystery of the grave. To such a system it can bring no addition of dignity or strength, that it is part and parcel of the common law."

"The whole history of Christianity shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power, than of being crushed by its opposition. Those who thrust temporal sovereignty upon her tread her in their protuberant shoes, and she cries:—'Hail! and smile her on the cheek; they put a scepter in her hand, but it is a fragile rod; they crown her, but it is with thorns; they cover her with purple, the wounds which their own hands have inflicted on her; and inscribe majestically over the cross on which they have fixed her, to perish in ignominy and pain!'"—*Essay on Seneca's Colloquies.*

The American Sentinel.

It is well known that there is a large and influential association in the United States, bearing the name of the "National Religious Association." It is popularly known as the "Religious Association Party," because it is endeavoring to secure a religious amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Assisted by the world its object is "to put God in the Constitution." According to its own avowed its aim is to procure—

"Such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States (or its possible) as will suitably acknowledge Almighty God as the author of the nation's existence, and the ultimate source of its authority, Jesus Christ as its ruler, and the Bible as the supreme rule of its conduct, and thus indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all Christian laws, institutions, and usages, on an indissoluble legal basis as the fundamental law of the land."

The president of this association is Hon. Felix H. Burnet, who has held that position throughout his entire life. His present list of vice-presidents to the number of two hundred, embraces bishops of churches, judges in the highest courts in the land, governors, and representative men in various secular positions, presidents of colleges, doctors of divinity, and professors of theology in large numbers. In fact there is no other association in the land which can boast such an array of names of eminent and influential men. It employs its agents and lecturers, who are presenting their cause to the churches and to the people, and who almost everywhere report triumphant success in their efforts. It has also a paper, the *Christian Statesman*, as its organ to advocate its cause.

While there are many people in the land who are opposed to, or look with suspicion upon, the members of this party, there is no paper published in the United States, which has for its distinct object the vindication of the rights of American citizens, which, we solemnly believe, are threatened by the actions and aims of this association. That light will be disseminated on this subject, we have commenced the publication of *THE AMERICAN SENTINEL*. That such a paper as this is needed, we think we can make apparent to every individual who will read our paper, who will hold prejudice in abeyance, and examine our reasons with candor.

While so many really think "I am doing God service in their efforts to change the form of our Government, and we are willing to give them credit for thinking so," we are aware that they will look with disfavour upon our work, and some, who do not understand our motives

ing those present to compare Acts xv., 7-11, with Rom. ii., 20-25. Appeals were made by Brother Waggoner and Sister White to the brethren, old and young, to seek God, put away all spirit and prejudice and opposition, and strive to come into the unity of faith in the bonds of brotherly love.<sup>66</sup>

W. C. White's notes of the seventh lecture reveal that Waggoner continued his comparison of Acts 15 with Galatians. The command of the Jerusalem council for the Gentiles to abstain from pollution with idols "in a way covers all the 10 Com[mandments]." Although Adventists "have taught that the typical law was done away," it appears if that is true that the Apostles fastened on the Gentiles "things done away years before." Referring to Gal. 2:19, Waggoner asked whether it was the ceremonial law that "killed" Paul.<sup>67</sup> Waggoner believed, as he had in 1886, that there "was nothing in the ordinances of the ceremonial law to condemn anyone. Condemnation could come only through violation of the ten commandments."<sup>68</sup> Those neglecting the ceremonial law show their unbelief, but are "condemned by the moral law alone, because of their sins; as Christ said, 'he that believeth not is condemned already.'"<sup>69</sup> Waggoner made the further point to the Minneapolis delegates that "if favor could be obtained by good works, penance, etc." then "Christ need not have died."<sup>70</sup> "Justification," Waggoner had written in 1886, "has reference only to the moral law. From the transgression of that, man needs justification; but the law cannot justify any sinner, it can only condemn. And so it drives him to Christ, that he may be justified by faith."<sup>71</sup> In *The Gospel in Galatians*, Waggoner insisted that Gal. 3 "is speaking of individual experience, and not of dispensational changes. There can be no Christian experience, no faith, no justification, no righteousness, that is not an individual matter. People are saved as individuals, and not as nations."<sup>72</sup> Forgiveness in the Old Testament "was no sham forgiveness. . . . There was no virtue in the sacrifice, which

4 Minneapolis Oct. 13 1888.  
 W. C. White  
 1 John 3:1-9 Behold what  
 manner of love the father hath  
 Sunday Oct 14/1888 9 a.m.  
 W. C. White  
 Matt. 23:8-12 In the church  
 is no authority but Christ  
 1 Peter 2:20 Christ the Bishop  
 John 21: Hands to Peter  
 John 10:11 The Good Shepherd  
 Heb 13:20  
 Shepherd & Bishop the same  
 Titus 1:5 & Elders + Bishop = same  
 1 Peter 5:1-4 Elders - feed the flock  
 who feed the flock - The Good Shepherd  
 John 10:2-5 The true shepherd  
 goes before the flock & leads them  
 Peter says hat on hands, but to  
 be exemplar to the flock.  
 A man may preside without  
 leading a meeting  
 1 Tim 3:1 - A good man  
 Acts 20:28 Elders called overseers  
 David as shepherd like the Lord  
 1 Cor 12:1-6 Elders a Watchman  
 3:8 made this a watchman  
 the sheep jumped out of the fold

1 Cor 1:3-6  
 Heb 5:1-2  
 Isa 40:311 gather the lambs  
 " 42:1-  
 Luke 4:18. Elders duty to heal  
 the Broken Hearted  
 1 Tim 2:24 Capt. to seek Patient  
 Sunday P. M 4 P. M.  
 W. C. White  
 Matt 18:15-17 How to deal  
 with the evildoer

was typical, yet the pardon was as real as any that has ever been given since the crucifixion."<sup>73</sup> The covenant made with Abraham (Gal. 3:17) and the second (or new) covenant are "the same," Waggoner noted to the Minneapolis delegates. The ceremonial law "made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did" (Heb. 7:19).<sup>74</sup> This discussion with regard to the covenants intensified in the coming years.

W. C. White did not record anything regarding Waggoner's eighth and ninth lectures (October 21 and 22). In fact, it is only from newspaper reports that we know of them at all. Our information about them is limited to their titles. Lecture eight was entitled, "Two Covenants, and Their Relation to the Law,"<sup>75</sup> while lecture nine was described as "a discussion of law and Galatians, or Justification by Faith."<sup>76</sup> Waggoner probably continued his exposition of Galatians, covering chapter four in lecture eight and the rest of the book in what was apparently his final lecture. Perhaps it was at some point in these two lectures that Waggoner discussed Christian perfection. It was apparently presented by Waggoner at some point in his lectures, because Morrison, in one of his rebuttals, took issue with what he considered an extreme view. Morrison inveighed against the "Popular Doctrine [that] says Two leaps carry a man from sin to perfection"<sup>77</sup> (an evident reference to the idea of "instantaneous sanctification" prevalent among the holiness groups). It may be that Waggoner was misunderstood as teaching this, even though he strongly denounced this view. Morrison identified perfection with heaven (Col. 3:1),<sup>78</sup> which, he said, is "a place not so easily reached." Phil. 3:12 was quoted, apparently to show that perfection is something we do not attain in this life. Morrison concluded this particular lecture by saying: "I believe in a certain kind of perfection. Perfect submission to the will of God."<sup>79</sup>

William C. White took brief but helpful notes during several of E. J. Waggoner's sermons, including his presentation on Sunday morning, October 14, 1888, at 9:00 a.m.

Phil 2:2, 3.  
 Rom 12:10  
 1 Cor 5:9-11  
 Jude 22, 23.  
 Psalm 87:4, 5, 6.  
 Mark 13:24. Mark is the Remedy  
 for Church Trials  
 2 Peter 1:8-  
 Heb 13:17 also in 7.  
 Num. 16:  
 Num 16:2-5, 11.

Soon after the conference Waggoner insisted again on the importance of Christian obedience:

Keeping the commandments is something more than a form. It consists of having every act, every word, and every thought just such as they would be if Jesus were dwelling within the man, acting and speaking and thinking through him. It consists in acting and speaking in every instance just as Jesus would act or speak under the same circumstances. Surely this cannot be done unless Christ dwells in the heart. . . .

But will there ever be any people on the earth who will have attained to that perfection of character? Indeed there will be. Says the prophet: "The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies; neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth." Zeph. 3:13. When the Lord comes there will be a company who will be found "complete in him," having not their own righteousness, but that perfect righteousness of God, which comes by faith of Jesus Christ. To perfect this work in the hearts of individuals, and to prepare such a company, is the work of the Third Angel's Message.<sup>80</sup>

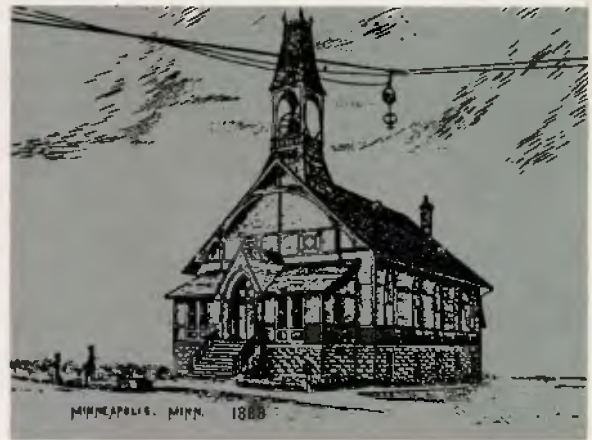
In summary then, Waggoner's lectures at Minneapolis were not primarily centered around Galatians, but stressed rather that salvation comes only through faith in Christ who frees from sin's bondage all who put their trust in Him. Of Waggoner's nine lec-

### Camp-Meeting.

THE camp-meeting of the Seventh-day Adventists, at Healdsburg, was appointed to commence Oct. 5, to break up the morning of the 16th. But by a vote it was held over that day. It was by far the largest ever held in the State by the denomination; full 600 tented on the ground during the whole meeting. They had the novel experience (for camp-meetings in California) of some very heavy rains. But all were cheerful. A great amount of business was transacted pertaining to the State Conference, the Missionary Society, the Temperance and Sabbath-school Associations, Healdsburg College, St. Helena Health Retreat, etc. The devotional meetings were spirited, and the preaching earnest. All were encouraged.

tures on the law in connection with Christ's righteousness, only two of them are known to have concerned Galatians (his final two lectures also may have dealt with Galatians, but no records of their content have yet come to light). Criticism of Waggoner's views prevailed before, during, and especially after his presentations. Ellen White staunchly defended his right to speak, appealing for an open discussion on both sides. Ellen White's characterization of Waggoner's message as placing the "faith of Jesus" where it belongs in the Third Angel's Message alongside obedience to the commandments (Rev. 14:12) constitutes, perhaps, the best summary of what he said at Minneapolis.

Waggoner stressed that no one has and no one can obey the commandments in his own strength. Only those who receive the righteousness of Christ find salvation; such persons are saved *from* their sins, not *in* them. The perfect righteousness of Christ, as embodied in the law, is the ideal that may be attained by the Christian. Under the condemnation of the law, a person's struggle can only end in certain defeat; in Christ, there is the



A woodcut of the newly completed Minneapolis church where the meetings of the 1888 General conference session were held, appeared in the 1889 Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook.

(Left) It was at this campmeeting held in 1882 in Healdsburg, California, that E. J. Waggoner had a singular religious experience that impacted his thinking the remainder of his life.

assurance of complete deliverance.

Sinners cannot be justified by the law. The law serves the purpose of driving them to Christ so that they may be justified by faith and attain to a state of perfect righteousness through Christ. This was unsettling to some at Minneapolis, who possibly confused Waggoner's teaching about perfection with the instantaneous sanctification of the popular holiness groups. Instead, Waggoner stressed that obedience is only possible through "faith in Jesus," which consists of more than an outward form; it amounts to living just as Jesus would and ultimately results in the perfection of character that will be manifested in the remnant who are prepared for Christ's appearing. Waggoner believed this to be a fundamental part of the Third Angel's Message, making it a living and practical reality, rather than the dry theoretical doctrine he perceived in its portrayal by others. Placing Christ and His righteousness in the heart of the message given by the church made it a perfect whole and revived those to whom Waggoner preached. It is impossible to understand the significance justification had for Waggoner apart from this "larger view" of what it would ultimately accomplish in God's last-day church. Waggoner's eschatology, as it was formulated during the years leading up to and including 1888, was informed and transformed by what he saw to be the beauty of Christ's righteousness freely offered to mankind. His doctrine of salvation was derived from Bible study, not an a priori view of eschatology, as is witnessed by the direction his reasoning took—constantly seeking to exalt the glory of Christ's work for us and in us. Possibly also for this reason, a tension remained between Waggoner's view of a justification that takes place at the moment of conversion and what he called an "ongoing" justification. This did not, however, lead Waggoner to confound justification with sanctification. He clearly distinguished them in the years prior to and following Minneapolis.

# THE GLAD TIDINGS

By E. J. WAGGONER

PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING CO.  
Oakland, Cal. New York. Kansas City, Mo.  
1900

*In the mid-twentieth century, LeRoy Froom concluded from his research but without documentation that The Glad Tidings, published in 1900, was a transcript of E. J. Waggoner's sermons at the 1888 General Conference session.*

Making minute distinctions between justification and sanctification, defining where one ends and the other begins, can result in an unraveling and incapacitation of the message of salvation. The controversy in 1888 clearly reveals the danger of this overly theoretical approach. When theology becomes primarily a cognitive, rather than an experiential, endeavor, the result can be destructive. The "spirit of Minneapolis" certainly illustrates this. A similar danger exists if experience becomes the focus to the exclusion of Bible doctrine. The importance of Minneapolis has to do with *what* was said as well as *the way* it was said.

## References:

1. L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1971), pp. 189, 200-201, admitted that the content of two other books may have been presented; but then, which book is really the "heart of his presentation" at Minneapolis? It appears that Froom, though giving the appearance of certainty, was only guessing. A more serious flaw in his research is the unsubstantiated claim that EJW's first wife, Jessie, stenographically recorded his Minneapolis lectures, which E. J. Waggoner (EJW) himself supposedly edited and later published.
2. Wieland edited the revised edition, saying in the forward that "the message of this book was in reality a transcript of studies that Dr. Waggoner gave . . . in Minneapolis." While Wieland's research also has its weaknesses, he has greatly assisted attempts to understand EJW's theology by encouraging the republication of some of his writings.
3. David P. McMahon, *Ellet Joseph Waggoner: The Myth and the Man* (Fallbrook, California: Verdict Publications, 1979), 71-91. McMahon recognizes the obvious problem plaguing research into EJW's 1888 presentations: "The lack of a complete record . . . has made it easy for some to read their own particular views on righteousness by faith into the 1888

conference" (p. 74). However, McMahon seems himself to have fallen into this trap in attempting to identify EJW's teaching on justification with a forensic position based on an interpretation of Luther's teaching that is itself disputed. McMahon's bias is clear when EJW himself is allowed to speak. Interestingly enough, in McMahon's entire chapter on "Waggoner's 1888 Message," not one quotation of EJW's theology appears, direct or indirect. We are apparently expected to take McMahon's word for it. While EJW accepted the fundamental principles of the Reformation, including justification by faith and the Bible as the final authority for Christians, he viewed "the Third Angel's Message" (which, of course, included his own teachings) as an advance beyond the days of the Reformation. See Clinton Wahlen, *Selected Aspects of Ellet J. Waggoner's Eschatology and Their Relation to His Understanding of Righteousness by Faith, 1882-1895* (M.Div. Thesis, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, 1988).

4. EJW, *The Everlasting Covenant* (London: International Tract Society, 1900), p. v.
5. *Signs of the Times* [ST], 9 (September 27, 1883): 426.
6. In ST 9 (May 10, 1883): 210 his name first appears on the masthead as "Assistant Editor."
7. ST 14 (August 17, 1888): 506.
8. Adventists, including George I. Butler [GIB], generally accepted the idea that in Rom. 6:14 "under the law" refers to the moral law. Also, in *The Law in the Book of Galatians: Is It the Moral Law, or Does It Refer to that System of Laws Peculiarly Jewish?* [LG] (Battle Creek, Michigan: Review and Herald Publishing House, 1886), pp. 40-41, GIB admitted that Gal 3:13 speaks of the "curse" of the moral law, but he did not think this damaged his theory very much.
9. See Uriah Smith [US], "General Conference Proceedings: Twenty-Fifth Annual Session," *Review and Herald* [RH] 63 (November 23, 1886): 728.
10. US, "General Conference Proceedings: Twenty-Fifth Annual Session (Concluded)," RH 63 (December 14, 1886): 779. The other resolution submitted by the committee, which was also approved, dealt with rebaptism.
11. GIB, "Laws Which Are 'Contrary to Us,' A 'Yoke of Bondage,' and 'Not Good,'" RH 64 (March 22, 1887): 182-84.
12. Ellen G. White [EGW] to EJW and A. T. Jones [ATJ], February 18, 1887, Ltr 37, 1887, in *Manuscripts and Memories of Minneapolis*, [1888M] comp. The Ellen G. White Estate (Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1988), 1: 21.
13. EGW to GIB and US, April 5, 1887, Ltr 13, 1887, 1888M, 1: 32.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
15. EGW to GIB and US, April 5, 1887, Ltr 13, 1887, 1888M, 1:35. EJW also felt that the 1886 session of the General Conference essentially allowed GIB to have things his way. Note EJW, *The Gospel in Galatians* [GG] (Oakland, California: n.p. 1888), p. 3: "I very much regretted that every moment of time was so occupied that we could have no conversation upon the subject. It is true the matter was discussed to a very limited extent in the meetings of the Theological Committee, but of course the little that could be said under the circumstances was not sufficient to give any satisfaction to any party concerned."
16. EJW, "Editorial Correspondence," ST 14 (November 2, 1888): 662, MMM, p. 413.
17. US, "First Day's Proceedings," *General Conference Daily Bulletin* [GCDB] 2 (October 19, 1888):2, *Manuscripts and Memories of Minneapolis* [MMM] comp. The Ellen G. White Estate (Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1988), p. 359; *idem*, "Second Day's Proceedings," GCDB 2 (October 19, 1888):2, MMM, p. 359; *idem*, "Third Day's Proceedings," GCDB 2 (October 21, 1888):1, MMM, p. 361; *idem*, "Eighth Day's Proceedings," GCDB 2 (October 26, 1888):3, MMM, p. 382.
18. Clinton Wahlen, "Appendix 2: Comparison of 'Notes by W. C. White Taken at Minneapolis' with Ellen G. White's Published Sermon," *Selected Aspects of Ellet J. Waggoner's Eschatology*, p. 208.
19. In the course of his argument in this pamphlet, EJW presented much of his positive teaching on the subject as it had appeared in his earlier articles of 1884 and 1886.
20. R. Dewitt Hottel, in his diary entry for Saturday, November 10, mentioned that when he returned home from the Minneapolis conference, he began "reading in Brother Butler's Book on Galatians and also Bro. Waggoner's reply."
21. According to McReynolds, "Experiences at the General Conference in 1888," MMM, p. 340, EJW gave "eleven studies." While this number may include the two lectures on church administration, from the context it appears that McReynolds was referring only to Waggoner's studies on law and gospel. Froom, p. 246, claims that "the first six were on the relation of grace to law, and faith to works, based chiefly on Galatians. The last five were on Righteousness by Faith in Christ as all the fullness of the Godhead." This classification, however, does not at all correspond with WCW's notes of EJW's lectures and is therefore suspect.
22. Robert J. Wieland, "Report of Interview," *An Introduction to the 1888 Message Itself* (Baker, Oregon: Adventist Forum Association, [1976]), p. 138.
23. EGW to EJW and ATJ, 18 February 1887, Ltr 37, 1887, 1888M, 1:22, 25.
24. EJW to EGW, 1 April, 1887, MMM, pp. 71-72.
25. Notes by W. C. White Taken at Minneapolis [NWCW], Book One, p. 35, MMM, p. 421. All Scriptures are quoted from the *New King James* version.
26. *Ibid.* Even though these are William Clarence White's [WCW] notes of what EJW said, the words are quoted as coming from EJW himself because in many places it is evident that they are essentially verbatim. Questions posed by EJW appear, as well as an apology in mid-sentence.
27. EGW, *The Spirit of Prophecy: The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan*, vol. 2, *Life, Teachings and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Battle Creek, Michigan: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1877), 216-17.
28. NWCW, Book One, p. 35, MMM, p. 421. Cf. EJW, GG, p. 36.
29. EJW, "Different Kinds of Righteousness," ST 14 (February 24, 1888): 119.
30. EJW, "The Spirit of Antichrist, No. 13," ST 14 (March 16, 1888): 166.
31. NWCW, Book One, p. 37, MMM, p. 421.
32. EJW, GG, p. 47.

33. EJW, "Doers of the Law," ST 12 (March 18, 1886): 167.  
 34. NWCW, Book One, p. 37, MMM, p. 421.  
 35. EJW, "Our Position Defined," ST 14 (June 15, 1888): 358.  
 36. NWCW, Book One, p. 37, MMM, p. 421.  
 37. NWCW, Book One, p. 38, MMM, p. 422.  
 38. EJW, GG, p. 18.  
 39. *Ibid.*, p. 21.  
 40. *Ibid.*, p. 29.  
 41. NWCW, Book One, p. 38, MMM, p. 422.  
 42. NWCW, Book One, p. 39, MMM, p. 422.  
 43. *Ibid.*  
 44. EJW, "Christ the Only Source of Strength," ST 14 (November 30, 1888): 726 (*italics supplied*).  
 45. NWCW, Book One, p. 39, MMM, p. 422.  
 46. EJW, GG, p. 53. Cf. NWCW, Book One, p. 47, MMM, p. 423.  
 47. NWCW, Book One, pp. 39, 47, MMM, pp. 422-23. Cf. EJW, GG, p. 53.  
 48. NWCW, Book One, p. 47, MMM, p. 423.  
 49. EJW, GG, p. 53.  
 50. EJW, "Under the Law," ST 10 (September 11, 1884): 553.  
 51. NWCW, Book One, p. 47, MMM, p. 423.  
 52. *Ibid.* Cf. EJW, "Christ the Only Source of Strength," ST 14 (November 30, 1888): 726: "[Paul's] recital, in the seventh of Romans, of his own experience, shows the utter powerlessness of any man to free himself from sin."  
 53. NWCW, Book One, p. 47, MMM, p. 423.  
 54. EJW, GG, pp. 60-61.  
 55. *Ibid.*, p. 61.  
 56. *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 62. Replying to Butler's opposition to Christ being born under condemnation, EJW said: "You are shocked at the idea that Jesus was born under the condemnation of the law, because he never committed a sin in his life. But you admit that on the cross he was under the condemnation of the law. What! had he then committed sin? Not by any means. Well, then, if Jesus could be under the condemnation of the law at one time in his life, and be sinless, I see no reason why he could not be under the condemnation of the law at another time, and still be sinless" (*ibid.*, p. 62).  
 57. *Ibid.*, p. 63. Cf. EGW, *The Desire of Ages* (Oakland, California: Pacific Press Publishing Company, 1898), pp. 311-12: "Christ is the ladder that Jacob saw, the base resting on the earth, and the topmost round reaching to the gate of heaven, to the very threshold of glory. If that ladder had failed by a single step of reaching the earth, we should have been lost. But Christ reaches us where we are. He took our nature and overcame, that we through taking His nature might overcome. Made 'in the likeness of sinful flesh' (Rom. 8:3), He lived a sinless life."  
 58. EJW, GG, p. 62.  
 59. NWCW, Book One, p. 49, MMM, p. 423.  
 60. EJW, GG, pp. 49-50. Cf. *idem*, "Comments on Galatians 3. No. 8," ST 12 (August 26, 1886): 518.  
 61. *Ibid.*  
 62. NWCW, Book One, p. 49, MMM, p. 423.  
 63. EJW, GG, p. 51.  
 64. NWCW, Book One, p. 49, MMM, p. 423.  
 65. NWCW, Book One, pp. 49, 51, MMM, p. 423.  
 66. US, "Third Day's Proceedings," GCDB 2, no. 2 (October 21, 1888):1, MMM, p. 362. Probably much of EJW's argument is reflected in GG, pp. 8-16.  
 67. NWCW, Book One, p. 51, MMM, p. 424.  
 68. EJW, "Comments on Galatians 3. No. 9," ST 12 (September 2, 1886): 534.  
 69. *Ibid.*  
 70. NWCW, Book One, p. 51, MMM, p. 424.  
 71. EJW, "Comments on Galatians 3. No. 9," September 2, 1886, p. 534.  
 72. EJW, GG, p. 45.  
 73. *Ibid.*, p. 30.  
 74. NWCW, Book One, p. 53, MMM, p. 424.  
 75. "Sabbath Disclosures," *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 22 October 1888, p. 6, MMM, p. 582.  
 76. "They Are for Temperance," *Minneapolis Tribune*, 23 October 1888, p. 5, MMM, p. 557.  
 77. NWCW, Book One, p. 73, MMM, p. 427.  
 78. Incorrectly transcribed by the EGW Estate as Gal 3:1. Note the original in MMM, p. 467.  
 79. NWCW, Book One, p. 75, MMM, p. 427. However, George R. Knight, *From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1987) p. 37, does not seem to think this is an important factor, as it is mentioned only once in NWCW.  
 80. EJW, "Truth and Its Importance," ST 14 (December 28, 1888): 790.



## Re-examining the Myths of Millerism

Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Reviewed by Steve Daily

*The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Ronald Numbers and Jonathan Butler is a scholarly volume of historical essays. The book is dedicated to Vern Carner, the founder of ADVENTIST HERITAGE, in whose honor a conference on Millerism was held in 1984. Out of that conference, which included a tour led by James Nix and Ronald Graybill of William Miller's chapel and grave, this unique volume was born.

The book is unique first of all because it contains the combined efforts of both Adventist and non-Adventist historians to present the Millerite experience in the context of 19th century American history. For decades the image of Millerism was tarnished by Clara Sears' *Days of Delusion: A Strange Bit of History* (1924), which focused on the idiosyncratic tendencies of the Millerites, presenting uncritical stories and supposed reminiscences of ascension robes, insanity and suicide.

Francis Nichol's apologetic reply to such accusations of fanaticism, *The Midnight Cry*, was published on the 100th an-

niversary of the great disappointment, and favorably influenced historians such as Whitney Cross whose work, *The Burned Over District* (1950), gave credibility to Nichol's heavily documented but openly advocacy account of Millerism.

Fortunately, in the 1970's a renaissance in millenarian studies occurred which gave birth to a recent resurgence of interest in Millerism, one of the most prominent millenarian movements in the United States. *The Disappointed* is just one of several books on the Millerites to appear in the last five years. But it is the one that will probably have the broadest appeal to both Adventist and non-Adventist readers.

A second unique aspect of the book is its excellent collection of historical illustrations compiled by James Nix, managing editor of ADVENTIST HERITAGE. These visual reproductions of historical portraits, sketches, engravings and charts add a special touch to the publication and include a large colored Millerite prophetic chart in the back pocket of the book.

Most important is the scholarly research contained in this

volume which dispels many previously-held myths about the Millerites. David Rowe begins the volume with an excellent essay on the nature of Millerism. He demonstrates the inadequacy of views which label the Millerites generally as a group of fanatical extremists, socially and economically deprived or mentally unbalanced individuals. He emphasizes the rich diversity of the Millerites concluding that they came from various economic, social, and denominational backgrounds. They did share a common advent hope and some similar attitudes such as anti-institutionalism, "Yankeeism," "pietism" and "commitment to action," but when viewed as a group they did not have a "collective personality." They were for the most part typical Americans representing a wide spectrum of social classes. In short, they were a microcosm of American culture in the mid-nineteenth century.

Wayne Judd and David Arthur provide biographical portraits of William Miller and Joshua V. Himes which dispel any notion that Millerism was a one-man movement, or the product of Miller's preaching or personality. Miller's skepticism and matter-of-fact reasoned approach to the prophecies appealed to the common man of Jacksonian America. Himes provided the vision, management, and urban organization to move the Millerite movement from obscurity to national prominence. Himes' involvement in a number of social reform movements, i.e. abolitionism, women's rights, the Non-Resistance Society, etc., influenced Millerism's social consciousness, and led to social activism that contradicts the "other worldly" mentality that has traditionally been attributed to them. Ronald Graybill skillfully examines the tension that existed between the Millerites single-minded commitment to proclaiming Christ's second coming, and their commitment to social reforms, particularly abolitionism.

Eric Anderson and Ruth Alder Doan author chapters which accentuate the distinctiveness of Millerite exegesis, prophetic interpretation, biblicism and radical supernaturalism which were rejected by the mainline churches that would become increasingly liberal. Still, the Millerite's approach to these issues ultimately served to broaden the spectrum of evangelical religion. The Millerites, in many ways, became the forerunners of the Fundamentalists who would attempt to preserve evangelical orthodoxy. The failure of Millerite prophetic interpretation gave birth to a host of prophetic movements, begin-

ning with Seventh-day Adventists, who would champion biblicism and apocalyptic prophecies of scripture.

Louis Billington carefully documents the influence of Millerism, and the similar movements which paralleled the Millerite experience in Great Britain. This showed that it was not just a New England or even North American phenomenon. Ronald and Janet Numbers share their research taken from New England mental institutions of the day, concluding that the myths which portray the Millerites as insane or mentally unbalanced are no more valid than the counter claims that Millerism was free from mental or emotional instability.

The relationship of the Millerites to other socially marginal movements such as the Shakers and the Oneida Community is examined by both Lawrence Foster and Michael Barkum. Barkum points to Millerism's rejection of post-Revolutionary optimism as its major difference from the utopian movements of the day. Foster examines the experience of Enoch Jacobs and more than 200 other Millerites who joined Shaker communities after the Great Disappointment. Both writers present a picture of Millerism which fits with a historical era filled with various reform and utopian movements, as opposed to the isolated and socially stigmatized treatment that Millerism has often received in past studies.

The final chapter is written by Jonathan Butler who links the Millerite roots of Seventh-day Adventism to the socio-cultural changes of mid-nineteenth century America. Butler draws a parallel between the movement in American culture from social upheaval, experimentation and expansiveness to institutional stability, conventionality, and a "post civil war corporate capitalism," with the transition that occurred in the Advent movement changing a segment of Millerites from apocalyptic, sectarian, charismatic to an institutionalized and doctrinally systematized group of believers known as Seventh-day Adventists.

The book does not attempt to provide a comprehensive or chronological picture of Millerism, nor does it offer an inspirational view of the Millerite's self-sacrifice and spiritual commitment. The limits of a strictly historical approach may disappoint those readers who seek to understand Millerism as a faith experience. But those who are looking for a well-written and scholarly historical approach to Millerism, that is not overly critical or apologetic in tone, will not be disappointed.

The staff of ADVENTIST HERITAGE wishes to acknowledge the contributions of these individuals to the ADVENTIST HERITAGE ENDOWMENT fund.

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*Photos  
from  
the  
Waggoner  
Family  
Album*

JAMES R. NIX

*(Above) Ellery C. Waggoner was three years younger than his older brother Ellet. He was born in 1858 and died in 1941.*

*(Right) Alta (Waggoner) Armstrong, was a younger sister of E. J. Waggoner. She married Elder Harry Armstrong in London, England, where she was living with her brother and his family.*





*The Burlington, Michigan, Seventh-day Adventist church was co-founded by Elder Joseph H. Waggoner, father of E. J. Waggoner. Many of the Waggoner family members are buried in Burlington, including E. J. Waggoner.*



*The parents of Jessie Fremont Moser lived near the young couple in Oakland, California, where their son-in-law, E. J. Waggoner, edited The Signs of the Times.*



*This picture of a group of workers leaving Oakland, California, by train for the East in about 1889 or 1890 included the E. J. Waggoner family. Dr. Waggoner is second from the left. His two daughters, Pearl and Bessie, are the only children in the group. His wife Jessie is the woman furthest to the right in the picture. Directly behind the two girls is Elder J. N. Loughborough. Other workers in the group (though exact identification is not known) include Mrs. J. N. Loughborough, Daniel Scoules, Elder Morrison, Maria Loughborough (who afterwards married Dr. Edwards) and C. P. Kellogg.*



*(Above top) Dr. E. J. Waggoner was photographed in Fredickshavn, Denmark, at the end of a three-month series of worker's meetings where he had been a Bible instructor during the summer of 1897.*

*(Above bottom) Ellet Joseph Waggoner's first wife, Jessie Fremont Moser, was a classmate from Battle Creek College. They were married in 1880.*



*(Left) Ellet and Jessie Waggoner are shown with their two daughters, Bessie Isadore (born 1882) and Winnie Pearl (born 1885) about the time they went to England in 1892.*



*(Left) Jessie Fremont Moser was only sixteen or seventeen years old when she first attended Battle Creek College, where she met her future husband, Ellet J. Waggoner.*

*(Below) E. J. Waggoner, M. D., worked in the laboratory of the Battle Creek Sanitarium the last six years of his life (1910-1916), besides serving as a chaplain for that institution.*



*(Above) While in England during the years 1892 to 1903, Dr. Waggoner assembled a large personal library that he used in his study, writing and teaching.*

*(Right) Young E. J. Waggoner was photographed in Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1874, the same year that Battle Creek College which he later attended, first opened.*





*(Above) A young E. J. Waggoner is shown on the right pictured with Willie White, younger son of James and Ellen White. The parents of the two young men were working together at the time at the Pacific Press Publishing Company in Oakland, California.*

*(Top right) Around the turn of the century, the Waggoner family and other friends gathered at their home in London, England, to have their picture taken.*

*(Right) E. J. Waggoner had a dog named Bruce when he lived in Battle Creek, Michigan, after returning to America from England.*



*(Above) From 1910 until his death in 1916, Dr. E. J. Waggoner worked both as a chaplain and in the laboratory of the Battle Creek Sanitarium. This picture of Dr. Waggoner appears to have been taken on the grounds of the sanitarium.*

*(Above top) Jessie Fremont Waggoner continued her literary career after divorcing her husband in 1906 on the charge of infidelity.*

*(Right) Ellet J. Waggoner obtained a medical degree from Bellevue Medical College in New York City. However, by 1884 he gave up his practice of medicine to go into the ministry.*





*In 1899, E. J. Waggoner and former General Conference President Elder O. A. Olson participated in a campmeeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, and since both men are in this photograph, it is possible that it was taken at that Swiss campmeeting. Dr. E. J. Waggoner is pictured in the back row, sixth from the right end, while Elder Olsen, also in the back row, is ninth from the left end. The girl holding her hat in front of Elder Waggoner is his daughter, Bessie. On Bessie's left, with her hand on her sister's shoulder, is his other daughter, Pearl.*



*Dr. E. J. Waggoner, shown in the front row on the right, is thought to be pictured with workers who were attending a training school in England about the turn of the century.*



*E. J. Waggoner was not yet thirty when in 1884 he became associate editor of The Signs of the Times, working with his father, Elder J. H. Waggoner. In 1886 the younger Waggoner was made editor of the paper, a position he held until 1891.*



*(Above) E. J. Waggoner, daughter Bessie and granddaughter Verna, are shown with Waggoner's dog Bruce at his home in Battle Creek, Michigan.*

*(Right) Ellet and Jessie Waggoner had three children, though only their two daughters lived to maturity. Bessie, aged six or seven, and Pearl, aged four or five, are shown behind their home at 1465 Castro Street, Oakland, California, where they lived while their father was editor of The Signs of the Times. Waggoner's son, Ernest Eugene, died at about nine months of age, around 1889.*



*At the time of his death in 1916, Dr. Waggoner left a manuscript on his desk which some said was actually written by his second wife, but others printed it in pamphlet form as his "Confession of Faith."*







*E. J. Waggoner's parents were pioneer evangelist, editor and author Elder Joseph H. Waggoner (1820-1889) and his wife Mariette (1823-1908).*



*Bessie Waggoner, oldest daughter of Ellet and Jessie Waggoner was born in Oakland, California, on November 26, 1882. When she grew up, she married Henry Harrower, who was in the medical field. They settled in Glendale, California.*



*Pearl Waggoner, younger daughter of Ellet and Jessie Waggoner, was born in Oakland on February 27, 1885. When she grew up, she married Elder Ellis P. Howard. They went to South and Central America as missionaries.*



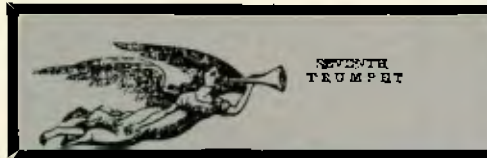
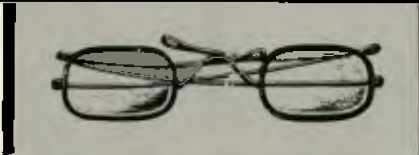
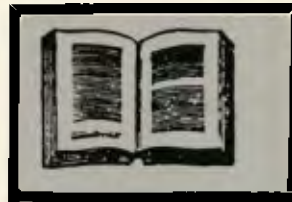
*Pearl Waggoner, the younger daughter of E. J. Waggoner, was a nurse in the first graduating class of Hinsdale Sanitarium in 1908.*

*Even toward the end of his life, E. J. Waggoner continued to be a voracious reader.*



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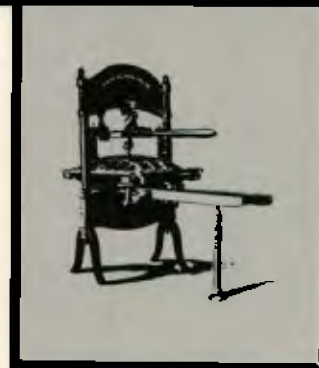
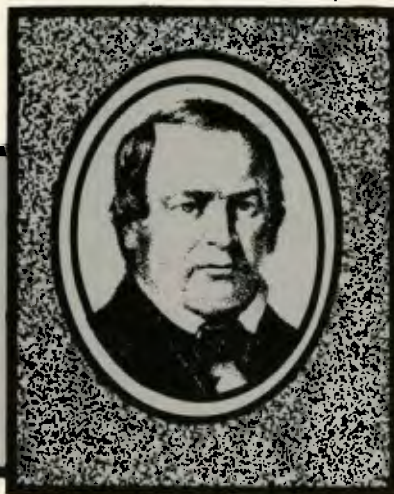
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