

The Bible Student Movement in the Days of C.T. Russell

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THE BIBLE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE DAYS OF C. T. RUSSELL

Third Edition

Joseph L. and Ann Eliza (Birney) Russell, a Christian couple of Scottish-Irish descent, made their home in Pittsburgh, Pa. It was here that in 1852 February 16 they greeted the arrival of their second son, Charles Taze Russell.¹ A daughter, Margaret M., was born two years later, and then two more children who died in infancy. (Margaret became Mrs. Benjamid F. Land.) Eliza Russell gave a Christian example and instruction to her children until her untimely death in 1861. Though suffering business failure in 1855, Joseph L. Russell educated his son in public schools and under private tutors, and brought up the children in the Presbyterian Church. He gave them the benefit of a Christian example and assistance until his death in 1897.

At an early age Charles Taze Russell joined the Congregational Church (ca. 1868) and the Y.M.C.A. He became thoroughly devoted to the Lord and active in mission work. In keeping with his Calvinist upbringing, he was zealous to warn people about a hell of eternal torment.

However, by 1868 sixteen-year old Russell began to question how a loving God could predestinate people to everlasting torture. He then discovered the Church teachers and elders were not able to answer his questions. After an investigation of various creeds he rejected them all, and with them the Bible, which he assumed was the basis for them. Thereafter he still believed in God, but he pursued the knowledge of Him in various sources, even in the heathen religions (a course he subsequently recommended truth-seekers against).

Then as he was finding both the creeds and the heathen religions unsatisfying he stumbled upon Adventism. Almost by accident he stopped in one evening to hear the preaching of Mr. Jonas Wendell.² That lecture re-established his faith in the inspiration of the Bible. Thereafter he distinguished between creeds and the Bible, and he set out in earnest to study the latter.

¹ Thomas B. (1850-1855) was the firstborn son. Lastly, Lucinda H. Russell and Joseph Lytel Russell, jr., died in infancy. After J.L. Russell married Emma H. Ackley, ca. 1879, they had a daughter, Mabel R. Packard (1881-1961). J.L. Russell's older brothers were Charles Tays (a dry goods broker in Pittsburgh, the next youngest), Alexander G. (Orange County, N.Y.), and James (1796-1847, firstborn of the seven children of Thomas and Fannie Russell).

Famine had driven emigration from Ireland. Since Sir Walter Raleigh introduced the potato into Ireland in 1610, it grew to 20% of all cultivated acreage in 1861 (30% in Connaught, near County Donegal, from which the Russells may have come). Beginning in 1831 there was a potato famine about half the time, culminating in the great famine and starvation of 1845-1846. Irish emigration rose from about 16,000 in 1841 to about 100,000 in 1846, to 215,444 in 1847, and to a peak of 247,721 in 1852, with 70-80% going to U.S.A. Charles Tays immigrated in 1822, and in 1831 started a dry goods business in Allegheny City, Pa.

² The "dirty, dingy hall" may have been at Quincy Hall, 127 Lacock St. (where G.W. Stetson later held meetings), about two blocks from the Russells' haberdashery, on the NE corner of Federal and Robinson Streets. WT1906Jy15, p.229. Although those street numberings are now uncertain, (they were changed about three decades later), if the Russells were already living at 80 Cedar St. (perhaps six blocks from The Old Quaker Shop), the Lacock St. hall would have been on one of three or four direct routes walking from the haberdashery to home. (Allegheny Center and the I-279 expressway have now substantially altered much of this area of the city.)

Jonas Wendell (Syracuse 1847-1854+, Pittsburgh ca. 1867-1870, Edinboro, Pa. 1870-1873) was active among Second Adventists, specifically in the Advent Christian Church. The Seventh-Day Adventist Church (the only group yet denominationalized) was then smaller but growing faster; it should not be confused with the Advent Christian Church, the Life and Advent Union, or any of the several other Adventist groups.

N.H. Barbour and Jonas Wendell were leaders in the 1873-1874 movement among Adventists. The church at Edinboro (perhaps sometimes deliberately misspelled Edenboro) must have been at least partially sympathetic to the 1873-1874 movement. In keeping with Adventist principles, the basis for fellowship was Christian character alone; so boundaries between each group and other groups, or the denominations, were not sharply defined. Megiddo Church in Rochester may have its heritage in N.H. Barbour.

A. Modest Beginnings

Then in 1870 at Allegheny (now Pittsburgh, northside), Pa., he was one of a few (perhaps about ten) beginning to meet in studies of the Bible. Among these early ones were William Imrie Mann, who was subsequently to help him for many years; A.D. Jones, a clerk in the Russell haberdashery; W.H. Conley, an older man; his father Joseph L. Russell, and his sister Mae. It was in the year 1872 that he first concluded the scriptures taught that Jesus gave himself as a substitutionary atonement for Adam's transgression, and that as a result all mankind "must come forth from their graves and be brought to a clear knowledge of the truth and to a full opportunity to gain everlasting life in Christ." (These doctrines, called "ransom" and "restitution," were subsequently the foundation and basis of all Russell's teachings.) It is said the three Russells were immersed in 1874.³ Then in 1876 October, Charles T. Russell was elected pastor of the Allegheny Bible class. They were greatly assisted by George W. Stetson⁴ of Pittsburgh (1871-1873) and then 100 miles to the north, at Edinboro, Pa. (1873-1879), and by George Storrs (1796-1879) of Brooklyn, editor of the *Bible Examiner* until 1879.

It was also in 1876 that he met Nelson H. Barbour,⁵ editor of *The Herald of the Morning* (b. June 1875), then of Rochester, N.Y. (previously *The Midnight Cry and Herald of the Morning* in Boston), and his colleague John H. Paton, from Almont, Mich. Barbour and Paton were much older than Russell. Russell learned from Paton and Barbour the chronology and time features of the Second Advent, indicating the Lord had already returned invisibly in 1874 Autumn. In turn, he contributed to them information on the "ransom" doctrine and on the object and manner of the Second Advent. Thereupon, in 1877,⁶ Barbour and Russell published a 196-page booklet, "The Three Worlds and Plan of Redemption," combining the ideas of restitution and time-prophecy. *The Herald of the Morning* was then revitalized, with Russell providing the finances and becoming an assistant editor. Barbour continued publishing from Rochester, while Russell and Paton traveled and contributed articles. They were joined in this work by Arthur P. Adams, a young Methodist minister in Beverly, Mass. These four and A.D. Jones constituted a zealous team promulgating the doctrines of the ransom and the Lord's invisible presence.

In 1877 Russell called together all the Protestant ministers of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, Pa.,⁷ to show them the Lord had already returned and was invisibly present. Perhaps one-third attended the meeting, but none agreed with him. Also, in the spring of 1877 Russell wrote a pamphlet, "The Object and Manner of the Lord's Return," covering invisible presence, a rapture, restitution, and a suggestion that the return of favor to Israel would be due in 1878.⁸

³ It seems likely the Russells were among those immersed by George Storrs on his June 1874 visit to Pittsburgh (reported in the *Bible Examiner*).

⁴ Some detail is given in the *Present Truth* 73, 5, p66-79 (Sep.-Oct. 1991).

⁵ In December 1873, N.H. Barbour of Rochester, N.Y., began publishing *The Midnight Cry*, a monthly journal teaching from Biblical chronology that the Second Advent would occur in 1874. The circulation soon reached 15,000. But then many separated in wariness of time prophecy. Then 1874 came and nothing visible occurred. After re-checking the chronology, and after re-examining the prophecies, it was concluded that the Lord had returned invisibly. Then this 16-page monthly changed its name to *The Herald of the Morning* ca. 1875 June. Its distribution in 1878 was probably around 5,000 to 6,000. Two others who helped the studies were George W. Stetson, well-esteemed in the entire Christian community, and George Storrs, one of the four prime movers of the Adventist movement of the 1840s, and later a founder of the Life and Advent Union group of Adventists.

⁶ Cf. *Studies in the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, p.223: "Many of these parallels, and other truths, were seen from prophecy, and were preached as here presented, several years prior to A.D. 1878 - that year being announced as the time of returning favor to Israel, before it came, and before any event marked it so. The author of this volume published these conclusions drawn from Scripture, in pamphlet form, in the spring of A.D. 1877."

⁷ The Allegheny population was around 75,000 (and growing) – about half that of Pittsburgh.

⁸ Compare Martin Luther: "When the Turk beginneth a little to decline, then certainly the last days will come." Miles Grant, "Positive Theology," 6th edn.; Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society [ca. 1895], p. 402; quoting "Table Talk," ch. 58, 1st edn., p. 479.

Based on chronological parallels, all were expecting a rapture of the saints in the spring of 1878. But when that spring came and nothing visible happened, a parting of the ways was at hand. Russell reinterpreted the date to mean that only sleeping saints were raised, and that it had been invisible, in accordance with a prior suggestion by G. Storrs (see Appendix A). Barbour instead renounced the ransom doctrine and published an article in *The Herald of the Morning* saying so. Russell and Paton continued until the end of the year to publish articles reaffirming their belief in the ransom doctrine, but they were unable to convince Barbour. Then they both left Barbour, the Allegheny ecclesia leaving with them. Adams sided with Barbour, and both soon renounced the invisible presence doctrine also.

B. *Zion's Watch Tower*

Russell then proceeded to edit and publish his own monthly from Pittsburgh, *Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence*. The purpose was to promulgate the doctrines of the ransom, restitution, invisible second presence, and other truths as they might become more clearly understood. In this effort J.H. Paton, Almont, Michigan; Wm. I. Mann, Allegheny, Pa.; and B.W. Keith, Dansville, New York; H.B. Rice, West Oakland, Calif.; and A.D. Jones, Pittsburgh, Pa., were listed as regular contributors. Much of the initial distribution was, of course, the same as for *The Herald of the Morning*. Though, in addition, the *Watch Tower* filled out the subscriptions of Rice's *The Last Trump*, which had had to be suspended. Many of the recipients of the *Watch Tower* were already well acquainted with the editor, owing to his travels over the preceding three years from New England to the Midwest. From the first issue of 1879 July to 1880 January about 6,000 copies of each issue were sent, whether requested or not; thereafter it was sent for 50¢ per year, or free to those requesting it.

It seems worthwhile to interject that it was in January 1879 that Maria Frances Ackley⁹ responded to a meeting appealing to the public, and she commenced meeting with the Allegheny Bible study class. Within three months, in March 1879, she became Mrs. C.T. Russell.¹⁰ She promptly became associate editor of the *Watch Tower*.

A considerable portion of the first several issues of the *Watch Tower* was written by Paton. These articles dealt mainly with the ransom, church, restitution, and to a lesser extent the invisible presence, chronology, numerology, and the tabernacle.

Then, too, since "The Three Worlds" had been out of print for some time, Paton wrote a new 332-page book published in June 1880, covering the same essentials, called "Day Dawn." Jones arranged for the printing and binding, while Russell advertised it in the *Watch Tower*.

But then differences arose. The first hint of this was seen in 1880 October, when an editor's note was appended to Paton's article on the scapegoat. (The following month a note of praise was appended to Paton's article on the covenants.) In 1881 Barbour published an article on Lev. 16 in *The Herald of the Morning* endeavoring to disprove the ransom doctrine. After studying Lev. 16, Russell came up with several new conclusions on the tabernacle. Before publishing the new ideas he called a conference with Paton and three others. Paton alone was unable to concur. Soon thereafter Paton began to alter his concept of the ransom doctrine. After 1881 June, Russell refused Paton's articles altogether. Then Paton began his own publication, *World's Hope* ca. 1882, and the split was complete. (It will be noted that although Paton's view of the ransom varied from Russell's, it was still different from Barbour's.

⁹ Mahlon F. and Selena Ann (Hammond) Ackley, of Allegheny (Pittsburgh, N.S.), apparently had four daughters, Maria F. (Mä-ri'-uh), Emma H. [later Mrs. J.L. Russell], Laura J. [later Raynor], Selena [later Guibert? then Barton?], and one son, Lemuel M. Ackley, an attorney in Chicago. It is rumored that Maria's sisters were divorced. J.L. and Emma H. Russell had a daughter, Mabel [later Mrs. Richard Packard].

¹⁰ They were married by J.H. Paton, who was an ordained minister of the Advent Christian Church in Almont, Mich. The Russells lived first on Cedar Ave. (probably 80 Cedar Ave, near Pressley St. [where J.L. Russell lived until his death], 1879-1882+); between Perrysville Ave. and McClintock Ave. (possibly on the corner), on the hill (ca. 1883); Clifton Ave. (now Euclid) on the other hill (1884-1894); and moved into the Bible House on the east side of Arch St., three buildings. north of E. Ohio St., Nov. 1894.

Moreover, Paton and Barbour disagreed on the invisible second presence. Hence Paton and Barbour did not reunite.)

It was in 1882 that supplies of the book "Day Dawn" ran out. Russell then promised the *Watch Tower* readers a new book "Millennial Day Dawn" (eventually published in 1886). Paton, rather, revised "Day Dawn" to conform to his newer views but published it under the same title.¹¹

A.D. Jones wrote several articles from 1879 to 1882, primarily on the resurrection of the church and on the "harvest" doctrines. In 1882 ca. Nov. he began publishing a new monthly, *Zion's Day Star*. The new paper was intended originally to issue articles on the more fundamental doctrines of the *Watch Tower* and received the favorable comment and best wishes of same. However, within a year the *Day Star* is said to have denied the virgin birth of Jesus and to have rejected portions of the New Testament. Therefore, Russell parted company with Jones also. (This much may be said in Jones' defense, however, that there is little hint that he subsequently developed bitterness as others, as Barbour and Paton.) *Day Star* continued to be published for a few years.

C. Other Writers

Of those first listed as regular contributors, Hugh Brown Rice of California contributed one letter in 1880 March, only. By 1881 he had disappeared from the list of regular contributors. B.W. Keith of New York wrote several articles from 1879 to 1882 on the ransom, church, invisible second presence, and restitution. W.I. Mann of Pennsylvania wrote articles from 1879 to 1888 encompassing a wide variety of subjects. He stressed historical and symbolical aspects more than chronological. His articles on the seven churches and his "Letters to Our Children" were well known. L.A. Allen of Honeoye, N.Y., wrote several articles in 1880 dealing primarily with Christ, church, and invisible second presence. J.C. Sunderlin of Ft. Edward, N.Y., wrote a considerable amount between 1880 and 1884 directed toward a central theme of upbuilding Christians. Both Mann and Sunderlin were heavy contributors in the formative years of the *Watch Tower*.

The greatest number of articles (excluding the editor's) was written by Maria F. Russell, the editor's wife. These articles, published between 1882 and 1897, largely dealt with the upbuilding of the saints. Mrs. Russell is also noted for very many answers to subscribers' questions. In addition, she wrote articles on a wide variety of other subjects, doctrine, method of study, travels to visit Christians, and of course, the *Watch Tower* Treasurer's reports. She was Associate Editor of the *Watch Tower* into the 1890s. Among her later works is a detailed defense of her husband.¹²

R. Wakefield of Newark, N.J. (b. ca. 1840 or earlier), wrote several articles from 1881 to 1886, and again in 1891, concerning the upbuilding of the saints, and on doctrines of importance. His articles were notably spiritual, and his sense of kindness and absolute fairness is unmistakable. During the 1880s (ca. 1890) he began writing religious articles for newspaper publication.

S.T. Tackabury of Fostoria, Ohio (d. 1888), wrote several short articles from 1885 to 1888 primarily on the present and future work of the church. A former pastor of an M.E. (Methodist) congregation in Townsendville, N.Y., he resigned his pastorate ca. 1880, withdrawing membership in the M.E. Church in early 1882, then labored in the distribution of *Watch Tower* literature. He worked about a year (likely 1885) in the *Watch Tower* correspondence department answering questions.

Simon O. Blunden of New York wrote several articles on doctrine, often well-documented, from 1883 to 1892. In his business travels he spread the message in many cities.

Joseph Moffitt of Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, wrote five articles from 1884 to 1892 centered on the outcome of the work of God, of Jesus, and of the church. His articles are masterpieces of organization.

¹¹ Paton published "Day Dawn," 3rd edition, in 1890 with his picture at the front. (He looked older than 47).

¹² Her claim that she wrote most of *Studies in the Scriptures*, Vol. 4, remains to be verified. [Studies II to XI are likely the ones in question, as they are least similar in style to those in the other volumes.]

H.L. Gillis wrote an assortment of articles from 1885 to 1893. He worked some time in the Watch Tower office, and afterwards wrote a religious column for his local West Virginia newspaper.

William M. Wright of Wisconsin left his church and adhered to Russell's teachings late in 1887. He sent several brief letters to the Watch Tower between 1887 and 1892 (and after) dealing largely with the disintegration of religious institutions. He was a trustee of the Watch Tower.

Wm. E. Page of Minnesota, and later of Milwaukee, received *Millennial Dawn*, Vol. 1, from W.M. Wright ca. 1887 Sept. Thereafter he wrote several articles and letters from 1889 to 1891 primarily dealing with various aspects of salvation.

With the increase in colporteur work and the advent of the pilgrim work, the contributed articles virtually disappeared from the pages of the *Watch Tower* in the 1890s.

Of historical interest are the letters of Joseph L. Russell (1813-1897), the editor's father, 1888 May, 1889 May, and 1894 June 11; and the first published letters of J.A. Bohnet, 1893 Sept.; J.F. Rutherford, 1894 April 15; and Clayton J. Woodworth, 1895 June 15.

The writings of several persons not directly associated with the Watch Tower were also printed in its pages. H. Grattan Guinness (1835-1910) of London was first copied 1880 December. Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892) of London, Horatius Bonar (1808-1889) of Edinburgh, Scotland, and A.J. Gordon were copied liberally. Of historical interest, Madam Guyon (1648-1717) of France was twice copied in 1884 Sept. and 1902 March 1; letters of Joseph Rabinowitz of Bessarabia (Russia) were copied in 1885 May and 1897 Feb.; and B. Wilson was copied in 1887 June. Articles were also copied from other religious journals, quite frequently from the *Bible Banner* and *Words of Reconciliation*.

The *Watch Tower* subscription list grew from 6,000 at the beginning to 7,000 in 1882, to 10,000 in the early 1890s, to 20,000 by 1905, and to more than 50,000 in 1915. In 1916 the list had slacked to around 45,000, perhaps due to the World War.¹³

¹³ The Watch Tower was downsized to about 7"×9" in 1891, then upsized slightly to 8½"×11" in 1895, the approximate size in which the 1879-1919 articles were reprinted in seven volumes (with index) late in 1919.

D. Doctrinal Origins

Most of the more widely publicized doctrines of the *Watch Tower* were contributed by C.T. Russell, N.H. , and J.H. Paton. The roles of many members of the Allegheny Bible ecclesia are difficult to assess at this late date. The contributions of George Storrs and other Christian writers not associated with the Watch Tower were also important. The unconscious state of the dead had long been the teaching of Storrs (1796-1879), who in turn had learned it from a tract by deacon Henry Grew (1781-1862) of Philadelphia.¹⁴ Since 1842 his “Six Sermons” on the subject had been widely circulated. (Storrs had been one of the prominent leaders in the Second Advent movement.)

The ransom doctrine was introduced by C.T. Russell (though he may well have drawn it from earlier writers).¹⁵ The restitution doctrine was likely either largely or wholly introduced by Storrs and Russell.¹⁶ The development of the philosophy of the permission of evil is not yet clear; it most probably developed somewhere within the Allegheny ecclesia, which included Russell.

The chronology now published in *Studies in the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, originated with Rev. C. Bowen of England.¹⁷ Many of the applications of this chronology and others may be found in the volume of works of many 19th century British prophetic writers, and probably still earlier writers (including Isaac Newton and Bishop Thomas Newton). The application of this chronology to fix 1874 as the date for the Second Advent was by N.H. Barbour, some years prior to that date. The teaching of the 1st and 2nd Advent parallels was also developed by Barbour (so C.T. Russell).

J.H. Paton also delved deeply into chronological calculations. He claimed, “The Bible is based on mathematics” (“Day Dawn,” revised edn., 1882, p.323). Morton Edgar (in a letter to Frank Parsons, Portland, Ore.) ascribes the Jubilee cycle calculations to Paton, though Barbour had published it in 1877. In “Day Dawn,” revised edition, p.93, Paton also says, “There is evidence that the six thousand years

¹⁴ Henry Grew immigrated to Boston in 1795 and later moved to Philadelphia. His letters were often published in *Bible Examiner* and *World's Crisis*; he taught soul-sleep, God is not a Trinity, but urged a weekly Eucharist.

¹⁵ *ZWT* 1906 July 15, p229-231. [Luther stressed that Jesus Christ died for every man, in contrast to Calvin, who claimed He atoned/suffered only for the elect.]

¹⁶ Luther in his sermon “Of the rich Man and poor Lazarus” on 1523 June 7 hints of this teaching when he says, “Abraham's bosom is not the bodily bosom...the bosom is the word of God, the promise which was given to Abraham in Gen. 22, ‘In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed’... And when people shall be resurrected, it will seem to Adam and to the old fathers, as though they had been living only a half an hour before.” D. Martin Luthers Werke [Weimar edition, in German], Vol. 12, p.592-597. However, Luther's teachings were commonly unpopular in Calvinist circles and were little known in the English-speaking world.

In recent decades it has come to light that before the Reformation the Moderate Cathar group had taught that “Only the Perfecti [consecrated and faithful] need roam [the earth] no more; their souls await...the Rejuvenation Day, which will decide between good and evil.” Arno Borst, “Die Katharer;” Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 1953 [in German], p.169.

¹⁷ Little is known about Rev. C. Bowen, Rector of St. Thomas, Winchester, England. J.H. Paton and C.T. Russell both ascribe the chronology to him. This chronology is presented in Rev. E.B. Elliott, A.M., “*Horæ Apocalypticæ*; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical; including also an Examination of the Chief Prophecies of Daniel,” 4th edn. Vol. IV, foldout facing p. 236; London: Seeleys, 1851, and is ascribed to “the Rev. C. Bowen.” Elliott's 5th edn. (1862) also includes this chronology of “the Rev. C. Bowen, Rector of St. Thomas, Winchester;” it is uncertain if the first edition (1844) contained it, but the 2nd (1846) did, and likely the 3rd (1847) also; the 4th and 5th editions both bring the chronology of “5979 years, since the Creation of Man” to “A.D. 1851”.

Jessie Norman of Yeovil, Som., England, wrote, “Rev. C. Bowen, 1800-1850, is believed to have originated at Winchester, but when he wrote his chronology, about 1830, he was Vicar of a church at Southwark, London. He was a pre-millennialist, and believed in the then new doctrine of the secret presence of The Lord for a time prior to His outward appearance to the world, for the purpose of gathering His Church, who would go to Him one by one as they died. After this, and the end of the Great Tribulation, The Lord would appear to the world with His Church.

“This thesis started in England in 1825 or so, and spread to America later in the century, and became developed to the doctrine of the Second Presence as we know it now...”

“Bowen published his ideas on The Presence in “Things to Come,” published in London in 1849. Many ministers and others in England at the time, and back to 1830, were actively propounding the same teaching.”

from the creation of Adam ended in the autumn of 1873. It is venerable tradition, and not without reason, that the seventh thousand years of the world's history will be the great sabbath."¹⁸ The concept that AD 1914 is the limit of Gentile dominion probably came either from Barbour or from Paton; J.A. Brown (1823) had predicted 1917. In fact, almost all chronological interpretations were introduced by Barbour and Paton. But Paton ascribed the 49,000-year creative week to W.I. Mann (see also *ZWT* 1881 Dec. Mann, departing from Paton, ascribed the Jubilee to the 50th thousand years).

The interpretation of the object of the Second Advent may have originated with C.T. Russell. The 1874 date was introduced by N.H. Barbour (although it was B.W. Keith who had pointed out that παρουσία {parousia} means *presence*, not simply *coming*), as already mentioned. W.I. Mann added supporting evidence from the Greek language. (The earliest known publication combining these various evidences, "The Three Worlds," is cited in small part in *ZWT* 1880 July.) The doctrine of natures distinct resulted at least in part from Barbour's Second Advent study (so C.T. Russell in *ZWT* 1881 Oct.-Nov., p.3) and the other part from Russell's study.

The Plan of the Ages chart evolved over a period of time during the 1870s. Paton and Barbour probably had a part with Russell, who published it in 1881 in "Food for Thinking Christians."

The Tabernacle teachings were arrived at by C.T. Russell, in part during the 1870s but also in an important part early in 1881. He received significant assistance in his tabernacle studies from W.I. Mann. The teaching concerning the sin-offering and the church's part in it came from C.T. Russell and was published as early as 1880 March.

The matter of election vs. free grace was probably resolved by George Storrs¹⁹ (and likely others) decades before. The doctrine of three covenants may have originated earlier, but it was introduced by C.T. Russell and published as early as 1880 March, and again in "Food for Thinking Christians." The later stress given this doctrine was due in part to an unidentified co-worker. The return of the Jews to Israel doctrine cannot be attributed to anyone in the Bible Students movement, since it had been and was being widely published by many British writers.

It is possible here that credit due other members of the Allegheny ecclesia has been overlooked. This is not intentional, but in most cases there is now no way to identify either the members or their contributions to the studies. For further information on possible or probable contributions by Christian writers not associated with the Watch Tower see Section N on "Contemporaries."

The centerpiece of C.T. Russell's teachings was Jesus Christ's ransom sacrifice for all. The restitution doctrine, the accuracy and harmony of the entire Bible, and priority of character development in Christians were close behind. Prophecy (including the end of Gentile Times in 1914) was prominent and encouraged but not deemed vital for everyone to make his calling and election sure.²⁰

¹⁸ Compare, Epistle of Barnabas 15:2-8, "'And God made in six days the works of his hands and on the seventh day he made an end, and rested in it and sanctified it.' Notice, children, what is the meaning of 'He made an end in six days'? He means this: that the Lord will make an end of everything in six thousand years, for a day with him means a thousand years... So then, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, everything will be completed... Furthermore he says to them, 'Your new moons and the sabbaths I cannot away with.' Do you see what he means? The present sabbaths are not acceptable to me, but that which I have made, in which I will give rest to all things and make the beginning of an eighth day, that is the beginning of another world.'" [trans. Kirsopp Lake.]

¹⁹ *ZWT* 1884 June, p.623.

²⁰ Although the beginning of World War I in 1914 attracted worldwide attention to the IBSA, and has prompted subsequent generations to characterize the movement by that date, that it was not C.T. Russell's focus may be readily verified by reading "This Journal and its Mission" and "To Us The Scriptures Clearly Teach" at the beginning of each *Watch Tower* issue since 1895, and also the V.D.M. questions for WT representatives in *ZWT* 1916 Nov.1, p330.

E. The Organization

Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence commenced publication in 1879 July. Earlier in the year C.T. Russell had sold his haberdasher stores to devote all his time and money to it. At that time the Watch Tower offices were at 101 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh. The offices were moved to 44 Federal St. (same building as 40 Federal St. and 151 Robinson St.),²¹ Allegheny, in 1884 ca. April, but it was not until 1889 December that they moved to the "Bible House" 58, 60 Arch St., Allegheny. The street number was subsequently changed ca. 1900 to 610, 612, 614 Arch St. (This building stood until 1962 ca. Sept., when it was torn down. The old sign "Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society" was still barely legible at that time.) One further time, the entire Watch Tower organization removed in 1909 Jan. 31 to the "Brooklyn Tabernacle" (offices and auditorium), 13-17 Hicks St., Brooklyn, N.Y., where it remained until after Pastor Russell's death.²² Another New York meeting place, "The Temple," was dedicated in 1913 Dec. 7. (In 1918 Oct., the Watch Tower office was momentarily moved back to Pittsburgh, North Side [formerly called Allegheny].) The Watch Tower home, called "Bethel," was at 122-124 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn. (Both Brooklyn buildings had formerly belonged to Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church.)

In 1884 Dec. 13, "Zion's Watch Tower Tract Society" was incorporated in Pennsylvania. The first board of directors consisted of: Charles Taze Russell, Pres.; William I. Mann, Vice-Pres.; Maria Frances Russell, Sec'y. and Treas.; William C. McMillan, Simon O. Blunden, J.B. Adamson, and Joseph F. Smith. Every \$10 donated gave one voting share to the donor. Office workers received \$10/month expenses (with an extra \$5/month if married). The name was changed to "Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society" in 1896. "The Tower Publishing Company" was a financially separate organization (owned by C.T. Russell), which did the printing for the "Society." The publishing company was donated to the "Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society" in 1898 April. The original board members terminated as follows: Wm. I. Mann of Benwood, W.Va., and Jos. F. Smith of Pittsburgh both on 1892 April 11 (during the Allegheny convention); J.B. Adamson of Allegheny City, Pa., on 1895 Jan. 5; Wm. C. McMillan of Latrobe, Pa., on 1898 May 13; Maria F. Russell of Allegheny City, Pa., on 1900 Feb. 12; Simon O. Blunden of New York City on 1908 Jan. 6; Charles T. Russell on 1916 Oct. 31. Russell is thought to have appointed James Dennis Wright in 1906, Wm. E. VanAmburgh, H. Clay Rockwell, Isaac F. Hoskins in 1908, Joseph Franklin Rutherford, and Alfred I. Ritchie in 1911 to fill vacancies on the board.

The "Peoples Pulpit Association" was incorporated in New York early in 1909, when the Watch Tower was moved to Brooklyn. Its purpose was the same as that of the "Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society," but a separate organization was required under New York law.

The term "International Bible Students Association" was first used in 1910 ca. April, considerably before there was any corporation by the name. It was used as a term of identification by various Bible Student ecclesias (churches, classes) in various countries, including the U.S., which made use of Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society literature. An "International Bible Students Association" was incorporated in Great Britain in 1914 June 30 for the benefit of the London office. Its original council consisted of C.T. Russell, Jesse Hemery, Henry J. Shearn, William Crawford, and Joseph F. Rutherford.

²¹ This building had housed the Russells' first men's clothing store, "The Old Quaker Shop," on the NE corner of Federal and Robinson Streets. (It is uncertain if this store was sold as early as the others.) The top two floors were used for storage of early Watch Tower literature. The original building still stands.

²² Cornelia S. Davenport, daughter of C.T. Russell's uncle Alexander, lived at #74 Hicks St., about three blocks south of the Brooklyn Tabernacle.

F. Books, Tracts, and Colporteurs

The Watch Tower's first book publication was "Songs of the Bride," a selection of 144 hymns, issued in 1879, about October. The first tracts appeared in 1881 Jan. and were 32 pages long. More 32-page tracts were published subsequently, a new tract about once a month. In 1881 April the "Watch Tower Tract Society" called for Christian laborers to sell Day Dawn, sell *Watch Tower* subscriptions, and distribute tracts, all of which would be furnished free to the laborers by the "Society." J.C. Sunderlin of Ft. Edward, N.Y., appears to have been the first to respond to that call, but was joined by Robert Bailey of Michigan, J.B. Adamson of Allegheny, and a Mr. McGranor of Pennsylvania, all before mid-year. (Such laborers were called "colporteurs." Those who distributed tracts alone were called "volunteers.")

Then in 1881 September, the Watch Tower issued as a 64-page booklet, "Food for Thinking Christians." This booklet immediately became the primary message of the laborers to other Christians. It was distributed free-of-charge by several major newspapers. Sunderlin and J.J. Bender went to Great Britain to publish and distribute 300,000 of the tracts. The American work was joined by B.W. Keith of Dansville, N.Y., and a Mr. Keim (likely of N.J. or Dela.) before the end of 1881.

Still another booklet, "The Tabernacle and its Teachings," was published in 1881 Dec. This is the oldest of Russell's works still in print (under the name "Tabernacle Shadows").

1882 Jan. saw the work joined by Messrs. Boyer and Leigh (Leigh actually about June). S.T. Tackabury, former pastor of an M.E. (Methodist) congregation in Townsendville, N.Y., entered into the field in March. Then a Mr. Graves in April, a Mr. Spears in June, a Mr. Lawver of Missouri in July, and yet others unnamed. By 1886 there were around 300 part-time or full-time workers - all distributing "Food for Thinking Christians" and other "Tract Society" publications.

With the publication in 1886 ca. Aug. of "Millennial Dawn" (retitled "Studies in the Scriptures" in 1904), Vol. I, "The Plan of the Ages," (350 pages) the colporteur work entered into a new phase. The emphasis was now on the distribution of this new volume, rather than on the books and tracts which preceded it. The paper-bound edition was stressed more than the cloth-bound. Millions of free "Arp Slips," that "turned the hose on hell" and featured a message of hope for mankind were used to advertise Vol. I beginning in 1887 October.

The leading colporteur of this time was J.B. Adamson, whose canvassing was selling more than 500 copies per month, beginning 1887 April 14. Other early colporteurs worthy of special note include Elmer Bryan, S.D. Rogers of Michigan, Henry Weber of western Maryland, S.O. Blunden, and L.F. Zink of Brandon, Manitoba. Adamson and Bryan outline their colportering methods in various letters. Then beginning ca. 1894, M.P. Thori of Minneapolis became an outstanding colporteur. By 1901 there were 69 engaged in this phase of the work.

Additional volumes²³ of "Millennial Dawn" became available to colporteurs as follows:

Vol. II	"The Time is at Hand" (366p.) - - - - -	ca. 1889 Jan.
Vol. III	"Thy Kingdom Come" (379p.) - - - - -	1891 ca. May
Vol. IV	"The Day of Vengeance" (656p.) - - - - -	1897 ca. Oct.
Vol. V	"The At-One-Ment Between God and Man" (490p.) - -	1899 ca. Sept.
Vol. VI	"The New Creation" (730p.) - - - - -	1904 ca. Mar.

All six volumes were published in cloth and leather bindings, while the first five were also put out in paper binding and sent out as special editions of the *Watch Tower*. Vol. I was subsequently retitled "The

²³ Mrs. Russell claimed in court to have written more than half of Volumes 1-4, virtually the whole of Vol. 4, and 7 chapters of Vol. 4. (If Chapters 4-10 of Vol. 4, it would be 480 of 656 total pages. It appears she exaggerates.)

Divine Plan of the Ages.” The intent to issue a new printing of “Millennial Dawn” as “Studies in the Scriptures” was announced and explained in 1904 August. The new title endured. Vol. IV was retitled “The Battle of Armageddon” in 1912 Nov. (while T. Roosevelt was using the campaign slogan, “We stand at the Battle of Armageddon”).

To aid in the public witness work the 24-page Old Theology Tracts were published quarterly from 1889 April to the end of 1908. A book of 151 poems and 333 hymns, “Poems and Hymns of Dawn” was published in 1890 ca. July. (A revised “Poems of Dawn” was published in 1912.) The widely-circulated 80-page “What Say The Scriptures About Hell,” and the 48-page “Reply to Robt. Ingersoll” (or “Thy Word is Truth”) pamphlets were ready by 1896 Jan. (“Reply to Robt. Ingersoll,” *ZWT* 1892 Oct.) Then was issued in 1900 Sept. a hymnal supplement of 54 hymns and 26 more tunes, “Zion’s Glad Songs,” compiled by M.L. McPhail of Chicago. A second book of 65 hymns was later issued. The “Heavenly Manna” devotional, compiled by Gertrude W. Seibert of California (later of Orbisonia, Pa.), was published in 1905 Jan. By the end of that year more booklets had been published: “What Say the Scriptures about Spiritism,” 128 pages (publ. *ZWT* 1897 June 15 - July 15; Bklt. 1898 Jan. 1); “The Parousia of Our Lord,” 78 pages (publ. *ZWT* 1898 Sept.; Bklt. later); “The Wonderful Story, 'The Old, Old Story,'” 60 pages (*ZWT* 1900 April 1?; 1892 Oct.); and “The Bible vs. the Evolution Theory,” 48 pages (publ. *ZWT* 1898 Dec. 1; Bklt. 1899 April).

New prominent colporteurs now included Ray Van Hyning beginning ca. 1903; A.H. MacMillan, beginning ca. 1905; James H. Cole (b. 1872, c. 1898, d. 1954 Oct.), beginning in 1905; Hugo Henry Riemer (b. ca. 1898) beginning in 1905; and Oscar Magnuson, ca. 1906. Alice L Darlington, Charlotte J. and Ethel White of Iowa (who became traveling colporteurs in mid-1908), and Irene K. Magnuson were also well known. By 1913 there were about one thousand colporteurs worldwide.

With the Watch Tower’s removal to Brooklyn, the *Old Theology Quarterly* was discontinued and was replaced by *People’s Pulpit*, published monthly from 1909 to 1913 ca. February. *People’s Pulpit* primarily published Pastor Russell’s sermons. Also in 1909 the 4-page *Bible Students Monthly* commenced along a parallel path, publishing articles rather than sermons. The *Bible Students Monthly*, edited by Chas. W. Hek, and later (ca. 1914) by Wm. F. Hudgings, reached a printing of more than 4,000,000 per month and continued until 1917. Yet another monthly publication for public consumption, issued 1911-1914, was known as *Everybody’s Paper*. In addition, as many as 2,000 city newspapers with 15,000,000 readers published Pastor Russell’s sermons.

One further portion of the public witness work is worthy of mention - the “Photo-Drama of Creation.” The Photo-Drama was an eight-hour in four-parts motion picture and slide production (with phonographic sound) depicting the plan of the ages from Earth’s creation until its perfection. Beginning in 1914 ca. Feb. it was shown throughout the United States and several other countries to large audiences, totaling more than ten million in two and a half years. Free scenario booklets were also issued. (“Seats free, no collection” was characteristic of all Watch-Tower-related public meetings.) Portable versions of the drama with only the slides and phonograph were issued in 1914 Oct. as the “Eureka Drama.”

The circulation of C.T. Russell's works by the end of 1916 was:

1877	Object and Manner of the Lord's Return	50,000
1877	Three Worlds (written with N.H. Barbour, who was principal author)	---
1881	Food for Thinking Christians	1,450,000
1881	The Tabernacle and its Teachings (Tabernacle Shadows of Better Sacrifices)	1,500,000
1886	The (Divine) Plan of the Ages	4,817,000
ca. 1889	The Time is at Hand	1,657,000
1891	Thy Kingdom Come	1,578,000
1897	The Day of Vengeance (The Battle of Armageddon)	464,000
1899	The At-One-Ment Between God and Man	445,000
1904	The New Creation	423,000
BOOKLETS		
1892	The Wonderful Story	---
1892	Thy Word is Truth (answer to Robt. Ingersoll)	---
1896	What Say the Scriptures about Hell	3,000,000
1897	What Say the Scriptures about Spiritism	500,000
1898	The Parousia of our Lord	300,000
1898	The Bible vs. the Evolution Theory	---
1910	Die Stemme (Yiddish language)	---
1912	Report on Foreign Mission work	---
1914	Scenario, Photo-Drama of Creation	---

(Current circulation of the Divine Plan of the Ages is over 6,000,000, and of all six volumes of Studies in the Scriptures is over 12,000,000.)

PARTIAL LIST OF COLPORTEURS

Violetta Allen	William P. Mockridge
Leonora ("Nodie") Bell (Morehouse)	Daniel Morheiser
Ms. M.L. Boody	Kate E. Neibel
Harold S. Butman, Elyria, Ohio	G. Russell Pollock, Vancouver, B.C.
James H. Cole (b. 1872, c. 1898, d. 1954)	Hugo Henry Riemer , St. Joseph, Mo.
Alice L. Darlington	Ray Van Hyning
Earl Eckley	Mrs. E.L. Wagner
J.H. Fleming, Memphis, Tenn.	A.M. Webber
Naomi Harris (Glass)	Austin White, Cortland, N.Y.
J. Hutchinson	Charlotte J. White (Magnuson)
Pauline G. Jolly, Orangeville, Pa.	Ethel White (King)
E. Louise Hamilton (Mrs. Robt. Jolly) Orangeville, Pa.	Stella M. Wilson
C.D. Leake	Sophie Wolf, St. Louis
Claire B. Leffler, Tiffin, Ohio	Anna E. Zimmerman (Kolliman), (b. 1895, c. 1907) Lancaster, Pa.
Rose M. Leffler (Hirsh), Tiffin, Ohio	Malinda Zook, Bareville, Pa.
Oscar Magnuson	
Irene K. Magnuson	
Arthur N. Marchant	
Marie Mirku (Pelle)	

G. Home Office

Before the *Watch Tower* commenced publication, C.T. Russell was supporting the *Herald of the Morning*, then published from Rochester, N.Y. Its sole home staff is thought to have been its editor, N.H. Barbour.

When the *Watch Tower* commenced publication the work was done by Russell and his wife, but probably with assistance from A.D. Jones also. The early workers in the 1880s included S.T. Tackabury (d. 1888 Aug. 5), H.L. Gillis, J.B. Adamson, Elmer Bryan, Otto von Zech, and a young boy and his sister.²⁴ The office workers in the 1890s included Messrs. J.A. Weimar, E.C. Henninges (ca. 1891), E.F. Abbott, and W. Campbell. Otto A. Koetitz was in the office soon afterwards, and may have been there previous to 1894 also. Other office workers probably in the 1890s include Ms. F.G. Burroughs from New York and Miss Millie Long (later Mrs. R.W. Power of St. Louis).

At the turn of the century the office staff also included James D. Wright, W.E. VanAmburgh, and Fred W. Williamson, who married Alice Land. In time more workers were added, including A.E. (Ed) Williamson (and wife Hattie), A.E. Burgess, likely J.A. Bohnet, and Clayton J. Woodworth part-time; so that in 1905 there were about 30 on the office staff.

Then came F.A. Hall, Edwin Bundy part-time, Isaac Hoskins, R.H. Hirsh, Fred H. Robison, H.C. Rockwell, W.E. Page, E.W. Brenneisen, Paul E. Thomson, George and Carl Kendall, John G. Kuehn, and likely A.H. MacMillan by the end of 1909. Several others already there include M. Almeta Nation (who married F.H. Robison), Elizabeth Nation (who married F.C. Detwiler), Laura M. Whitehouse, Estella Whitehouse, Alice G. James, Mrs. Williamson (the mother of Fred and Ed), Mae F. (Thelma) Land (who married Carl Kendall), Mrs. J.G. Herr (probably wife of M.L. Herr), Elizabeth Bourquin, and likely E. Louise Hamilton, G.W. Seibert, and a Ms. C. Tomlins. J.F. Rutherford became the Society's lawyer in 1907.²⁵ By 1909 the office staff numbered a few more than thirty.

In 1910 there were more than 76 workers, with more being added each year. Among the new workers were A.I. Ritchie, Menta Sturgeon, F.F. Cook, Wm. F. Hudgings, Raymond G. Jolly, J.F. Stephenson, F.C. Detwiler, and Robert J. Martin (b. 1878 March 30, d. 1932 Sept. 23); so that by 1915 there may have been as many as 175 workers. But an economic squeeze in 1915 caused seventy to be laid off (many of whom became colporteurs or became active in other phases of the Watch Tower work), among them Clayton J. Woodworth, Raymond G. Jolly, F.F. Cook, and probably R.R. Price, J.W. Adams, Sidney Morton, A.L. Smith, and Emile Harry Herscher. The 1916 office staff may have numbered 125. Others on the staff around 1916 and 1917 include J.A. Bauerlein, W.T. Baker, L.T. Cohen, W.L. Myers, J.P. MacPherson, and Charles E. Heard.

²⁴ They came from Buffalo ca. 1888, Charles and Rose Ball (b. ca. 1875). Charles died within a few months. Rose married E.C. Henninges in the late 1890s.

²⁵ J.F. Rutherford was the son of James Calvin Rutherford (said by David Tatro to have been strict and harsh), with five older sisters, one older brother and one younger brother. He became a lawyer through the apprentice program; he was one of three lawyers in Morgan County, Mo. who occasionally served from the bench when the local judge had to disqualify himself.

PARTIAL LIST OF BETHEL WORKERS

J.W. Adams	John E. McFarland
Olive G. Ambler	W.S. McGregor
Katherine Ashby	Robt. J. Martin
W.T. Baker	John A. Meggison
J.A. Bauerlein	C.E. Meyers
Hermann Boehmer	Marie Mirku
(J.A. Bohnet, "at large")	Sidney Morton
(Elizabeth Bourquin)	Susan Nation
E.W. Brenneisen	Virginia Noble
(J.A. Browne, Jamaica)	W.E. Page
Edwin Bundy, part-time	Mr. & Mrs. Robert R. Price
Mr. & Mrs. [since 1909] A.E. Burgess	Mr. & Mrs. George B. Raymond
L.T. Cohen	Blanche Raymond
F.F. Cook	Alfred I. Ritchie
E.L. Dockey	Dr. R.L. Robie
G.F. de Frese	T.H. Robinson
F.C. Detwiler	F.H. Robison
Mrs. Elizabeth Detwiler	H.C. Rockwell
A.D. Eshleman	Stephen Schuller
Ben Fuerst	Evalyn Wakefield Schuller
J.A. Gillespie	James Louis Seery
F.A. Hall	Fred. L. Shaw
E. Louise Hamilton [1904->1914]	Ada Shaw
Frances M. Harmon	Gertrude W. Seibert
H.E. Hazlett	A.L. Smith
Charles E. Heard	J.F. Stephenson
Charles W. Hek	Menta Sturgeon
Mr. & Mrs. M.L. Herr	Era Sullivan
E. Harry Herrscher	Paul E. Thomson
Robert H. Hirsh	Mrs. C. Tomlins
R. Robert Hollister	W.E. VanAmburgh
Henry Holmes	A.G. Wakefield
Elizabeth Hoskins [since 1908]	Ora Lee Sullivan Wakefield
Mr. & Mrs. [since 1915] Isaac Hoskins	Laura M. Whitehouse
Edith Hoskins [since 1908]	Estella Whitehouse
William F. Hudgings	Mrs. Williamson
Mrs. Alice G. James	Fred W. and Alice Land Williamson
Raymond G. Jolly	A.E. (Ed) and Hattie W. Williamson
Carl R. and Thelma Land Kendall	Mrs. W.M. Wisdom
Alfred W.C. Kuehn	Roberta Wisdom
Cora Kuehn (Sundbom)	(Clayton J. Woodworth)
Esther O. Kuehn	Mr. & Mrs. L.C. Work
Mrs. A.H. MacMillan	James D. Wright

H. Local Classes

Of the utmost importance in the Watch Tower work were the local ecclesias²⁶ (Bible study groups, or classes) that supported it. Nevertheless, any summary of members of the local ecclesias is necessarily quite incomplete.

Most prominent among the Bible study ecclesias was perhaps Pittsburgh (Allegheny), of which Pastor Russell was a resident member for almost forty years. Among the permanent members were M.M. Tuttle, Dr. W.E. Spill, J.A. Bohnet (a bachelor), the Samuel McCombs, Edward Mauer, Robert H. Bricker, Charles A. Sanders, W.H. Moore, E. F. Williams, Joseph Clarkson, the George A. Wilsons, and George M. Wilson.

In the later years the New York ecclesia became the most prominent in America, with the Watch Tower offices then in Brooklyn. The earlier members include Simon O. Blunden, Edwin C. Mott, James A. West, probably John A. Mitchell, George D. Woolsey, Dr. Linus. C. Work, a Mr. Martin, and a Mr. Fairchild.

In New England the Boston ecclesia was the most prominent. Among its members were John Harrison (whose daughter Corey married Harry L. Mitchell), W.J. Thorn, Alexander M. Graham, Ingram I. Margeson, J.B. Johnson, H.A. Guepnor, and Alexander Ogston.

Springfield, Mass., included D. Kihlgren, H.E. Spear, and Harvey A. Friese (since 1878).

In Newport, R.I., was A.A. Wainwright.

Providence included R.E. Streeter and S.T. Apollonio.

In the northeastern states there were several other well-known ecclesias. Philadelphia included Benjamin H. Barton, N.F. Sears, Homer J. Patterson, S.E.B. Heneks, and L.J. Wilcock.

Scranton, Pa., included such well-known names as Hayden Samson, Clayton J. Woodworth, and George H. Fisher.

The Buffalo-Niagara Falls area included E.F. Crist, R.D. Strueble, and probably W.O. Bowin.

The area of Albany, Schenectady, and Troy, N.Y., was represented by M.T. Lewis of Cohoes.

Among the Washington, D.C., members were Eliot H. Thomson, Clarence E. Fowler, Gen. Wm. P. Hall (c. 1905), and J.T.D. Pyles. Baltimore included H.N. Rahn in earlier years, and later Charles Anderson.

In the north central states Chicago was the most prominent ecclesia. Among the students there were M.L. McPhail, C. Antoszewski (for a few years) and R.H. Oleszynski (Polish), Dr. Leslie W. Jones, John Hoskins, John T. Read, the Hollister family, and A.L. Seeley.

Columbus, Ohio, included Paul S.L. Johnson, C.B. Shull, A.W. Smith and Frank D. White.

In Cleveland were O. Ostrander, John G. Kuehn (uncertain when) and William D. Soper (photographer).

Toledo was the Kuehn family home, including John G. (the father), Conrad H.S., Hugo R.E., Ernest W.V., and Cora Kuehn (later Sundbom), and also Samuel Kuesthardt and Charles Moser.

Dayton included George C. Driscoll (a publicity man) and Dr. Charles E. Kerney (and likely S.J. Arnold).

In Cincinnati were the Franz family, Horace K. Blinn, and H. Schulz (and likely the Mirku family).

East Liverpool was the home of W.A. Wallace.

²⁶ The Greek New Testament word ,6680F\ (ecclesia) is usually translated "church" in English.

Indianapolis included C.A. Owen, C.A. Wise, and for a time in earlier days, Z.T. Ransom.

Louisville was the Pelle family home, including Dr. Walter D. Pelle and his son Allan.

Detroit was the home of G. Rogers in the early days, and of E.A. McCosh, F.F. Cook, Alec Aitken, L.J. Smith (for a time), Robert Naismith, R. Thorn, Thomas T. Ryde, S.S. Tackabury, Joseph Grieg, and a Mr. Stewart. A.E. Burgess also came from Michigan.

Milwaukee was the home of C. Hilton Ellison and A.L. Smith.

In Clinton, Iowa, was Frank T. Horth.

The St. Paul ecclesia included M.P. Thori in earlier days, and Charles L. Dick, W.H. Bradford and W. L. Abbott (publisher of the St. Paul Enterprise,²⁷ d. 1917).

Conde, S.D., was the early home of George Draper.

Out in the West, Los Angeles was the best-known ecclesia. At the turn of the century Frank P. Sherman (b. 1886), Robert Nairn (b. 1870), and P.J. Shoquist (b. 1862) were its elders. Among its several members were Ernest. D. Sexton, Hattie L. Woodward, and Henriqueta (“Hettie”) A. Varro (Spanish)...

Edward Stark was in Santa Ana.

San Francisco included H.M. Fitch, W.L. Dimock, and W.E. Abbot.

H.S. Holway was in Santa Cruz.

The Seattle ecclesia included F.A. Acheson and H.G. Babcock.

In Portland were William A. Baker, L.F. Shinaman, and C.W. Field.

Spokane was the home of M.O. Field.

Boise, Idaho, was the home of Dr. H.D. Morris, F.M. Gish, Anna Myers and her daughters Helen (Carr) and Mildred (Pigg), Mr. and Mrs. James L. Pigg and their son Elton, Wilhelmina and Charles Lord, Myra Lorimer, and Edwin and Dr. Dickenson.

Butte, Mont., was the home of Miss Alice L. Crossman.

The Denver ecclesia included F.L. Hall and Albert L. Fanders.

The most prominent ecclesia in the south central states was St. Louis. Among its members were Menta Sturgeon, J.H. Hoeveler, Confederate Gen. Alexander P. Stewart (d. 1908 ca. Sept. 1), F. Bardelmeier, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Kuntz, James Lockwood, Jacob Cobine, and Grace McGee.

In St. Joseph, Mo., were Dr. S.D. Senior, Dr. H.R. Riemer (1846-1936) and family, William Wild, and likely F.R. Gossin.

Wichita was the home of George Draper in his later years. In Oklahoma City were G.F. Wilson and a Mr. Young.

Dallas was the home of G.L. DeFrese, and a Mr. Rust. In Fort Worth dwelt M.J. Adams.

In Houston were S.H. Huston and J. Isaac, Jr.

San Antonio was the home of W.T. Sessoms.

E.J. Coward was also a resident of Texas.

²⁷ There was resentment among some Bible Students against the St. Paul Enterprise after it began publishing news about Bible Students; several (perhaps led by A.H. MacMillan) felt such things should be published only by Pastor Russell or others at the Watch Tower Brooklyn office. Others, including C.T. Russell and many at Bethel, encouraged it. Soon after C.T. Russell died, the Watch Tower office canceled its subscription.

In the southeastern states Atlanta was the most prominent ecclesia. Among the members were J.H. Henika, W.S. Stevens, and a Mr. Wilbor.

Tampa included D.A. Thomas, G.G. Smith and D.K. Akin. (In later years Maria F. Russell lived in St. Petersburg.)

Nashville was the home of M.D. Confehr.

In Memphis were L.E. and N. Turner.

In Piedmont, Ala., was George W. Henderson.

In New Orleans was Mrs. N.O. Pedrick.

There were several well known Canadian ecclesias. Victoria was the home of J.T. Hodge. In Vancouver were Charles E. Heard, the Pollock family and a Mr. Flewwelling. Winnipeg was active early and included W. Jeff(?) Webb and E.C. Tinling. Toronto included Frank W. Manton, William A. Sinclair, Thomas W. Kirby, G.M. Evans, and Walter Sargeant. Truro, N.S., was the home of J.D. Ross.

In Great Britain the London ecclesia was, of course, the most prominent. Among its many members were Jesse Hemery, Fred Guard, the Samuel Bathers, T.A. Hart (and probably A.A. Hart), Henry J. Shearn, William Crawford (after he left Scotland), Elizabeth Horne, and a Ms. Swartz.

Liverpool was the home of a Mr. McCoy.

In Manchester lived J. Glass.

Newcastle was the home of Joseph Moffit in the early days, and later of the Rutherfords.

In Glasgow were the John Edgars, his brother Morton (b. 1861), their sister Minna, and also G. MacKenzie and a Mr. Johnstone. C.N. Houston was active in Wick.

In Edinburgh were a Ms. Allen (b. ca. 1831) and a Mr. Montgomery, both in the early days, and later James F. Scott.

The McCombs lived in Belfast, Ireland.

Elsewhere in Europe, Christiana, Norway, was the home of the Lundquists. In Stockholm dwelt August Lundborg. In Copenhagen was (Count) Carl Lüttichau.

The Barmen, Germany, area became the home of Otto A. Koetitz.

In Bern, Switzerland, was Emil Lanz.

In Australia the principal ecclesia was Melbourne. At various times the members included the E.C. Hennings, R.E.B. Nicholson, Edward Nelson, and the Hiam and Bateson families, among many others.

In 1916 there were 1200 or more Bible study ecclesias around the world that had elected C.T. Russell as their pastor. The interested Bible students came from all walks of life. There were several of both preachers and prisoners. Most, however, had been Christians already.

New York City Ecclesia Servants

1915

Elders

E.W. Brenneisen	W.F. Hudgings	J.F. Stephenson
A.E. Burgess	R.G. Jolly	M. Sturgeon
D.J. Cohen	J.G. Kuehn	P.E. Thomson
F.F. Cook	A.H. MacMillan	W.E. VanAmburgh
F.C. Detwiler	H.L. Mitchell	W.M. Wisdom
J.E. Gray	A.I. Ritchie	C.J. Woodworth
R.H. Hirsh	F.H. Robison	Dr. L.C. Work
I.F. Hoskins	H.C. Rockwell	J.D. Wright
	J.F. Rutherford	

Deacons

J.E. Anderson	J.C. Edwardes	R.J. Martin
W. Anderson	C. Ferris (Syrian)	L. Mathison (Norwegian)
W.A. Baade	C.A. Frailey	J.L. Mayer
A.E. Bain (Colored)	C. Gindroz	F. Mendel (Mundell?)
W.T. Baker	G. Glendon	M.C. Mitchell
L. Bamford	A.R. Goux	R.E. Mitchell
J.A. Bauerlein	J. Greaves	R. Montero (Spanish)
T.M. Bedwin	C.W. Hek	C.E. Myers
W. Bird	H. Herbst	J.M. Narlian (Armenian)
J.L. Cain	G.F. Herde	L. Newman
C. Carlson	E.H. Herrscher (French)	A. Pearson (Swedish)
C. Christides (Greek)	W.J. Hollister	F.W. Plaenker
L. Clough	H. Holmes	F.L. Scheerer (German)
L.T. Cohen (Hebrew)	C.J. Jensen (Danish)	G. Scholl
J.L. Cooke	R.B. Kent	Dr. S.A. Smith
J. Coolidge	E.E. Kirstein (Lettish)	S. Wasilewski (Polish)
J. DeCecca (Italian)	C.G. Lippincott	

J. The Foreign Work

The largest portion of the foreign work was, of course, directed towards Great Britain and other English-speaking foreign countries. The first and largest foreign language work was in German, both in the U.S.A. and Germany. The Swedish and other Scandinavian language work was also extensive and blossomed early. The French, Italian, Greek, and Polish work likewise received early attention. By 1914 and 1916 there was active work in Australia, the Orient, India, South Africa, Syria and Turkey, throughout Europe, Jamaica and the other West Indies, Central America, and Columbia, with prospect of extensive work throughout South America.

The first foreign work was in 1881 when John Corbin Sunderlin (briefly) and J.J. Bender went to Great Britain to publish and distribute 300 thousand of the "Food for Thinking Christians" tract there. The message, not of gloom and doom, but of hope and blessing for all the families of the earth, was received by many in their denominations. Some began to meet together, first in Glasgow (b. 1882 June) including William Crawford (IBSA ca. 1890), Robert Cormack, and Mrs. Hodge, and in 1897 her sister Sarah Ferrie ("Aunt Sarah" to later generations); also the Edgar family (including John, Morton, and Minna, noted for correlation of scripture and the Great Pyramid in Egypt), and Mr. and Mrs. Alex Tait. In 1883, North London meetings began with Elizabeth Horne, the Samuel Bather family, John Brookes, Arthur Carey, Mr. Sharples, Mr. Watkins, and later Thomas A. Hart (who started the Bible Student literature depot in late 1891). Other early actives include Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Hemery of Eccles (west suburb of Manchester), A. Pearson of Penhurst/Surrey, Arthur Riley of Bristol, James Bright of Belfast, Charles Elam of Liverpool, John Green of Sheffield, William Raynor and William Drinkwater of Nottingham, and George Mullens of Sevenoaks/Kent. C.T. Russell visited England in 1891 ca. Oct. to awaken Christian interest. Public meetings in London and Liverpool each drew about 150. Then colporteurs were sent to England, S.D. Rogers in 1893 and a Mr. and Mrs. Westall in 1895. The London ecclesia was organized as such in 1896. Frederick George Guard and William Thirkettle in 1896 established the meeting at Forest Gate in East London. The groups and individuals increased from about 40 and 1500 in 1892, to 60 and nearly 2500 in 1902, to 150 and nearly 5000 in 1911. By 1918 there were about 85 week night study classes in the London area.

E.C. and Rose E. (Ball) Henninges left the Bible House in 1900 ca. April to establish a branch office in London (May) for literature distribution, in Gipsy Lane, Forest Gate (no control of local groups implied). On their return to Allegheny in 1901 Nov. 1, the branch managership was turned over to Jesse Hemery. Activity thence grew exponentially. C.T. Russell returned in 1903 and annually 1908-1914 (twice in 1910). His public meetings grew to 1000 at Glasgow in 1903, to 3000 at Manchester in 1908, to 7500 at Royal Albert Hall/London 1910 May 8 (the day after Edward VII had died) and 7600 that September (reported in nearly seven hundred British newspapers).

W. Hope Hay went to England on business in 1902, also serving as a pilgrim. Beginning with M.L. McPhail's visit in 1905, pilgrims and/or C.T. Russell were sent to Great Britain annually. (Benj. Barton in 1906, A. Ed. Williamson in 1907 and 1908, Frank Draper in 1911.) The first London convention was 1903 April 25-26, and the first Glasgow convention 1905 May 9-10. These then served as two general conventions each year.

In 1911 the Craven Hill Congregational Chapel (in the Paddington district of West London by Bayswater Road, NW of Hyde Park) was acquired and renamed the London Tabernacle. C.T. Russell was elected pastor. Eight London-area groups combined to form the Tabernacle congregation, only Forest Gate on the far east side remaining separate. The adjacent mansion at 34 Craven Terrace was leased for the Watch Tower work. Hemery was then joined by two co-managers, Wm. Crawford and Henry J. Shearn (1865-1946, London businessman, in contact with C.T. Russell since 1906). When the International Bible Students Association was incorporated in England for the publishing and distribution of Bible literature, C.T. Russell was President, J. Hemery Vice President, H.J. Shearn Secretary, and W. Crawford Treasurer. The Photo-Drama of Creation (an audio-visual presentation of color still and

motion pictures, four parts of two hours each) in 1914-1915 was then shown in two hundred towns and cities to six hundred thousand people.²⁸

In 1903 ca. Nov. the Henninges' went to Australia to set up an Australian branch office in Melbourne. Andrew Anderson had been colporteur in southern New Zealand since 1898. In 1905, five colporteurs were sent from North America via New Zealand to Australia, the S.J. Richardsons, the R.E.B. Nicholsons, and L.F. Zink. R.E.B. Nicholson (d. 1955) became the Australian branch manager ca. 1909,²⁹ with Edward Nelson the auditor.

By 1916 there were ecclesias in Melbourne, Brisbane, Broken Hill, Canberra, and Perth, in Hobart and Wynyard (Tasmania), and in New Zealand. These classes locally sponsored the Photo-Drama, operated by a Mr. Michelmores, with Messrs. Brewster and Nelson giving the finale talks and the follow-up. Also in 1916 the Australian general convention had grown to eight days.

In 1903 there was sufficient interest in Jamaica that a colored pilgrim, James A. Browne, was sent there. He opened up a branch office in Kingston, which later served Central America also. Soon also a Jamaican general convention was being held, regularly attracting several hundred. By 1900, A.M. Brownfield and Isaiah Richards were colporteur in Panama, and soon a Mr. Hudson began colporteur in Costa Rica also.

The German work began in Allegheny in 1886 Jan. when Otto von Zech began translating articles for a German Watch Tower. The German Watch Tower was discontinued in 1892, and von Zech began issuing *Die Ernte Sichel* (*The Harvest Sickle*) for the same purpose. There were about 600 subscribers in 1894. Von Zech also began translating "Millennial Dawn" into German, Vol. 1 in 1888, Vol. 2 ca. 1890, and Vol. 3 in 1893 Aug. Otto A. Koetitz revised von Zech's translation of Vol. 1 in 1895, translated Vol. 4 before the turn of the century, then Vol. 5 in 1903 Nov., and Vol. 6 by 1909 Feb. Tabernacle Shadows was also translated into German very early. Later, the Photo-Drama was produced in German.

There was some early interest among Germans in Germany also. The Boehmers went to Germany early in 1893 to begin colporteur there. Koetitz also went for a short time. A Ms. M.E. Giesecke was the Watch Tower representative there in the late 1890s. The Henninges went to Europe with C.T. Russell in 1903 April and then remained in Germany to open a branch office in Elberfeld.

Koetitz returned to Germany to become branch manager in 1903 ca. Oct., when the Henninges moved to Australia. Beginning in 1904, the German Watch Tower became a monthly. The effort in Germany was slow in bearing fruit, but from fewer than 1800 subscribers in 1907, the German Watch Tower grew to more than 3000 in 1909, and to about 5000 in 1914. In 1909 there were perhaps 200 in the Barmen ecclesia and about 50 in the Berlin ecclesia. Koetitz also made many pilgrim trips, even as far as Russia. Another active worker ca. 1914 was Samuel Lauper, manager of the book depot for German Switzerland.

The Swedish work began with the translation of Vol. 1 in 1893 Dec. Vols. 2 and 3 were ready before the turn of the century, Vol. 5 in 1906 Oct., Vol. 6 in 1909 Feb., and finally Vol. 4 was ready by the beginning of 1912. The *Watch Tower* was being published in Swedish by 1903 or earlier. Tabernacle Shadows and the Hell booklet were both translated by 1908. The Photo-Drama was also produced in Swedish.

August Lundborg and a Mr. Nelson, both of Stockholm, were active for the IBSA before the turn of the century. Lundborg was manager of the Swedish branch in Stockholm. Later, Hugo Karlen was also active. The largest classes were in Stockholm and Orebro. There was also considerable interest among Swedish-Americans.

²⁸ In detail, see A.O. Hudson, "BIBLE STUDENTS IN BRITAIN, The Story of a Hundred Years," Bible Fellowship Union, 11 Lyncroft Gardens, Hounslow, Middlesex, England, 1989.

²⁹ In 1908-1909 E.C. Henninges objected to the Watch Tower teachings on the Grace Covenant and the church's relation to the sin offering and separated himself and several others from the Watch Tower fellowship. R.E.B. Nicholson's is the only known appointment of a branch manager believing Christ had not in any sense returned.

The Danish and Norwegian work began in 1894 when H. Samson of Denmark (not the American pilgrim) translated Vol. 1 into the Dano-Norwegian language. Vol. 2 was translated before the turn of the century, and then Vol. 3 in 1906 Dec., Vol. 4 in 1910 ca. Aug., Vol. 5 in ca. 1913 Feb., and Vol. 6 in 1916 or 1917. Tabernacle Shadows was translated in 1908. The Photo-Drama was also produced in Dano-Norwegian.

Beginning with the translation of Vol. 1, Joseph Winter became an active colporteur in Denmark. Carl Lüttichau opened the Dano-Norwegian branch in Copenhagen. In Norway, the Lundquists of Christiania were notably active. The largest ecclesia was probably in Bergen, numbering about 50 in 1909.

The first signs of interest in Finland did not appear until 1909. But by the beginning of 1912, Vol. 1 had been translated into the Finnish language, then Vols. 2 and 3 by 1913, and all six volumes by 1916. The Photo-Drama was also produced in Finnish. Martii Liesi became the Finnish branch manager, probably in Helsinki. Kaarlo Harteva was also active in the work.

The French work was begun by Adolphe Weber. He had been immersed in 1890 at the Allegheny convention before going to Yverdon, Switzerland (north of Lausanne). He translated Vol. 1 into French, perhaps as early as 1892 (possibly later). Vol. 2 was ready by 1903 Dec. The French *Watch Tower* was being published at least as early as 1903. And the Photo-Drama was also produced in French. Weber was succeeded in the French work and as manager of the Swiss branch by A. Freytag of Bern, Switzerland.

Weber also managed the Italian work. Vol. 1 was in Italian by 1903 Dec. The Italian *Watch Tower* was being published at least this early but was discontinued in 1910. Nevertheless, the Photo-Drama was produced in Italian.

The Greek work began with the translation of Vol. 1 in 1906 Dec., followed by Vol. 2 in 1908 ca. Feb., then Vol. 3 in 1909 ca. March, Vol. 5 by 1912 Jan. and Vol. 6 in 1916. The Photo-Drama was also produced in Greek.

The Polish work had early beginnings, but the translation of literature was slow in coming. It appears that a Polish immigrant in Chicago, C. Antoszewski, became associated with the IBSA ca. 1890. Then in 1891 R. Hipolit Oleszynski (1857-1930) also emigrated to Chicago, where he met Antoszewski that summer. Both being thoroughly convinced of the Watch Tower teachings, they visited other Polish immigrants continually.

In 1895 the young Oleszynski returned to Polish Russia, where he did colporteur work and pilgrim service for years, travelling back and forth between the two countries. In 1911 he left behind an ecclesia of about 25 in Warsaw and smaller classes elsewhere.

A condensed version of Vol. 1 was published in Polish in 1909 Jan. Somewhat more than a year later it was completed and published in full. The Photo-Drama was also produced in Polish. The Polish edition of the *Watch Tower* did not appear until ca. 1917 Jan., though.

The first Polish language convention was held in 1913 Aug. 31 - Sept. 1, in Kenosha, Wis., where 12 were immersed. In 1916 the Polish convention was held in Toledo, May 27-30, having grown to 4 days total.

The Oriental work had its beginnings very early, but little fruitage resulted for almost 30 years. Miss C.B. Downing, a missionary in Chefoo, China, first became associated with the IBSA ca. 1883 and was very active from the outset. But not for fifteen years was there evidence of further fruitage - not until Horace A. Randle became persuaded in 1898 and also became active. They sent out letters and literature from Siam (modern Thailand) to Japan. In 1900 Randle returned to England, leaving a widely scattered handful of adherents in the Orient.

Abortive attempts to translate Vol. 1 into Japanese or Chinese were made as early as 1907. But finally by 1913 Vol. 1 appeared in both Japanese and Chinese.³⁰ Then by 1916 it was published in Korean also.

The Spanish work began with the translation of Vol. 1 in 1909 ca. March. The Photo-Drama was also produced in Spanish. Robert Montero and J.L. Mayer were active in the work from Brooklyn. Ida Zallmanzig and Henriqueta ("Hettie") Varro of Los Angeles labored in the southwestern U.S. until there were Spanish classes from California to Texas. Work in Central America has been mentioned earlier in connection with the Jamaican branch. Ramon E. Salgar of Bogota, Columbia, beginning in 1915, was active and led a small class. Late in 1916, Dr. G.A. Tavel (French Swiss by birth) in Santa Ana, Salvador was expressing readiness to spread the message throughout South America. Thus by the end of 1916 the Spanish work was at a stage of incipient expansion.

Still later came the Armenian work. Vol. 1 was translated by 1916. The Photo-Drama was also produced in Armenian. The first Armenian convention was held in 1916 July 2-4 at Providence, R.I., with more than a dozen in attendance. Prominent among them were J.M. Narlian and A.S. Zakian, both of Brooklyn, and Haig M. Mardirossian of Providence. Many came from eastern Massachusetts.

Millennial Dawn volumes were translated into still other languages. The well-known "Die Stemme" tract in Yiddish was published ca. 1910. By 1911 there were tracts in several more languages: Welsh; Russian; Syrian; two native languages of South India, Tamil and Malayalam; a native language of South Africa, Zulu. By 1916 or 1917, tracts had also appeared in Armeno-Turkish (not the same as Armenian), Ruthenian, Lithuanian, Icelandic, and four languages of Central and Northwestern India, Telugu, Urdu, Marathi, and Gujarati.

Of further interest is the work in southern Africa. Perhaps the earliest worker was J. Booth of Pretoria. The book depot was since ca. 1909 in the charge of William W. Johnston of Durban. Others of the European population there were a Mr. Brink, whose first association with the IBSA was as early as 1903, and Messrs. Sargent and Howat of Johannesburg and Stubbs of Durban. Most active among the native population was Elliott (Kenan) Kamwana of the Alonga (Tonga) tribe, who immersed 9,126 in 1908 alone. Messrs. Jordan and Tshange and Alexander Malewinja were also active.³¹ The South African Convention in 1914 April 10-13 at Johannesburg hosted 34.

The work in India blossomed late but quickly. S.P. Devasahayam first came in contact with the IBSA in 1909 at Saratoga Springs during the convention. He was quickly convinced. He returned to India (Russell-Puram in Travencore Province) and immediately began spreading the message in English and Tamil. Already in 1911 there were 32 classes in India. Soon after, A.A. Hart was sent from England to manage the India work; when World War I limited his effectiveness, he moved to Australia.

In the more miscellaneous category, by 1887 there was also interest in Turkey and Liberia. In 1909 the interest in Turkey was represented by a certain "G.M." of Smyrna. In 1915 there was a Hungarian branch of the Watch Tower managed by Charles Z. Szabo. The Romanian Vol. 1 was translated by Mr. and Mrs. Mirku in the U.S.A. Limited effort was also expended on Egypt, Syria, Crete, and the Philippines. In the Western Hemisphere in 1887 there was interest in Haiti and in South America (location in S.A. unknown). Bermuda was colporteured by Walter Yardley in 1897-1898. Later some effort was expended in Mexico also. In the U.S. in 1899 there was a French ecclesia in Providence, R.I. of about 8. In 1916 there was a Syrian ecclesia of 12 at Jamestown, Pa., according to George E. Kafoory, and a probably greater number scattered elsewhere.

³⁰ William and Robert Hollister in 1913 went to China and Japan to publish one million tracts in each language, and then ¼ million in Korean. The translations of Vol. 1 likely resulted from their stay in Yokohama.

³¹ It is rumored that the end of Gentile times, looked forward to in 1914, precipitated a revolt among native peoples in Nyasaland (modern Malawi) during World War I. No similar case relating to the IBSA is known in other countries. *Watch Tower* teaching had been for the Christian to expect revolutions but to avoid involvement in them.

K. Pilgrims

As colporteurism was intended primarily for public witness and instruction, so the pilgrim service was intended for the edification of the various Bible study classes.³² The pilgrim service began in a small way as early as 1890, though full-time pilgrim service did not begin until 1894. Though progressing slowly at first, it was already becoming a major effort by the turn of the century.

M.L. McPhail of Chicago was the first pilgrim beginning in 1890 and the first full-time pilgrim beginning in 1894 ca. Aug. From 1890 to 1908 he visited classes throughout the northern and eastern parts of the country, from Kansas to New England, and Ontario, and also in Great Britain. He is especially noted for his excellent musical talent, including the composition of many hymns.

The part-time pilgrims in 1894 were C.C. Bell of California; S.O. Blunden of New York; J.A. Bohnet, Frank Draper, C.A. Owen of Indianapolis; Wm. E. Page; Z.T. Ransom of South Dakota; W.J. Thorn of Boston; Henry Weber of Maryland; James A. West; C.A. Wise of Indianapolis; C. Antoszewski of Chicago (probably for only a short time); Austin, Merrill, Murphy, (Isaiah?) Richards, (Jeff?) Webb (of Winnipeg?), J.A. Weimar, (Samuel?) Williams (of Texas?), and Witter. For their occupations they were mostly colporteurs, business men, and traveling salesmen.

Frank Draper (b. 1857 March 2) was perhaps the most appreciated of the early pilgrims. From ca. 1896 to 1915 (when he retired) he visited classes everywhere throughout the U.S. and Canada (except Nfld.), and also in Great Britain.

S.S. Cone (ca. 1820 - 1898 March 31) of Illinois spent his last years in the pilgrim service, 1896 and 1897. His travels took him as far as the southeastern states.

Z.T. Ransom of South Dakota from 1897 to 1902 visited classes especially in the central part of the country.

W. Hope Hay of Minneapolis-St. Paul (of Canada prior to his retirement) began his pilgrim service early in 1899 and continued through 1906. He visited the north central and northeastern states and Manitoba and Ontario, and also visited England in 1902. After his pilgrim service ended he became an invalid for the rest of his life.

A Mr. Willis was also active in Missouri ca. 1899.

Edwin C. Mott of N.Y. visited Philadelphia and perhaps other classes also in 1899 (apparently not with WT approval).

Horace A. Randle of England spoke in the northeastern states in 1900. He had originally come in contact with the IBSA in 1898 through Miss C.B. Downing, when both were in missionary work in China. (He opposed C.T. Russell beginning in 1908.)

Hayden Samson (b. ca. 1845, d. 1914 Jan. 25) of Peckville (Scranton ecclesia), Penn., from 1900 to 1913 traveled throughout the U.S. (except around Texas) and Ontario. He first came in contact with the IBSA in 1887 through Vol. I of Millennial Dawn.

Eliot H. Thomson of Washington, D.C. visited Manitoba in 1901. (If he was in the pilgrim service is not certain.)

J.A. Howell of Texas from 1901 to 1903 traveled throughout the south central U.S.

J.H. Moffatt of Florida visited Georgia in 1901.

Otto A. Koetitz in 1901 and 1902 visited the central and western states. In 1903, ca. Oct., he went to Germany to manage the Watch Tower office there.

³² Considerable pilgrim work did go into public meetings, though this was not the intent of the Watch Tower.

Henry Weber (d. 1904 Jan. 21) of Oakland, Md., in 1901 and 1902 visited various states in the north central and northeast. His first contact with the IBSA was in 1892.

John Harrison (b. ca. 1840, d. 1909 Oct. 19) of Boston was active from 1901 to 1909 everywhere in the U.S. (except perhaps in the northwest) and in Ontario, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island.

Benjamin H. Barton (d. 1916 June 24) of Philadelphia from 1901 to 1916 toured throughout the U.S. (though sparingly in the southwest) and Canada (except Newfoundland), and also in England.

M.T. Lewis of Cohoes, N.Y., toured New York state in 1902.

Samuel Kuesthardt of Port Clinton, Ohio, in 1901 and 1902 visited the southeast and north central states. He was later editor of a German language newspaper.

N. H. Glover toured Michigan and Ontario in 1902.

Wm. E. VanAmburgh of South Dakota from 1902 to 1916 occasionally toured the western half of the U.S. and also in Alberta. His primary labors were in the Watch Tower office, though, where he later became treasurer. His first contact with the IBSA was in 1896.

R.E. Streeter (1847-1924) of Providence, R.I., from 1902 to 1916 occasionally toured New England, the northeast and south central states, and the Maritime Provinces (except Nfld.). A former Adventist minister and publisher, he and his congregation joined the IBSA ca. 1901.

Fred W. Williamson from 1902 to 1908 visited the northern states from Missouri to New England, and Ontario, and also Great Britain. He married C.T. Russell's niece, Alice Land.

George B. Raymond of Muncie, Ind., in 1902, 1903, and 1909 visited the northern states from Arkansas to New England, and Ontario.

James D. Wright from 1902 to 1915 toured the central and eastern U.S. and Ontario. His first contact with the IBSA came ca. 1893.

A.T. Binkley visited Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio in 1902.

S. Williams, sr., of Texas toured that state in 1903.

J.A. Browne (b. 1873, c. 1897) visited the colored classes in Jamaica early in 1903 (and subsequently).

S.J. Arnold (1860-1943) of Ohio (likely Dayton) from 1903 to 1906 traveled through Ohio, Michigan and Indiana. [Finding a tract about Hell in a box of clinkers (stoney residue from burning coal) was his first contact with the IBSA.]

J. Currie of Texas in 1903 and 1904 toured Texas and Arkansas.

Clayton J. Woodworth of Scranton, Penn., in 1903 visited the north central and southwestern states, and then in 1912 and 1915 toured Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Tennessee.

C.A. Owen of Indianapolis in 1903 and 1906 traveled from Ohio to Missouri and also visited California.

George H. Draper of Conde, S.D., from 1904 to 1916 visited classes everywhere throughout the U.S. and from Saskatchewan to Ontario.

Paul S.L. Johnson of Columbus, Ohio, from 1904 to 1916 traveled throughout the U.S. and from British Columbia to Ontario. Born a Jew but became a Lutheran minister. Suffered "brain fag" 1910 May 22.

J.H. Henika of Atlanta toured the southeast in 1904 and for several years thereafter.

Walter H. Bundy of Texas from 1904 to 1914 traveled throughout the U.S. and in B.C. and from Saskatchewan to the Maritime Provinces (except Nfld.).

Jesse Hemery, manager of the London office, toured England and Scotland in 1905 and 1907. His later itineraries were not published.

John Edgar (d. 1910 June 4) of Glasgow toured England in 1905. Together with his brother Morton (and perhaps with their sister Minna), he did much research in the Great Pyramid of Egypt.

W.M. Hersee from 1905 to 1916 visited classes in the north central and eastern states and in Ontario.

M.L. Herr of Pottsville, Penn., from 1906 to 1916 toured the central and eastern U.S. and Ontario and the Maritime Provinces (except Nfld.).

A.E. Burgess of Michigan toured the north central states in 1906 and Pennsylvania in 1911.

O.L. Sullivan (b. 1858, c. 1903) from 1906 to 1915 traveled throughout the U.S., Ontario and the Maritime Provinces (except Nfld.).

J.A. Bohnet (of Pittsburgh, North Side), a farmer and traveling man from long before, from 1906 to 1914 visited classes throughout the U.S. and from B.C. to Ontario. An old bachelor, whose farm adjoined the cemetery where C.T. Russell was later buried (and the Hollister and Jordan families also).

F.A. Hall from 1906 to 1915 toured the central and eastern states and Ontario.

Edwin Bundy from 1906 to 1910 visited various states from California to New England.

E.W. Brenneisen (b. 1874) of Texas in 1907 and 1908 toured most of the U.S. (except the southeastern states), Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island.

Harry L. Mitchell (b. 1864 Sept. 16, d. 1943 Oct. 30) in 1907 visited the Maritime Provinces (except Nfld.) and New England. [He was the son of Porter and Priscilla (Martin) Mitchell. Formerly a Methodist, his first contact with the IBSA was in the 1890s. He married Corey Harrison, and their children were Martin C. and Roy E. (twins), and Norma G. Mitchell.]

A.E. ("Ed") Williamson visited Great Britain in 1907, and Ohio and Ontario in 1908.

Joseph F. Rutherford (b. 1869, c. 1906, d. 1942 Jan. 8) of Missouri from 1907 to 1911 toured primarily the central and northern states. In 1916 he visited British Columbia, Canada. His first contact with the IBSA was from two young ladies in the colporteur work in 1894 ca. Feb. (He was subsequently active in one of William Jennings Bryan's presidential campaigns, probably in 1896.) He later became president of the Watch Tower.

J.A. Parker of Texas toured that state in 1908

C.A. Wise of Indianapolis from 1908 to 1916 visited classes in the southeastern, north central and western states.

Henry Hoskins, sr. (b. 1842), in 1908 and 1909 visited the central and southwestern states.

S.D. Senor of St. Joseph, Mo., from 1908 to 1913 toured the central and northeastern states. He first became associated with the IBSA ca. 1903.

Alex H. MacMillan beginning in 1908 traveled everywhere throughout Canada and the U.S.

John G. Kuehn of Toledo in 1909 served in the north central states, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Ontario. Later, he directed the pilgrim work.

E.J. Coward of Texas visited classes in the central states in 1909. Later (1915) he was active in the West Indies.

Henry Clay Rockwell toured the northeastern states in 1909.

A. M. Saphore (1881-1951), of New Jersey from 1909 to 1913 visited the central and eastern states, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

C.J. Peterson in 1909 and 1910 served in the north central and New England states, Colorado, New York, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

Menta Sturgeon of St. Louis from 1909 to 1914 visited the central and eastern states, Alberta, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

Ernest D. Sexton (1863-1931) of Penn., and later of Los Angeles, from 1909 to 1916 toured the western and central states, New York, Virginia, Maryland, British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario.

J.S. Adams of California in 1910, 1914, and 1915 visited the western states and some southern states.

C.A. Ericson in 1910 and 1911 served classes in the Swedish language in New England and the north central states.

Samuel W. Williams, jr., of Texas, toured that state in 1910.

James H. Cole (1872-1954) from 1910 to 1914 traveled throughout the U.S. (except New England) and from B.C. to Ontario. He was better-known through his contributions to the colporteur work (including the "Cole wagon," a suitcase with wheels).

Fred H. Robison visited Pennsylvania and Kentucky in 1910. He was known for scholarship.

Daniel Toole (formerly O'Toole) from 1910 to 1916 traveled throughout the U.S., B.C., Alberta, and Ontario.

F.F. Cook in 1911 and 1912 visited classes throughout the northeastern U.S., as far south as North Carolina, as far west as Michigan, also in Arkansas and Ontario.

William Crawford toured Great Britain in 1911.

G.M. Hunt in 1911 and 1912 visited classes from Texas to Nebraska and Colorado.

L.F. Zink of Brandon, Man. (associated since ca. 1888, d. 1943), beginning in 1911 served in the western, central, and northeastern states and from B.C. to Ontario.

Elza P. Taliaferro of Los Angeles in 1912 toured California and the south central states.

R.H. Barber of New York beginning in 1912 visited the central and eastern U.S., and Ontario.

J.P. MacPherson from 1912 to 1915 traveled throughout the U.S., and from B.C. to Ontario, and Nova Scotia. (He was best known for his discourses on the Tabernacle.)

W.S. Stevens of Atlanta toured the southeastern states in 1912.

W.M. Wisdom (d. 1934 Jan. 1) beginning in 1912 served throughout the U.S. (though sparingly in the northwest and south central states) and from Ontario to Nova Scotia.

Robert H. Hirsh in 1912 and 1913 visited classes in the south central states, and from Illinois to Penn., and in Ontario.

Paul Ewart Thomson in 1913 visited classes in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Georgia, and Alabama.

J.F. Emerson in 1913 and 1914 served classes in the eastern and north central states as far west as Montana, and from Ontario to Saskatchewan.

Charles E. Heard of Vancouver, B.C., from 1913 to 1915 toured the western, central, and northeastern states and from British Columbia to Ontario.

George S. Kendall of Washington, Pa. (near Pittsburgh), in 1913 and 1914 visited classes in California, the northwestern, north central, and southeastern states, and from B.C. to Manitoba.

Sidney Morton from 1913 to 1915 toured the southwestern, central, and some southeastern states.

Thos. P. Yates from 1913 to 1916 visited classes in the western, north central, and southeastern states, and in Pennsylvania, New York, and Ontario.

W.M. Batterson (d. 1952 June) of Nebraska beginning in 1913 toured the central states, New York, and Ontario.

J.A. Gillespie (b. 1845, IBSA ca. 1910, d. 1920) of Iowa beginning in 1913 traveled throughout the U.S. and in B.C. and the Maritime Provinces (except Nfld.).

Dr. R.L. Robie (b. 1850, c. 1902) from 1913 to 1916 traveled throughout the U.S. and from B.C. to Manitoba.

T.H. Thornton beginning in 1913 visited classes in the eastern U.S. as far west as Missouri and Arkansas, and in Ontario.

A.L. Smith in 1914 and 1915 visited classes in the central states.

Walter J. Thorn of Boston beginning in 1914 traveled throughout the central and eastern U.S., and in Ontario.

Raymond G. Jolly (1886-1979) visited Ohio in 1914. His first association with the IBSA was in 1909.

John A. Meggison (1882-1964) of Boston beginning in 1914 visited classes in the eastern and south central states, and from Ohio to Illinois.

Robt. R. Price in 1914 and 1915 toured the north central and southeastern states.

William A. Baker (d. 1961) from 1914 to 1916 visited the western and north central states, and from B.C. to Saskatchewan. A former Roman Catholic priest, he first became associated with the IBSA in 1900.

W. Homer Lee of Texas toured that state in 1914 and 1915.

Frank C. Detwiler (d. 1953) in 1916 visited Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Willie B. Palmer (d. 1942) beginning in 1916 toured the central states.

Edward F. Crist (d. 1952 Jan.) of Buffalo beginning in 1916 visited the north central and northeastern U.S. as far south as Arkansas and North Carolina, and in Ontario.

Milton E. Riemer of St. Joseph, Mo., in 1916 toured the central states and as far east as Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Joseph Cooch of Indiana toured Ontario in 1916.

R.O. Hadley beginning in 1916 visited classes in the northwestern and eastern states, including several states in between, and from B.C. to Nova Scotia (including Quebec).

Isaac F. Hoskins in 1916 served classes in the north central states and in Pennsylvania and New York.

Wm. F. Hudgings in 1916 toured Missouri, Iowa, Ohio, and somewhat in the northeastern states. He was also editor of *The Bible Students Monthly*.

Alfred I. Ritchie (1871-1946) of Ontario in 1916 toured the western and north central states, and from B.C. to Manitoba. He was vice-president of the Watch Tower at the time. He first became associated with the IBSA in 1888.

Thomas E. Barker (b. ca. 1860, c. ca. 1890, d. 1942) of Boston in 1916 visited classes in New York, Massachusetts, Vermont, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island.

Alexander M. Graham of Boston beginning in 1916 served classes in Virginia, and the northeastern U.S., and in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces (except Nfld.).

B.M. Rice beginning in 1916 toured the north central states.

After the death of C.T. Russell, 1916 Oct. 31, no new pilgrims were sent on the road for the rest of the year.

(New pilgrims beginning soon afterwards include in 1917 W.T. Baker, Frank T. Horth, Daniel J. Morheiser (Morehouse), Hugo Henry Riemer, and in 1918 Oscar Magnuson, Robert E. Nash, and W.E. Spill.)

NOTE: The expression "(north)eastern U.S." is intended to include New England, where "(north)eastern states" does not. Speakers visiting Canada usually by-passed Quebec (largely French-speaking). The expression "beginning 19xx" implies the pilgrim was (still) on tour at the end of 1916. About 103 pilgrims making tours are listed above. Other abbreviations: b., born; c., commenced the consecrated way; IBSA, began association with the IBSA; d., died.

L. Meetings and Conventions

The early Pittsburgh Bible study ecclesia met Sunday at the Curry Institute Hall, corner of Penn Ave. and Sixth St. at 3:00 p.m.; and Wednesday at 80 Cedar Ave., Allegheny, at 7:30 p.m.. By 1883 Feb., both meetings had been changed to the Grand Army Hall, 101 Federal St., Allegheny City. When the Watch Tower moved into the "Bible House" (1890) the Sunday meetings were moved with it. From time to time special Sunday meetings were held in Carnegie Hall.³³ When the Watch Tower moved to Brooklyn (1909), Sunday meetings were held at the Brooklyn Tabernacle.

The Memorial of the Lord's Supper was celebrated each year on Nisan 14 (after 6 p.m.). The first report in 1882 shows about 60 in both Allegheny and Newark, N.J. By 1885 about 100 were celebrating the Memorial at Allegheny. Smaller Memorial celebrations were held in various other locations.

The first conventions grew out of the Memorial celebration. In 1886, Nisan 14 fell on Sunday; so an all-day meeting with an immersion service was planned. Then studies were held through Wednesday. (Subsequently, an immersion service was held in conjunction with the Memorial every year.)

In 1887, the Memorial fell on Thursday; about 150 attended 4 days of meetings from Thursday through Sunday, with some visitors remaining over through the following Wednesday. Then in 1891, with the Memorial falling on Tuesday, there were 8 days of meetings, Sunday through Sunday, with about 300 attending. And in 1892, with the Memorial on Sunday, about 400 attended from Thursday through Thursday.

But in 1893 the proposed convention in conjunction with the Memorial was canceled due to higher railroad charges. (Nevertheless, an immersion was held.) Instead, a convention was held in Chicago, Aug. 20-24, when the Columbian Exposition had brought the railroad rates down to around 1¢ per mile (about ¼ normal). The 5 days were attended by about 60 locally, and 300 more from Nova Scotia to California. Seventy were immersed, from seventeen to seventy years old. The final official convention day was for the instruction of colporteurs.

With the 1893 Chicago effort, conventions were terminated. The Memorial conventions were terminated (until after 1916) because it was felt the smaller classes - the twos and threes - should not be neglected on that solemn occasion. And the Chicago convention had proven so expensive that no subsequent conventions were planned.

In 1894 about 160 celebrated the Memorial at Allegheny. In 1895 and also 1898 there were about 200. There were about 300 attending by the turn of the century. The number exceeded 500 in 1905 and reached a peak of around 750 in 1906. The number abruptly fell below 500 in 1907 and fell again to 320 in 1909 (shortly after the Watch Tower move to Brooklyn). By 1916 the number had increased again to somewhat above 400.

The Memorial celebration in New York was about 60 in 1893, then 85 (including Brooklyn) in 1894, and then around 250 (?) in 1895.³⁴ This number slipped to around 50 shortly thereafter but gradually increased to over 100 in 1905, and then 150 in 1906. There were around 100 in 1907 and 1908, but 1909 showed an abrupt increase to around 450 (shortly after the Watch Tower move to Brooklyn). There was another abrupt increase in 1912 to over 1,000. This number remained approximately constant through 1916.

Among the larger U.S. classes were Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia. About 60 celebrated the Memorial in Chicago in 1895, increasing to 125 in 1903, 170 in 1906, 275 in 1910, around 500 in 1912, and 612 in 1916. In Boston 22 celebrants in 1893, and 53 in 1897, grew to nearly 100 by the turn of the century, around 180 by 1905, 280 in 1911, and 507 in 1916. Los Angeles grew from a celebration of 61 around the turn of the century to 142 in 1905, to 175 in 1911, to 270 in 1912, and to

³³ The Carnegie Music Hall is on the east side of Federal St., between Montgomery and North Aves., in the North Commons; it is now a historical landmark.

³⁴ *ZWT* 1895 May 1, p. 112 - doubtful; possibly an error in copying.

422 in 1916. The Philadelphia Memorial expanded rapidly from 55 in 1900 to 72 a year later, then 108 in 1906 and a peak of 201 in 1909, then increased from 150 in 1910 to 354 in 1916.

Among the larger Canadian and foreign classes were Toronto, London, Glasgow, and Barmen. In Toronto, 37 celebrated the Memorial in 1900, 58 in 1905, 84 in 1910, 139 in 1912, and 288 in 1916. The London ecclesia organized in 1896, and (including Forest Gate) grew from a Memorial celebration of 104 already in 1903, to a peak of 450 in 1908, and then from 388 in 1909 to 515 in 1911, and then 700 to 800 thereafter. Already about 70 partook of the Memorial in Glasgow in 1903, which number increased steadily to over 300 by 1910, and to around 500 in 1916. A populous area encompassing several cities around Elberfeld, Wuppertal, and Barmen, Germany, hosted a Memorial of 64 in 1905, 110 in 1908 and 1909, 150 in 1912, and 500 in 1914.

Returning to the matter of conventions, they had been discontinued after 1893. However, in 1898 it was decided to attempt conventions once again. A four-day convention in 1898 ca. Oct. 3 at Council Bluffs, Iowa, hosted about 175. And then a smaller convention ca. Oct. 10 at Sippo, Ohio (featuring E.C. Henniges in the absence of C.T. Russell), saw around 150 in attendance. These conventions were deemed edifying and not prohibitively costly. Conventions were therefore scheduled every year thereafter, located and timed to take advantage of special railroad rates to nationally prominent functions.

In 1899 three "Believers' Conventions" were held. A three-day convention at Indianapolis in July hosted about 250, as did a Boston convention on Sept. 22-24. The St. Louis convention on Oct. 6-8 was attended by around 400.

In 1900 three more conventions were scheduled. About 400 attended at Philadelphia, June 16-18. Chicago hosted around 550 in August. Of a more local character, Sept. 29 - Oct. 1 saw about 300 in Dallas.

In 1901 only one convention was held. The General Convention at Cleveland, Sept. 12-15, saw about 500 attend.

In 1902 a two-day convention and two general conventions were held. An April 22-23 convention in Dallas featured Wm. E. VanAmburgh in the absence of C.T. Russell. Later in the year about 350 attended at Des Moines, Sept. 13-15, and more than 800 were present in Washington, D.C., Oct. 4-6.

In 1903 three general conventions were held. The Southern General Convention at Atlanta, April 4-5, was attended by about 50 locally, 150 total, and at least 450 more for the public meeting. There were 350 at Denver, July 10-12, with at least 550 more for the public meeting; and 800 at Toronto, Sept. 5-7, with 58 immersed and at least 1000 more for each of two public meetings. Also, from Oct. 18 to Nov. 1 the six Eaton-Russell debates were held in Allegheny City.³⁵

In 1904 the Los Angeles convention, May 7-9, was attended by about 250, and at least 500 public. A General Convention for Great Britain, held at London, May 21-23, featured Jesse Hemery in the absence of C.T. Russell, and immersed 43 (the attendance is uncertain). Boston, Aug. 19-21, hosted 600 plus at least 1800 public. St. Louis, Oct. 1-3, drew about 2,000, of whom around 1,100 were "believers." Dr. L.W. Jones published Souvenir Convention Reports annually from about 1904 to 1916.

In 1905 several general conventions were held. At Chattanooga, June 3-6, some 150 attended. London, June 10-12, featured J. Hemery, with 350 present and 32 immersed. Niagara Falls, July 8-11, hosted 1,100 (the public meeting was discontinued here). At Denver, Sept. 3-4, 20 were immersed. The Portland convention, Sept. 8-10, hosted about 300, and at least 600 public. At the same time, Kingston, Jamaica, Sept. 8-10, featured J.A. Browne. Glasgow, Scotland, Sept. 23-25, featured J. Hemery, with M.L. McPhail also present, drew an average of 400, with a peak attendance around 800. At Tampa, Nov. 24-26, the attendance was much smaller.

In 1906 again several general conventions were held. London, June 2-4, featured J. Hemery, with B.H. Barton also present, with an attendance larger than the previous year, and 40 immersed. Asbury

³⁵ Ephraim Llewellyn Eaton later published his doctrinal side of the issues as "The Millennial Dawn Heresy;" Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1911. [Doctrine only; no personal accusations.]

Park, N.J., July 22-29 - eight days! - hosted about 1,000 including John Edgar, wife, and sister Minna, from Glasgow. St. Paul, Minn., Aug. 13-19, was also attended by about 1,000, including the Edgars. Kingston, Jamaica, Sept. 8-11, featured J.A. Browne. Glasgow, Sept. 22-24, featured J. Hemery, with B.H. Barton also present, and John Edgar giving an account of his U.S. visit; 33 were immersed. The Southwest General Convention at Dallas saw about 400 present.

In 1907 five more general conventions were held. London, May 18-21, featured J. Hemery with A.E. Williamson also present, and saw 550 attend, of whom 58 were immersed. Indianapolis, June 14-17, hosted about 600. Niagara Falls, Aug. 30 - Sept. 5, was attended by somewhat more than 2,000. Glasgow, Sept. 28 - Oct. 6 was visited by about 750.

In 1908 still more conventions were held. There was a Mid-Winter convention at St. John, N.B., Jan. 11-13. Then the Russell-White debates were held Feb. 23-28 in Cincinnati. In conjunction with these debates a convention was held there, Feb. 23 - Mar. 1, with about 600 in attendance. (A second debate, planned with W.W. Dillon of the United Brethren, did not materialize.) Glasgow, April 17-19, featured C.T. Russell with J. Hemery, with about 800 present, of whom 78 were immersed. London, June 5-7, featured J. Hemery, with F.W. Williamson also present, and a total attendance of about 650, of whom 72 were immersed. Dallas, July 11-13, hosted about 300. The main General Convention was held at Put-in Bay (in Lake Erie, about 15 miles north of Sandusky, Ohio), Aug. 29 -Sept. 6, with around 3,500 present. Annotto Bay, Jamaica, Sept. 11-14, hosted about 350. Halifax, Oct. 15-18, attracted about 200. And the Southern Convention at Nashville, Dec. 26-30, was visited by more than 300.

The year 1909 saw a shift in convention policy away from one General Convention to several more regional conventions. About twenty conventions of three days or more were held. Manchester, England, led off on Jan. 1-3. The mid-winter convention at Jacksonville, Feb. 12-16, drew about 100. Orebro, Sweden, May 21-22, featured C.T. Russell and hosted more than 200. London, May 29-31, featured C.T. Russell and J. Hemery, with W.H. Bundy also present, and about 850 attending, of whom 129 were immersed. Piedmont, Ala., July 17-19, was attended by somewhere between 600 and 1000. Seattle, July 22-25, saw about 500 attend. Denver, July 29 - Aug. 1, drew about 300. St. Joseph, Mo., July 29 - Aug. 2, was visited by about 800. Aberdeen, S.D., attracted about 200. Toledo, Aug. 3-5, saw about 600 attend. The General Convention at Saratoga Springs, N.Y., Aug. 31 - Sept. 3, hosted some 1,500-1,800, after which a boat trip down the Hudson River extended the convention in Brooklyn, Sept. 5-6, with about 2,500 attending there. Woodstock, Ont., had a convention Sept. 11-13. Glasgow had another, Sept. 25-27. Truro, N.S., General Convention, Oct. 10-13, attracted several (perhaps 200). Indianapolis, Dec. 17-19, hosted about 400, followed by Knoxville, Dec. 26-28; Birmingham, Dec. 28-30; Memphis, Dec. 30 - Jan. 2; and Ft. Smith, Ark., Dec. 31 - Jan. 2.

Then 1910 saw a drastic cut in the number of extended conventions. The Northern Mid-Winter Convention in Toronto, Jan. 8-10 (nearly 300 attending), and the Southern mid-winter Convention in Tampa, Feb. 18-21, were carry-overs from the 1909 plans. But only the one main General Convention in 1910 would be considered a major convention. The general convention at Lake Chautauqua (near Jamestown and Celoron, N.Y.), July 30 - Aug. 7, saw more than 4,000 attend with about 252 immersed. Later in the year a special meeting organized by Jews also seems worthy of note: C.T. Russell on Oct. 8, speaking on "Zionism in Prophecy," packed more than 4,000 Jews into New York's Hippodrome.

In 1911 the first convention was at London in April during C.T. Russell's visit. Boston, May 28-30, hosted about 650. San Francisco - Oakland, June 22-26, saw several hundred attend. Then Toronto, July 15-17, had an attendance of about 600, with 63 immersed. He was invited to a Jewish synagogue in Toronto on July 16 and spoke to nearly 2000. Then St. John, N.B., had a convention Aug. 20-22. The General Convention at Mountain Lake Park, Md. (near Oakland), Sept. 1-11, featured C.T. Russell, and hosted about 750, with 113 immersed.

In 1912 there were six general conventions. Pertle Springs, Mo. (near Warrensburg), June 2-9, attracted about 1,000 to the Chautauqua grounds. Toronto, June 30 - July 6, hosted nearly 1,000. Washington, D.C., July 7-14, was visited by 3,000 to 4,000. Glasgow, July 25-28, featured C.T. Russell, attracted about 1,200. Then followed the Halifax, N.S., general convention Sept. 29 - Oct. 1, and the Lynn, Mass., local convention, Oct. 13-15 (attendance figures unknown).

In 1913 emphasis again was placed on more and smaller conventions. Thinking that general conventions had become too large and unwieldy (especially Wash., D.C., in the heat of the summer of 1912), ten general conventions were arranged, some of them concurrent. Pertle Springs, Mo., June 1-8, hosted about 500. Hot Springs, Ark., June 1-8, was roughly the same size. Los Angeles, June 11-15, was attended by more than 1,000. San Francisco, June 14-16, drew about 700. Madison, Wis., June 29 - July 6, saw about 1,400 attend. Springfield, Mass., July 13-20, attracted 1,800. Asheville, N.C., July 20-27, was visited by about 1,200. Toronto, July 20-27, also had about 1,200 present. Across the ocean, London, Aug. 1-4, featured C.T. Russell and drew about 900 in addition to the several hundred (perhaps 500) in the local ecclesia. Glasgow, Aug. 23-24, also featuring C.T. Russell, hosted about 850.

In 1914 the first three general conventions were concurrent.³⁶ Asbury Park, N.J., June 26 - July 7, Columbus, Ohio, June 26 - July 7, and Clinton, Iowa, June 28 - July 5, together had an attendance of about 6,000. Santa Cruz, Calif., Aug. 30 - Sept. 6, was visited by about 750. Fort Worth, Sept. 18-20, hosted about 450, as did Atlanta, Sept. 24-27. Saratoga Springs, N.Y., Sept. 27 - Oct. 4, attracted about 950. This latter convention is especially noteworthy on account of the high expectations of several that the true church would be changed [to glory in heaven] around Oct. 1.³⁷

In 1915 economic reasons that forced a drastic reduction in the pilgrim service and Watch Tower office staff also affected conventions. Attendance at distant conventions was not encouraged. Fifteen of the twenty larger conventions were arranged along a single four-month tour. Attendance figures are seldom available. The first convention was Louisville, Jan. 15-17. Then the tour began: East Liverpool, Ohio, May 9-11; Cincinnati, May 13-16; St. Louis, May 14-16; Kansas City, May 14-16; Oklahoma City, May 16-18; Houston, May 21-23; Los Angeles, May 26-29; a nine-day convention at Oakland - San Francisco, May 30 - June 7; Portland, Ore., 3 days ca. June 10; Tacoma, 3 days ca. June 13; Denver, 3 days ca. June 20; Omaha, June 22-24; South Bend, June 25, 27; Indianapolis, June 25-27; and a seven-day convention at Springfield, Mass., July 25 - Aug. 1. Afterwards, Portland, Maine, Aug. 12-15; an eight-day convention at Hershey, Penn., Sept. 5-12, then Dubuque, Iowa, Oct. 24-26, and Davenport, Iowa, Oct. 24-27. Also worthy of note were the debates in the Los Angeles area April 21-24 between Joseph F. Rutherford and Rev. John H. Troy (Baptist) of Glendale, attended by more than 10,000.

In 1916 twelve conventions of three days or more were held. St. Louis, June 22-25, hosted about 650. Sioux City, Iowa, July 6-9, was visited by about 400. Eight days in Newport, R.I., July 9-16, attracted about 1,000. Then after Portland, Me., July 20-23, nine days in Norfolk, Va., July 22-30, saw about 625 attend. Niagara Falls, Aug. 19-22, drew about 1,500. Nashville, Aug. 24-27, was attended by nearly 300. Nine days in Los Angeles, Sept. 2-10, hosted about 1,000. Seattle, Sept. 14-17, saw about 1,100 attend. Nine days in Milwaukee, Sept. 16-24, attracted about 950. The convention season concluded with Dayton, Oct. 5-8, and Dallas, Oct. 19-22.

³⁶ Perhaps as many as one-third of the talks at these conventions expressed opinion on expectations for Oct. 1: Those at Asbury Park and at Clinton spoke strongly for the completion of the church then, while those at Columbus spoke just as strongly against believing Oct. 1 would end it all. [Souvenir Convention Reports, 1914]

³⁷ Marie Mirku Pelle recounts that A.H. MacMillan's discourse at Saratoga Springs was "I am ready to be offered!" ["This is positively my last discourse on this side of the veil."] Due to someone's illness, Pastor Russell on the ferry boat down the river asked MacMillan to give the discourse at the New York Temple the very next Sunday. Though embarrassed, he was finally persuaded, and then spoke on "My ways are higher than thy ways."

M. The Travels of C.T. Russell

The first of C.T. Russell's travels in religious work were in 1876-1878, while cooperating with the *Herald of the Morning*. During this time he traveled primarily in the north central and northeastern U.S. When he had started the *Watch Tower* he made a few short trips. In 1880 June he made a tour east as far as Boston, and then later that year he made a trip north into New York. Thereafter for several years the press of work and the pinch of finances kept him close to home most of the time.

In 1891 July-Aug. the Russells made a world tour, visiting Great Britain, Central Europe, the eastern Mediterranean (including Palestine), and Bessarabia (at the northwest end of the Black Sea).

In 1894 May, Mrs. Russell alone made a tour from New York City to Chicago.

In 1898 Oct. Mr. Russell made a tour west as far as Council Bluffs, Iowa.

In the summer and fall of 1899 he made short trips as far east as Boston and as far west as St. Louis.

In 1900 he made an October tour of Texas and later a trip from New York to Florida.

In 1903 April-June he toured northern and central Europe.

In 1904 May he traveled to Texas, Los Angeles, Oregon, and Minnesota, the beginning of several western tours.

In 1905 Sept. he made another western circuit including Chicago, Denver, Washington, California, and Texas. Then in November he toured Florida and vicinity.

In 1906 no special tours were made.

In 1907 July the western circuit included Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Wisconsin.

In 1908 April he toured Great Britain. Then in July he visited from Texas to Missouri.

In 1909 the home base shifted from Pittsburgh (Allegheny) to Brooklyn. In May he again visited Europe, in Great Britain, Scandinavia, and Germany. In July Dr. Leslie W. Jones (d. 1946) of Chicago arranged a special train for the interested to accompany him through the south central states, to Los Angeles, Seattle, and across the northern route back eastward. In October Pastor Russell visited the Maritime Provinces. In December he made a trip as far as Wisconsin. Later in December and into January of the following year he made a tour from the southeastern states to Arkansas, to Winnipeg, and to Ontario.

In 1910 Feb. he went as far south as Tampa, Fla. In April he toured Central Europe, Great Britain, Egypt, and Palestine. In June he traveled as far west as Chicago. In October and November he again visited Great Britain.

In 1911 March-April he visited Great Britain, central Europe, and Stockholm. In June-July Dr. Jones again arranged a train to accompany him westward, this time to Denver, Los Angeles, Victoria, and Winnipeg. In Oct.-Nov. he returned to Great Britain. In Dec. he started on an around-the-world tour, going to Texas, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, on the way to Tokyo, Japan.

In 1912 Jan.-March, Pastor Russell toured foreign missions, visiting Hawaii, the Orient, the Near East, Greece, Italy, France, and England. He was accompanied by Prof. F.H. Robison of Ontario (secretary), Adj. Genl. Wm P. Hall of Wash. D.C., Dr. L.W. Jones of Chicago, Robt. B. Maxwell of Mansfield, Ohio, J.T.D. Pyles of Wash. D.C., and E.W.V. Kuehn of Toledo. Geo. C. Driscoll of Dayton was the advance man for the tour (to make arrangements before the arrival of the touring group). In April he toured the southeastern states. In July-Aug. he traveled through Great Britain, France, Switzerland, and Germany. In October he made a northern trip to Halifax, through Ontario, and as far as Springfield, Ill.

In 1913 Feb.-March he made a Caribbean tour, visiting Florida, Panama, Jamaica, and Cuba. In June-July Dr. Jones arranged for another train to accompany him through Arkansas, California, Wisconsin, Toronto, Massachusetts, and North Carolina. In August, Pastor Russell made his last overseas trip – to Great Britain (reportedly experiencing a heart attack there).

In 1914 June-July he made three trips to scattered locations. In Sept. he traveled through Chicago, Vancouver, San Diego, Texas, Georgia, and Saratoga Springs, N.Y.

In 1915 May-June he traveled through Missouri, Texas, California, Vancouver, Montana, Denver and Chicago, accompanied part of the way by Dr. Jones' train. In July-Aug. he toured through Toledo, Ontario, and Maine. In Oct. he went westward as far as Michigan and Kansas. In Nov. he went through Montreal and Michigan. In Dec. he went to Alabama.

In 1916 Jan. he traveled to Illinois. In Feb. it was Florida. In March he made trips to Ontario and to North Carolina. In Sept. Dr. Jones' train accompanied him to Los Angeles, Seattle, and back through Duluth. In Oct. he visited Lansing, Mich., Wichita, Dallas, Galveston, Houston, San Antonio, and Los Angeles³⁸, with the tour ending near Pampa, Texas.

N. Contemporaries

The early days of the Watch Tower should be considered in the context of their environment. At that time there were three distinct spheres of influence - America, Great Britain, and continental Europe. Because the New Country was constantly being influenced by the immigrations from all over Europe, these influence spheres are best considered in reverse order.

Protestants remained divided. Martin Luther had taught that the Bible was the sole standard of faith and truth, that Jesus Christ died for every man, that justification is by faith – and not by doing ritual penances, that the hope of immortality is conditional upon obedience of the believer, and that the dead are unconscious until the resurrection (a position abandoned by most of his later followers). Also, the Antichrist is Rome, especially Papal Rome – the general (Historical) view of Protestants.

Distinct from Luther's Reformation had been John Calvin's (Chauvin's) Reform movement. Calvin taught that it is not the death of Christ, but the sufferings, that effects atonement. The five fundamentals of Calvinism may be summarized:

Total depravity of man: There is no good thing in any man; all are worthy of eternal torture.

Unconditional election: God elects the saved; the elect have no choice in the matter.

Limited atonement: Christ atoned not for all but only for the elect.

Irresistible grace: There is nothing the saved can do to lose their salvation.

Perseverance of the elect: The elect are predestinated to succeed.

To be consistent as a Christian, one must accept all five or reject all five.

Jacobus Arminius (James Hermansson) rejected all five, though within a context of inherent immortality and eternal torment:

1. The decree of God is..., when it concerns man's [actions], conditional
2. The sovereignty of God is so exercised as to be compatible with the freedom of man
3. Man is by original nature...free...but...in his fallen state...needs to be regenerated
4. Divine grace originates...all the good in man...; he cannot...do any good thing without it
5. The saints possess...sufficient strength to persevere to the end,...but may so decline...as to cause divine grace to be ineffectual
6. Every believer may be certain or assured of his own salvation
7. It is possible for a regenerate man to live without sin

Even through the 19th century the struggle between Calvinism and Arminianism³⁹ continued: Dutch Reformed (Christian Reformed), strict Presbyterian, and many Baptists vs. Nazarenes, Methodists, and a majority of others. Still others accepted some, and rejected some, of the five - regardless of consistency. (Belief in conditional immortality necessarily led to a rejection of the fundamentals of Calvinism).

The greatest influence on the Protestant Christianity of continental Europe was now emanating from Germany. Pietism, which emphasized Christian experience and Christian living at the expense of

³⁸ Pastor Russell's last discourse was at Los Angeles, seated, and with a weak voice. The balance of his schedule was canceled. Joe Brown put him on an eastbound train in the care of Menta Sturgeon, and he died en route home, near Pampa, Texas, before the Oklahoma border.

³⁹ To the Arminian, Total depravity may reflect the state of Calvin's mind, but it denies reality.

doctrine, was highly influential. At the same time, ecclesiasticism, under the name "New Lutheranism," was rebounding. Three varieties of thought were in constant conflict: Historic ecclesiasticism, Rationalism (which seeks to accommodate faith to philosophy), and Biblical supremacy (which emphasizes religious living and faith in the Bible as God's inspired revelation to man).

In Germany, the center of European religious thought, Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889) had been most prominent. He taught that philosophies were of no value to the Christian and that God could be known only through Christ. Another man of influence was the renowned historian Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930), who felt the gospel had been obscured by the various churches and secular cultures but that it would again emerge in purity. But higher criticism scoffed at the Bible under a guise of scholarship.

A noteworthy sidelight was the textual criticism of the Bible. Earlier noteworthy German text critics had included J.A. Bengel (1687-1752), J.J. Griesbach, K. Lachmann, and the indefatigable Constantine Tischendorf (1815-1874). Building upon their work and upon the work of Samuel P. Tregelles (1813-1875) of England, were C.R. Gregory, Eberhard Nestle, and Hermann von Soden. Nevertheless, Dean Burgon led an eroding resistance, in favor of Erasmus' Textus Receptus, or received text, based only on manuscripts of the 12th century and later.

In Sweden the "reader" movement had had an important effect. It stressed free grace through the blood of Christ, Bible study and informal meetings, and the obligations of the laity apart from the formal church. An Englishman, George Scott, and C.O. Rosenius were prominent in the movement in the middle 19th century.

Throughout Europe sects were rising frequently, although their numbers were yet small. There was also a growing tendency to cooperate across denominational barriers.

The situation in Great Britain was markedly different than that on the continent. A pulsating society fostered many different types of religious effort. In fact, almost half of the religious population participated in the growing non-conformist religions. Scholarship, social work, or prophetic interpretation received attention in various quarters. The British exerted an important influence on religious North America also.

Among the famous names at Cambridge (where Isaac Newton became famous for science and began his Biblical writings also) were Brooke Foss Westcott, Fenton John Anthony Hort, and Joseph Barber Lightfoot. At Oxford were the almost as well known names, Thomas Kelly Cheyne, William Sanday, and Samuel Rolles Driver. E.W. Bullinger wrote copiously and studiously on Revelation (Futurist views), the Second Advent, dispensationalism, the epistles, Biblical meaning of the stars, and published the extensively-annotated "Companion Bible" and a lexicon/concordance (organized similarly to Young's). They were active primarily in the latter half of the 19th century.

An Anglo-Catholic movement about the same time saw some Anglicans, including John Henry Newman and Henry Edward Manning, recognize Rome. Newman and Manning both were made Roman Catholic cardinals.

Catholics were also conquering Protestants with the theologies of two Spanish Jesuit priests: Since the Reformation, Protestants had considered Papal Rome the fulfilment of Antichrist. With Samuel Maitland (ca. 1830), the Futurist view (Antichrist is future) of Francisco Ribera began sweeping conservative Protestantism, while the Praeterist (Antichrist is past) view of Luis Alcazar was taking over liberal theology.

There were several attempts to reach people of poorer existence. Since 1780 Sunday Schools had been teaching people to read, and to read the Bible. The Young Men's Christian Association had been working since 1844 June. William Booth created the Salvation Army in 1864.

Many missionary societies and Bible and tract societies were also active. Of these, the British and Foreign Bible Society is the best known. Of the missionaries, David Livingstone in East Central Africa had been best known.

There were some renowned pastors of the day. Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892) was the most famous English Baptist preacher of the century. This pastor of the 5,000 seat Metropolitan Tabernacle in London was moderately Calvinistic, evangelistic, and a talented author; his sermons were published in

the periodical, *The Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit*, 1855-1906. Pastor of the Chalmers Memorial Church in Edinburgh was Horatius Bonar (1808-1889), author of many tracts, devotionals, and hymns, and author of works on prophecies of Christ's pre-millennial Second Advent.

There was an intense and wide-spread interest in prophecy in the 19th century. Bavarian-born Joseph Wolff (1796-1862) was a converted Jew who began preaching in 1821, centered his work in England and then toured the Eastern Hemisphere to promote the Second-Advent message. Against a backdrop of T.R. Birks, C. Bowen, J.A. Brown,⁴⁰ J. Cumming, William Cuninghame, George Stanley Faber, Matthew Habershon, Alexander Keith, Samuel P. Tregelles (1813-1875), Edward Bishop Elliott (1793-1875) and many others, a flood of works continued on chronology, the future Jewish return to Israel, and general prophecies of current events. Perhaps the best known of the authors was Edward Henry Bickersteth (1825-1906), Bishop of Exeter, and also a composer and compiler of hymns. Another was H. Grattan Guinness (1835-1910), Director of his interdenominational East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions, whose other works include books, sermons and also writing on Congo language. The Adventist movement was boosted by an 1826 meeting at Albury Park on the estate of banker Henry Drummond. Among later Adventists, Joseph Bryant Rotherham translated "The Emphasised Bible" (3 editions, 1868-1902). "*The Rainbow*" commenced publication in 1864, edited by William Lusk (and briefly ca. 1886 by Rotherham).

In the United States many denominations were represented. The largest and most active Protestant denominations were the Baptists and Methodists (Methodist Episcopal Church). Other large denominations were the Congregational (union of Puritans and Separatists, primarily in New England), Presbyterian, various Reformed Churches (including Dutch Reformed, later named Christian Reformed); Unitarian; many Synods and nationalities of Lutherans (including Evangelical and Mission Covenant groups), Mennonite, Moravian, Church of the Brethren (Dunkers); Society of Friends (Quakers); Protestant Episcopal, and the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox. Of American origin were the Universalists, organized in 1790 by Hosea Ballou (1771-1852); the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), organized in 1830 by Joseph F. Smith (1805-1844); and more recently the Christian Scientists, organized in 1879 by Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910). To these must be added Holiness churches, Pentecostal churches, Church of the Nazarene (Arminians), and the Christian Missionary Alliance.

Missionary and Bible society efforts were going strong. Among them were the American Bible Society, American Tract Society, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and American Home Missionary Society. The Gideons were formed in 1899. Church federation and merger were the prime object of some of these moves: the Plan of the Union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists (1801), Evangelical Alliance (1846), Foreign Missions Conference of North America (1893), Home Missions Council (1908), and Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (1908).

Among the more notable preachers of the day was Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887), Congregationalist pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn Heights. His preaching emphasized the love of God, rather than doctrine. He was succeeded by the very liberal Lyman Abbott. Phillips Brooks (1835-1893) of Boston, and Charles Parkhurst (1842-1933), who fought Tammany Hall, were also well known pastors. Another contemporary, James Gibbons (1834-1921) became the second Roman Catholic cardinal in the United States.

The modern influence was active and growing. The so-called "social gospel" was being preached by Washington Gladden (1836-1918) of Columbus and Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918) of Rochester. Even more extreme, bolstered by Charles Darwin and the Huxleys in Great Britain, Col. Robert Green

⁴⁰ Brown suggested 1260 years tyranny of the first beast would cover AD584-1844, (Rv 9:15) 0.04+1+30+360 = 391 years of the Turkish Woe would be AD1453-1844, 2300 years from Ezra's decree to the rise of Jewish polity would cover BC457-AD1844, 2300 years to Gog/Magog and the triumph of the saints would last BC423-AD1873, and 2520 years of the four great empires of Dan. 7 would span BC 604-AD1917 until the reign of Messiah. J.A. Brown, "The Even-tide," 2 vols.; London: J. Offor, 1823. Some will note that none of these projections was accurate, while others will remark that two or three came surprisingly close. (One may notice a contrast with American Adventist approaches, most of which tended to focus all time prophecies on just one date - 1843 or 1844, 1854, 1873, etc.)

Ingersoll (1833-1899) toured the country professing and teaching infidelity. Ministers often debated if the very gentlemanly Ingersoll would be saved.

Evangelists emerged from the shadows of Jonathan Edwards and Charles Grandison Finney. Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899) traveled widely with his musician, Ira David Sankey, sponsored youth movements and encouraged many other interdenominational endeavors. Later, William Ashley ("Billy") Sunday (1863-1935), a former baseball player, was active for the Presbyterians.

Something relatively new, efforts to obtain interdenominational cooperation, received the attention of several. Very often, however, new denominations and sects resulted. Thomas Campbell, Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) and Barton Stone⁴¹ had started such a move; they called themselves simply "Christians," or Disciples of Christ. They declared God's love for all men, practiced adult baptism, and deplored division among Christians. Dr. John Thomas (b. 1805) separated from them and formed the Christadelphians. They believe in one God, the sleep of the soul, forgiveness through Christ's blood, adult immersion, and an imminent Second Advent accompanied by their resurrection into Christ's earthly kingdom, but no personal devil. Of similar thinking was Benjamin F. Wilson (1817-1900) of Geneva, Ill., who published the *Emphatic Diaglott* in 1864 Aug. (Wilson's later associates organized the Church of God General Conference [Abrahamic Faith], which emphasizes a restitution work also.)

Another interdenominational effort was the Second Advent movement, led by William Miller (1782-1849), a deep student of the Bible and capable presenter. It emphasized chronologies and prophecies relating to the Second Advent.⁴² Within the main Adventist movement dozens of periodicals arose. First, John Tudor edited *The Morning Watch* 1829-1833. Joshua V. Himes, a powerful promoter, began publishing *The Signs of the Times* in Boston, 1840 March 20 [Feb. 28 issue], in 1844 Feb. renamed *The Advent Herald*, then *Messiah's Herald*, and then *Herald of the Coming One* (ending 1899 June). Himes also started *Voice of the West* in Buchanan, Mich. (1864Fb13-1870), later renamed *The Advent Christian Times* (1870-1878) in Chicago, by the Western Advent Christian Publishing Society. *The World's Crisis* began 1854 Jan. 18 and was edited in Boston by Jonas Merriam (1854-1856), Miles Grant (1856Jn04-1876), Rufus Wendell (1861 only), John Couch (1873-1883 [sic!]), Edward A. Stockman (1881-1900), etc. The [Advent] Christian Assn. was organized 1861 Nov. 6 at Worcester, Mass., and took responsibility for *The World's Crisis* from Rufus Wendell. Prominent were H.L. Hastings, pres.; Isaac C. Wellcome of Maine; and Miles Grant, editor. *The Bible Banner* commenced in New York City 1871 Jan., with John Couch, Wm. Sheldon, and A.A. Phelps as co-editors. O.R. Jenks and others established Mendota seminary (Mendota, Ill.) in 1893, which became Aurora College (Aurora, Ill.) in 1912. Stockman established the Advent Christian General Conference in 1893, and Jenks denominationalized it in 1916. A mildly-rival Life and Advent Union⁴³ was organized at Wilbraham, Mass., 1863 Aug. 30; *Herald of Life and of the Coming Kingdom* commenced with George Storrs editor, and assistant editors Rufus Wendell, Joseph T. Curry, W.S. Campbell, and S.W. Bishop. Storrs withdrew in 1871 and then revived publication of *The Bible Examiner* in Brooklyn. Adventists all believed in the imminent personal return of Christ, and later most believed in conditional immortality (though not Miller or Himes).⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ Stone disbelieved the Trinity dogma but considered it a non-essential. There are now three Church of Christ groups, in addition to the Disciples of Christ.

⁴² Reports of Adventists wearing glory robes on the predicted night, 1843 March 21, 1844 March 21, or 1844 Oct. 22, appear to be total fabrications. A letter by J.V. Himes appears persuasive. See non-Sabbatarian Adventist histories, Isaac C. Wellcome, "History of the Second Advent Message;" Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1874; and Albert C. Johnson, "Advent Christian History;" Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1918 (p. 204-205).

⁴³ Two groups collaborated: One stressed Life only in Christ (i.e., the unregenerate would not be resurrected) and the other that the Second Advent was imminent. The Union merged into the Advent Christian Church in 1964. When Storrs concluded the unregenerate would have an opportunity in the Millennium, he revived the *Bible Examiner*.

⁴⁴ C.T. Russell once commented, The Second Adventists "have perhaps two advantages over some others, viz., they hold some truths more than others [do], and they are generally poor and unpretentious. And they have some disadvantages over others: They are generally conceited, and so filled with the one doctrine of the non-immortality of man, that they have no room for anything else, and, still worse, have little taste for other truths. They have the disadvantage of false expectations concerning both manner and object of the Lord's second coming, though like the Jews at the first advent, they are so sure that they know it all, that they will not study further." WT 1888 Sept., p.8.

largest denomination to coalesce from the movement was the Seventh Day Adventist Church, organized in 1860 by Ellen G. White. In addition to beliefs akin to those above, the Seventh Day Adventists hold Saturday for the Sabbath and believe their leaders may receive revelations (called the gift of prophecy).

P. Motivating Doctrine

The motivation behind the zeal and activity of the International Bible Students remains a mystery to most people, particularly to those of no direct contact with them. It was not great organization nor charismatic leadership, rather it stemmed from the teaching. Students of all ages were learning the Bible, they were convinced of the cause, and their gospel was good news:

Doctrine or Viewpoint	Interpretation	Application
All scriptures <u>must</u> harmonize	The Bible is reliable; it is the only standard of faith and truth. v. I, p.10-12	Creeds which may not be questioned also cannot satisfy. The faithful <u>must</u> study the word of God – the Bible
Ransom (Christ's sacrifice)	Christ died once for all; so all should benefit from it. Christ takes Adam's place in death; so all condemned in Adam will be resurrected. v. I, Study 9	Christ's sacrifice is the one hope of life: It is sure. Tell it to everybody. It curses nobody; it will be a blessing to everybody – now in proportion as people receive it, and to all people in the Kingdom
Restitution	Christ and the church will raise the world in the 1000 year Kingdom of Christ, and guide them back to the perfection lost in Eden. v. I, Study 6	We are not to decide whom to favor and whom to hate; we must learn to love even our enemies, because in the Kingdom we are to bless them.
Church shares with Christ in the sin-offering	The atoning merit is Christ's alone, but the church will join him in applying his ransom merit to resurrect and reform the people of the world - all of Adam's posterity. Tabernacle Shadows, ch. 4; ZWT 1880 March, p.1-2	Each Christian is to sacrifice self for the LORD, even as Christ sacrificed Himself. One must change his character to the likeness of Christ. There are opportunities for self-sacrifice in personal witness, colporteur, Photo-Drama, etc.
Conditional immortality	Immortality is an unmerited reward from God to the faithful. v. V, Study 12	Full consecration and character development is infinitely more important than now saving the multitudes from a fiery hell, because there is no eternal torture. (For the multitudes there will be a Millennial Kingdom.)
Natures distinct	Heaven for the Gospel-Age faithful, Earth for the Millennial-Age faithful. v. I, Study 10	Those who are not of us are not automatically lost. People of the world are not to be judged today by the standard for the church
Church called to be the Bride of Christ	Christ is the head. Not the Pastor nor anyone else, but Christ alone. v. I, p.82	Cooperation with fellow believers is encouraged but must stop short of violations of personal conscience. There is no room for denominational headship

The Adventist attention to the Second Coming/Presence of Christ was distressing to most established denominations – seemingly quite parallel to the distress Christ's First Advent caused the established rulers of Judaism. (It is commonly only the downtrodden who hope for change.)

Adventists would commonly have viewed the Watch Tower teachings that all scriptures must harmonize, of conditional immortality, a Millennial Kingdom for both heaven and earth, and avoidance of church hierarchy, as fairly conservative or mainstream; of the ransom, a secret presence, the restoration of Israel, the call to come out of Babylon, and rejection of the Trinity theology, as controversial but not strange. Only the Second Presence of Christ now, prior to the glory phase, would have seemed radical – though perhaps less so than Joseph Turner's closed-door-to-the-heavenly-calling belief; Samuel Snow's assertion he was Elijah the Prophet; or the Seventh-Day Adventists' claims of direct revelations to Ellen G. White and other leaders, or that 1844 marked an invisible cleansing of the sanctuary in heaven.

Christ is invisibly present	Christ returned in 1874 to begin the harvest of the church and the dissolution of this present world, prior to establishing His 1000-year Kingdom on Earth. v. II, Studies 6-7	If the Christian is prevented from expressing his Bible beliefs, then he is now called to Come out of Babylon (The unready should not be called out.)
Restoration of Israel	The return of the Jews to Palestine/Israel had been predicted in 1877 for 1878; it began on time at Petah Tikvah. v. III, Study 8	The Christian must not join the world in hating the Jews. There is no mission for mass conversion of the Jews in this age; they should be encouraged to build up Israel
End of Gentile Times due in 1914	Expected in 1914 were the completion of the church and Armageddon, and in 1915 the beginning of Christ's Kingdom. v. II, Study 4 (modified in 1916 Foreword)	The time is short; so the harvest work is urgent

Necessarily, most were motivated by goodness, as there was little in the doctrine to fear.

Q. Siftings

There were secessions and divisions in the course of the International Bible Students Association to 1916. The earliest of these have been discussed earlier. Quickly reviewing, the publication, *The Herald of the Morning*, was shaken concerning the ransom doctrine and also the second presence of the Lord. Nelson H. Barbour (its editor) starting in 1878 had been teaching that the human race was not ransomed by the blood of Christ and also that the Lord had not invisibly returned;⁴⁵ A.P. Adams concurred. C.T. Russell (the assistant editor), J.H. Paton, A.D. Jones, and the Allegheny ecclesia insisted the ransom was both true and important, also that the Lord was indeed invisibly present, and together they parted ways with *The Herald of the Morning*. They then cooperated to publish *Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence*, beginning in 1879 July.

In 1881 C.T. Russell came to new conclusions concerning the tabernacle, with which several others later concurred. John H. Paton could not agree and so parted company with them. In 1882 Paton revised his book "Day Dawn". In 1883 he began publishing *The World's Hope*. He re-interpreted the ransom doctrine right away but held to the doctrine of the invisible second presence. Paton's adherents are thought to include J.C. Sunderlin, Harriett Storrs, A.A. Allen (L.A. Allen?), a Mr. Whittington, and later Joseph F. Smith (of Pittsburgh) and W.I. Mann. Paton published a third edition of "Day Dawn" in 1890.

Albert D. Jones ca. 1882 Jan. began publishing *Zion's Day Star* in cooperation with C.T. Russell and the *Watch Tower*. However, during the year Jones began to change his mind on several things, including the ransom doctrine, the virgin birth of Jesus, and the inspiration of portions of the New Testament. Thus, he too parted company with Russell and the rest of the Allegheny ecclesia.

The ransom doctrine was held inviolable by the *Watch Tower* from its inception until the death of its founder and editor. Through the 1880s and later, there were several other journals which denied the

⁴⁵ Barbour rather pompously claims, "Of the leaders of the various factions who found themselves out of the movement, after the midnight cry; Eld. J. H. Paton, became interested in 1873-4, mainly by reading the papers I sent to him; and finally by hearing my lectures on these subjects; though he was an adventist before that. C. T. Russell first became slightly interested by reading the HERALD OF THE MORNING, in 1875, but did not identify himself with the movement until the autumn and winter of 1876-7, through listening to lectures which I delivered during the Centennial, at St. George's Hall Phila., and in other places. Both men left the movement in 1878. C. T. Russell then, having been in the movement about eighteen months; felt competent to start a paper of his own. Since which he has remained faithful to just what he learned from me, prior to the "midnight," while we "ALL slumbered and slept." Namely, that Christ came as king, in 1878; and [he] believes it because of the time arguments, as he then learned them from me. But he and his followers little know how imperfect and crude are the arguments as then presented, and on which they base their theory of Christ's presence..." N.H. Barbour (uncertain issue), p368.

Barbour is said to have called himself "the channel." He headed the Church of the Stranger, though it is believed his dogmatic attitude slowly alienated most or all of his followers. He died in St. Louis, ca. 1910?

ransom doctrine. *The Herald of the Morning*, published by N.H. Barbour in Rochester, continued publication until 1903. *Zion's Day Star*, published by A.D. Jones in New York City, was still being published in 1884 but appears to have ceased by 1892. *The World's Hope*, published by J.H. Paton at Almont, Mich., was still being issued in 1892 (and still in 1901 according to J. Ross). *The Spirit of the Wor(l)d*, of uncertain authorship (likely A.P. Adams), was another being issued around 1892. *The Herald of Glad Tidings*, of uncertain authorship (possibly A.P. Adams), was a publication just beginning in 1892. Of Adventist origin, *The Millenarian*, was published during the 1880s (and perhaps before and after also) and also fought against the ransom doctrine. Paton, and Adams, were probably still active individually after 1905.

A new problem arose ca. 1894, which Russell termed "a conspiracy." Personalities, rather than doctrine (S.D. Rogers possibly excepted), were at stake. When S.D. Rogers was in England in 1893 (beginning in Oct.) for the colporteur work he became convinced (perhaps by a Mr. Turnbull of London) that the method used was deficient. After returning to Allegheny and failing to convince the Russells, he parted company with them in 1894 ca. March. In April, J.B. Adamson, Elmer Bryan, S.D. Rogers, and Otto von Zech (the three best known colporteurs and the leader in the foreign language work) published and distributed a circular defaming Mr. Russell and inviting subscriptions to a new journal to be published by them. The effort failed - or backfired. Mrs. Russell defended her husband energetically. Thereafter, the very militant Rogers was expelled from the company of the other three dissenters. (That he continued his association with N.H. Barbour and A.P. Adams may be surmised.) The Adamsons met with the ecclesia in Chicago, at least for a time. The subsequent courses of Bryan and the von Zechs (and some or all of the Koetitz family) is unknown. None became reconciled with the *Watch Tower* again.⁴⁶

Chronology was the issue in 1896. A Dr. J.B. Dimpleby of England and a Prof. Totten of Yale were computing Biblical chronology by astronomy and other assorted means. Russell followed a chronology derived from the Bible (and a date of B.C. 536 for Cyrus' edict permitting Jewish return to Israel) by Bowen of England, while Dimpleby's, used also by Totten, contained 129 years fewer. An article in the May 15 *Watch Tower* received replies from both. A follow-up article Nov. 15 failed to commend either Totten or his chronological conclusions but completely absolved Dimpleby from any error of spirit. Thereafter the matter was dropped.

Domestic difficulties followed. Minor problems as early as 1892 temporarily faded under the circumstances of 1894. But Mrs. Russell resigned as associate editor in 1896 October. Her articles ceased to be published after 1897 May, and then on Nov. 9 she left her husband and the *Watch Tower*. She ceased as a director of the *Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society* in 1900 Feb. 12. In 1903 she wrote a tract defaming him, and then sued for limited divorce (now called "separate maintenance"). In 1906 the case was tried and she won separate maintenance.⁴⁷ In consequence, several lost interest in the IBSA. Mrs. M.F. Russell outlived her husband by many years (perhaps two decades).⁴⁸

In 1907 there was a small disturbance. "The Home Preacher," consisting of two men once associated with the IBSA, began publishing booklets not in harmony with the *Watch Tower* and advertised them primarily to IBSA associates. The overall effect appears to have been small.

The vow and the doctrine of three covenants in 1908-1909 occasioned a greater division that all that preceded. The Vow was a promise of activity, vigilance, and morality, intended to be consistent with a

⁴⁶ Other opposition by 1896 apparently included the names Wallace, Greta, Samson, Martin, Mott, and Gilruth [according to a letter of C.T. Russell to his wife, dated 1896 July 9].

⁴⁷ Those testifying in 1906 April for Mrs. Maria Russell included: J.H. Brown of Chicago, Mrs. Mary Corbett, Mrs. Mary E. Sumner, Mrs. Helen M. Brace, Mrs. J.L. (Emma H. Ackley) Russell [an older sister of Maria Russell, who had married C.T. Russell's father], Mrs. Laura J. (Ackley) Rainer [Raynor, the eldest Ackley sister], Mrs. L[ena]. Guibert, and L.M. Ackley of Chicago. (It is thought that all three of Mrs. M.F. Russell's sisters were already divorced.) Those testifying for Mr. C.T. Russell included J.A. Bohnet, Clara Taylor, W.E. Page, Marcus Tuttle, and Mrs. Emily Sheesly [Emily Mathews, who as a young girl had lived in the Russell's home].

⁴⁸ Mrs. Russell afterwards lived in Tampa, Fla., but was in Pittsburgh for Mr. Russell's funeral late in 1916 and laid on the casket a floral piece with an inscription, "My husband" [as reported by George M. Wilson and others who were there. Some reported that the inscription was longer, but on these two words the witnesses were confident.]

Christian's covenant vow already made to the Lord. To its opposition the vow appeared to be a sectarian prescription to tie them to the "Watch Tower" - something resembling the creeds from which they had just fled. The question of the covenants was whether the Church now and the world later are under the "new covenant" (often previously expressed or implied) or whether a separate "grace covenant" is now developing the true church (as published in 1881 September, and the exclusive *Watch Tower* expression after 1908).

The vow was recommended to the "Watch Tower" pilgrims in 1908 March. In response to two letters, it was also suggested to colporteurs, elders, and deacons in June, and then to all IBSA associates. Most of the pilgrims had taken the vow within a few months. Several individuals in scattered locations objected to the vow and did not take it, though in 1908 there was no organized resistance to it.

With one article in 1908 Oct. 15, and in many more beginning in 1909 Jan. 1, the *Watch Tower* made a sharp distinction between a Gospel Age grace covenant and a Millennial Age new covenant. As early as 1908 Nov. 22, E.C. Henniges in Melbourne, Australia (previously prominent in the Bible House), expressed opposition to both the covenants doctrine and the vow, and a few months later protested emphatically that the church has no part in the sufferings and sacrifice of Christ. The use of the six volumes of "Studies in the Scriptures" in the Bible studies also became an issue (led by Horace Randle). The Henniges⁴⁹ provided the leadership of the opposition, beginning publishing *New Covenant Advocate* 1909 April 1 and issuing a leaflet "Wake Up!" M.L. McPhail⁵⁰ of Chicago (and his wife, though not his daughter, Laura [later Mrs. Benj. Hollister]) sided with the Henniges and published a booklet on the Covenants and Mediator. Others who terminated fellowship with the IBSA included J.H. Giesey (then Watch Tower vice president), James Hay of Liverpool, England, a Mr. Randall [Horace Randle?], Russell's own sister Mae Land, and a handful in the New York-Brooklyn ecclesia (including the Williamsons⁵¹). The total number leaving may be estimated at many hundred out of several tens of thousands.

After the Vow-Covenants controversy there were further signs of impending troubles and division. As the IBSA grew in numbers the potential difficulties grew in magnitude.⁵² Observed one pilgrim in 1912, "That there is a separation now rapidly going on is plain as day. It is so distinct and extensive as to be alarming." Late in 1916 the *Watch Tower* said, "We believe that a great crisis is upon the Bible Students; and that the sooner it is discerned, the more successfully it may be passed. It may mean divisions..."⁵³

In 1916 October 31 Charles Taze Russell died (at age 64).⁵⁴ Then pandemonium broke loose.

⁴⁹ The Russell's "adopted" daughter, Rose J. Ball (b. ca. 1875), married E.C. Henniges in the late 1890s, when both were workers in the Watch Tower office in Allegheny. The poetry of R.E.B. Henniges had frequently been published in the *Watch Tower*. Rose Henniges reportedly later said C.T. Russell had gone out of the truth.

⁵⁰ McPhail was probably offended that C.T. Russell had declined to use his hymns exclusively. He, and especially his wife, became strident regarding the church's relationship to the New Covenant.

⁵¹ Reportedly, when Ed Williamson asked if he should withdraw from the pilgrim service over the New Covenant issue, C.T. Russell said, 'by no means.' Later he withdrew anyway. [A.E. Williamson had told this to H.E. Hollister, as recounted by his daughter Roberta (Hollister) Buss.] Ed Williamson was a real gentleman in the face of severe criticism by Isaac Hoskins. (Frank H. Russ felt incompetent to be an elder, and declined, when C.T. Russell moved to New York.)

⁵² O.L. Sullivan ascribed the cause largely to pride of office on the part of some elders and many small compromises in the high standard of morality by various ones. *ZWT* 1912 Oct. 15, p.331.

⁵³ The article continues, "...divisions are sometimes necessary that the approved course and the approved doctrines and the approved methods may be discerned, and that the true teachers be the more fully appreciated." *ZWT* 1916 Nov. 1, p.327-331. [An evident reference to 1Cor 11:17-19.]

⁵⁴ Objective reporting of C.T. Russell is not easy to find, but the entry in Britain's "Who Was Who" deserves credit: "**Russell, Charles Taze** (Pastor Russell); independent minister; *b.* Pittsburgh, 16 Feb. 1852; *s.* of Joseph L. Russell and Ann Eliza Birney; *m.* 1879, Maria Frances, *d.* of Mahlen and Salena Ackley. *Educ.:* private tutors. Began in independent ministry Pittsburgh, 1878; now regularly elected pastor of numerous congregations from Me. to Cal., U.S.A., and also in Great Britain, chiefly serving London and Brooklyn Tabernacles; travels upward of 50,000 miles each year in his work; disclaims being the founder of a religious sect; interprets the punishment of the Bible as eternal death and not eternal torture; President Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pa., People's Pulpit

Appendix A

Earliest Writings of C.T. Russell

From *Bible Examiner* **21**, 1 (Oct. 1876; George Storrs, editor and Publisher, 72 Hicks St., Brooklyn; \$2 per year), p 27:

Gentile Times: When do They End?, by Chas. T. Russell.

“Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.”
– Luke xxi. 24.

Doubtless our Lord intended to communicate to His disciples some knowledge, and possibly it was addressed more to the disciples in our day, than to the early church. Let us then search what times the prophecy, which was in Christ, did signify. Of course, if it be one of the secret things of God, we cannot find out; but if a secret, why should Jesus mention it? If, on the contrary, it is revealed it *belongs* to us. Shall we guess and suppose? No: let us go to God’s treasure house; let us search the Scriptures for the key.

Jesus does not *foretell* its treading under foot of the Gentiles, as Rome had her foot upon them at that time. He does tell us, however, how long it will continue so, even the disciples thought “that it was he which should have DELIVERED Israel.”

We believe that God has given the key. We believe He doeth nothing but he revealeth it unto His servants. Do we not find part of the key in Lev. xxvi. 27, 33? “I, even I will chastise you seven times for your sins:...and I will bring your land into desolation...and I will scatter you among the heathen.” Israel did not hearken unto the Lord, but disobeyed him, and this prophecy is now being fulfilled, and has been since the days of Zedekiah, when God said, “Remove the diadem, take off the crown,...I will overturn, overturn, overturn it,...until He comes whose right it is, and I will give it unto Him.” Comparing these Scriptures, we learn, that God has scattered Israel for a period of seven times, or until “He comes whose right” the Government is, and puts an end to Gentile rule or government. This gives us a clue at least, as to how long until the Jews are delivered. Further, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the head of gold, is recognized by God as the representative of the beast, or Gentile Governments. “A king of kings and wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air, hath God given into his hand.” Dan. ii. 38. God has taken the crown off Zedekiah and declared the Image, of which Nebuchadnezzar is the head, ruler of the world until the kingdom of God takes its place (smiting it on its feet); and, as this is the same time at which Israel is to be delivered, (for “Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled”), we here get our second clue, viz.: these two events, noted of the Scriptures of truth – “Times of Gentiles,” and “Treading of Jerusalem,” are parallel periods, commencing at the same time and ending at the same time; and, as in the case of Israel, their degradation was to be for seven times, so with the dominion of the Image; it lasts seven times; for, when in his pride the “Head of Gold” ignored “The God of heaven,” the glory of that kingdom (which God gave him, as a representative of the

Association of New York, International Bible Students' Association, London. *Publications*: a series of books, Studies in the Scriptures, issued since 1886; Editor of The Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence; his Sunday sermons published by many English, German, French, Swedish, etc., newspapers. *Address*: Brooklyn Tabernacle, 13-17 Hicks Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.; London Tabernacle, Lancaster Gate, W.” Who Was Who, A Companion to “Who's Who” containing the biographies of those who died during the period 1916-1928; London: A & C Black Ltd., 1929.

The cemetery is nearly four miles north of Allegheny Center, just east of Perrysville Ave., on the south side of Cemetery Lane. There is a granite pyramid monument to the I.B.S.A. at the top of the hill. The graves of C.T. Russell, and of the Hollisters and Jordans, are only a few yards away. The J.A. Bohnet farmhouse was within view down the hill.

Image,) departed, and it took on its beastly character, which lasts seven times. Dan. iv. 23, –and, (prefigured by the personal degradation for seven years, of Nebuchadnezzar, the representative) until the time comes when they shall acknowledge, and “give honor to the Most High, whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom.” Dan. iv. 34; for all the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord when He is the Governor among the nations.

Our next question naturally, is, How long are seven times? Does God in his word, furnish us any clue from which to determine the length of that period? Yes, in Revelations we learn that three and one-half times, 42 months, and 1260 prophetic days, literal years, are the same (it has for years been so accepted by the church,) and it was so fulfilled: if three and one-half times are 1260 years, seven times would be twice as much, i.e., 2520 years. At the commencement of our Christian era, 606 years of this time had passed, (70 years captivity, and 536 from Cyrus to Christ) which deducted from 2520, would show that the seven times will end in A. D. 1914; when Jerusalem shall be delivered forever, and the Jew say of the Deliverer, “Lo, this is our God, we have waited for Him and He will save us.” When Gentile Governments shall have been dashed to pieces; when God shall have poured out of his fury upon the nation, and they acknowledge him King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

But, some one will say, “If the Lord intended that we should know, He would have told us plainly and distinctly how long.” But, no, brethren, He never does so. The Bible is to be a *light* to God’s children; –to the world, foolishness. Many of its writings are solely for *our* edification upon whom the ends of the world are come. As well say that God should have put the gold on top instead of in the bowels of the earth it would be too common; it would lose much of its value. So with truth; but, “to you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom.[”]

We will ask, but not answer, another question: If the Gentile Times end in 1914, (and there are many other and clearer evidences pointing to the same time) and we are told that it shall be with fury poured out; a time of trouble such as never was before, nor ever shall be; a day of wrath, etc., how long before does the church escape? as Jesus says, “watch, that ye may be accounted worthy to *escape* those things coming upon the world.”

Brethren, the taking by Christ of His Bride, is evidently, one of the first acts in the Judgment; for judgment must begin at the house of God.

W. Philadelphia. [Above article likely posted from W. Philadelphia about Aug. 1876.]

From *Bible Examiner*, July, 1877, p.317 (written by Geo. Storrs):

THREE WORLDS A book of 200 pages, treating on the character and proximity of the “Second Advent of Christ,” and the “Kingdom of God,” etc., which should be in the hands of every Bible student. Ex. cloth, gilt, \$1.00; cloth, 50¢.; paper, 25¢. By mail.

C. T. RUSSELL, Rochester, N.Y.

I received a copy of the above work some time since, and have read it with care; portions of it several times. It contains much of interest which may be read with profit. The *Chronology* is the best I have ever seen; but it is impossible for me to assent to all the conclusions the writer has arrived at, as to events; yet I feel no disposition to oppose his views by way of controversy. A few months will determine the accuracy of the ground he has taken as to the withdrawal of the saints from the earth. I am of the opinion that they will be withdrawn secretly; *i.e.*, unknown by the world till they are gone; and the precise time of the event will be unknown to themselves till they are taken; else why are they taken while “in the field” at work, or “grinding at the mill,” and some in their “beds;” and “one is taken and another left?” If they knew the exact time, it seems unlikely that they would be found thus employed at that time; especially if it was *definitely* known. Hence it is, our Lord warns us to “Watch and pray...for ye know not when the Master of the house cometh,” etc. Mark xiii. 33–37.

The book can be read with profit, provided the reader can avoid a positive and uncharitable spirit. I cannot commend all of its positions relative to the future, but many of the ideas I think are good. EDITOR.

Other *Bible Examiner* items include “Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before” by C.T. Russell, March 1877, and Storrs’ kindly but critical review of “Object and Manner of our Lord’s Return,” March 1878.

Herald of the Morning 7, No. 1 (July 1878) lists Editor: N.H. Barbour; Assistant Editors: C.T. Russell, J.H. Paton; Communicants: J.H. Paton, Almont, Mich.; C.T. Russell, Pittsburgh; S.H. Withington, Springwater, N.Y.; B.W. Keith, Dansville, N.Y.

“Object and Manner of our Lord’s Return,” 64 p., by C.T. Russell, was advertised from 1878 to April 1879. 10¢. [The argument over “instead” and “substitute” was published in the Sept. 1878 issue.]⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Material for this appendix was uncovered by Carl E. Prosser, a colporteur in the 1920’s.

Appendix B

Personal Accusations against C.T. Russell

The more prominent accusations against the person of C.T. Russell are listed here, together with their rebuttals. Differences in scriptural interpretations are omitted. Additional information on some of the items are relegated to notes at the end of this section.

Accusation

1. C.T. Russell perjured himself when he said he knew [the] Greek [alphabet] but could not name the Greek letters in a Westcott & Hort Greek New Testament, in court at Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, 1913 March 17.

“ 'Do you know the Greek?' asked the Attor-ney.... 'No,' said Mr. Russell, without a blush.” [J.J. Ross version, p. 18]

“ 'Pastor' Russell in failing to name the letters of the Greek alphabet, therefore, proved himself a perjurer, for he had previously stated that he 'knew' them, thereby implying the ability to recite them, which he could *not* do. [Martin and Klann version, p. 20-21.]

2. Rev. J.J. Ross won the law suit (above). Russell was "found guilty of the charges made against him." [Ross, John Jacob, in "Who's Who in America," 1920-1921 edition.]

Reply

1. No one **in** the court accused C.T. Russell of perjury. (Ross had fled just before the hearing.)

C.T. Russell had first disclaimed schooling in Latin and Greek. When Ross' attorney asked him to identify the letters on the top of page 447, the court transcript says, "he was interrupted at this point and not allowed to explain." [The court record does not say whether Russell actually saw the inside of the book, or whether it was a Westcott & Hort Greek New Testament, or even whether the book was in Greek (could it have been in Chinese?). Whether he could have identified any, some, or all of the letters cannot now be known; he could not then identify them because he was interrupted and not allowed to try. [Ditlieb Felderer, unfinished thesis]

2. J.J. Ross was the defendant, not C.T. Russell. Ross had been twice committed for trial by the Police Magistrate George Frederick Jelfs, but under Canadian law a slanderer may be imprisoned for libel only if there is danger of public riot in *Canada*. Thus instructed by the Superior Court Judge, the Grand Jury returned no indictment. Hence, the issues were never tried. [Great Battle, p. 31.]

3. Pastor Russell advertised "Miracle Wheat" at a then-outrageous price of \$1.00 per pound (\$60 per bushel), claiming it would grow five times as much as any other variety of wheat. From sales to his followers he realized an enormous sum of money, which he appropriated to his own use.

"Russell sold wheat worth a dollar a bushel, for one dollar a pound." ["Christianity and the Cults;" Glendale: Gospel Light Publications, 1963.]

He sought to cover the fraud with a \$100,000 libel suit against the *Brooklyn Eagle* newspaper, which had exposed him and caricatured him as a would-be high-stakes swindler. He lost the case.

4. C.T. Russell used the United States Investment Company - which was a fake - and other corporations to make huge profits for himself. He became a multimillionaire, presumably at the expense of his adherents. "Ross shows that Russell organized 'lead,' 'asphalt,' and 'turpentine companies'... concerning which he first swore that he was not in any way connected with said companies, but when faced with documental evidence to the contrary, acknowledged his connections." "Russell is now reputed to be worth several millions of dollars but is careful to keep his wealth under such legal protection that it cannot be seized." [*Northwestern Christian Advocate* (Chicago), ed. Elbert Robb Zaring, 1914 April 15.]

3. In 1904, Kent B. Stoner (not an adherent of C.T. Russell) discovered a stool of wheat bearing 142 ripe stalks (1-5 is normal) and 4,000 grains; he named the variety "Miracle Wheat" and sold the seed for \$1.25 per pound (\$75/bushel). In 1911, two Bible Students, J.A. Bohnet and Samuel J. Fleming, contributed to the Watch Tower about 30 bushels of seed, to be sold at \$1.00 per pound. About \$1,800 was thus contributed to the religious work. Full refund was offered to any purchaser not satisfied with the seed; no one requested refund. At the *Brooklyn Eagle* trial, Stoner and ten other farmers testified, all eleven extolling the variety's superiority over other varieties. [City people may think it bad economics to pay \$60/bu. for wheat and to sell it for \$1-5/bu., but the latter price is before threshing.] If the purchasers were not unhappy, one wonders what motive others may have for calling it a fraud. [See J.A. Bohnet letter, Watch Tower 1910 Oct. 1]

[This variety of wheat needs to be planted about 16 inches apart for maximum yield per acre; when planted only the usual 4 inches apart, yield was slightly below average. Stan Thomas (p. 28) says, "The strain itself, being gradually blended with other species, died out."]

4. When C.T. Russell closed out his business ca. 1883, he had nearly \$250,000. The greater part was spent for publishing Bible literature and distributing it to the people without charge. The remainder was transferred to the Watch Tower, fulfilling an agreement between himself and his wife (two decades before she demanded separate maintenance).

The U.S. Investment Co. was a limited partnership; its capital stock was \$1,000, furnished by C.T. Russell out of his personal means. It was organized for the purpose of taking title to certain property, all of which was disposed of, with all proceeds going to the Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society and used for its religious work. Neither Pastor Russell nor any other person received any profit from it.

"Mr. Russell is neither a millionaire nor the owner of any property, save such personal possessions as are common to most men. He...sleeps on a small cot in his study," which was part of the Associations' headquarters. He receives no salary but merely an allowance reliably reported as about \$12 per month. [Open letter by W.H. Bradford in *St Paul Enterprise* newspaper, 1914 Nov. 6 {Kutscher edn. p. 33-34}; "Great Battle," p. 15-16.]

5. C.T. Russell was divorced on grounds of cruelty and immorality; or adultery, a woman ...being named as co-respondent. [*North-western Christian Advocate*, 1914 April 15.]

Mrs. M.F. Russell reported that "he said, 'I am like a jelly fish. I float around here and there. I touch this one and that one, and if she responds, I take her to me, and if not, I float on to others,' and she [Rose Ball] wrote that out so that I could remember it for sure when I would speak to him about it. And he confessed that he said those things." [Maria F. Russell vs. Charles T. Russell, No. 459, Allegheny Court of Common Pleas No. 1, Court Record of Testimony, 1906 April 26, p. 19.]

6. C.T. Russell kidnapped Miss Ruth Galbraith of Atlantic City, N.J., and held her captive at his home in Brooklyn ("Bethel"). Her mother instituted a habeus corpus proceeding in the Orphans' Court at Philadelphia against Pastor Russell to recover her. [*The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*]

7. C.T. Russell dubbed himself "pastor." He was never ordained, and he lied about it in court:

"Question [Ross' attorney]: Is it true you were never ordained?

Answer [Russell]: It is not true...

Question [Ross' attorney]: Now, you never were ordained by a bishop, clergyman, presbytery, council, or any body of men living?

Answer [Russell, after a long pause]: I never was."

[Ross, p. 19-20; Martin, p. 39-40.]

5. Mrs. Russell sued for separate maintenance with alimony, and not for absolute divorce – a dissolution of the marriage. No co-respondents were named.

From the Court Record of Testimony, p. 10:

Mrs. Russell: "The first serious trouble with my husband was...with this woman [Rose Ball, likely still a teenager] who was in the office and in our home.

Objected to [because an accusation of adultery was not part of the charges].

By Mr. [S.G.] Porter [Mrs. Russell's lead attorney]: - We don't mean to charge adultery.

Q. You don't mean by that that your husband was guilty of adultery?

A. [Mrs. Russell] No."

Thus, the jelly fish story was a wild flight of fantasy; the judge ordered it stricken out.

6. Miss Galbraith owned certain property held in trust and had begun an action in Orphans' Court to change the trustee. Her mother, Mrs. Galbraith [then trustee, and a Bible Student], sent Pastor Russell a telegram asking his assistance. He wrote back that he did not know where she was residing and therefore could not help.

The *Brooklyn Eagle* story is obviously fictitious, as a Philadelphia court has no jurisdiction to issue a writ of habeus corpus in New York state.

7. Jesus Christ was ordained by God through the Holy Spirit (Ac 10:42, 17:31). That is the necessary ordination for Christians. (After that, they may be ordained of men.) C.T. Russell's answers in court reflect that understanding.

The ordination of men is limited to its own denomination. [Cf. C.T. Russell letter in *St. Paul Enterprise*, 1914 Sept. 15.]

Pastor Russell was annually (or semi-annually) elected pastor by 1200 (sic!) ecclesias worldwide, variously estimated to total 20,000 to 150,000 consecrated voters. Few if any other preachers could claim an ordination of that magnitude.

8. C.T. Russell counts himself “some great one.” [Ross; *Northwest Christian Advocate*, 1914 April 15.]

“Russell...said: These truths I present, as God's mouthpiece. I admit to being the 'faithful and wise servant' foretold in Matt. 24.

Watchtower 7/15/06 p. 229
Watchtower 12/1/16 p. 5998”

[W. Cetnar, “True Prophets of God!” tract, 1972 April 1.]

8. The alleged quotation, “some great one,” has not been found in the writings or orations of C.T. Russell, neither anything similar to it. [Alice Goodell James letter in *St. Paul Enterprise*, 1914 Nov. 6 {Kutscher edn., p. 29}]

Both of the alleged quotations from the Watch Tower have been falsified. The real words, in context, are:

“I claim nothing of superiority, nor of supernatural power, dignity or authority... 'We also are men of like passions with yourselves' – of like infirmities and frailties... No, the truths I present, as God's mouthpiece, were not revealed in visions or dreams, nor by God's audible voice... but due to the simple fact that God's due time has come; and if I did not speak, and no other agent could be found, the very stones would cry out.” [Watch Tower 1906 July 15]

“Thousands of the readers of Pastor Russell's writings believe that he filled the office of 'that faithful and wise servant,' and that his great work was giving to the household of faith meat in due season. His modesty and humility precluded him from openly claiming this title, but he admitted as much in private conversation.” [Note the date, 1916 Dec. 1, is one month after Pastor Russell died.]

It was Mrs. Russell in 1894 who claimed her husband was “that servant” (incidentally giving the lie to her later charges against him, claimed to have occurred before that time), while he proposed an alternate explanation of that scripture. [Open letter of W.H. Bradford in *St. Paul Enterprise*, 1915 Feb. 12.]

9. Pastor Russell puts himself in ahead of God. He writes, "If the six volumes of 'Scripture Studies' are practically the Bible, topically arranged, with Bible proof texts given, we might not improperly name the volumes 'the Bible in an arranged form.' That is to say, they are not mere comments on the Bible, but they are practically the Bible itself. Furthermore, not only do we find that people cannot see the Divine plan in studying the Bible by itself, but we see also, that if anyone lays the 'Scripture Studies' aside, even after he has used them, after he has become familiar with them, after he has read them for ten years – if he then lays them aside and ignores them and goes to the Bible alone, though he has understood his Bible for ten years, our experience shows that within two years he goes into darkness. On the other hand if he had merely read the 'Scripture Studies' with their references and had not read a page of the Bible, as such, he would be in the light at the end of two years, because he would have the light of the Scriptures."

What blasphemy! When a man puts his writings ahead of the Bible, he makes his own superior to that of God's word. [Oliver S. Wilson letter, *St. Paul Enterprise*, 1914 Nov. 6 {Kutscher edn., p. 88}; quoting from Watch Tower 1910 Sept. 15, p. 298]

10. There is only one reference to the Holy Spirit in over 1000 pages of the six volumes of "Studies in the Scriptures." [Rev. Wm. G. Moorhead, D.D., "Millennial Dawn," in *Fundamentals*, vol. 7; cited in Rev. T.S. Thompson's letter, *St. Paul Enterprise*, 1914 Nov. 6 {Kutscher edn., p. 79-80}]

11. Pastor Russell teaches that the wicked will have a Second Chance – in the Millennium. [John N. Quinn, "The Darkness of Millennial Dawn;" Review and Herald Publ. Assn., p. 14]

9. The accuser omits part of a paragraph, as well as the context entirely. The partial quotation is from the article, "Is the Reading of 'Scripture Studies' Bible Study?" The issue was whether text books may be used in group Bible studies, or whether it must be the Bible alone. Two years earlier a few hundred persons had separated, formed the New Covenant Fellowship, and made this an issue. [W.H. Bradford letter in *St Paul Enterprise*, 1914 Nov. 6 {Kutscher edn., p. 91}]

Earlier, the article says, "The six volumes of SCRIPTURE STUDIES are not intended to supplant the Bible." Later, "We should say, 'I will not take it because these studies say so: I wish to see what the Bible says.'" And a subheading, "'Scripture Studies' Not a Substitute for the Bible." (There are 5,972 scripture citations in these six volumes.)

The unedited quotation is: "...they are not merely comments on the Bible, but they are practically the Bible itself, since there is no desire to build any doctrine or thought on any individual preference or on any individual wisdom, but to present the entire matter on the lines of the Word of God. We therefore think it is safe to follow this kind of reading, this kind of instruction, this kind of Bible study. Furthermore..."

The expression, "our experience shows," implies one or more specific individuals. The reference to ten years in, and two years going out, would seem to point to Horace Randle, who began association in 1898, left in 1908, and who had just written some material against the Watch Tower movement.

10. There are 2,971 pages in these six volumes (slightly more in some printings), which could imply that nearly 2,000 pages do refer to the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the Subject of S.S. Volume 5, p. 163-300.

11. Would it be worse that somebody should have a second chance, than that anybody should have no chance at all?

Nevertheless, Pastor Russell did not teach a second chance, but that Christ died once for all, and therefore all will have one full and complete opportunity to learn righteousness and live. 1Cor 15:21-22. [W.H. Bradford letter, *St. Paul Enterprise*, 1914 Nov. 6 {Kutscher edn., p. 81ff.}]

12. Pastor Russell's system of teaching leads logically to immorality. He teaches that all persons, however wicked or vile, will be raised in a state of Adamic purity and be given a second probation. [*Northwestern Christian Advocate*, ed. E.R. Zaring, 1914 April 15]

12. It has not led Bible Students to low moral standards. W.H. Bradford challenges E.R. Zaring to show that the percentage of immoral persons in the Methodist Episcopal Church is not vastly greater than in the Bible Students Assn.

Both statements (raised in Adamic purity, and given a second probation) are false, and are diametrically opposed to Pastor Russell's teachings. [W.H. Bradford letter, *St. Paul Enterprise*, 1914 Nov. 6 {Kutscher edn., p. 34}]

Notes

1. The following is the best reconstruction of the critical part of the Russell vs. Ross transcript, as deduced by Ditlieb Felderer:⁵⁶

Question: (Attorney Staunton) – 'You don't profess, then, to be schooled in the Latin language?'

Answer: (C.T. Russell) – 'No, sir.'

Question: (Staunton) – 'Or in Greek?'

Answer: (Russell) – 'No, sir.'

Question: (Staunton) – 'Do you know the Greek alphabet?'

Answer: (Russell) – 'Oh yes.'

Question: (Staunton) – 'Can you tell me the correct letters if you see them?'

Answer: (Russell) – 'Some of them, I might make a mistake on some of them.'

Question: (Staunton) – 'Would you tell me the names of the letters of those on top of the page, page 447 I have got here?'

Answer: (Russell) – 'Well, I don't know that I would be able to.'

Question: (Staunton) – 'You can't tell what those letters are, look at them and see if you know?'

Answer: (Russell) – 'My way...' [he was interrupted at this point and not allowed to explain]

Question: (Staunton) – 'Are you familiar with the Greek language?'

Answer: (Russell) – 'No.'

The top lines in the Westcott & Hort Greek New Testament [p.447, without diacritical marks] are:

ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΛΑΣΣΑΕΙΣ

to the Colossians [1:27-]

πλουτος της δοξης του μυστηριου τουτου εν τοις εθνεσιν, the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles,
[ο] εστιν χριστος... which is Christ...

[English translation at right is added for the reader's convenience.]

⁵⁶ Walter Martin claims to have seen/obtained a copy of the Russell vs. Ross transcript about the time the Watchtower copy reportedly disappeared (though it may have disappeared earlier). Martin and Klann say, "The following reproduction of the Russell vs. Ross transcript relative to the perjury charge made against Russell is taken from a copy on file in the headquarters of the cult in Brooklyn and is presented in the interests of thorough investigation." [Martin and Klann, p. 20]. Martin consistently declined to let others see the copy.

J.J. Ross was defended by George S. Lynch-Staunton, K.C., reputedly the slickest Roman Catholic attorney in the province (assisted by two other attorneys). To be defended by a Catholic was seen by many as an abandonment of Baptist principles.

If one were to consider Ross and Russell, and their respective supporters, all less than objective, only the court transcript and the contemporary newspapers could referee. The Hamilton and Toronto newspapers reported Ross' accusations against C.T. Russell, made no charges of misconduct by C.T. Russell at the hearings, but did chide Ross for fleeing. *The Hamilton Spectator*, 1912 Dec. 9; 1913 Feb. 7, March 17, 18, 22; *The Globe* [Toronto], 1913 March 18.

John Jacob Ross and Walter Ralston Martin are foremost among the accusers of C.T. Russell. Each has a curious background.

	J. J. Ross	Walter Martin
Education claimed	Woodstock College - graduated, or A.B. [College says he attended, did not graduate] McMaster University - B.Th., or Th.D. [Univ. says he attended, did not graduate] Northern Baptist Seminary - D.D. 1918	Stony Brook School - degree [College prep., does not award college degrees] Adelphi University - degree [Univ. says, he attended one semester] Shelton College - A.B. 1951, B.R.E. 1952 [college was unaccredited] New York University - M.A. 1956 June [claimed he wrote a thesis, but did not] Biblical Seminary (New York) - degree [attended summer session only, 1956] Calif. Western University - Ph.D. 1976 [Correspondence school, not accredited; had called himself "Dr. Walter Martin" since 1966]
Ordination	1898 (Baptist ministry) [disfellowshipped 1926 by the Ministerial Association, Greater Vancouver, because of degrees falsely claimed]	1951 July 16 (Regular Baptists, G.A.R.B.) [ordination withdrawn in 1953, after his first remarriage] claimed from American Baptist Conv. [denied by American Baptists, 1984] claimed from Southern Baptist Convention [denied by Southern Baptist Conv., 1984]
Marriage	once: 1902	three times: ca. 1946, ca. 1952, 1973

John Jacob Ross was researched by Ditleb Felderer in the 1960's.

Walter Ralston Martin was researched by Robert L. and Rosemary Brown, "They Lie in Wait to Deceive," Vol. 3 (and Vol. 2); Brownsorth Publishing Co. (P.O. Box 2671, Mesa, AZ, 85204), 1986, 1993. ["California Western University," now renamed "California Coast University," at 800 North Main Street in downtown Santa Ana, occupies a two-story building of perhaps 10,000 square feet, with a parking lot for only about 12 automobiles.]

Only documentary evidence is taken from both these works, and not mere opinion (if any).

2. Ross' claim that C.T. Russell was found guilty is repeated in the 1922-1923 edition of *Who's Who in America* and was implied in the 1924-1925 edition. At Baptist conferences and a summer 1923 investigation it was determined that Ross was himself responsible for claiming the bogus Woodstock and McMaster degrees. After 1925 Ross disappears from *Who's Who in America*. ["Dr. J. J. Ross on being 'Labelled,'" an editorial in *The Gospel Witness*, July 14, 1927, p. 8 (apparently written by Thomas Todhunter Shields of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto).]

4. The reference to 'lead,' 'asphalt,' and 'turpentine companies' is unclear. Possibly they may be the "certain property" to which the U.S. Investment Co. partnership took title. The latter was closed out ca. 1912. Probably the companies with which C.T. Russell denied connections were not the same as those which he acknowledged, as no specifics were given in Zaring's accusation.

5. The *Washington Post* and *Mission Friend* [Chicago] newspapers both published the jellyfish story. Pastor Russell sued for libel and won both cases. The *Washington Post* paid all costs and \$15,000, and began publishing his sermons. The *Mission Friend* paid all costs, issued a retraction of the jellyfish story, further stating that Pastor Russell is a Christian and a gentleman of the highest integrity and moral standing and entitled to the respect and esteem of all good people.

8. Virtually all of those who personally knew C.T. Russell have told of his excellent character. Alice Goodell James (a former Methodist, responding to a Methodist editor) describes him as "one of the humblest of men." *St. Paul Enterprise*, 1914 Nov. 6 {Kutscher edn., p. 29}. "Great Battle" gives for character witnesses Brigadier General Wm. P. Hall ("I candidly state that he is the cleanest and purest man with whom I have ever come in contact."); Attorney George F. Wilson, Oklahoma City; Pastor R.E. Streeter, Providence, R.I.; and two dozen others. Many more who lived into the 1970s reported similarly.

11. C.T. Russell's writings regarding a second chance may be synopsized:

"When thus brought to life, and the love of God testified to them, their probation, THEIR FIRST CHANCE, begins, for we do not preach a *second chance* for any." ZWT 1, 1, p. 8 (July 1879).

"God determined to give Adam and each of his posterity a chance for everlasting life, after they had an experience with sin and its wages... to all but Adam it would be the first individual trial." ZWT 11, 10, p. 8 (Oct. 1890).

"The Christian...not only has a second chance, but has many repeated chances, day by day, of repentance of sin and of making a fresh start after recovery from the stumbling, through the merit of Christ...

"Bible Students are coming to see that God has provided two trials for the whole world of mankind. The first trial was in Eden... The death of Christ was for the very purpose of giving a second trial to Adam and all his race; as the Apostle declares, 'As by man came death, by man comes also the resurrection of the dead. For as all in Adam die, even so all in Christ shall be made alive; every man in his own order.' 1 Corinthians 15:21-23" WT 36, 4, p. 62 (Feb. 15, 1915).

See also Question Book, pp. 590, 800.

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Alan Rogerson, Millions now living will never die, A study of Jehovah's Witnesses; London: Constable, 1969. [A partly-successful attempt to be objective.]

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Northwestern Christian Advocate, A Methodist periodical in Chicago.

St. Paul Enterprise, the official newspaper of Ramsey County, Minnesota, since ca. 1906; 4 pages, except for special issues. Estimated circulation perhaps a few thousand. [Special-edition articles republished by Bible Students' Archives, c/o Brian Kutscher, 6144 University Dr. Dearborn Heights, MI, 48127-2558.]

Zion's Watch Tower (1879-1908), or *The Watch Tower*, a religious journal, edited by Pastor Charles Taze Russell from 1879 July until his death, 1916 Oct. 31. Circulation rose from 6,000 to about 50,000.

Ditlieb Felderer, unfinished thesis (primarily on the C.T. Russell vs. J.J. Ross case), >198 pages, 1972. [Extensive documentation.]

A Great Battle in the Ecclesiastical Heavens, as seen by a lawyer; an international case reviewed by J.F. Rutherford of the New York City Bar; 64 p., 1915. [Many photographs and copies of documents.]

Maria F. Russell vs. Charles T. Russell, in the Court of Common Pleas No. 1 of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, No. 459 June Term, 1903; Testimony taken before Commissioner. [Testimony 1906 April 26.]

Timothy White [pseudonym], A People for His Name; New York: Vantage Press, 1967. [A serious attempt to be objective and balanced.]

M. James Penton, Apocalypse Delayed; Toronto: U. Toronto Press, 1985. [Relatively objective.]

Appendix C

Relatives of Charles Taze Russell

1a. Children of Thomas and Fannie Russell

- 2a. James Russell: b. 1796, Ireland; d. 1847Dc26, Allegheny City (paralysis)
- 2b. Sarah Russell: b. 1799, Ireland; d. 1846Dc15, Allegheny City (consumption)
- 2c. Fanny (Russell) Harper: d. 1867, Donegal, Ireland
- 2d. Mary Jane Russell: d. 1886
- 2e. Alexander G. Russell: d. [between 1872 and 1878], Orange County, N.Y.
- 2f. Charles Tays Russell: b. 1806, Ireland; immigrated 1822; d. 1875Dc26, Pittsburgh (hepatitis)
- 2g. Joseph Lytle Russell: b. 1813, Londonderry, Ireland; immigrated 1845, naturalized 1848Oc26; d. 1897Dc17, Allegheny City (congestive abdoplexy)

2c. Children of Fanny Harper

- 3k. Mrs. F.A. Stewart: Wellsville, Montgomery County, Missouri
- 3l. John R. Harper: Arlington, St. Louis County, Missouri
- 3m. Mrs. Mary Muir: Grand Rapids, Michigan
- 3n. William James Harper: Broxton, Donegal County, Ireland
- 3o. Mrs. Eliza Nesbitt: Donegal County, Ireland
- 3p. Thomas R. Harper: Jimason City, Plumas County, California

2e. Children of Alexander G. Russell

- 3g. Thomas Green Russell: St. Louis, Missouri
- 3h. Sarah Ann Morris: Montgomery, Orange County, N.Y.
- 3i. Fanny G. Bond: Plainfield, New Jersey
- 3j. Cornelia S. Davenport: #74 Hicks St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

2f. Children of Joseph Lytle and Ann Eliza (Birney) Russell

- 3a. Thomas B. Russell: b. 1850, Allegheny; d. 1855Sp11, Allegheny (whooping cough)
- 3b. Charles Taze Russell: b. 1852Fb16; d. 1916Oc31, aboard train near Pampa, Texas
- 3c. Margaret M. Land: b. 1854; d. 1934Nv26
- 3d. Lucinda H. Russell: b. 1857 Philadelphia; d. 1858Jy21, Philadelphia (scrofula)
- 3e. Joseph Lytle Russell, jr.: b. 1859Nv; d. 1860Ap25, Philadelphia (croup)

2f. Child of Joseph Lytle and Emma H. (Ackley) Russell

- 4g. Mabel R. Packard: b. 1881, Allegheny; d. 1961Nv17, St. Petersburg, Florida

1j. Children of ? and ? Birney

- 2j. Ann Eliza (Birney) Russell: b. 1825, Ireland; d. 1861Ja25 (consumption)
- 2k. Thomas Birney: Pittsburgh
- 2l. (others?)

1q. Children of E. (d. 1853 ca. Ag28) and Mary M. Ackley?⁵⁷

- 2q. Mahlon F. Ackley: d. 1873Dc13 (Pittsburgh?), age 66
- 2r. (others?)

1s. Children of James and Letitia Hammond

- 2s. Selena Ann (Hammond) Ackley: b. 1815Dc18; d. 1901Oc03 (Pittsburgh?) (pneumonia)
- 2t. (others?)

2q. Children of Mahlon and Selena Ann Ackley

- 3q. Maria Frances (Ackley) Russell: b. 1851; d. 1938Mr12, St. Petersburg, Florida
- 3r. Emma H. (Ackley) Russell: b. 1855; d. 1929Fb5, St. Petersburg, Florida
- 3s. Laura J. (Ackley) Raynor: d. 1917Jy22, Bellevue, Pa.
- 3t. Selena (Ackley) Barton (= Lena Guibert?): Pittsburgh
- 3u. Lemuel M. Ackley: Chicago [attorney]

3c. Children of Benjamid (b. 1849) and Margaret M. Land (order uncertain)

- 4c. Ada (Land) White: b. 1876; Kansas
- 4d. Joseph Russell Land: d. 1966Dc14, age 86, Atascadero, California (wife Mary)
- 4e. Alice (Land) Williamson: (probably New York; married Fred W. Williamson, d. 1951My)
- 4f. Mae F. ("Thelma" Land) Kendall: b. 1886Fb; Tampa, Fla., area (married Carl Kendall, brother of Geo. S. Kendall)

4g. Children of Richard and Mabel R. Packard

- 5g. James Russell Packard: d. 1965, Sarasota, Florida
- 5h. John Alden Packard: d. 1976, Clinton, Tenn. (3 children)
- 5i. Mildred (Packard) Speel: b. 1906, Avalon; d. 1995, St. Petersburg, Fla. (1 son, Robert Speel)

5h. Children of John Alden ("Jack") and Trula Packard

- 6h. John Alden Packard, jr.
- 6i. Richard Packard
- 6j. James Packard: Houston area

[Slightly revised from information provided by Florence Cook, originally from Robert Speel.]

⁵⁷ E., Mary M., Mahlon F., and Selena A. Ackley are all buried in consecutive plots at Union Dale Cemetery, Pittsburgh.

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