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THE BIBLE STUDENTS AND WORLD WAR I:
CONFLICT BETWEEN AN INDIGENOUS AMERICAN
APOCALYPTIC MOVEMENT AND GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITIES

By

Linda L. Steveson

B.A., Reed College, 1970

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Approved By:

Lane E. McNaughy
Chairman, Board of Examiners

John Stewart
Dean, Graduate School

Aug 13, 1973
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The origins of the religious group known today as Jehovah's Witnesses can be traced to a complex of religious and political factors confronting America after the Civil War. The millenarian separatism marking the early Witnesses was interpreted as unpatriotic by local and federal authorities. With the heightened sense of patriotism engendered by American entry into World War I, conflict between the Witnesses and governmental leaders became inevitable. The contention of this thesis is that the basis of conflict lay in the clash of the early Witnesses' apocalyptic eschatology with the traditional concerns of secular and religious authorities in America. These officials could extend full religious freedom only to those creeds which embraced the consensual nature of civil and ecclesiastical authority. The Witnesses, although still a small and unorganized minority among the major churches during World War I, were a vocal, annoying disruption of the normative pattern of American church-state relations.

Most Americans, especially in wartime, take what some scholars have called "civil religion"¹ for granted. American civil religion includes national holidays, public rituals, and patriotic displays such as parades and saluting the flag. Conversely, the early Witnesses viewed these activities as a mixture of nationalism and pagan religious ritual. In their eyes, the major denominations looked to themselves and to civil polity for progress and salvation, and not to God and the Second Advent of Christ. The early Witnesses saw no permanent place for the state in their eschatology; it was merely a civil convenience ordained by God in the present system of things until the new world theocracy should replace it. The early Witnesses did not hesitate to speak and publish their views: information gleaned from their early publications indicate that their leadership had explored the implications of these convictions long before conflict with civil authorities occurred.

The present purpose is to investigate those historical and religious ideals relevant to the Witnesses' birth and separation from the mainstream of American civil and religious life. Before 1931, the name most commonly used by Jehovah's Witnesses was the International Bible Students

¹Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," Daedalus (1967), pp. 1-21.

Association, or often just Bible Students.² The latter term will be used in this discussion.

²Herbert Hewitt Stroup, The Jehovah's Witnesses (New York: Russell & Russell, 1945), p. 4.

CHAPTER II

THE OLD WORLD MILLENNIAL TRADITION

The Bible students shared many beliefs common to nineteenth century American millennialism. In this tradition, which had itself grown out of the apocalypticism of early Christianity, emphasis was placed on the one thousand year reign of Christ at his Second Advent.¹ In the eyes of the Bible Students, as of most Christian apocalyptists, the millennium under the Advent of Christ and the cataclysmic end of this old world were parts of the same eschatological system. The First Advent of Christ will be greatly overshadowed by the second. The first was significant only to the faithful few, while the Second Advent at the end of all history will affect the entire cosmos.

According to many scholars, the Christian apocalyptic tradition had its roots in the religions of Mesopotamia.

¹Not all groups believing in a millennial age can be classified as apocalyptists. Many historians, anthropologists, and sociologists classify as "millennial" any group looking toward a Golden Age (either past or future), in which righteousness and perfection are the ideal standard. The ideology of these groups may not be part of the Judeo-Christian tradition, though most of them are in some way connected with religious belief. See Sylvia L. Thrupp, "A Report on the Conference Discussion," in Millennial Dreams in Action, ed. by Sylvia L. Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 11-27.

Helmer Ringgren, for example, points out that important apocalyptic elements were borrowed from Persian religion by exilic and post-exilic Judaism and thence passed on to Christianity.² There were many apocalyptic writings in Judaism and early Christianity, but only two were admitted to the canon, Daniel and Revelation. Apocalyptic passages are also included in other Biblical books, such as Ezekiel 38-39, Matthew 24 and Mark 13. Although the term "apocalyptic" has been as generally applied as the term "millennial," scholars have isolated certain primary and secondary elements distinguishing genuine apocalyptic.³

The primary element of apocalyptic thought is the concept of cosmic dualism which derives from the Persian heritage. In order to account for the existence of good and evil in the world, Zoroaster⁴ argued that there were

²Helmer Ringgren, "Apokalyptik: I. Apokalyptische Literature, religionsgeschichtlich" Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 1967, I, Col. 463-464. Other scholars, while recognizing the apocalyptic movement in Judaism, de-emphasize alleged foreign backgrounds and trace Jewish apocalyptic to the prophetic tradition. See D. S. Russell, The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 266-273.

³M. Rist, "Apocalypticism," The Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible, I, 157. Elements such as pseudonymity, angelology/demonology, animal symbolism, numerology, signs of the end, a messiah, astral influences, and visions are often present in apocalyptic but are not normative, constitutive or exclusive.

⁴Songs of Zarathustra, trans. from the Avesta by Dastur Framroze Ardeshir Bode and Piloo Nanavutty (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1952), passim.

two equally powerful gods in the beginning, Ahura Mazda (the god of light) and Ahriman (the god of evil). In light of the theological crisis brought about by the Babylonian Exile (587-534 B.C.), the classical Hebrew concept of one god, Yahweh, who is both the creator of everything in the universe and all good, was radically challenged. Among the explanations offered to this apparent contradiction between the present triumph of evil and the belief in an almighty, all-good god was the apocalyptic one, drawn from Persian sources. According to this explanation, Yahweh has temporarily withdrawn from history and evil is currently dominant in the world. In the meantime, the righteous will be persecuted and the evil ones will prosper. Yahweh will return, however, at the end of history. A universal reckoning will then occur in which the righteous will be rewarded and the followers of evil punished. Thus, in light of the monism of classical Hebrew thought, apocalyptic Judaism modified the radical Iranian dualism of Zoroaster by attributing the presence of evil to an evil spirit or impulse in man, rather than to a second god of equal status with Yahweh.

When Christianity inherited this dualism via exilic and post-exilic Judaism, the Persian Ahriman had become the evil tempter of mankind, and his domain was this world and the present evil system of things. In short, neither Jewish nor Christian apocalyptists accepted Satan as co-equal with

Yahweh, who was in full control of the universe and who merely allowed evil to exist by his permission and for his purposes.

The other primary element of apocalypticism was the preoccupation with eschatology. Believers in an almighty God could not posit a perpetually divided universe: God's tolerance of evil would not continue. Therefore, this world and its system of things must be brought to an end by divine intervention from the other, perfect world of the dual cosmos. In the eyes of the apocalyptist, the eschatological end which would restore the primal unity of the cosmos would not be wrought in the progressive sense indicated by liberal Christianity since the Kingdom of God cannot be brought to earth by sinful mankind. Rather, the new age must be effected from without as an abrupt, cataclysmic event, a witness for all time to the triumph of God's divine perfection over the power of evil in the universe.⁵

Scholarly opinion is sharply divided over the influence exercised by apocalypticism on the teaching of Jesus. His words as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels are ambiguous, for he speaks of the kingdom as in "some sense present, some

⁵H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic (New York: Association Press, 1964), second edition, p. 183.

sense future."⁶ Certainly, the delay of the Kingdom weakened the apocalyptic hope of the primitive church and left the meaning of its "imminence" open to diverse interpretation.

Likewise, just how much the early Christian church owed to radical Jewish apocalypticism is still a matter of debate.⁷ The Essene community of Qumran, source of the Dead Sea Scrolls, was a society embodying eschatological and apocalyptic beliefs. The oldest Qumran texts are versions of Daniel and date from within one hundred years of the supposed date of its composition. There is a strong possibility that early Christianity was directly influenced by the apocalyptic developments at Qumran.⁸

Apocalyptic appeals were extremely effective when the Christian church was a persecuted minority, but after state recognition and support in the fourth century A.D., it became a political embarrassment. Augustine and others attempted to resolve the tension between the present world and its institutions, and the apocalyptic hope of the future

⁶Robert W. Funk, "Apocalyptic as an Historical and Theological Problem in Current New Testament Scholarship," Journal for Theology and the Church, VI (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), p. 180.

⁷Frank M. Cross, "New Directions in the Study of Apocalyptic," ibid., pp. 159-160.

⁸The Dead Sea Scriptures, trans. by Theodore H. Gaster (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956), passim.

kingdom. If the established church was, in fact, God's representative on earth, then there was no need to expect a cataclysmic break with present history in order to usher in the kingdom. In both the Western and Eastern Churches, Augustine, Origen and others chose to interpret apocalyptic books and passages in the canon as allegorical rather than literal descriptions.⁹

After a period of general quiet, millennial hopes for the end of the world revived around 1000 A.D. Belief in the possibility of absolute perfection on earth receded and the pious looked for the inauguration of the millennium through a rebirth of the spirit of primitive Christianity.¹⁰

During the high Middle Ages, several radical millennial movements arose and were eventually suppressed by the church. These movements made little impression on the established church, but the Reformation brought new interest in apocalyptic beliefs and led to the formation of splinter groups such as the Taborites. In fact, Norman Cohn maintains that millennial movements were often international in scope and were responses to excess or breakdown of established

⁹Robert M. Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, rev. ed. (London: Black, 1965). Formerly titled The Bible in the Church, 1948.

¹⁰Shirley Jackson Case, The Millennial Hope (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918), pp. 183-205.

civil or ecclesiastical authority.¹¹ In times such as these, believers often saw in the current oppressor the image of the Antichrist predicted in apocalyptic literature. It should be noted that in contrast to prevailing notions of the socio-economic basis of apocalyptic and millennial movements, there is some evidence that the leadership and even the followers of medieval millennial movements were not necessarily from lower economic and educational strata; their disaffection with the contemporary mundane system of things could be spiritual and intellectual as well as material.

Though forced underground by the fourth century A.D. or limited to brief outbursts, the millennial hope never really died in the Western church. In fact, during the Protestant Reformation it achieved some prominence through the Anabaptists and other reformers, some of whom considered the Pope to be the Antichrist.¹²

¹¹Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), second edition, passim.

¹²Case, Millennial Hope, pp. 190-200.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW WORLD MILLENNIAL TRADITION

A. Normative American Religion in the Colonial and Early National Periods

Millennial ideas¹ became particularly influential after the Reformation, when groups such as the Puritans and later the Shakers migrated to America and tried to return to a Biblical, apostolic Christianity. The important distinction between nineteenth century American millenarianism and the millennial legacy of the American Puritans and other

¹There is some confusion in terminology used in scholarly works dealing with the subject of millenarianism or millennialism. Both terms are used to designate belief in the thousand-year reign of righteousness on earth, or the millennium, connected with Christ's Second Advent. However, believers have been divided over whether the Advent would precede or follow the millennium. The terms millenarian, pre-millenarian, or pre-millennial denote the belief that the Advent precedes the millennium, while millennial or post-millennial indicate that the Advent interrupts or follows the inauguration of the millennium. Millenarian beliefs are usually associated with apocalyptic eschatology, while millennial beliefs are often associated with progressive, anthropocentric perfectionism. This convention is established and discussed in Ernest R. Sandeen's The Roots of Fundamentalism (British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). Cf. Matthew 13:31-33, the parable of the mustard seed, with Matthew 24 and 25 which speak of the coming kingdom as a cataclysmic event.

Protestant groups concerned the nature of Christ's Advent and its relationship to the coming millennium. Many of the earlier Puritans were inclined to view the Lord's future cleansing work as direct and catastrophic.² Nevertheless, their apocalypticism was related to their personal covenant with God's grace, and their eschatology to the fulfillment of divine providence in this world by means of their "City set upon an Hill."³

By the time of the eighteenth century Great Awakening, Jonathan Edwards and others had become distinctly post-millennial in outlook. Once elected by the Lord, the individual must work toward his own perfectability and that of his society under divine guidance. Thus, the self-conceived mission of the New World leadership might be termed progressive in that even non-Puritan colonial idealists believed that America could remain innocent and yet fulfill her destiny as an example of redemption to the real world without the use of apocalyptic eschatology.⁴ By the time of the American Revolution, the millennial

²Ira V. Brown, "Watchers for the Second Coming: The Millenarian Tradition in America," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXXIX, 3 (December, 1952), pp. 441-448.

³Perry Miller, The New England Mind: the Seventeenth Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 1939), pp. 463-470.

⁴Ernest Lee Tuveson, Redeemer Nation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. vi, xi.

dream lost much of its apocalyptic tone and became a gradual perfecting process in preparation for the Advent.⁵

Colonial Christian leadership still understood world history as a lineal, Christian drama taking place at God's instigation and as being fulfilled at the end of time by God's providence.⁶ Though most Americans understood man's place in the drama as rational and progressive, several elements of apocalyptic thought contributed to the intellectual climate of the new nation. Just as two religious eschatologies of the soul's cleansing and the cleansing of the cosmos combined to form a dualism, so the American Revolution sought to elevate individual dignity as well as that of the nation as a whole.⁷

In the middle of the eighteenth century, however, two religious forces arose in America having little use for the pre-millennial tradition. The evangelism foreshadowed by the Great Awakening and the intellectual force of Deism both rejected explicit apocalyptic eschatology, but each retained certain elements of the post-millennial hope.

⁵William C. Eamon, "Kingdom and Church in New England" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Montana, 1968), pp. 149-151.

⁶Urian Oakes, "The Sovereign Efficacy of Divine Providence" in The Puritans, Vol. I, ed. by Perry Miller and William Johnson (New York: American Book Company, 1938), pp. 350-367.

⁷Tuveson, Redeemer Nation, p. 4.

Even as early as 1713,⁸ Calvinist theology was being forced to accommodate the rising pietistic-evangelical feeling. By the time of the Revolution, evangelical denominations such as the Baptists were beginning to make their contribution to the American sense of individual rights, in relation to both God and country. Revivals such as the Great Awakening of 1742-1743 had profoundly changed American attitudes to the established churches and, to some degree, to all established authority.⁹

The trend to religious disestablishment, first through civil toleration in the colonies and then through full civil freedom at the federal level would later work in favor of the minority holding pre-millennial views. Since the late patriotic period, the pre-millenarians had suffered persecution by virtue of being a religious minority expressing dissenting views. After the United States combined the Erastian principle of civil supremacy¹⁰ with that of federal disestablishment, all the states followed within fifty years of the ratification of the Constitution. Of course, the major churches, even the evangelical "Bible" churches,

⁸Paul Carter, The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), p. 45.

⁹Roy Franklin Nichols, Religion and American Democracy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), pp. 30-49.

¹⁰Leo Pfeffer, Church, State and Freedom (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953), pp. 3-27.

interpreted apocalyptic books and passages allegorically or symbolically and held mostly post-millennial views. But now these churches were forced to place their exegesis, ideals, and theology in the open marketplace of pluralistic competition along with several hundred other denominations and sects including those holding pre-millennial views.

De facto pluralism had existed in the colonies almost from their inception, but it was not until it combined with the intellectual Deism of the Framers that minority religious views were guaranteed some measure of civil protection.¹¹ The worst fear of those Framers who favored religious freedom and disestablishment was that the prohibitions contained in the sixth Article and the first Amendment might somehow be interpreted in such a way that the separation of church and state would break-down:¹²

Article VI, paragraph 3

.....

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial

¹¹Anson Pheleps Stokes, Church and State in the United States, Vol. III (First ed.: New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), pp. 442-454. The tenth Amendment also provides for similar guarantees to new states and territories, as in legislation such as the Northwest Ordinance and the Louisiana Purchase.

¹²Edmund Cahn, "The Establishment of Religion Puzzle," New York University Law Review, XXXVI (November, 1961), pp. 1274-1297.

Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

Amendment 1

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

That a Constitution with such progressive ideals was ratified far from the intellectual capitals of the world was probably due more to the fact of pluralism and the religious indifference of a majority of the colonists than to any humanistic motives of the colonists or of the established clergy. While most Americans living in the period immediately following the Revolution probably considered themselves vaguely Christian, less than 10 percent actually belonged to an established denomination.¹³

Madison and Jefferson were Enlightenment intellectuals, steeped in secular rather than religious ideals of toleration.¹⁴ Madison was the more radical separatist, and was largely responsible for disestablishment of the

¹³Henry F. May, "The Recovery of American Religious History," American Historical Review, LXIX (October, 1964), pp. 85-90.

¹⁴William G. McLoughlin, "Isaac Backus and the Separation of Church and State in America," American Historical Review, LXXIII.5 (1968), pp. 1392-1413.

Episcopal Church in his home state of Virginia. His strongest ideas were embodied in his "Memorial and Remonstrance on the Religious Rights of Man." His toleration, unlike many other early Americans, extended even to non-Christians:

It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion to all other sects?¹⁵

Nevertheless, Madison's close friend, Thomas Jefferson, mentioned a Supreme Being four times in the Declaration of Independence: once as "Nature's God," once as "Creator," once as the "Supreme Judge," and finally in connection with "divine Providence." These four references indicate a typical Enlightenment notion of God as the Prime Mover of Newtonian nature. They also imply that America included a special relationship with God as guide and protector.

Clearly, the leaders of the American Revolution chose not to complete the unofficial separation of church and state. They evidently wished to legitimize the American claim to independence in the eyes of Europeans accustomed to divine-right monarchy. More importantly, they also desired to apply the social cement of normative Protestant

¹⁵John R. Anderson, "A Twentieth-Century Reflection of the American Enlightenment," Social Education, XXIX.3 (1965), p. 162.

Christianity to the gaggle of nationalities, social classes, and disparate colonial traditions represented in the original thirteen colonies. In essence, religious sanction was still in force in America, having been transferred from king to Constitution, bruised but intact.¹⁶

To early American political and religious leaders, therefore, constitutional disestablishment of religion was a guarantee that no denomination would be politically favored over another. Far from advocating complete separation of church and state, even Deistic and freethinking Americans believed the general tenets of Christianity (especially Protestant Christianity) to be essential for public order and private morality. Some jurists¹⁷ and historians¹⁸ have considered this premise historically legitimate, since Christianity was considered the basis of English and, hence, American Common Law. While many early Americans feared that voluntarism would not be adequate to support the churches,¹⁹

¹⁶Perry Miller, The Life of the Mind in America (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965), pp. 193-257.

¹⁷John Jay, Letter to The New York Times, April 16, 1890, p. 9. Cf. also Richard Hooker's seminal treatise, Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, published in the 16th century.

¹⁸Mark De Wolfe Howe, The Garden and the Wilderness (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 27-29.

¹⁹McLoughlin, "Isaac Backus," p. 1402. Cf. Gordon Harland, "The American Protestant Heritage and the Theological Task," The Drew Gateway XXXII/2 (Winter, 1962), pp. 71-93.

most of the growing evangelical denominations welcomed state disestablishment.²⁰ Especially after the Great Revival of 1800-1801, the evangelical spirit demanded a closer and more particular relationship between God and the nation.

Ante-bellum religion wished to do its bit for the sake of cultural unity and historical identity. Denominational church membership was growing,²¹ and few remembered the warnings given by Roger Williams that it was not only church interference in worldly affairs that was to be feared, but also secular corruption of the churches.²² When Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont visited America in 1831, they noted with some surprise that the people "never do anything without the assistance of Religion."²³ While Henry Clay tactfully informed his young Roman Catholic visitors that Protestant Christianity was indispensable to a republican people, his main concern was the increasing and often disorderly western migration. On the frontier, the people lacked the blessings of both civil and church polity.²⁴ The French visitors were told that religion

²⁰Howe, The Garden and the Wilderness, pp. 8-9.

²¹May, "Recovery," pp. 85-90.

²²Howe, op. cit., p. 6.

²³George W. Pierson, Tocqueville and Beaumont in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 181.

²⁴Ibid., p. 424.

was actually on the decline among leaders and intellectuals of American society, but that these people kept quiet on grounds of public interest or fear of broken careers and social ostracism:

'that state of affairs must create a good many hypocrites' (they asked)

'Yes, But above all it prevents people speaking of it'²⁵

Throughout the Early National period, the primary concern of American political and cultural leaders was national unity, particularly on the frontier of the West and South. In these areas especially, the periodic revivals played an important role as an indigenous American cultural institution, such institutions being otherwise few and far between.²⁶ The necessarily voluntaristic nature of the revival churches and of revival activity in general suited the free-for-all democratic atmosphere of the developing territories. The nature of revivalism and voluntarism, as well as the desire of the functioning congregations of the East to contribute their support, encouraged ministers in the West to emphasize the common ground of Christianity rather than the denominational doctrine. All hearers were Americans, all sought salvation, so that the obvious course was to

²⁵Ibid., pp. 500-501.

²⁶Sidney E. Mead, "The Nation with the Soul of a Church," Church History, XXVI:3 (September, 1967), p. 280.

emphasize the common rather than the unique in trying to reach lonely, uprooted settlers as well as obtain support for these activities from religious and political leaders in the East. Sidney Mead argues that the theme of the nation during this period began to assume the function of the national church in older countries, since America had no national church. In The Lively Experiment, he says:

It is hard to escape the conclusion that each religious group accepted, by implication, the responsibility to teach that its peculiar doctrines, which made it distinct from other sects and gave it its only reason for separate existence, were either irrelevant for the general welfare of the nation-community, or at most, possessed only an indirect and instrumental value for it. It is no wonder that a sense of irrelevance has haunted religious leaders in America ever since.²⁷

The goals of national unity and the extension of national culture were so important that the limits of religious freedom in America were defined by the "public welfare"²⁸ or at least what the forces of orthodoxy considered necessary in the formation of good citizens and normative Protestant Christians.²⁹ After Massachusetts gave up established Congregationalism in 1833, Lyman Beecher gave up his staunch establishmentarianism and accepted voluntarism now that

²⁷Sidney E. Mead, The Lively Experiment (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 66.

²⁸Ibid., p. 65.

²⁹Ibid., p. 54.

"civil law had waxed old."³⁰ But this support did not extend to those sects and confessions such as the pre-millenarians whose ideals and Biblical exegesis placed them outside the mainstream of American Protestantism.³¹

B. Millenarian Ideology and Conflicts with American Civil Religion

Sects holding millenarian or apocalyptic views have clashed with orthodox American religious authorities since the Early National period. For example, even though the Mormons removed themselves from settled areas, helped the United States Government with Indian troubles in the West and remained loyal during the Civil War, President Buchanan at the urging of religious leaders catered to anti-Mormon hysteria in order to obscure the slavery issue.³²

³⁰Jerald C. Brauer, "The Rule of Saints in American Politics," Church History, Vol. 27, no. 3 (September, 1958), pp. 252-253. Cf. Harland, "American Protestant Heritage," *passim*.

³¹During the Early National period, Roman Catholicism was granted a grudging toleration by most Protestants except during a few periods of extreme nativist hysteria. Tocqueville found that Protestants even looked down upon Catholics who neglected public observance of that faith. Cf. Pierson, Tocqueville and Beaumont, p. 69.

³²Franklin Hamlin Littell, From State Church to Pluralism: A Protestant Interpretation of Religion in American History (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1962), p. 88.

Millenarian and apocalyptic views characterized many communitarian, cooperative, and utopian colonies set up on the American frontiers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some were settled by persecuted religious groups of Europe, and some by Americans from the settled areas of the East. All found some degree of hostility even on the sparsely settled frontier, especially from religious authorities whose influence in these areas was often stronger than official civil government.³³

Pre-millennial groups were persecuted and ostracised because their vision and ideals fitted neither the religious nor the political self-image of the majority of Americans. The religious version of this national self-image depicted America as the nation chosen by God, in terms described from the Puritan vision, to redeem through innocence and isolation the wickedness of the Old World.³⁴ The political or secular version of the dream eschewed the "radical millennial" ideas of progress espoused European intellectuals before the French Revolution and focused on the unique opportunities the New World offered. Within the first fifty years of national existence, most Americans already understood progress to

³³Arthur Bestor, "Patent Office Models of the Good Society," American Historical Review, LVIII (April, 1953), pp. 505-526.

³⁴Tuveson, Redeemer Nation, p. 232.

mean the extension of present blessings to all citizens. They demanded not radical change but extension in a democratic sense.³⁵

Early American pre-millenarians used a complex dispensational outline of history in their interpretation of apocalyptic Biblical books and passages. History itself was understood as the mirror image of Heilsgeschichte, divine history, within which previous events are seen as the archetypes or symbolic forerunners of more momentous events to come. Thus, prophecy was a central tenet of millenarian belief, but except among extremists was merely the reflection and expansion of what was already to be found in history and scripture.

The primary interpretive aid was the use of dispensations or historical epochs patterned after the "time periods" described in Daniel.³⁶ This method had been further developed and used since the time of Daniel by medieval, Reformation, and early modern pre-millennial interpreters.³⁷ These divine dispensations corresponded to historical epochs whose beginnings and ends were marked off according to prophecy and the subsequent fulfillment of prophecy.³⁸ Each was

³⁵Rush Welter, "The Idea of Progress in America," Journal of the History of Ideas, XVI.3 (June, 1955), pp. 401-404.

³⁶E.g., Daniel 8:14, etc.

³⁷Edwin Leroy Froom, Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, Vol. III (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald Publishing Company, 1952), pp. 10-12.

³⁸See Appendix A.

characterized by an agreement or covenant between God and man, which the latter inevitably broke.³⁹

Even among pre-millenarians themselves, however, there was disagreement over the exact interpretation of prophetic visions and signs, and over which of these would be fulfilled literally and which should be regarded as symbolical or allegorical. In apocalyptic literature, various dispensations were often symbolized by animals such as in the vision of the beasts in Daniel 7, which were usually interpreted to mean various world powers or empires. Of course, the interpretation may differ with each succeeding generation of millenarians and as one world power succeeds another.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the principle of separation from the world, whatever may be the current ruling powers, remains almost universal among millenarian exegetes down to this day.

For most American millenarians, as for their Old World predecessors, the basic viewpoint remained the same: hostility or indifference to both political and religious authorities and belief that collusion between these two powers, especially at ecclesiastical instigation, has led

³⁹Robert Ward McEwen, "Factors in the Modern Survival of Millennialism" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1933), pp. 40-42.

⁴⁰E.g., early Christian apocalyptists interpreted Daniel 2:31-45 to mean the Roman Empire. Recent millenarian interpretations include, among others, the rise of Russian Communism. Cf. McEwen, "Factors," p. 24.

to persecution of millenarian groups since the times of the Patristic Fathers. This, in turn, has led to charges of heresy and apostasy by the major denominations against their own members holding pre-millennial views, and against the smaller millenarian sects.⁴¹ Related to this charge of intellectual secularization of the major denominations was the millenarian rejection of the so-called "higher criticism" which invaded American Protestant theology via the University of Chicago and other graduate schools of theology in the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁴²

Before the coming of the Advent, the pre-millenarians looked for a time of great tribulation which would be its herald. There would be the "wars and rumors of wars" prophesied in Matthew 24:6, including famine, earthquakes, signs in the heavens, and so forth. Some believed that the Antichrist foretold in I John 2:18 and II John 7 would walk the earth, deceiving the world in the name of the Saviour, only to bring it to ruin. He would eventually be doomed at the Second Advent, when Christ would cast him down and

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 14-15.

⁴²Higher criticism finally was brought to America from German Universities in the Gilded Age by classics and divinity students who had gone there for graduate study. One of the most accurate and diverse contemporary sources reflecting the scholarly and theological battles which raged over higher criticism in America was William Rainey Harper's The Hebrew Student (later to become The Old Testament Student, The Old and New Testament Student, and finally the Biblical World through 1920).

inaugurate the millennium as a perfecting process. After that, there would be a resurrection and Last Judgment, with Christ and the saints to be caught up to heaven to perpetual bliss. Millenarian interpretation varied on certain points in this outline, such as whether the earth will be finally destroyed, or whether the "new Heavens, new Earth" prophesied in Revelation 21 and 22 will be literally fulfilled and a human remnant will be saved to repopulate a perfect earth free from the sin of Adam by the ransom sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Some pre-millenarians believed in a literal Hell, and some only in the symbolic abyss of Revelation 9:1, 2.⁴³ But it should be clear that the millenarian believed that the Second Advent in its literal, cataclysmic form was central to the whole divine scheme for human redemption, and that only when the coming Kingdom was understood in a literal sense would the age-old cosmic dualism of good and evil be resolved. The millenarian interpretation held no room for the post-millennial and Augustinian interpretations of Advent and Kingdom favored by the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches and by the major Protestant denominations.

Above all, millenarians, both ancient and modern, were absorbed in the revealed (apocalyptic) and catastrophic nature of Christ's Second Advent. Once this fact is understood,

⁴³McEwen, "Factors," p. 40.

millenarian behavior becomes the logical extension of these beliefs. Charges by normative Christian theologians that the millenarian Weltanschauung is essentially pessimistic are undercut if the emphasis is shifted to the age to come; salvation cannot lie within an earthly, post-millennial, or progressive purview in the eyes of those holding an eschatological hope such as the literal Advent.⁴⁴

Similarly, imminent belief engenders a sense of urgency and millenarians have felt duty-bound to convert others to their hope. Often this has resulted in marked hostility on the part of the major churches toward millenarian sects, since their members have been major targets of millenarian proselytization.⁴⁵ Imminence has meant that the individual must be ever-vigilant for the Lord's return. Millenarians learned through the bitter disillusionment of the Millerites that precise apocalyptic predictions, if unfulfilled, lead to discredit in the eyes of the world. The Advent is no measurable moment away--when the signs of the times become obvious to all, it will be too late to repent.

⁴⁴Almost every non-millenarian scholarly source makes this charge. Millenarian sources claim they are actually optimistic, since the apocalyptic hope of the Second Advent is open to all. Cf. Case, Millennial Hope, pp. 206-220, with Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 178-180.

⁴⁵McEwen, "Factors," pp. 54-56.

C. The Millerites

Though a strong pre-millennial movement had begun in England as early as 1822,⁴⁶ the first American group to center its belief entirely on the Second Advent and following millennium was the Millerites.⁴⁷ William Miller was born in 1782 in Massachusetts, the son of a Revolutionary

⁴⁶Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 14-17. The movement on the continent was much weaker. Outstanding was the Swiss theologian Bengel, who in 1740 came to the conclusion that the Advent would occur in 1836. Two outstanding Roman Catholic pre-millenarians were the Jesuit priest, Manuel Lacunza, and the Dominican Pere Lambert. Lacunza, born in 1731 to a wealthy colonial family in Santiago, spent his early years studying philosophy and theology, taught Latin, and later studied astronomy and geometry. In 1767 all Jesuits were expelled from Chile by order of Charles III of Spain, and Lacunza retired to central Italy to write and study on a meager pension. Study of the prophetic scriptures led him to write La Venida del Mesias en Gloria y Magestad in about the year 1771. Fearing the prohibition of the Index, Lacunza circulated his hand-written manuscript and soon several imperfect copies were widely read in Europe and the New World colonies. It was finally published in Cadiz in 1812 and officially placed on the Index in 1825. Lacunza had come to the startling conclusions that the harlot riding the beast foretold in Revelation 17 was papal Rome, and the two-horned beast the apostate priesthood. Lambert in his Exposition des predictions et des Promesses faites a l'Eglise pour les derniers temps de la Gentilite came to similar conclusions, though not to so wide an audience.

⁴⁷Though pre-millennialism is largely a Protestant movement, one of its outstanding features is its willingness to accept pre-millennial opinion of a widely varying nature. Thus, Jewish and Roman Catholic sources, as well as commentators within established Protestant denominations were cited. Sects such as the Millerites, Seventh-Day Adventists, and the early Jehovah's Witnesses pointed with pride to expositors such as Joachim of Flora (thirteenth century), Lacunza, and sources from hellenistic and medieval Judaism. Cf. Fromm, Prophetic Faith, pp. 744-745.

War veteran. He grew up in Vermont with little formal schooling, but read as widely as circumstances permitted, using the library of the local physician. As a young adult, Miller drifted into Jeffersonian democracy and Deism. After army service in the War of 1812 and soon after attending a local revival, he experienced a religious "conversion" and joined the Calvinist Baptist Church.⁴⁸ He began to study the numerological passages in Daniel, using the so-called "year-day theory"⁴⁹ to determine the exact year of the Second Advent according to Daniel 8:13-14.

13 Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?

14 And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days, then shall the sanctuary be cleansed. (King James Version)

Miller calculated the years since Daniel's prophecy, assuming that to have occurred in 457 B.C., to mean that the Advent would come about 1843. Like pre-millenarians before and since, Miller was moved to tell his neighbors and friends of his beliefs, in the hope that they would see the light before the end and be saved. In 1832 he began speaking in a local church and went on to preach at revivals, camp meetings, and

⁴⁸Sylvester Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853), pp. 1-80.

⁴⁹Cf. Numbers 14:34 and Ezekiel 4:6.

in Baptist, Methodist, and Congregational churches in several New England states. In 1840, he began a series of lectures in Massachusetts which led to his association with the Reverend Joshua Himes, a Baptist pastor from Boston. Himes arranged Miller's later speaking engagements and directed the production of thousands of copies of books, pamphlets, and periodicals. This barrage of propaganda and subsequent reaction by local clergy and citizens set the pattern for Adventist movements and their opponents down to the present day.

At the height of the Millerite movement in 1842-1844, estimates of the number of preachers engaged in Adventist doctrine ranged as high as seven hundred and estimates of the number of interested persons ranged as high as one million, with fifty thousand convinced believers.⁵⁰ Miller himself was reluctant to set an exact date for the Advent beyond the year March 21, 1843 to March 21, 1844, inclusive. Unusual events such as the falling stars of November 13, 1833 were taken as the signs of the times foretold in Matthew 24.⁵¹ When the Advent failed to materialize by March of 1844, a follower noted the texts of Habakkuk 2:3 and Leviticus 25:9 which discussed the "tarrying time" of seven months and ten

⁵⁰Froom, Prophetic Faith, Vol. IV, p. 648.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 718.

days setting the new date of the Advent at October 22, 1844.⁵² When this date failed to produce the Advent, wild rumors were spread, even finding their way into the scholarly literature, that there were a great many suicides, murders, instances of religious frenzy and insanity. These rumors and the alleged use of so-called "ascension robes" have been largely discredited by recent scholarship.⁵³

William Miller was read out of the Baptist Church and most of his followers returned to their previous denominations. A few re-formed into small sects loosely associated by 1845 and from which were descended the Adventist Christian Church and the Seventh-Day Adventists. By this time, there were a few small sects such as the Shakers (Millennial Church or United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing)⁵⁴ and the Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints)⁵⁵

⁵²Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 196.

⁵³Cf. Brown, "Watchers for the Second Coming," pp. 451-458, with Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1944), pp. 76-78, and Clara Endicott Sears, Days of Delusion (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), last two chapters.

⁵⁴Stow Persons, "Christian Communitarianism in America," in Socialism and American Life, Vol. I, ed. by Drew Egbert and Stow Persons (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 38.

⁵⁵Herbert Hewitt Stroup, The Jehovah's Witnesses (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 1.

featuring variations of pre-millennial beliefs already outlined. Nevertheless, many Christians holding pre-millennial views remained within the larger churches. It was from this group that millenarian sects made most of their converts. The fragmented pre-millenarians did not reorganize until the New York Prophetic Conference of 1878.⁵⁶

By the 1840's, however, British millenarians led by James Darby had come to America bringing more sophisticated methods of chronological interpretation which included various elaborations on the dispensational technique. Darby considered denominations irrelevant, and made converts among old Millerites as well as from the evangelical denominations. In this regard he resembled revivalists such as Charles Grandison Finney and Dwight L. Moody. That he also made converts from the ranks of established denominations made him unpopular with many orthodox ministers.⁵⁷

D. The Cultural Watershed of American Religious History

Within the next few decades, the major churches as well as pre-millenarian sects had a whole new set of problems

⁵⁶Froom, Prophetic Faith, Vol. IV, p. 1179.

⁵⁷Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 60-79.

thrust upon them by the Civil War and its aftermath. They found themselves split geographically as well as denominationally.⁵⁸ The covenant of the Union was not merely a contract between states, or between the people and their government, but a symbol of American unity of spirit and purpose. It embodied not only the principles of the Declaration of Independence, but of the earlier covenant concluded with God by the New England Puritans as a special errand for the New World.

Clergymen on both the Northern and Southern sides during the Civil War assured their congregations that they were doing God's will. In 1863, President Lincoln told one of them, ". . . I know the Lord is always on the side of the right. But it is my constant anxiety and prayer that I and this nation should be on the Lord's side."⁵⁹ As Lincoln had pointed out two years earlier, one or both sides of the conflict had to be wrong; as the war dragged on, he inclined to the latter position. The whole nation had lost sight of its purpose, and the Civil War was a symptom, not the cause:

May we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil war, which now desolates the land, may be but a punishment, inflicted upon us, for our

⁵⁸Paul Allen Carter, The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), p. 179.

⁵⁹William J. Wolf, Lincoln's Religion (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970), p. 128. Quoted from Carpenter, Six Months at the White House, pp. 117-118.

presumptuous sins, to the needful end of our national reformation as a whole people?⁶⁰

Under Reconstruction politics and laissez-faire industrialism, however, national reformation never took place. American cities grew increasingly grimy and American farms decreasingly profitable. Men and society seemed to be further than ever from the divine image.⁶¹

Several developments, occurring almost simultaneously, combined to render Gilded Age Protestantism less than effective in dealing with contemporary cultural and spiritual problems. Industrialization, applied technology, popular education, and the inroads of higher criticism and evolutionary theory acted to promote secularization and social unrest within society and to undermine the prestige of American religious leadership.⁶²

Before the Civil War, clergymen had provided much of America's intellectual and cultural leadership.⁶³ In order to insure a supply of clergymen, western denominations established numerous church colleges and academies. By 1850 there were six thousand academies under church auspices. By

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 163.

⁶¹Arthur Schneider, A History of American Philosophy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), pp. 189-199.

⁶²Stewart Grant Cole, The History of Fundamentalism (Hainden: Archon Books, 1931), pp. 16-21.

⁶³Carter, Spiritual Crisis, p. 7.

1860, only seventeen out of 147 colleges were state institutions.⁶⁴

Henry F. May has called the 1860's and 1870's a summit of complacency for Protestantism but, in fact, America's intellectual leadership began to turn away from religion for spiritual inspiration. The inerrancy of Scripture was being discredited among Biblical scholars in the 1870's.⁶⁵ Except for a few popular speakers, clergymen were losing their traditional positions of prestige and leadership in America.⁶⁶

The same sort of rationalization was used after Darwin's theory of evolution became widely accepted in advanced theological circles and among educated Christian

⁶⁴Cole, History of Fundamentalism, p. 6.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 21.

⁶⁶Littell, From State Church to Pluralism, p. 74. An outstanding exception to this was the clergy of the Black churches. Most philosophically inclined theologians had admitted the impossibility of ontological arguments, for the existence of God (outside the primary religious experience) since the publication of David Hume's Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding in the middle of the eighteenth century. That is to say, they concluded that the laborious attempt of men like William Paley (in his Natural Theology), to supply indirect proof of the existence of God through recourse to variations of the "watchmaker" theory did not constitute proof at all. According to the watchmaker hypothesis, God set the universal laws in motion after creating the primary substances, bodies, and species. He then left it alone, except possibly for minor repairs and adjustments.

laymen. Evolution was God's method of creating the various plants and animals according to plan, or so apologists like the American John Fiske tried to show.⁶⁷

Men like Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner⁶⁸ provided intellectual justification for what was happening to the urban proletariat in the Gilded Age. Parting company with philosophy, religion became "unenlightened" in the words of Arthur Schneider.⁶⁹

Religious America attempted to answer these challenges in diverse and often conflicting ways. Social Darwinism won many converts, since American society seemed to reflect the contention that only the fittest survived. Under the leadership of Walter Rauschenbush and others, the social concern of many clergy and lay persons was reflected in the Social Gospel.⁷⁰

A significant number of Americans tried to rejuvenate a sense of national unity through religious revival. Charles Grandison Finney and other revivalists and church leaders concerned themselves with this world rather than the next. Rather than perfecting individuals, they hoped to regulate

⁶⁷Bert James Lowenberg, "Darwinism Comes to America, 1859-1900," in Facet Books Historical Series 13 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), p. 20.

⁶⁸William Graham Sumner, What Social Classes Owe to Each Other (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1966), 1st ed., 1884).

⁶⁹Schneider, History of American Philosophy, p. 225.

⁷⁰Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, Rev. Ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), pp. 105-110.

the "commerce and the politics of the world."⁷¹ Their techniques were essentially those of the pre-war evangelicals, but applied to the problems of post-war urbanism.⁷²

American society and her leadership became increasingly concerned with material values. Businessmen like John D. Rockefeller piously endowed churches with large sums won at the expense of urban labor. In the decades following the Civil War, public ceremony and symbolism increasingly took precedence over individual religious conviction with regard to community status and identity.⁷³

Most Gilded Age Millenarians rejected material expansion as well as social reform. During this period, millenarian thought affected most major denominations to some degree. It attracted conservatives who recognized the impotence of normative Protestantism as well as evangelicals who longed for individual religious commitment apart from civil obligation. This alliance served common cause against the forces of scientific Darwinism and religious higher criticism. Out of it grew much of what is today known as

⁷¹Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949), pp. 15-23.

⁷²William G. McLoughlin, The American Evangelicals (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1968), pp. 171-185.

⁷³George A. Coe, "Recent Census of Religious Bodies," American Journal of Sociology, XV (May, 1910), pp. 813-815.

Fundamentalism.⁷⁴ Just as what would eventually become the Fundamentalist movement had absorbed many of their more conservative brethren, most independent millenarians shared some Fundamentalist beliefs such as the inerrancy of scripture and distrust of evolution and higher criticism. Nevertheless, neither millenarians nor Fundamentalists were able to control a single major denomination.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. xiv-xv, 94, 162, 188-207. The common notion that Fundamentalism and millenarianism are interchangeable is false. Confusion has arisen over a series of points or articles written at the Niagara Bible Conference of 1878 and at other conferences held throughout the Gilded Age. Later conferences held by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1910, 1916, and 1923 published similar but different points. In addition, a series of influential pamphlets called The Fundamentals were published between 1910 and 1915 by two concerned laymen and had no formal connection with any of the conference creeds.

⁷⁵Arnold, The Chicago School, pp. 63-64.

CHAPTER IV

THE BIBLE STUDENTS: CHARLES TAZE RUSSELL

The majority of post-Civil War millenarians remained in established denominations,¹ joined in the formation of revivals and Bible institutes with conservative or Fundamentalist Protestants,² or turned to modern theology and higher criticism. However, there remained several small groups of millenarians who refused to share their central eschatological hopes with normative Protestant dogma.

It was through one of these groups that Charles Taze Russell became acquainted with millenarian views. Sometime between 1868 and 1870, the youthful Russell attended meetings of a Millerite Adventist group in his home town of Allegheny, Pennsylvania.³ His parents were Presbyterians,

¹McEwen, "Factors," pp. 8-15.

²The majority of the Bible institutes were started by conservative Baptists, Presbyterians, millenarians, and others who were interested in intensive Bible study away from the modernism of the theological seminaries. Perhaps the most famous of these institutes was the Moody Bible Institute named after evangelist Dwight L. Moody.

³Stroup, Jehovah's Witnesses, p. 6. There is considerable variation in even the best sources over exactly when Russell first encountered millenarian views. Stroup's Jehovah's Witnesses, p. 18, dates it between 1868 and 1872;

but Russell as a young boy had decided to join the Congregational Church.⁴ At the age of fifteen, he had a classic encounter with an "infidel" whom he tried to win for the church, but whose questions about the doctrines of predestination and eternal torment Russell could not resolve with his own vision of a God of love.⁵

As a result, Russell also flirted with infidelity for a time, going from church to church and finally even to pagan religions, in a vain effort to find answers within the established creeds. At length he resolved to make a systematic study of the Bible "without reference to the creeds of men."⁶ Soon he began his own study group which eventually concluded that the parent Advent group was in error in predicting Christ's Second Advent and the complete destruction of the

William Cumberland's "A History of the Jehovah's Witnesses," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1958), p. 91, places it in 1868 but gives no reference for the date; and the Witnesses' own Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose (New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society; International Bible Students Association, 1959), p. 14, indicates it was between 1868 and 1870. Russell would have been between sixteen and eighteen years old then.

⁴Anonymous, Jehovah's Witnesses (Brooklyn: The Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, 1966), p. 5.

⁵Milton Stacey Czatt, The International Bible Students, Jehovah's Witnesses, in Yale Studies in Religion No. 4 (Scottsdale: Mennonite Press, 1933), p. 5.

⁶Anonymous, "Biography of Pastor Russell," in Charles Taze Russell, The Plan of the Ages, Vol. I of Studies in the Scriptures (7 vols., Brooklyn: International Bible Students Association, 1886-1917, 1925 reprint), pp. 84-94.

earth by 1873 or 1874.⁷ In order to demonstrate this error, Russell published a pamphlet called "The Object and Manner of the Lord's Return" in 1874. As a movement leader, Russell possessed three things most millenarians carried in short supply: money, time and (on occasion) a lucid writing style. This latter resulted in a deluge of publications from 1874 until Russell's death in 1916.⁸ He gave up his interest in his father's lucrative chain of clothing stores to devote full time to the study and dissemination of the truth he felt his Biblical exegesis had revealed.

Like many millenarians, Russell never claimed to be a founder of a new religion. He felt that stripped of the dogma of the churches, the Bible's message to modern man was the same as that of the primitive Christian church: Christ's Second Advent and the establishment by him of God's Kingdom through the millennium. In later life, Russell acknowledged his debt to the Millerite Adventists and to other denominations for re-establishing his faith in God and

⁷The Witnesses' official history acknowledges their debt to the early millenarian movements. They regard Abel, whom Cain slew in the Garden of Eden, as the first witness, citing Hebrews 11:4. They claim all who witnessed to (i.e., discussed as realities) Jehovah and the coming Advent as predecessors of the modern Witnesses. The Watchtower Bible and Tract Society is considered the legal representative and publication center for modern witnessing. Ibid., pp. 8-12.

⁸Ibid., p. 23. Czatt's International Bible Students, p. 5, gives a different date for Russell's first publication, but his bibliography is incomplete.

in the Scriptures. Some scholars have noted that elements of his theology were drawn from the Shakers, the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Campbellites (Disciples of Christ) and the Mormons.⁹

The most systematic presentation of Russell's theology is contained in the seven volume series published from 1886 to 1917, Studies in the Scriptures. His main concerns were the Second Advent of Christ, the establishment on earth of the millennium, and the final coming of the Kingdom of God to earth as revealed in the prophetic chronology of Ezekiel, Daniel, Revelation, and other apocalyptic passages of the Protestant canon. Russell's exegesis went beyond that of his predecessors to embrace the most minute theological details.

Russell's chronological exegesis yielded a new set of dates for the Second Advent. He understood Christ's presence to mean a spiritual rather than a physical gathering of followers for the great battle of Armageddon, as prophesied in Revelation 16:

14 For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.
.....

⁹George Shepperson, "The Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," in Millennial Dreams, ed. by Sylvia Thrupp, pp. 50-51.

16 And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon.
(King James Version)

Russell felt it was his duty as a follower of Christ to help gather the elect of 144,000 foretold in Revelation 14:1. The year 1874, he believed, marked the beginning of the "harvest work" directed by Christ's invisible spiritual presence rather than literal Advent, as the Second Adventist group had believed.¹⁰ The world-wide war of Armageddon prophesied in Revelation 16 would commence in 1914 and would destroy the old worldly system of things but not the earth itself,¹¹ as many Fundamentalists believed. Russell felt it his duty to spread this warning message to all who would listen. None of the local clergy would do this, so eventually Russell decided to finance the failing millenarian journal, The Herald of the Morning, in 1876.¹²

¹⁰Plan of the Ages, pp. 235-236.

¹¹Thy Kingdom Come, Vol. III of Studies in the Scriptures, pp. 84-94. Russell arrived at this date as a result of applying the year-day theory to the "time, and times, and half a time" of Revelation 12:2, 3, 6, 14. There, three and one-half times equal 1,260 days and combined with the prophecy of Daniel 4:31, 32, 16 which mention the time of the nations to be seven times, gives the figure 2,520 years. Counting from the Babylonian captivity of the Jews in 607 B.C., yields the date of October, 1914.

¹²The original editor of the Herald held views concerning the Advent similar to Russell's own. Russell contributed most of the financial support, but after two years of partnership, fell out with Nelson H. Barbour, the editor, over the doctrine of the atonement. For an extensive treatment of Russell's business difficulties, see

In July, 1878, after withdrawing from partnership in the Herald and after his rejection by the clergy of Allegheny and Pittsburg, Russell decided to begin publishing his own Advent journal, Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence. It was the beginning of the ubiquitous Watchtower magazine which continues to the present day.¹³ In the pages of The Watch Tower and in other publications such as the Studies in the Scriptures, Russell and his followers¹⁴ gradually developed most of the themes which brought them in conflict, first with ecclesiastical authorities,

Cumberland's dissertation mentioned above, "A History of the Jehovah's Witnesses." Russell first published his understanding of the 1914 date for Armageddon in 1877 with the publication of the book Three Worlds or Plan of Redemption.

¹³For the sake of brevity, this journal will be referred to as The Watch Tower. At about this same time, some of the followers of Nelson Barbour, the editor of the Herald, fell away from millenarianism when the literal Advent they had predicted for this time failed to appear. Russell's assurance that Christ's presence had been with them all along, as evidenced by their increasing study and dissemination of apocalyptic concerns, did not reassure some who left the movement permanently. A.H. Macmillan, Faith on the March (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), pp. 26-29.

¹⁴One of Russell's followers was his wife, Maria Ackley, whom he married in 1879. She insisted on helping edit and publish The Watch Tower and often answered letters sent in by readers on theological points. Disagreement over editorial policy was one of the factors which led to their eventual separation. Alternate charges of sexual license and celibacy made it impossible to resolve the dispute. Russell attributed his wife's behavior to the feminist movement. Cumberland, History of Jehovah's Witnesses, pp. 17-18, 51-54.

and eventually with the federal government. Their emphasis on the pre-millennial Advent, on the personality of Jehovah rather than the Godhead of the Trinity,¹⁵ their insistence on the mortality of the human soul,¹⁶ their rejection of the doctrine of eternal torment, and their Zionist leanings¹⁷

¹⁵"All these various Scriptures [I Peter 3:22, Hebrews 12:2] . . . neither indicate that the Lord Jesus was the Father, nor that he has been exalted to take the Father's place upon the heavenly throne, or in the affection and worship of his intelligent creatures. On the contrary, they expressly show the Heavenly Father as the superior in honor and power." Russell, The Atonement Between God and Man, 1899, Vol. 5 of Studies in the Scriptures.

¹⁶Russell cited John 4:14, I Timothy 6:12, 19 and other passages to support his view that the gift of everlasting life would be given the elect and the resurrected, but that none had an immortal soul. This was another reason that a hell of eternal torment, in Russell's view, was logically impossible. "The Scriptural teaching, on the contrary, as we have already shown, declares that this great and inestimably precious gift (Life-Everlasting) will be bestowed upon those only who believe and obey the Redeemer and Life-giver." In his early publications, there was some confusion over whether the 144,000 elect would actually receive immortality. Cf. The Watch Tower, April, 1880, p. 92.

¹⁷In 1910, Russell toured Russia and Palestine and spoke to assemblies of Jews there as well as in New York City. His emphasis on the name and personality of Jehovah, his use of Old Testament prophecies on an equal footing with the New Testament, and his spirited denunciation of pogroms which swept Europe before the First World War, all combined to make him extremely popular with Jewish audiences and able to make an unusually high number of Jewish converts. Above all, like many pre-millenarians, he believed that the return of the Jews to their homeland would mark one of the signs of the last days. The Balfour Declaration of November, 1917, confirmed the Bible Students in their belief in the vision of Russell, who had died over a year before. Cf. Watch Tower, January 1, 1916 with Russell's Divine Plan of the Ages, 1886, pp. 288-300, and The Watch Tower of March 15, 1918.

all found disfavor among leaders of normative American Christianity.¹⁸ Moreover, like millenarians of previous eras, most of their converts came from within the major churches.

Russell's publications contained large quantities of realistic technical description of historical events juxtaposed with his particular interpretation of their scriptural significance.¹⁹ In 1881, Russell organized the Watch Tower Tract Society. Three years later it was incorporated as Zion's Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.²⁰ Russell's followers by this time collected themselves into semi-independent congregations or "ecclesias" which looked more or less to Russell's society and publications for guidance. In 1881, Russell issued a call to preach and disseminate literature on the Advent not only to professional colporteurs,²¹ but also to all his readers who considered

¹⁸E. J. Axup, The "Jehovah Witnesses" Unmasked (New York: Greenwich Book Publishers, 1959). For example, the Rev. Axup equates disbelief in a literal Hell with atheism.

¹⁹Werner Cohn, "Jehovah's Witnesses as a Proletarian Sect" (unpublished Master's thesis, New School for Social Research, 1954), p. 5. This historian of the movement has cited this as a characteristic of proletarian fanaticism, of which he considers the Witnesses an unusually pure example.

²⁰Cumberland, "A History of the Jehovah's Witnesses," p. 29.

²¹The colporteurs were the forerunners of today's Witness Pioneers.

themselves anointed of Christ.²² Russell himself was finally baptized in 1893, but did not appear to attach much importance to it.²³

The Bible Students' publications clearly reflected their teleological view of reality. The typical millenarian dispensational technique represented history as a kind of line marked off into eras. Above that line which represents human history, there extends a line representing the divine presence. It touches human history briefly, for its own purpose, and then returns to its own level. Since the apocalyptist has always understood the Advent as imminent, the "gentile times" or the times allotted to the nations for oppressing God's elect were always represented as ending within the present and the millennium as just around the corner. (See Appendix A).

While most conservative ministers were busy trying to refute higher criticism and modernism in colleges and seminaries, Russell and his followers were denouncing the clergy.²⁴ Their favorite target was Roman Catholicism,

²²The Watch Tower, July-August, 1881, pp. 1-2.

²³Royston Pike, Jehovah's Witnesses (Great Britain: Philosophical Library, 1954), pp. 113-115.

²⁴Russell was no friend of evolution or of higher criticism, but he viewed them as minor symptoms of a greater malais: the rejection of Scripture in general and of apocalyptic passages in particular. Cf. The New Creation, Vol. VI of Studies in the Scriptures, 1904, pp. 17-58, and The Watch Tower of February 15, 1907.

but they felt most Protestant denominations were very nearly as corrupt. The worst crime of the churches was their alliance with worldly political powers, prophesied in Revelation as the harlot riding the symbolic beasts.²⁵

Russell and other millenarian religious leaders²⁶ were among the few to denounce social and political evils early in the Gilded Age. In spite of bloody strikes, panics, recession, rapid and unplanned urbanization, economic exploitation and speculation, and corruption in government, American Protestantism maintained an almost united front in favor of the status quo.²⁷

Russell saw these events as "signs of the times" and confirmation of the imminent Advent:

The aspect of affairs in the world for the past fifteen years very strikingly corresponds with this symbol, in the outbursts of world-wide encouragement for all men to wake up to a sense of their rights and privileges as men . . . systems of error, civil, social, and religious, must go down, however old or firmly entrenched and fortified they may be.²⁸

He attributed the economic and social woes of the late nineteenth century to the religious and political establishments:

²⁵"The Man of Sin," or Antichrist, Russell interpreted as the apostate clergy of all denominations. This is similar to the interpretation of Lacunza and other millenarians. Cf. fn. 1, p. 26 supra, The Time is at Hand, Vol. II of Studies in the Scriptures, 1891, p. 272.

²⁶Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 148.

²⁷Henry F. May, Protestant Churches, passim.

²⁸Russell, The Time is at Hand, pp. 146-147.

In fact, the tendency with many is to conclude that Christianity itself is an imposition without foundation, and that, leagued with civil rulers, its aim is merely to hold in check the liberties of the masses.²⁹ (2)

Russell also believed some capitalistic interests used organized religion to suppress the poor:

Christendom's social system is also under inspection,--its monetary regulations, its financial schemes and institutions, and, growing out of these, its selfish business policy, and its class-distinctions based mainly on wealth, with all that this implies of injustice and suffering to the masses of men,--these are as severely handled in the judgment of this hour as the civil institutions. Witness the endless discussions on the silver question, and the gold standard, and the interminable disputings between labor and capital. Like surging waves of the sea under a rising wind, sound the concerted mutterings of innumerable voices against the present social system, particularly in so far as it is seen to be inconsistent with the moral code contained in the Bible, which Christendom, in a general way, claims to recognize and follow.³⁰

He cited James 5:3, 5 to substantiate his belief that large accumulations of wealth, and a disparity between the rich and the poor, would mark the last days before the Battle of Armageddon. After quoting a chapter of statistics on the number of very rich in the United States, Russell warned:

However it may be explained to the poor that the wealthy never were so charitable as now, that society has more ample provision now than ever

²⁹Russell, The Divine Plan, p. 271.

³⁰Russell, The Battle of Armageddon, 1897, Vol. 4 of Studies in the Scriptures, pp. 96-97.

before for the poor, the blind, the sick and the helpless, and that immense revenues are raised annually by taxation, for the maintenance of these benefactions, this will surely not satisfy the workingman.³¹

Although sympathetic to the struggle of the masses, Russell also deplored the anarchy inherent in rejection of even the present corrupt civil government:

Nevertheless, to-day sees a growing opposition between the wealthy and laboring classes--a growing bitterness on the part of labor, and a growing feeling among the wealthy that nothing but the strong arm of the law will protect what they believe to be their rights. Hence, the wealthy are drawn closer to the governments: and the wageworking masses, beginning to think that laws and governments were designed to aid the wealthy and to restrain the poor, are drawn toward Communism and Anarchy, thinking that their interests would best be served thereby, and not realizing that the worst government, and the most expensive, is vastly better than no government at all.³²

Besides a rather hazy understanding of the nature of Communism and anarchy, this and similar statements by Russell show remarkably little alarm over the threat of atheism implied by Communism even though this was a concern which seemed to exercise many of his political and religious contemporaries. Russell even praised the atheist Robert Ingersoll for

³¹Ibid., p. 292. It should be noted that while Russell spent most of his personal fortune in the publishing of his religious views, and he did not practice personal ostentation, he did travel extensively in first-class accommodations and his organization eventually bought the old Henry Ward Beecher Mansion in Brooklyn as a headquarters.

³²Russell, The Divine Plan, p. 312.

spreading skepticism among the membership of the major denominations.³³ In his eyes, there were good men in all classes, countries, and denominations, but they were outnumbered by the greedy and corrupt. Clearly, he opposed any organization, religious or political, which promised to solve human problems outside the divine teleology. Since the old system of things was dominated by Satan, reform movements were doomed to failure as surely as were the evil plans of the wicked. In a long chapter titled "Proposed Remedies--Social and Financial," Russell outlined contemporary solutions, including prohibition, female suffrage, free silver, the protective tariff, Communism, Anarchism, Socialism, Nationalism, vocational education, and even Henry George's ideas about free land and the single tax. However visionary his personal solution of the millennium may be, it was evident that Russell was acquainted with the social, economic, and political issues of his day.³⁴

Perhaps Russell's most telling criticism of American values was his denunciation of the forces of nationalism and expansionism. Russell was one of the few religious spokesmen to speak out against the consequences of American foreign

³³The Watch Tower, January, 1881, p. 183.

³⁴Russell, The Battle of Armageddon, pp. 469-526.

policy, as influenced by religious and capitalistic interests, as early as 1880.³⁵ (See Appendix B.) An exception to this was his stand on the Spanish-American War. His ambivalence was probably due to his belief that the sway of Roman Catholicism in Central and South America could be broken along with Spanish rule.³⁶ It was not so much cold dollars-and-cents greed that outraged Russell, but the veneer of righteousness, of "religious idealism and the exercise of naked power,"³⁷ first characterized in books like Josiah Strong's Our Country. It began with legitimate concern over the continental frontiers, and eventually became typical of American foreign policy since the 1890's.³⁸

However, Russell's primary preoccupation with politics was domestic governmental collusion with ecclesiastical authorities, or as he put it, the forces of "Christendom." This collusion was just one more "sign of the times." Russell's conclusions on this point must have been somewhat confusing to his readers, for much of his denunciation concerned previous examples throughout

³⁵The Watch Tower, December 1880, p. 166.

³⁶Royston Pike, Jehovah's Witnesses, pp. 81-95.

³⁷E. M. Winslow, The Pattern of Imperialism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 12.

³⁸William Appleman Williams, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1959), pp. 15-16.

history rather than concentrating on the present situation. His favorite target, once again, was the history of the Roman Catholic Church on the continents of Europe and South America.³⁹

Russell felt that there was no hope for the old system of things. Efforts to evade this fate by officially Christianizing the nation were doomed to failure:

Under this deception, some are at present very solicitous that the name of God should be incorporated into the Constitution We have great sympathy with this sentiment, but not with the conclusion, that if God's name were mentioned in the Constitution, that fact would transform this government from a kingdom of this world to a kingdom of Christ, and give them liberty to vote and to hold office under it.⁴⁰

The so-called "Christian Constitution Movement" was begun in the nineteenth century by conservative Presbyterians and others. It cited English (and hence, American) Common Law, the Declaration of Independence, and other documents and court decisions (e.g., the Ruggles Case of 1811 in which a man was convicted for publicly reviling Scripture) to show that the failure to put God into the American Constitution was merely an oversight.⁴¹

³⁹Russell, The Divine Plan, pp. 245-306.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 270.

⁴¹Anson Phelps Stokes, Church and State in the United States, Vol. III (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), pp. 580-610.

Russell believed that a lukewarm ecumenicism, as represented by the International Sunday School Lessons, to be equally ineffective. Attempts at inter-church federation would certainly prove futile. In sum, Russell was dedicated to the ideal of a non-denominational, apostolic Christianity:

These earthly, humanly organized systems, so different from the simple, unfettered associations of the days of the apostles, are viewed involuntarily and almost unconsciously by Christian people as so many Heaven Insurance Companies⁴²

Before his death in 1916, Russell was able to place several million copies of his publications in the hands of the public through his legal corporation and by means of the aggressive proselytization so familiar today. Regular guidance was provided through the pages of the bimonthly Watch Tower and other publications in which letters from readers were answered and articles were written by members of the society's hierarchy.⁴³

The first Bible Student convention was held in 1893 and proved one of the Students' most effective means of spiritual unity. Russell's obituary in The New York Times

⁴²Russell, Thy Kingdom Come, p. 186.

⁴³The Watch Tower society hierarchy began officially in 1884 with Russell as president, and a board of seven directors. Any person who contributed to the society was entitled to one vote for every ten dollars contribution. Russell had the controlling vote, claiming to be willing to step down if anyone else mustered enough votes. Cumberland, History, pp. 29-30.

stated that he had given over 30,000 sermons at these conventions and other gatherings during his lifetime.⁴⁴

The last twenty years of Russell's life included a modest amount of fame as a chiliastic reformer, as well as a number of scandalous rumors concerning his personal life and financial dealings.⁴⁵ According to The New York Times, out of a personal fortune of several hundred thousand dollars, Russell died with about two hundred dollars in his bank account.⁴⁶ One of his favorite points against the establishment clergy concerned tithes and collections.⁴⁷

⁴⁴The New York Times, December 1, 1916, p. 11.

⁴⁵Charles Samuel Braden, These Also Believe (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1957), p. 368, states that none of the charges against him could be proved, and that the charges were brought by people known to be religiously hostile to Russell's beliefs and publications. Perhaps the most complete and disinterested research into these scandals can be found in Cumberland's, "A History of Jehovah's Witnesses," pp. 46-90. However, even he is inconsistent on some points. For example, on p. 52 he maintains Russell's wife filed for separation in 1906 but on page 101 speaks of "Russell's divorce in 1906." Stroup's, The Jehovah's Witnesses supports the latter assertion. According to Russell's successor, J. F. Rutherford, Russell and his wife were never divorced.

⁴⁶The New York Times, April 23, 1915, p. 3, and April 29, 1918, p. 6.

⁴⁷According to J. F. Rutherford's account of these years in "A Great Battle in the Ecclesiastical Heavens," (New York City: J. F. Rutherford, 1915), p. 10, it was Russell's "Seats free-No Collection" policy which offended the clergy of the normative denominations even more than Russell's peculiar theology. In a Watch Tower article of October, 1880, p. 152, Russell offered it free to all who couldn't afford the 50¢/year subscription.

On at least one occasion, he was turned away from a public park while distributing free religious literature.⁴⁸

⁴⁸The New York Times, June 30, 1914, p. 4.

CHAPTER V

THE BIBLE STUDENTS AND WORLD WAR I

In spite of Russell's death, his organization grew steadily. The outbreak of World War I seemed to many Bible Students as well as some outsiders to be the fulfillment of his earlier warnings.¹ As early as 1879 he had pointed to 1914 as the beginning of the end for the old world. Russell saw the World War merely as a prelude to the Battle of Armageddon, and hence refused to pray for peace along with so many of the clergy of the major churches.² In October, 1914 he said, "The war will proceed and will eventuate in no glorious victory for any nation, but in the horrible mutilation and impoverishment of all."³ Since 1879 he had predicted the war would be followed by terrible famine and by wide-spread socialism, repression, and armament:

¹The New York World Sunday Magazine, August 30, 1914, pp. 4, 17.

²Ibid., October 5, 1914, p. 8.

³Ibid.

Very many scriptures seem to teach that the Kingdom of earth will be overthrown by a rising of the people: goaded to desperation from lack of employment and seeking relief from the oppression of blood thirsty governments. Such a rising and overturning, Socialists, Communists, and Nihilists of today would gladly bring about if they could. . . . Yet it [Scripture] does not recognize their Communism as right but the contrary rather instructing believers to "obey the powers that be as long as they last"4

Russell denounced the Allies as well as the Kaiser of Germany, and all who claimed God's blessing. After his death, society continued to reserve the most blistering criticism for the clergy of all nations who blessed their countries' war efforts in the name of God.⁵ His apocalyptic predictions drew the wrath of Fundamentalists and of evangelists such as Billy Sunday,⁶ but Russell continued to see the war as a "sign of the times." Since the 1870's, Russell had expected the year 1914 to mark the end of the old world, but neither he nor most Bible Students were dismayed when the world and its war dragged on.⁷ After 1914,

⁴The Watch Tower, September, 1879, p. 26.

⁵The Watch Tower, March 1, 1918, pp. 136, 179, 192, 213, 216, 232. See Appendix E. This is a copy of the cover of this special issue. Note the print in the upper right-hand corner. Apparently, the Bible Students were taking advantage of special postal regulations in force for the benefit of the armed forces. This was especially ironic in light of what would occur later in court when the Bible Students were charged with four counts of violating the Espionage and Sedition Acts. Please refer to the concluding pages of this chapter.

⁶The New York Times, April 23, 1915, p. 8.

⁷As William Cumberland noted in his "A History of

the proselytizing work was intensified and all members of ecclesias were encouraged to participate. As one Bible Student remarked thirty years later, there had been some temporary embarrassment: "Had I realized then what I know now I would not have made that 'last public address' remark at the 1914 Saratoga Springs convention."⁸

Rather than give up their hopes, most Bible Students rationalized that the delay indicated that God had more work left for them to do in the old world before the Advent. When a close associate learned that Russell was ill, the friend was quoted as saying, "Why when you die we all will complacently fold our arms and wait to go to heaven with you." Russell replied, "Brother, if that is your idea, you don't see the issue."⁹ After his death of heart disease in 1916, Russell's society was able to continue his work without him.

Russell's successor as president of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society was Joseph F. Rutherford. He was one of the few Bible Student converts not previously

Jehovah's Witnesses," p. 82, Russell's writings, especially as reflected in The Watch Tower, showed more uncertainty about the 1914 date as it drew closer.

⁸Macmillan, Faith on the March, p. 53.

⁹Ibid., p. 69.

affiliated with a church. But like most Bible Students and present-day Witnesses, he was first contacted through the house-to-house "service work." Of stern visage and obstreperous personality, Rutherford was often called "Judge" because he had served briefly on a traveling circuit in the state of Missouri.¹⁰ Previously the society's chief legal counsel, he was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1909.¹¹ Russell's will was rather ambiguous as to exactly how the legal corporation governing the society should be run after his death.¹² In the power struggle that ensued between Rutherford and several members of the board of directors, he emerged in full control of the society, its subsidiary corporations, and all publications. About 1,000 ecclesias remained nominally independent, but most still looked to the theocratic society for guidance.¹³

Until the United States entered the World War, The Watch Tower, for the most part, printed articles written by Russell before his death. Rutherford's scriptural exegesis essentially coincided with that of his predecessor, but he

¹⁰Stroup, Jehovah's Witnesses, p. 15.

¹¹Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, pp. 65-66. The New York Times of June 18, 1918, p. 6. gives the date as 1910.

¹²The Watch Tower, December 1, 1916, pp. 358-359.

¹³For a complete discussion of the dissidents' losing battle with Rutherford, which is outside the scope of this paper, see Cumberland's History, pp. 118-154.

was decidedly more blunt regarding its application to worldly affairs: "Whenever Caesar and his laws conflict with the Divine requirements, all true soldiers of the Cross are left no alternative."¹⁴ Some Bible Students refused to accept Rutherford's leadership, and at least seventeen dissident offshoots were created in an effort to preserve what they considered to be the purity of Russell's theology.¹⁵

While the Bible Students were settling internal problems, the United States had entered World War I in April of 1917. During the years 1915 and 1916, there occurred a critical change in the attitude of religious and political leaders, as well as in America's posture vis-à-vis the belligerents. At the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, many political and religious leaders such as William Jennings Bryan and Lyman Abott were either members of peace societies or were definitely espousing a

¹⁴The Watch Tower, July 15, 1916, p. 222, and April 15, 1917, pp. 126-127.

¹⁵Czatt, The International Bible Students, pp. 22-23. There were about 50,000 Bible Students at the time of Russell's death. Rutherford's understated appeal to the ecclesia voters in the pages of The Watch Tower for February 15, 1917, p. 29 was a masterpiece of tact, restraint, and humility unmatched in his later years as president. Splinter groups such as the Stand Fast Movement, the Elijah Voice Society, and others have never achieved the numbers or organizational efficiency which characterized the Bible Students and later Jehovah's Witnesses.

policy of non-involvement.¹⁶ But after the invasion of neutral countries, the loss of American lives and shipping, the unpaid and undersecured loan of \$1,900 million dollars to the Allies, and the public sentiment created by an uninterrupted barrage of British propaganda, the talk of the nation's leaders began to turn to preparedness. Woodrow Wilson, who had committed himself to the Entente before the election of 1916, began to speak of the war cause with a spirit akin to a religious crusade--it was the "war to end all wars."

Prominent among war boosters were the churches and church-related organizations like the YMCA and Knights of Columbus, which often received favored status on military installations for buildings and distribution of literature.¹⁷ Life in the trenches was supposed to produce a glorious new sense of religious revival in the lives of soldiers--whether from fear or piety was not discussed. Within twenty-four hours of the declaration of war, thirty-five religious associations met to engage in war work in cooperation with the government, including mission boards, the Federal Council

¹⁶Ray Abrams, Preachers Present Arms (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1969), pp. 22-25, and William Jennings Bryan in The American Foreign Policy, Ernest R. May, ed., (New York: George Braziller, 1963), pp. 128-137.

¹⁷Stokes, Church and State, Vol. III, pp. 252-264.

of Churches, the YMCA and the American Bible Society. As Ray Abrams put it in 1933:

The churches not only became willing agents for these important tasks, but felt for the most part flattered that the government took them into partnership. The clergy were honored with government positions, writing pamphlets, making speeches over the country . . . positions as chaplains, secret agents¹⁸

Except for a few such as Isaac Haldeman who boosted the World War as a "holy war,"¹⁹ most pre-millenarians opposed American participation in the war, or saw it as a fulfillment of Biblical prophecy.

First Amendment freedoms always seem to be the first to suffer in war time. In the minds of most people, these freedoms are vague and abstract propositions, and thus easy to suppress. War in modern time cannot be carried on without the cooperation of the nation's citizens, and a major tool in securing this cooperation is propaganda, including the dissemination of the official position and the suppression of expressions opposed to it. In the case of war, the driving force behind suppression is in large part nationalism, and there is an intimate connection between nationalism and religion.²⁰ Historically, then, it seems

¹⁸Abrams, Preachers Present Arms, pp. 79-80.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 55-60. .

²⁰Salo Wittmayer Baron, Modern Nationalism & Religion (New York: Harper, 1947), passim.

that religion has played an important role in procuring public support for war efforts.

In fact, there is ample evidence of religious support of American wars before World War I. During the Revolutionary War, New England ministers of the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, German Reformed, Lutheran, Catholic, and even Quaker churches agitated against the British.²¹ In the Mexican War, the Methodists and Baptists especially supported the United States government, since they were western denominations with the greatest stake in the Southwest. Presbyterians of the Old School were glad to see Mexico open to Protestantism.²² During the Civil War, only a small minority outside the so-called "peace churches" such as the Mennonites protested.²³ Religious support of the Spanish-American War, by pious laymen such as Theodore Roosevelt as well as by the churches themselves, has been amply documented.²⁴

Concerning those clergy and religious laymen who did oppose the World War, Abrams tells us:

²¹Abrams, Preachers Present Arms, pp. 4-5.

²²Clayton Sumner Ellsworth, "American Churches and the Mexican War," American Historical Review, XXXV.2 (January, 1940), pp. 301-326.

²³Abrams, Preachers Present Arms, pp. 6-7.

²⁴Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 318-324, Marilyn Blatt Young, Towards a New Past, Barton J. Bernstein, ed. (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 176-201, and Julius W. Pratt, Expansionists of 1898 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936), pp. 279-316.

A search through all the available material from a variety of sources gives a total of fifty-five ministers of the gospel from various denominations and sects arrested for alleged violation of one or more of the espionage and sedition laws. In addition, there were several dozen Russellites, some of whom suffered severe penalties.²⁵

As America entered the war, the pages of The Watch Tower carried more and more letters and articles dealing with the proper Christian posture in time of war, and warned of coming persecution.²⁶ In July of 1917, the society released a publication titled The Finished Mystery. According to its preface, it was based on the notes and rough drafts of Charles Taze Russell, who had hoped to finish it before he died. In fact, The Finished Mystery was completed by Rutherford and his associates and is considerably more apocalyptic in tone and confusing in style than Russell's work.²⁷ It was composed of excerpts from the apocalyptic passages of the Bible, followed by commentary and application to the situations then confronting the Bible Students, possibly to prepare them for the expected persecution. It contained some specific

²⁵Abrams, Preachers Present Arms, p. 213.

²⁶The Watch Tower, August 1, 1917.

²⁷Rutherford was by this time receiving letters from Bible Students dissatisfied with his handling of Russell's position. Rutherford eventually rejected some of Russell's less plausible ideas, such as the notion that the Great Pyramid at Gizeh was a physical representation by God of the dispensational plan for mankind's salvation. Cf. The Divine Plan of the Ages, frontispiece. It was typical of Russell's love of numerology.

references to the World War, condemning the involvement of any Christian nation as rank hypocrisy (see Appendix C).

This lack of patriotism represented in this publication drew attacks from orthodox religious leaders as well as liberal higher critics such as Shirley Jackson Case and Shailer Mathews of the Chicago School.²⁸ Case felt all pre-millennarians were close to treason, but the "Russellites" could only be classed with the Industrial Workers of the World and German agents. In fact, Case accused millenarians in general of desiring a German victory, so that such horror would bring the world closer to the point of crisis and hence to the millennial Advent. It was but a brief step from here for Case to conclude that the German enemy must be aiding the millenarians, since:

He indeed would be a stupid enemy who did not readily perceive that to aid and abet the pre-millennial movement is one of the safest and most subtle forms of activity in which he can engage. Here he is doubly secure. To discover his real motive is extremely difficult, and when suspected he may take refuge behind America's inherent aversion for anything that smacks of religious persecution.²⁹

Case especially feared the inroads pre-millennarians were

²⁸Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 236. Mathews later condemned Case's extreme attitude. He admitted that war itself was unchristian, but maintained that claiming all participation was unchristian was a mistake.

²⁹Shirley Jackson Case, "The Premillennial Menace," Biblical World, LII (July, 1918), p. 19.

making during this period in the major denominations. The 1918 Prophetic Conference held in Philadelphia, descended from the Prophetic Conferences of the late nineteenth century, drew 25,000 people interested in pre-millennial doctrine. The vast amounts of literature distributed by the "Russellites" was, according to Case, draining the economy needlessly, but he rejoiced in the prospect of governmental action against them and hoped it would serve as an example to all pre-millenarians:

Among premillenarians the Russellites have perhaps been the most ready to press their principles to a logical issue. As a result, they, along with their I.W.W. neighbors, have fallen under the ban of the authorities both in Canada and in the United States.

.....

Government interference with the Russellites has had a disturbing effect in other premillennial camps and has called forth declaration of patriotism, even though there has been no abatement of effort to proclaim the early end of the world and its irredeemable wretchedness.³⁰

In February of 1918, the United States Secret Service seized publications at the Watch Tower Society's headquarters in Brooklyn, but brought no charges at that time. A week later in Los Angeles, Rutherford placed the blame for the World War with the established Christian clergy in collusion with worldly rulers:

³⁰Case, "Premillennial Menace," p. 22.

For 1,500 years they have taught the people the satanic doctrine of the divine right of kings to rule. They have mixed politics and religion, church and state; have proved disloyal to their God-given privilege of proclaiming the message of Messiah's kingdom³¹

Three days after Rutherford's lecture was published, the United States Army Intelligence Bureau at Los Angeles took possession of the Bible Students' Los Angeles headquarters.³²

Case was not alone in fearing that millenarians were a threat to normative denominations. According to Ray Abrams and Upton Sinclair, as well as the Bible Students themselves, the religious press and the clergy individually constantly reviled them.³³ During this period, Congress was in the process of amending the Espionage Law for the purpose of suppressing seditious propaganda. Religious pacifism in general and the view of the Bible Students in particular were condemned by the Department of Justice. According to an April, 1918 letter from Special Assistant Attorney General John Lord O'Brien to Senator Overman of North Carolina published in the Congressional Record, the government felt that the expression of such views would result in mutiny in the armed forces:

One of these types may be classed as religious or Christian pacifism: that is, opposition to

³¹Macmillan, Faith on the March, pp. 85-86.

³²Ibid., p. 85.

³³Abrams, Preachers Present Arms, pp. 182-184.

participation in the war on the ground that such is opposed to the tenets of Christianity and the Word of God.

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It would, if permitted to spread, tend to weaken the fighting effectiveness of any nation. . . . The statements made in this propaganda consist generally of quotations from the Bible and interpretations thereof, so that the statements of fact therein contained are generally true or at least can not be shown to be untrue.³⁴

The Attorney General used the Bible Students' publications as an example of the kind of religious propaganda which would be broadcast if Justice Department recommendations were ignored and the proposed liberal France amendment adopted:

One of the most dangerous examples of this sort of propaganda is the book called "The Finished Mystery," a work written in extremely religious language and distributed in enormous numbers. The only effect of it is to lead soldiers to discredit our cause and to inspire a feeling at home of resistance to the draft.

The Kingdom News of Brooklyn prints a petition demanding that restriction on "The Finished Mystery" and similar works should be removed, "so that people may be permitted, without interference or molestation, to buy, sell, have, and read this aid to Bible study." The passage of this amendment (the France amendment) would reopen our camps to this poisonous influence.

The International Bible Students' Association pretends to the most religious motives, yet we have found that its headquarters have

³⁴U. S. Congress, Senate, Letter and Memorandum for insertion, April 24, 1918, Congressional Record, LVI, 5542; May 4, 1918, 6051-6052.

long been reported as the resort of German agents.³⁵

The Bible Students were suspected of trading with the enemy because they had sent some money to the German branch office of the Watch Tower Society, but this was not pursued for lack of evidence.³⁶ An old wireless set given to the society during Russell's presidency was discovered but had obviously not been used in years. As Ray Abrams puts it:

The society with its headquarters in Brooklyn was believed to be financed with German gold if one takes the reports literally. However, Russellite books were as unwelcome in Germany as in the United States.³⁷

The amendment favored by the Department of Justice, on the other hand, would make convictions under the Espionage Act easier. Intent need only be demonstrated by the effect of alleged propaganda, rather than by motive also as the France amendment proposed. An amended Espionage Act was passed with Justice Department recommendation on May 16, 1918. Meanwhile, eight officers of the Watch Tower Society had already been arrested and indicted for "unlawfully and willfully conspiring to cause insubordination, disloyalty, and refusal of duty of the military and naval forces of the

³⁵Ibid., Letter For Insertion, April 24, 1918, 6052-6053.

³⁶The New York Times, May 16, 1918, p. 1.

³⁷Abrams, Preachers Present Arms, p. 182.

United States."³⁸ The trial was set for June 3 in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York. Rutherford and the other officers admitted their opposition to the war, but denied the accusation that they had advised anyone beyond their legal rights under section three of the Selective Draft Act of June 15, 1917. Bible Students in the full time employment of the society were given exemptions as ministers. Thus it did not include those who were in any way secularly employed, no matter how many hours they spent in the proselytizing work.³⁹ A letter to a young man in such a situation, allegedly from Rutherford, was quoted in evidence.

If you feel that you cannot conscientiously have anything to do with the present war then you will refuse and let the officials take their own course. You will probably be confined in prison or shot. If confined in prison it may be the Lord's way of giving you an opportunity to witness If you are shot for the stand you take for the Lord, that will be a quick method of entering His glorious presence.⁴⁰

Of the 450 inductees sent to prison by courtmartial during World War I, twenty-seven were Bible Students. These men found inhumane treatment in prison and few friends outside committees organized by the "peace churches" such as the

³⁸The New York Times, May 9, 1918, p. 22.

³⁹The New York Times, June 7, 1918, p. 13.

⁴⁰Abrams, Preachers Present Arms, pp. 134-136, 140, 185.

Mennonites and the Quakers. Even peace-oriented organizations such as the Carnegie Foundation were afraid to defend these objectors. Charges that the men had been subjected to brutal treatment, such as being chained to the bars of their cells for days, were later substantiated. But in 1918, when the Civil Liberties Bureau (forerunner of the present American Civil Liberties Union) made these charges, the Military Intelligence Bureau of the War Department immediately investigated the CLB and accused them of organized resistance to military service, because they had defended the conscientious objectors.⁴¹

As Assistant Attorney General O'Brien noted in his Senate letter, The Finished Mystery was also cited as evidence of seditious conspiracy. Rutherford claimed that he had submitted the book for censorship to government authorities in Washington, D.C., but they had refused to do so.⁴² The most seditious passages in The Finished Mystery, according to the U.S. Circuit Court, were the Preface, and pages 247-252, 406, 407, and 469. Perhaps the most objectionable passage was this one:

Nowhere in the New Testament is patriotism (a narrowly minded hatred of other peoples) encouraged. Everywhere and always murder in its every form is forbidden. And yet under

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²The New York Times, June 18, 1918, p. 5.

the guise of patriotism civil governments of the earth demand of peace-loving men the sacrifice of themselves and their loved ones and the butchery of their fellows, and hail it as a duty demanded by the laws of heaven.⁴³

Even though the book had been published before the Espionage Law was passed, the government maintained that its continued sale constituted intent and established conspiracy by the men who were responsible for publication.

Rutherford was not the only Bible Student to speak out at the trial. Clayton J. Woodworth, one of the men who helped complete The Finished Mystery, said when questioned by the prosecution regarding his attitude toward the World War:

I still believe it is a discredit for a minister to wear the uniform of the army . . . it is my belief that the ministers of the gospel in the aggregate are the greatest crowd of hypocrites that ever existed.

War was wrong for Christians but he had no objection to "sinners" being called into service and losing their lives for their country.⁴⁴ In addition, Giovanni De Cecca was tried separately from the other seven Bible Students because he had merely translated their publications into Italian. The jury deliberated for five hours before returning a verdict of guilty on all counts.⁴⁵ Judge Harland B. Howe, whose previous stern sentences to war resisters had been

⁴³Russell, et al., The Finished Mystery, p. 247.

⁴⁴The New York Times, June 1, 1918, p. 1.

⁴⁵Ibid., June 21, 1918, p. 7.

praised by Assistant Attorney General O'Brien, sentenced the eight defendants to twenty years in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta:

The religious propaganda in which these men are engaged is more harmful than a division of German soldiers. They have not only called in question the law officers of the Government and the army intelligence bureau but have denounced all the ministers of all the churches. Their punishment should be severe.⁴⁶

The convicted Bible Students found little sympathy in the public press. In approving the verdict, a New York Times editorial stated that it would provide an example to all those who held:

. . . utterly wrong ideas as to the extent to which the free exercise of religion is permitted by our Constitution . . . above all individual rights stands that of the Government to defend and perpetuate itself.⁴⁷

The Watch Tower Society itself, now represented by an executive committee, was shaken but unrepentant. While noting that all true Christians could expect persecution, The Watch Tower reminded its readers that the Espionage Act made discretion the order of the day.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Macmillan, Faith on the March, quoted from the transcript.

⁴⁷The New York Times, June 22, 1918, p. 8.

⁴⁸The Watch Tower, June 1, 1918, p. 171. However, it did come out in favor of "The Day of Prayer" proclaimed by Wilson.

Other Bible Students were arrested on similar charges in other parts of the country. Some believed that the arrests were tests from the Lord. Others felt that they were punishment for worldly compromises.⁴⁹ Most firmly believed that their quarrel was not with the secular authority alone but was instigated by the established churches:

Our business is to announce Christ's Kingdom and the blessings it will bring. In connection with such announcement it is necessary to point to the false position which Churchianity holds in relation to earth's affairs.⁵⁰

The Watch Tower Society's headquarters in Brooklyn were closed after the conviction of its eight officers and moved to Pittsburg. Rutherford was able to keep in touch by letter from Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.⁵¹ Early in 1919, he was reelected president of the legal corporation of the society while still in prison. Thus, the majority of the Society's followers reaffirmed their belief in his leadership, in spite of its increasing divergence from the mainstream of American civil and religious polity.

On May 14, 1919, the conviction against Rutherford and his associates was declared in error by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals. The majority opinion did not

⁴⁹Ibid., June 15, 1918, pp. 179-181.

⁵⁰Ibid., June 1, 1918, p. 171.

⁵¹Ibid., February 15, 1919, p. 170.

contest the Bible Students' guilt, but held that the circumstances were so prejudicial to the defendants (the trial contained over 125 errors) that a new trial should be granted (see Appendix D). By this time, however, the war had ended and the government dropped the case. The essential conflict was never resolved, however, as the Bible Students' post-war history would show.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The Bible Students' clash with American religious and political authorities in World War I was symptomatic of the clash between the dominant post-millennial American philosophy of progressive improvement, and the crisis eschatology inherent in pre-millenarianism. As this paper has tried to demonstrate, America's religious and political leadership was irrevocably committed to a progressive, "post-millennial" world view long before the Bible Students gathered about Charles Taze Russell in the Gilded Age. Nevertheless, almost throughout recorded history, the central religious problem of the existence of both good and evil in the same universe has remained unresolved by both normative religion and secular philosophy. The Bible Students, like other pre-millenarians, chose one explanation of this problem, while the Western world, including the United States and its normative Protestant Christianity, chose another. Unlike less radical groups such as the Seventh-Day Adventists and the Mormons, the Bible Students' millenarian separatism precluded any compromise with civil

authorities. The stage was set for the drama of conflict long before World War I, when the Bible Students had become sufficiently numerous and well-organized to attract the attention of normative American religious and secular leadership.

In fact, the apocalyptic message of the Bible Students did constitute an ideological threat to the war effort. That this was as true for Germany as for the United States did not alter the situation in the eyes of the law.¹ As their publications had proclaimed for forty years preceding World War I, the Bible Students were consciously opposed to the existing civil and religious order. As one religious historian has phrased it, the major churches "could be compared to price fixers sharing a single market."² This collusion extended to the mutual reinforcement of church and state and was practiced to a greater or lesser degree by all Christian nations including the United States.

Anson Phelps Stokes noted in his monumental study of church-state relations in the United States that although

. . . the State has not recognized any specific form of religion, it has nevertheless been favorable to all agencies which promote the

¹The New York Times, October 5, 1918, p. 7.

²Martin Marty, Righteous Empire (New York: Dial Press, 1970), p. 71.

religious spirit and which remain loyal to the government . . . the state can tolerate only those who do not threaten the welfare of the state.³

Paul Williams concurs:

All denominations in whatever society tolerate most societal religious values, and most denominational groups in any going society could not long survive if the denomination genuinely threatened societal religion. Thus most American denominations in practice give vigorous support to most of the American societal religious values.⁴

Most of religious America had forgotten the purpose of the separation of church and state; the protection from interference with each other by both parties. Apostolic Christianity had tried to provide a theater of moral choice for the individual outside the structure of civil polity.⁵ For Jesus as for Paul, the state was a temporary institution.⁶ All reform movements aiming at a return to apostolic Christianity (including those millenarian movements such as the

³Stokes, Church and State, Vol. III, pp. 369-370.

⁴John Paul Williams, What Americans Believe and How They Worship (New York: Harpers, 1969), p. 479.

⁵Loren P. Beth, "Toward a Modern American Theory of Church-State Relationships," Political Science Quarterly, December, 1955, pp. 573-597.

⁶Oscar Cullman, The State in the New Testament, (New York: Scribner, 1956), pp. 59-65. Milton Konvitz, Religious Liberty and Conscience (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 35-37 notes that the New Testament gives ambiguous counsel regarding obedience to civil authority. Cf. Mt. 17:25, Acts 5:20, Rm. 13:1, I Pet. 2:13, and Rev. 13.

Bible Students) tried to confront the individual with conscious moral choice.

To the Bible Students, the melding of religion and government intolerably reduced that theater of choice. They were unable to accept America's vision of itself as a society and as a world mission. They condemned the old system, yet they also believed social and political reform efforts to be useless. Thus, they cut themselves off from both the conservative⁷ and the liberal reform traditions in the United States. The breach became complete during World War I, when the nation felt compelled to sacrifice a measure of liberty for a measure of unity.

In previous studies of Jehovah's Witnesses, other than brief outlines confining themselves to known facts such as one finds in a handbook of denominations, there have been only two major modes of investigation. Socio-economic studies⁸ explain Bible Student behavior and belief from an environmental perspective. Social disaffection may explain many of the movement's followers but not its leadership. The history of the millennial hope clearly shows a long tradition of leadership from all classes.

⁷Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 206.

⁸E. g., Werner Cohn's thesis, "Jehovah's Witnesses as a Proletarian Sect." Charles Taze Russell, the Witnesses founder, was himself a successful businessman with a large personal fortune.

Theological studies⁹ are usually even less accurate, since most scholars formally trained in religion show confessional bias against pre-millenarian groups. Those studies written by millenarians themselves, of course, often go to the other extreme.

As Cornelius Woelfkin has said of millenarianism,

Its religious appeal grows out of the fact that it presents a clear, concrete, and comprehensive program of the purposes of God respecting the past, present, and future; it enlists the imagination, stirs the emotions, and challenges the disciple to co-operate with this program of the divine will.¹⁰

Added to this was the resolution of the unbearable "cosmic dualism" of good and evil. In this light, such peculiar doctrines as the Bible Students' rejection of eternal torment and of the immortality of the soul became the logical conclusion to the elimination of evil from the whole universe: the eternal torment of the wicked would require an eternal cosmic dualism.¹¹

Pre-millenarians such as the Bible Students were absolutely assured that the goodness of God would triumph, for they were assured not only that God had an imminent

⁹Compare the works of Shirley Jackson Case, Carl Ludwigson, and Robert McEwen with the Witnesses own Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose.

¹⁰Cornelius Woelfkin, "The Religious Appeal of Pre-Millennialism," Journal of Religion, I.(May, 1921), p. 255.

¹¹Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, p. 191.

plan of resolution, but that they could understand and foresee at least a small part of this plan by means of dispensational exegesis.

The apocalyptic nature of this resolution has always posed a special problem for modern secular scholarship and, hence, the analytical literature on modern pre-millennial movements remains small and often inferior in quality. The secular scholar reared in the United States is bound to be unconsciously conditioned by the prevailing Augustinian and post-millennial progressive outlook dating back to colonial times. Secondly, the primary religious experience subsumed by apocalyptic eschatology appears ludicrous to scholars trained in the empirical tradition. The combination of delayed imminence and catastrophic resolution is simply outside the purview of normative religious history.

A P P E N D I X E S

APPENDIX A

This is the graphic representation of divine and human history referred to on page 44, a xerox copy of pages 130-131 of Charles Taze Russell's Thy Kingdom Come. Dispensations or eras are marked off according to their significance in Biblical history. Prophecy designed for a certain dispensation must be applied according to the chronology of that dispensation, rather than from the B.C. or A.D. notation used by orthodox Christianity. Dispensational interpretation is typical of millenarian exegesis.

APPENDIX B

This is Russell's criticism of Manifest Destiny referred to on page 48. Infidel nations are judged less harshly than nominally Christian nations. This is also typical of Millenarian tradition, as is the stand against clerical hierarchy on page 172. From Vol. III of Studies in the Scriptures, Thy Kingdom Come.

prophecies as applicable to their church-nation, and not to an individual Savior of the world. Even the prophecies which refer to the sufferings of Christ they apply to their sufferings as a people.) Carrying out their theory, they were sending missionaries throughout the world, to convert the world to the Law of Moses, expecting thus to reach and "bless all the families of the earth," aside from a personal Messiah. To such an extent was this the case, that our Lord remarked it, saying, "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte."

How similar to this is the theory of nominal "Christendom" to-day. The common people, when their attention is drawn to the fact that the Lord promised to come again, and that the apostles and prophets predicted that the Millennium, or Times of Restitution, would result from the second coming of the Lord (Acts 3:19-21), are inclined to accept the truth and to rejoice in it, just as a similar class did at the first advent. But to-day, as eighteen hundred years ago, the chief priests and rulers of the people have a more advanced (?) idea. They claim that the promises of Millennial blessedness, of peace on earth and good will among men, can and must be brought about by their efforts, missions, etc., without the personal coming of the Lord Jesus; and thus they make void the promises of the second advent and the coming Kingdom.

The present chief priests and rulers, the "clergy" of "Christendom," deceiving themselves as well as the people, claim, and seemingly believe, that their missionary efforts are just about to succeed, and that, without the Lord, they are now upon the eve of introducing to the world all the Millennial blessings portrayed in the Scriptures.

The foundation of this delusion lies partly in the fact that the increase of knowledge and of running to and fro in the earth, incident to this "Day of His Preparation,"

have been specially favorable to the spread of the commerce of civilized nations, and the consequent increase of worldly prosperity. The credit of all this Babylon coolly appropriates to herself, pointing out all these advantages as the results of her Christianizing and energizing influences. She proudly points to the "Christian nation" of Great Britain, and to her wealth and prosperity, as results of her Christian principles. But what are the facts? Every step of progress which that nation or any other nation has made has been only to the extent of the effort exercised to cast off the yoke of Babylon's oppression. In proportion as Great Britain threw off the fetters of papal oppression, she has prospered; and in proportion as she continued to hold and to be influenced by the papal doctrines of church and state union, of divinely appointed kingly and priestly authority and oppression, and to submit to the tyranny of greed and selfishness, to that extent is she degraded still.

Greed for gold and ambition for power were the energies by which the ports of heathen lands were reluctantly opened up to the commerce of so-called Christian nations, to English and German rum and opium, and to American whiskey and tobacco. The love of God and the blessing of the heathen nations had no place in these efforts. Here is an apparently small item of current history that ought to startle the consciences of so-called Christian nations, if they have any. The Mohammedan Emir of Nupe, West Africa, recently sent the following message to Bishop Crowther, of the Niger mission:—

"It is not a long matter; it is about barasa [rum]. Barasa, barasa, barasa! It has ruined our country; it has ruined our people very much; it has made our people mad. I beg you, Malam Kip, don't forget this writing; because we all beg that he [Crowther] should ask the great priests [the committee of the Anglican Church Mission Society] that they should beg the English Queen [Head of the Church

of England] to prevent bringing barasa into this land.

"For God and the Prophet's sake! For God and the Prophet, his messenger's sake, he must help us in this matter—that of barasa. Tell him, may God bless him in his work. This is the mouth word from Malike, the Emir of Nupe."

Commenting on this a Baptist journal remarks:—"This humble negro ruler reveals in this letter a concern for his people which Christian monarchs and governments have not yet reached; for no European Christian ruler, and no President of the United States, has ever yet so appealed in behalf of his people. In all the addresses opening Parliaments, in all the Presidential messages, no such passage has ever been found. All shame to our Christian rulers! Gain, the accursed hunger for gold, is the law with merchants; and these are the darlings and lords of governments."

Then, in the name of truth, we ask, Why call these Christian governments? And the government of the United States is no exception, though so many persist in denominating it a Christian government, while properly it does not recognize the undeserved title, though urged to do so by zealous sectarians. From Boston, vast cargoes of rum are continually sent to Africa, unchecked by the government, and with its full permission, while it grants licenses to tens of thousands to manufacture and deal out to its own citizens the terrible "fire-water," made doubly injurious and seductive by what is called rectifying, that is, by the legalized mixture of the rankest poisons. All this, and much more, is justified and defended by "Christian" statesmen and rulers of so-called Christian nations, for *revenue*—as the easiest way of collecting from the people a share of the necessary expenses of the government. Surely this is prostitution of the lowest and worst type. Every thinking man must see how out of place is the name Christian, when applied to even the very best of present governments. The attempt to fit the name Christian to the characters of "the

kingdoms of this world," ruled by the "prince of this world"—Satan—and imbued with the "spirit of the world," has perplexed all truly Christian hearts, deluded by this error of supposing the present governments of the world to be in any sense Christ's Kingdom.

Says Cannon Farrar in the *Contemporary Review*:—

"The old rapacity of the slave-trade has been followed by the greedier and more ruinous rapacity of the drink-seller. Our fathers tore from the neck of Africa a yoke of whips: we have subjected the native races to a yoke of scorpions. We have opened the rivers of Africa to commerce, only to pour down them the raging phlegethor of alcohol, than which no river of the Inferno is more blood-red or accursed. Is the conscience of the nation dead?"

We answer, No! The nation never was Christian, and consequently never had a Christian conscience or a Christian spirit. The *most* that can be said of it is, that the light from God's truly consecrated children has enlightened, refined and shamed into a measure of moral reform the public sentiment of those nations in which they "shine as lights."

In like manner a similarly horrid traffic was forced upon China and Japan, against their earnest protest, by the same Christian (?) governments. In 1840 Great Britain began a war with China, called the "Opium War," to compel the Chinese government, which wished to protect its people from that terrible curse, to admit that article. The war resulted favorably to the devil's side of the question. British war-ships destroyed thousands of lives and homes, and forced the heathen Chinese ruler to open the empire to the slower death of opium,—the intoxicant of China. The net revenue of the British government from this drug, after paying large expenses for collecting the revenue, amounted, according to official reports published in 1872, to over \$37,000,000 for the preceding year. This, \$37,000,000 per year, was the inspiring cause of that war, the very reverse

APPENDIX C

These were the pages of The Finished Mystery cited in the government's indictment of the eight Bible Students. The book was the seventh volume of Studies in the Scriptures, and was released in July of 1917, three months after the United States declared war on Germany. It contained some material written by Russell before his death, and its form and much of its content reflected Rutherford's harsher view of worldly religious and political hierarchy.

conformist churches of Great Britain last year not only made no progress, but met, according to their statistics, with an absolute loss of 18,000; the Baptist Church of Great Britain last year lost 5,000 people. In the year 1905 there were nearly 7,000 Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Methodist churches that had not one single member unite with them in twelve months. In a recent year in New York city, according to the statement of Dr. Aked, of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, 335 Protestant churches reported a net gain that year of 386 members. That is to say 335 churches gained one member apiece and fifty of them gained two in twelve months. Brethren, I say to you this morning, that the American Church is dying—it is dying! *It is dying!* Don't forget it." (Z.'08-211.)

"A declaration by the Rev. Dr. Charles E. McClellan, pastor of the Fairhill Baptist Church, that 'Protestantism in the United States is fast decaying and will soon be a thing of the past,' aroused a storm at the fifty-third session of the North Philadelphia Baptist Association. Doctor McClellan spoke on what he called the decline of Protestantism while making his report as chairman of the missionary committee. 'The spirit of Protestantism is dying in the United States, and it will soon be a thing of the past,' he said. 'Philadelphia, both denominationally and religiously, is going to perdition at a rapid rate. Recently I attended the services in one of our churches, at which I had been invited to speak. I found in attendance nineteen adults and one child. The same condition exists all over the city. We have large, magnificent churches, but small congregations, showing that it is easy to get money, but hard to get men.'"—Z.'10-373.

That the way of the kings of the east might be prepared.—"He must be comparatively blind who cannot see that the wonderful prophecies which speak of the fall of Babylon (Isa. 14:22; Jer. 50 and 51) were not wholly fulfilled by Cyrus the Persian. Much of the prophecy still waits for fulfillment in mystic or symbolic Babylon today. The Kings of the East, or kings from the sunrise, are, we understand, the kings of Christ's Kingdom, who are also priests—the Body of Christ, the Royal Priesthood. 'Thou hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth.' From this standpoint, Cyrus, who with his army overthrew literal Babylon, was a figure or illustration of Messiah, King of kings and Lord of lords. (Isa. 41:25; 44:28; 45:1-14.)"—Z.'99-174; Rev. 7:2.

16:13. And I saw three unclean spirits.—Denoting demonic origin. (Matt. 10:1; Mark 1:26; Luke 4:33.) 'The Lord's people must discriminate between doctrinal

presented to them as truth—they must 'try the spirits,' whether they be holy or evil, of God or of the Evil One—the Spirit of Truth or the spirit of error. These both are introduced by prophets, or teachers."—E320, 295.

[Like] AS IT WERE frogs.—Frogs are garrulous, have a very wise look, large mouths, are much puffed up and utter only croakings. In the "distress of nations with perplexity" which has come upon Christendom as a result of her sins, the croakings of the wise now fill the air everywhere. Actually all knees are "weak as water."—Ezek. 7:17; 21:7. See especially D i-xvi.

Come out of the mouth of the dragon.—The three fundamental truths of history are man's Fall, Redemption and Restoration. Stated in other language these three truths are the mortal nature of man, the Christ of God and His Millennial Kingdom. Standing opposite to these Satan has placed three great untruths, human immortality, the Antichrist and a certain delusion which is best described by the word Patriotism, but which is in reality murder, the spirit of the very Devil. It is this last and crowning feature of Satan's work that is mentioned first. The other two errors are the direct cause of this one. The wars of the Old Testament were all intended to illustrate the battlings of the New Creature against the weaknesses of the flesh, and are not in any sense of the word justification for the human butchery which has turned the earth into a slaughter-house. Nowhere in the New Testament is Patriotism (a narrow-minded hatred of other peoples) encouraged. Everywhere and always murder in its every form is forbidden; and yet, under the guise of Patriotism the civil governments of earth demand of peace-loving men the sacrifice of themselves and their loved ones and the butchery of their fellows, and hail it as a duty demanded by the laws of heaven.

"Everybody of importance in the early years of the twentieth century was an ardent champion of peace. A crowd of royal peacemakers in a world surcharged with thoughts and threats of war, a band of lovers strolling down an avenue which they themselves had lined with Lyddite shells and twelve-inch guns. Prince Bulow, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann, Mr. H. H. Asquith, Mr. John Hay, and Mr. Elihu Root, pacific in temper, eloquent in their advocacy of the cause of international good will, were a galaxy of peace-loving statesmen under a sky black with the thunder-clouds of war. English and German papers were discussing invasions, and the need of increased armaments, at the very time that twenty thousand Germans in Berlin were applauding to the echo the friendly greetings

of a company of English visitors. While ten thousand boys and girls in Tokio were singing loving greetings to our naval officers, there were men in the United States rushing from city to city urging the people to prepare for an American-Japanese war. After each new peace conference there was a fresh cry for more guns. While the Palace of Peace at The Hague was building, nations hailed the advent of the airship as a glorious invention, because of the service it could render to the cause of war. The fountains from which there flowed these dark and swollen streams of war rumor were all located within the military and naval encampments. It was the experts of the army and navy who were always shivering at some new peril, and painting sombre pictures of what would happen in case new regiments were not added to the army and additional battleships were not voted for the fleet. It was in this way that legislative bodies came to think that possibly the country was really in danger; and looking round for a ground on which to justify new expenditures for war material, they seized upon an ancient pagan maxim—furnished by the military experts—"If you wish peace, prepare for war." No guns were asked for to kill men with—guns were mounted as safeguards of the peace. No battleships were launched to fight with—they were preservers of the peace. Colossal armies and gigantic navies were exhibited as a nation's ornaments—beautiful tokens of its love of peace. The expenditure crushed the poorest of the nations and crippled the richest of them, but the burden was gladly borne for the cause.

"The most virulent and devastating disease of humanity now raging on the earth is militarism. There are demon suggestions which obtain so firm a grip upon the mind that it is difficult to banish them. The naval experts of Germany are dragging the German Empire ever deeper into debt, unabashed by the ominous mutterings of a coming storm. The naval experts of England go right on launching Dreadnaughts, while the number of British paupers grows larger with the years, and all British problems become increasingly baffling and alarming. The naval experts of Russia plan for a new billion-dollar navy, notwithstanding Russia's national debt is four and one-quarter billion dollars, and to pay her current expenses she is compelled to borrow seventy-five million dollars every year. With millions of her people on the verge of starvation, and beggars swarming through the streets of her cities and round the stations of her railways, the naval experts go on asking new appropriations for guns and military equipment.

"Like many another fever, militarism grows by what it feeds on, and unless checked by heroic measures is certain to burn the patient up. Bereft of reason are the nations by Satan's ingenious and terrible final beclouding of the minds of men.

"The militarist is comic in his seriousness. He says that if you want to keep the peace you must prepare for war, and yet he knows that where men prepare for war by carrying bowie knives, peace is a thing unheard of, and that where every man is armed with a revolver, the list of homicides is longest. Like many other diseases, militarism is contagious. One nation can be infected by another until there is an epidemic round the world. Is it possible, some one asks, for a world to become insane? That a community can become crazy was proven by Salem, in the days of the witchcraft delusion; that a city can lose its head was demonstrated by London, at the time of the Gunpowder Plot; that a continent can become the victim of an hallucination was shown when Europe lost its desire to live, and waited for the end of the world in the year 1000. Why should it be counted incredible that many nations, bound together by steam and electricity, should fall under the spell of a delusion, and should act for a season like a man who has gone mad?

"All the great nations are today facing deficits, caused in every case by the military and naval experts.

"Everything in Germany, Italy, Austria, England and Russia is held back by the confiscation of the proceeds of industry carried on for the support of the army and navy. In the United States the development of our resources is checked by this same fatal policy. We have millions of acres of desert land to be irrigated, millions of acres of swamp land to be drained, thousands of miles of inland waterways to be improved, harbors to be deepened, canals to be dug, and forests to be safeguarded, and yet for all these works of cardinal importance we can afford only a pittance. We have not sufficient money to pay decent salaries to our United States judges, or to the men who represent us abroad. We have pests, implacable and terrible, like the gypsy moth, and plagues like tuberculosis, for whose extermination millions of money are needed at once."
—C. E. Jefferson, American Association for International Conciliation.—Z.'09-179.

The first expenditure of the United States Government (\$7,000,000,000), upon entering the world war, was 27% in excess of value of all the crops harvested in the United States in the banner year of its history. This amount would gridiron the country with macadam roads six miles

apart, east and west, north and south. It is double the capital and surplus of every bank in the country. It is equal to our entire cost for education, from kindergarten to university, for ten years.

"War is in open and utter violation of Christianity. If war is right, then Christianity is wrong, false, a lie. If Christianity is right, then war is wrong, false, a lie. The God revealed by Jesus, and by every spiritual leader of the race, is no God of battles. He lifts no sword—He asks no sacrifice of human blood. His spirit is love, His rule is peace, His method of persuasion is forgiveness. His law, as interpreted and promulgated by the Nazarene, is 'love one another,' 'resist not evil with evil,' 'forgive seventy times seven,' 'overcome evil with good,' 'love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.' Such a God and such a law, others may reconcile with war, if they can. I cannot; and what I cannot do, I will not profess to do. But I must go farther—I must speak not only of war in general, but of this war in particular. Most persons are quite ready to agree, especially in the piping times of peace, that war is wrong. But let a war cloud no bigger than a man's hand appear on the horizon of the nation's life, and they straightway begin to qualify their judgment; and if the war cloud grows until it covers all the heavens, they finally reverse it.

"This brings about the curious situation of all war being wrong in general, and each war being right in particular. Germans denounce war, with the exception of course of the present conflict with England. Englishmen condemn war, but exclude from their indictment the present fight against the central Empires. If you tell me that this war is fought for the integrity of international law, I must ask you why it is directed only against Germany and not also against England, which is an equal, although far less terrible, violator of covenants between nations? If you say it is fought on behalf of the rights of neutrals, I must ask you where, when and by what belligerent the rights of neutrals have been conserved in this war, and what guarantee you can offer that, after all our expenditure of blood and money for their defense, these rights will not be similarly violated all over again in the next war by any nation which is battling for its life? If you say that it is fought for the security of American property and lives, I must ask you how and to what extent it will be safer for our citizens to cross the seas after the declaration of war than it was before? If you say that it is fought in vindication

of our national honor, I must ask you why no harm has come to the honor of others nations, such as Holland and Scandinavia, for example, which have suffered even more than we, but which, for prudential reasons, refuse to take up arms? If you say it is a war of defense against wanton and intolerable aggression, I must reply that every blow which we have endured has been primarily a blow directed not against ourselves but against England, and that it has yet to be proved that Germany has any intention or desire of attacking us. If you say that this war is a life-and-death struggle for the preservation of civilization against barbarism, I must ask you why we remained neutral when Belgium was raped, and were at last aroused to action, not by the cries of the stricken abroad, but by our own losses in men and money? If you say that this war is a last resort in a situation which every other method, patiently tried, has failed to meet, I must answer that this is not true—that other ways and means of action, tried by experience and justified by success, have been laid before the administration and willfully rejected.

"In its ultimate causes, this war is the natural product of our unchristian civilization. Its armed men are grown from the dragon's teeth of secret diplomacy, imperialistic ambition, dynastic pride, greedy commercialism, economic exploitation at home and abroad. In the sowing of these teeth, America has had her part; and it is therefore only proper, perhaps, that she should have her part also in the reaping of the dreadful harvest. In its more immediate causes, this war is the direct result of unwarrantable, cruel, but none the less inevitable interferences with our commercial relations with one group of the belligerents. Our participation in the war, therefore, like the war itself, is political and economic, not ethical, in its character. Any honor, dignity, or beauty which there may be in our impending action, is to be found in the impulses, pure and undefiled, which are actuating many patriotic hearts today, and not at all in the real facts of the situation. The war itself is wrong. Its prosecution will be a crime. There is not a question raised, an issue involved, a cause at stake, which is worth the life of one blue-jacket on the sea or one khaki-coat in the trenches."—Rev. John Hayes Holmes, Church of the Messiah, Park Ave. and 34th St., New York City.

And out of the mouth of the beast.—The Antichrist doctrine of the Divine right of the clergy was the direct cause of the great war. This frog has been coming out of the mouth of the Papal beast for sixteen centuries. "The German Kaiser's reported proclamation to his army in

Poland reads: 'Remember you (my army) are God's elect. God's spirit has descended on me because I am Emperor of Germany. I am Jehovah's sword, His representative, the instrument of the Most High. Woe and death be to those who resist my will! and to all who do not believe my mission, and to cowards in my army! The enemies of the German people shall perish. God demands their destruction. He it is who through me commands you to fulfill His will!' These false doctrines of the Dark Ages are bearing a terrible fruitage in the present war. Similarly the teaching of eternal torment, misrepresenting and blaspheming God's character, is bearing an evil fruitage. Millions of people are being turned away from faith in a God of Love and from faith in the Bible as His Message by the most monstrous blasphemies of the Dark Ages. I charge the responsibility of all this against the sects and creeds of Christendom. I charge that the ministers, whose eyes are now open to a saner comprehension, have neglected the Bible, have neglected the people, and, instead of helping them out of the darkness, are now leading them into darkness in an opposite direction—into Evolution and Higher Criticism and everything contrary to the Word of God. God is still misrepresented in the world. The creeds of the Dark Ages are still hugged to the bosom in outward pretense, while inwardly they are loathed. A great fraud, a great hypocrisy, you say? I answer, Yes; the most astounding the world has ever known. Two hundred thousand professed ministers of God and of Christ are standing before the world today telling the legends of the Dark Ages and seeking to hinder the people from coming to a knowledge of the Truth, meanwhile receiving the people's money and reverence. Does not such hypocrisy, such blasphemy against God, such deception of the people, such keeping of them in darkness, deserve a great punishment, and is it not nigh?"—B. S. M.

"In all the warring countries the professed ministers of Christ are acting as recruiting agents. All kinds of arguments are used to persuade the young men of the country, contrary to the teachings of the Master. The same men who are accustomed to laugh at the declaration that the Turkish soldiers in former wars were promised, in the event of death, a sure passport to Heavenly Paradise—these same ministers are now urging all the eligible with whom they have influence to prepare to go to battle to lay down their lives. While the Germans have on every battle flag and upon their soldiers' belts, 'God with us,' the British ministers are quoting Bible texts to encourage enlistment of their young men and to throw a halo of

glory upon their soldier dead." (Z.'15-267.) "The clergy are finding themselves in a tight place. They are expected to be faithful to their country, right or wrong. They are expected to preach the War as the will of God and the going to war as a meritorious matter that will have Divine reward and blessing. They must encourage recruiting, in obedience to the commands of their earthly king, and in violation of the commands of the Heavenly King, who has directed them to be peacemakers, and to follow peace with all men and do no murder, either under legal sanction or otherwise." (Z.'15-276.) "Recently in Canada the Editor was astounded by the activity of the preachers there—especially those of the Church of England. One was out in khaki uniform marching through the streets with the volunteers. Asked by a college friend, 'Did I see you in the ranks?' he answered, 'Yes, I wanted to encourage the boys.' 'And did you think of going to the front, to the trenches?' 'Not a bit of it!' He was merely acting as a decoy to get others to the front; just as a bull which they have at one of the Chicago stockyards, meets the animals about to be slaughtered and, tossing his head in the air, becomes their leader up the gangway leading to the slaughter. There he knows his little niche, into which he glides and is sheltered; while the others drive and press one another forward to the slaughter."—Z.'15-259.

And out of the mouth of the false prophet.—The one cardinal error upon which all protestant (false prophet) sects agree is the doctrine of human immortality, the original lie told in Eden (Gen. 2:17; 3:4). In speaking of it our Lord says, "When he speaketh the lie, he speaketh of his own." (John 8:44, Diaglott.) Speaking of it again, the Apostle Paul says, of the worshipers of the beast and his image, "They admitted not the love of the Truth that they might be saved. And on this account God will send to them an energy of delusion, to their believing the falsehood." (2 Thes. 2:10, 11.) In each case the Greek gives the definite article. The frog issuing from the false prophet (the image of the beast) is the doctrine of human immortality. These deluded souls actually believe this error, and will be able to prove it to the satisfaction of the dragon, without a doubt. This error lies at the bottom of the doctrines of eternal torment and of the trinity. There is a hint in 1 John 4:1-3 that the cardinal error on which the false prophet will insist is that when Jesus came from the Father He was more than flesh, i. e., had at least an immortal soul.—Rev. 13:11, 13, 14, 15; 14:9, 11; 15:2; 16:2; 19:20; 20:10; Matt. 24:24.

rule of practice; but the time is at hand when iniquitous practices and precepts will no longer profit any.

7:14. They have blown the trumpet, even to make all ready; but none goeth to the Battle; for My wrath is upon all the multitude thereof.—There are other trumpets than the trumpet of Truth. Established error has its trumpet message. Ecclesiasticism, capitalism, and governments together have blown the trumpet of the Divine right of kings, magnates, and clergy, of the civic-betterment gospel and of "preparedness." Labor leaders have rallied the people to fight for their unions. Trumpet messages will summon the people of the world to yet other strife. But so furious and heart-breaking will be the trouble that none will have the spirit to respond. There is a hint here that conscription will meet with opposition.

7:15. The sword is without, and the pestilence and the famine within: he that is in the field shall die with the sword; and he that is in the city, famine and pestilence shall devour him.—Worldly people in Christendom, not professors of Christianity, will be pressed into the active fighting of the Time of Trouble and will perish. (Deut. 32:25; Jer. 14:18.) Those in the city refer to the professors of Christianity—church members.

7:16. But they that escape of them shall escape, and shall be on the mountains like doves of the valleys, all of them mourning, every one for his iniquity.—There will be survivors of the Time of Trouble who will live on into the Millennium proper. Those of dove-like character will be most likely to survive. The dove has a mournful note. This class will appreciate their iniquity, repent of it and pray for forgiveness and deliverance.—E 231, 212.

7:17. All hands shall be feeble, and all knees shall be weak as water.—The hands symbolize power. The people of Christendom will realize their helplessness. The extremity of the situation will weaken the strongest.—Zeph. 1:14; A315.

7:18. They shall also gird themselves with sackcloth, and horror shall cover them; and shame shall be upon all faces, and baldness upon all their heads.—In mourning for their dead, men's minds and hearts will revolt at the horrors of the calamity. All will realize with shame that by drunkenness with Babylon's mixed teachings (Rev. 17:2) they have brought the trouble on themselves. In grief the Hebrews shaved the head.—Isa. 3:24.

7:19. They shall cast their silver in the streets, and their gold shall be removed; their silver and their gold shall not be able to deliver them in the day of the wrath of the Lord; they shall not satisfy their souls, neither fill

their bowels; because it is the stumbling-block of their iniquity.—With the demonetization of silver, gold has become as a thing unclean (is losing its purchasing power). All forms of money, bonds, stocks and valuables will be worthless when governments are gone and whole nations are starving. (D45.) There was a literal fulfillment of this Scripture in 1898 when in Italy a miller who had publicly thanked the Virgin for dear bread, literally threw gold and silver to a crowd in the streets in a vain endeavor to pacify them. They demanded his life and took it.—Z. 98-331.

7:20. As for the beauty of His ornament, He set it in majesty; but they made the images of their abominations and of their detestable things therein; therefore have I set it far from them.—"Jerusalem is a crown of glory and a royal diadem". (Isa. 62:3.) Christianity, the embryonic Kingdom of God, was originally "His ornament," in the apostolic age of the Church. Literal images were set up by the Hebrews in secret places, and to this day are worshipped by Romanists literally. Romanists and Protestants alike worship the images of world-power, wealth, state-church affiliation, clergy lordship, eternal torment, human immortality and trinity, all alike detestable to a jealous God. The actual ornament of God, His jewel, His diadem, is the true Church, composed mostly of the poor, rich in faith (Jas. 2:5)—of the reform element who since 1878 have been withdrawing from ecclesiasticism and coming to God.

7:21. And I will give it into the hands of the strangers for a prey, and to the wicked of the earth for a spoil; and they shall pollute it.—The nominal jewel, churchianity, has become the prey of clerical and social anarchists.—D550.

7:22. My face will I turn also from them, and they shall pollute My secret place; for the robbers shall enter into it, and defile it.—The secret place is the condition of consecration, which an apostate clergy pollute by misrepresentations, such as that bravery in battle, suffering in the trenches, devotion to a falling order of things (Hab. 2:13), win a place in Heaven—won only by loyal devotion to God's Word, and by the spirit-begotten alone. "I am the Door. He that entereth in by another way is a robber."—John 10:1.

7:23. Make a chain: for the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence.—Bind, unite them together, let the Divinely (!) appointed clergy and the governments for which they stand sponsor, make common cause. (D550.) Christendom is full of the beastly crimes of the most barbarous warfare ever known. A city symbolizes a government.

APPENDIX D

This is a copy of the judgment in error of the 1918 conspiracy conviction, F. 258, 855-867. It also contains some excerpts from the transcript of the original trial as evidences for excess of power on the part of the Court. Note how the prosecution questions are carried out by the Court. See The New York Times, August 20, 1918, p. 2 for William Hudgings' perjury trial and The New York Times, November 10, 1918, p. 1 for further intimidation of Hudgings as an unwilling prosecution witness.

The Hudgings case eventually reached the United States Supreme Court in December 1918 on petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus. The question decided by the Court was whether punishment for contempt could be applied in a perjury case in order to elicit from the witness, "a character of testimony which the court would deem to be truthful." In 249 U.S. Reports, p. 384, the Court decided that if this were true, then "it would come to pass that a potentiality of oppression and wrong would result and the freedom of the citizen when called as a witness in a Court would be gravely imperiled." With only one justice dissenting, the Court moved to discharge Hudgings.

one year before his departure from the United States; that the business in which his firm was engaged was that of manufacturing cigars; that the cigars were disposed of at retail as well as wholesale, and the establishment was bona fide; and the witnesses by which these facts were proven, other than Chinese, were business men, and so far as known to the inspector were reputable men. This question so presented to the Commissioner of Immigration was not decided, either by the Commissioner or the Acting Secretary of Labor; but they undertook to decide another question, namely, that the applicant had fraudulently secured admission into the United States either in 1896-1897, or 1906, as a merchant defined in the treaty of 1880.

The Supreme Court in this case (*Chin Fong v. Backus*, supra), referring to the definition of a "merchant" as described in the treaty, points out that "it was the definition of the status acquired in China, not acquired in the United States, and, having been acquired in China, gave access to the United States, and after access freedom of movement as citizens of the most favored nations," and because the case as there (and here) presented did not involve the status of Chin Fong as a merchant under the treaty, but did involve his status solely under the act of November 3, 1893 (28 Stat. 7), the court held that it had no jurisdiction of the appeal.

The case of *Ex parte Mack Fock*, 207 Fed. 696, referred to by the Acting Secretary of Labor as an authority supporting his decision, is not in point. In that case the application was that of a Chinese person who claimed to be a returning native-born American of Chinese descent. In support of that claim he presented a paper purporting to be a certificate issued by Felix W. McGettrick, United States Commissioner at St. Albans, in the district of Vermont, on the 12th of June, 1906, certifying that it had been adjudged by him that said Mack Fock had a lawful right to be and remain in the United States by reason of his being a citizen thereof. The question submitted to the Commissioner at Seattle was whether or not Mack Fock was a native-born American. Upon examination the Commissioner found that he was not, and that he was in fact born in China. The Commissioner thereupon ordered his exclusion upon the precise issue presented by the applicant for admission. It may be contended that in the present case the Commissioner of Immigration did in effect determine the question at issue when he concluded that appellant's original entry into the United States was unlawful, and for that reason he was never lawfully domiciled in this country, and that this conclusion is sufficient to overcome the specific finding that he was a merchant domiciled in this country for at least one year prior to his departure therefrom in 1912, and under that finding entitled to return under the act of November 3, 1893. But whether Chin Fong's original entry into the United States under the treaty was or was not lawful was a different question, not presented in this case (*Chin Fong v. Backus*, supra), and one to be determined in a deportation proceeding before a different tribunal. See Act May 6, 1882, c. 126, § 12, 22 Stat. 58, 61, as amended by Act July 5, 1884, c. 220, 23

Stat. 115, 117 (Comp. St. § 4299); Act Sept. 13, 1888, c. 1015, § 13, 25 Stat. 476, 479 (Comp. St. § 4313); Act March 3, 1901, c. 845, § 3, 31 Stat. 1093 (Comp. St. § 4334).

Our conclusion is that the appellant has been denied admission for a reason other than that connected with his status as a merchant under the act of November 3, 1893, and for that reason the order of exclusion is void.

The judgment of the District Court is reversed, with direction to discharge the appellant from custody.

RUTHERFORD et al. v. UNITED STATES.

(Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit. May 14, 1919.)

No. 239.

CRIMINAL LAW — TRIAL.

In a prosecution against the leaders of a religious society, who it was charged had violated the Espionage Act, where the government called members of the society and they proved unwilling witnesses, held, that the acts of the trial court in committing such witnesses for contempt, on the theory that they were falsifying when they refused to answer questions, but stated that they did not remember, etc., was under the circumstances so prejudicial to defendants that a new trial should be granted.

Manton, Circuit Judge, dissenting.

In Error to the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of New York.

Joseph F. Rutherford and others were convicted of violating Espionage Act June 15, 1917, tit. 1, §§ 3, 4, and they bring error. Reversed and remanded.

Sparks, Fuller & Stricker, of Brooklyn, N. Y., for plaintiffs in error. James D. Bell, U. S. Atty., and Charles J. Buchner, Sp. Asst. U. S. Atty., both of Brooklyn, N. Y., and I. R. Oeland, Sp. Asst. Atty. Gen., of New York City.

Before WARD, ROGERS, and MANTON, Circuit Judges.

WARD, Circuit Judge. This is a writ of error to a judgment of conviction of the defendants, eight in number, indicted for violation of sections 3 and 4, title 1, of the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 219, c. 30 [Comp. St. 1918, §§ 10212c, 10212d]). Seven of the defendants were sentenced to terms of 20 years and the eighth to a term of 10 years in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga. The defendants are members of religious organizations known as the International Bible Students' Association, the People's Pulpit Association, and the Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society, all representing a form of religious doctrine preached from 1870 down to the time of his death in 1916, by a person known as Pastor Russell. One of these doctrines is an absolute prohibition of the killing of human beings, and so of taking any part at all in war. The trial continued from June 5

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to June 20, 1918. We think there was sufficient evidence upon which to submit the case to the jury, and that none of the errors assigned is ground for reversal, except in respect to the matters now to be considered.

The government called three witnesses, all members of the International Bible Students' Association, Mrs. Mabel Campbell, Mrs. Agnes Hudgings, and William F. Hudgings. They were not willing witnesses, and the court properly allowed the government great latitude in examining them. Mrs. Campbell refused to swear that the carbon copy of a letter submitted to her had been written by her from the dictation of the defendant Van Amburgh. At the conclusion of the examination in chief the court said:

"The court suggests that if the defendants desire to cross-examine this witness that you recall her later. This witness is not discharged, but will remain in attendance. We will take some other witness for the present."

This was, as he subsequently said, to give her an opportunity of taking advice as to her testimony before being recalled for cross-examination. She never was so recalled.

Mrs. Hudgings was called with reference to a letter with a rubber stamp signature, J. F. Rutherford, one of the defendants:

"Q. I hand you Exhibit 11 and ask you if you identify that rubber stamp there as similar to the one that Mr. Rutherford used? A. No, I wouldn't identify that stamp.

"Q. Is there anything peculiar about that? A. I don't understand you.

"Q. Anything peculiar about that rubber stamp there? A. It is the same as all rubber stamps, as far as I know.

"Q. What did he have on the rubber stamp that you knew that he used? A. 'J. F. Rutherford.'

"Q. Was it the same as that (indicating)? A. I think so.

"Q. Looks like that? A. Some.

"Q. You have seen him use it frequently? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. How often? A. Couldn't say.

"Q. Do you see any difference between that and the one that you had seen him use? A. I have not paid such particular attention to it that I would specify.

"Q. I ask you, could you see any difference between that and the one you have seen him use? A. I couldn't answer that question.

"The Court: The court is inclined to think you can, and you must answer it. The question is if you can see any difference, and you must answer that question.

"The Witness: Your honor, I might say—

"The Court: I might say to you, Mrs. Hudgings, that we must have full, true, direct answers to all these questions that are asked you which the court decides are proper. Your answers thus far have seemed to be evasive.

"Mr. Fuller: I except to these remarks of the court on behalf of each of the defendants.

"Mr. Sparks: I ask that the witness be permitted to make the statement that was called out by the court in view of the characterization of the court's question to her. I ask that she be permitted to make her statement for the record.

"The Court: She may make any statement she desires to.

"The Witness: I was about to say that I gave an oath that I would tell the truth and the whole truth as nearly as I was able to, and that I would not identify the stamp for the reason that I could not; that I did not know the stamp plainly enough so I could identify it, and therefore do not wish to give false testimony.

"The Court: This second witness seems to be taking an attitude that the court can't permit to continue. Now, the court has great power as to compelling a witness to answer, and answer directly, and has much power in case a witness is evasive in answering. This is rather extraordinary, and in the case of the other witness I had her withdraw, thinking that likely counsel for the defense would advise her, or some one else. Now, the question here is not for you to identify this stamp; the question was if it looked like the one you saw this person use. Ask the witness whether she was the one that used the stamp in stamping letters.

"Mr. Sparks: I take exception to the court's remarks and the general character of it as tending to make the witness say something which she has already stated she could not do. I take also exception to that part of the court's remarks in which he says that he suggested that the previous witness might be withdrawn in order that counsel for the defense or some one else might advise her, not knowing what counsel could advise her to do in view of her testimony, and in view of the position of counsel for the defendants, that the witness could not possibly answer the questions that were propounded to her by the court and counsel.

"The Court: The court is very much inclined to believe that the former witness could answer the questions, and that the answers that she was giving were not true answers, and, while I would not deal with her hastily, I became convinced, if that was the case, I should deal with the witness for contempt of court, and perhaps in other directions, because that would be the plain duty of the court under such circumstances.

"Mr. Sparks: We take exception to those last remarks of the court, and in view of them we ask for the court to declare a mistrial and the withdrawal of a juror.

"The Court: The motion will be denied, and an exception will be noted on behalf of the defendants."

After some further testimony the court said:

"We will take a recess here for a few moments, and I ask the witness to examine that letter very carefully with respect to the paragraph and punctuation, the position of the typewriter worked on the paper, the width of the margins on each side, and the place where the typewriting work commences at the top and the place where there is space left at the bottom, where you start your second page there, and take what time you need, and then the court will argue, upon coming in here, whether you wrote that letter or not. Now, take it to the light in a side room by yourself; the court will furnish that, and take what time you want. We will take a little recess while you are doing that. (Short recess.)"

After recess:

"The Court: Gentlemen of the jury, the court was of the opinion that this witness wrote the letter that it had asked her to examine; that is, wrote it all on the typewriter. On going out counsel on both sides advised me that she did not write the letter, and the court was not justified in asking her to examine it in that view of the situation. So, gentlemen, please draw no unfavorable inference by reason of this error the court made. Counsel was merely inquiring as to the stamp, and I assumed she was the stenographer that wrote the whole letter, so it was the court's error.

"By Mr. Oeland: Q. After you have examined the stamp, what is your best judgment as to whether or not that is one of the stamps used by Mr. Rutherford?

"Mr. Sparks: I object to the form of the question; I object to best judgment. A conviction of the defendants cannot be based upon the witness' best judgment as to any particular fact—

"Q. What do you say, after careful examination, whether this was one of the stamps that were used? A. In all good conscience I could not say if that was one of the stamps that we used.

"Q. Would you say it was not? A. I would not.

"By the Court: Q. What do you most think about it?
 "Mr. Sparks: I object to it, as to form. (Objection overruled. Exception.)
 "The Witness: I could not answer the question.
 "Q. What are you most inclined to think about it? A. I cannot draw any conclusion conscientiously."

The government sought in the case of the witness William F. Hudgings to prove by him the signatures of the defendants Van Amburgh and MacMillan. He was asked:

"Direct examination by Mr. Oeland:

"Q. Do you know the signature of Mr. Van Amburgh? A. I have seen it many times.

"Q. Do you know the signature of MacMillan? A. I have seen it also.

"The Court: Have you seen him write?

"The Witness: I won't say I have seen him write.

"The Court: What is your best recollection as to whether you have seen him write?

"The Witness: I think I have never seen him write.

"The Court: Well, write anything—the signature or not?

"The Witness: I have not watched that.

"The Court: I did not ask you whether you ever saw them write; I want an answer yes or no.

"The Witness: I said 'No.'

"Q. Have you seen letters that they have signed and handed out? A. I have seen checks they have signed themselves, but not letters.

"Q. You have seen checks they signed? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Is that right? A. Yes, sir.

"The Court: You have been there how many years?

"The Witness: About nine years.

"The Court: Continuously?

"The Witness: Yes, sir.

"The Court: And both these gentlemen have been there in that place of business nine years?

"The Witness: Almost continuously; yes, sir.

"The Court: And you tell us that you have never seen either of them write with a pen or pencil; never seen them in the act of writing?

"The Witness: No, sir; I never stood over their shoulder.

"The Court: I did not ask you where you stood. I asked, during that nine years, you tell us whether, upon your oath, that you never say either of these gentlemen in the act of writing. That is what the court asks you, sir.

"The Witness: I do not remember that I ever saw either of these gentlemen in the act of writing.

"The Court: What is your best recollection whether you ever did or not?

"The Witness: That is my best recollection.

"The Court: Tell us how your workshops, or your different places where you do your work, are located; how often are you in one another's presence?

"The Witness: I am very little in Mr. Van Amburgh's presence. His office is separated by a partition. I am more frequently in Mr. MacMillan's presence, but not to see him do any writing.

"The Court: And when you were in his presence, is he at his desk doing his work?

"The Witness: Part of the time.

"The Court: And during that entire nine years you never happened to see him in the act of writing?

"The Witness: Not that I can now recall. That is my best recollection.

"Q. I hand you Exhibit 31 for identification and ask you if at any time—I will ask you if that is a fac simile, a mimeograph copy of the signatures of MacMillan and Van Amburgh? A. It looks very much like it. * * *

"Q. Looking at the mimeograph signature there, what is your best opinion as to whether or not that is MacMillan's signature? A. It looks very much like Mr. MacMillan's signature.

"Q. What is your best opinion? A. That would be my best opinion, but I might be mistaken.

"Mr. Sparks: I ask the court, in view of the fact that we have sat silent here under this examination of this witness, that it is no part of counsel's duty to suggest to any witness under examination, under the latitude that your honor allowed the government to cross-examine, to suggest or make any objections under the circumstances, and that his failure to recollect shall in no wise be taken as against—that they shall assume no hostile attitude as against the defendants for that reason.

"The Court: The requested instruction is denied.

"Mr. Sparks: Exception.

"The Court: I do not propose to stop and instruct this jury every two minutes, and at the request of the court I think that counsel for the government should ask this witness more about the opportunities and probabilities of his seeing this person write. It is a very extraordinary situation here. Very extraordinary testimony. It is very improbable. * * *

"The Court: Now, Mr. Witness, you do not mean that you have seen him write his signature? Have you ever seen him in the act of writing with a pen, pencil, or whatever the writing may be, or the signing of his name or writing anything else, writing in a book on any kind of book or paper or other material? Now, the question is whether you have ever seen him in the act of writing, not how much or how little, but whether you have ever seen him in the act of writing. That is the question this court wants you to answer.

"The Witness: I cannot answer 'Yes,' unless I knew it was a correct answer. Therefore I cannot answer 'Yes' to that question.

"The Court: Did you know him before you went there to work?

"The Witness: No, sir.

"The Court: So your acquaintance extends for a period of nine years?

"The Witness: Yes, sir.

"The Court: Did you go away on trips with him?

"The Witness: No, sir; not with him.

"The Court: Or in his company?

"The Witness: No, sir; that has probably occurred during the nine years.

"The Court: Been at hotels together?

"The Witness: During conventions I think that has occurred.

"The Court: Why do you say 'think'; don't you remember about that?

"The Witness: I do not recall that I have ever put up at hotels with Mr. Van Amburgh, but I would not say that I have not, because we have many conventions. * * *

"Q. Where was his desk with reference to your desk? A. It was in the same office, not a great distance apart.

"The Court: The same room?

"The Witness: Yes, sir.

"The Court: Your desk is in the same room his desk is in?

"The Witness: It is a very large room, about 20 or 30 desks.

"The Court: It is not so large but that you could see across it?

"The Witness: No, sir.

"Q. How far was your desk away from MacMillan's? A. About 10 feet, I think.

"Q. Anything intervening between you and MacMillan? A. No, sir.

"Q. You could see him sitting at his desk? A. My desk for the greater part has been with my back to Mr. MacMillan's desk, but recently it has been turned so it is alongside; that is, my side is toward Mr. MacMillan's desk, a little in front.

"Q. How far away from him? A. About 10 feet.

"Q. And you have been there within 10 feet of him for a year and a half? A. I guess it is about that long.

"Q. And you have never seen him writing with his pen?

"The Court (interposed): Or pencil?

"The Witness: I cannot say that I can recall that I have ever seen him in the act of writing. I would not say I have not, but I would not say that I have.

"The Court (addressing the clerk): Have you any forms here committing a witness for contempt? Well, you direct the clerk to get up the commitment papers. This witness is going to be committed for contempt of court. The court is thoroughly satisfied, Mr. Witness, that you are testifying falsely when you say that you cannot recall of ever seeing Mr. MacMillan write, and this has happened several times during this trial with other witnesses, especially with your wife. I believe—is that right, Mr. Judge Oeland?"

"Mr. Oeland: Yes; she was one of the witnesses.

"The Court: And it becomes the plain duty of the court to commit you to jail, sir, for contempt, and, before doing so, I think it is the duty of the court to explain to you that the answer, 'I do not remember of ever having seen him write,' is just as false, is just as much a contempt of court, if you have seen him write, as it would be for you to say that you had never seen him write, without using the expression, 'I do not remember.' Now, we will adjourn here for a few moments. The court desires you to have every opportunity to correct your answers if you so desire to do so, and the court suggests that it would be very proper for you to talk with a lawyer about the situation. Counsel for the defense or counsel for the government or any one else you may desire to, but I am not going to allow you to obstruct the course of justice here, and if this nation has delegated power enough to this court, and I am very sure it has, to deal with you in the manner proposed, I am going to do it. Now, a good many times a lay witness comes into court with the notion that, if they say they do not remember, that is a complete answer. I desire to inform you that that is not a complete answer, when the fact is that you do remember, or the fact is that you could not fail to remember. Now, we will take a recess for about 10 minutes.

"The Witness: Would it be proper for me to make a statement?"

"The Court: You may make a statement, but it would be more prudent, I think, after you confer with some one, because you evidently have a wrong notion of this situation. Now, it is the duty of the court to be indulgent with you, and considerate with you, and give you every opportunity to do right. I would not like to have you, or any one else, think for a moment that that course will not be taken up. You see the situation is a very remarkable one, Mr. Witness, in having a desk in the same room with a man for so long, and transacting so much business with him, and being present when so much business has been transacted by him. The answer that you do not remember of ever seeing him write would be, in the opinion of the court, impossible, and when I say 'impossible,' that is a strong word; but the situation is so remarkable that I feel very sure that I am justified in that. Now, you are the third witness who has taken this course. Is it the fourth witness, Mr. District Attorney?"

"Mr. Oeland: This is the third witness, your honor, and the Italian witness.

"The Court: Well, the Italian witness is not very well to be classed with him, I think.

"Mr. Oeland: No; I should not stick to it.

"The Court: And the court has sat here several days listening to this, and it becomes the plain duty of the court to commit you for contempt and deal with you otherwise, if necessary.

"Mr. Sparks: Before the recess I would like to make an objection.

"The Court: Yes; but this is dealing with the witness.

"Mr. Sparks: I understand, but I have the right at any stage of the case to make a motion such as I am going to make.

"The Court: Well, we will hear you.

"Mr. Sparks: In view of the fact that this has occurred at least three times during the trial of this case, and the court has expressed its opinion as to the truthfulness of the witnesses, the witness in each case claiming that they or she were doing the best they could to answer the questions put to them, in view of the fact that they could not state and answer the question from their own knowledge, and in view of the fact that the court has without any doubt indicated to the jury this witness was telling an untruth, and in each case telling them that unless they modify their testimony after an adjournment, I feel that these various occurrences have resulted in great

prejudice to the defendants, and cannot help but affect the jury in their deliberations upon this case, when it finally goes to them, especially in view of the fact that these three witnesses are members of the same organization, that that will have its effect unconsciously, and there is nothing that the court can say to them, in view of these various occasions, which will eradicate this impression from their minds. I also object upon the ground that these witnesses have been called by the government itself, and the government is in no better position to impeach their own witnesses than any plaintiff or party in any civil suit, and this impeaching of the witness by the government is contrary to all the known rules of procedure on the question of impeachment, and we respectfully ask, in view of all the facts, to withdraw a juror.

"The Court: To what?"

"Mr. Sparks: To withdraw a juror.

"The Court: Well, the motion is denied.

"Mr. Sparks: I take an exception.

"The Court: And in denying the motion the court desires to say that this is not an extraordinary procedure in the least. Nothing has been done to violate the rules as to impeachment of witnesses. The court has a right to express its opinion in the circumstances of the present situation. If the court fails to do so, it would not do its duty. The court has even a right to express its opinion as to the way the verdict should go in a case in this court. I never exercised that right, and if the course suggested by counsel for the defendants was the proper course to pursue, then in any trial the government could be defeated, or in civil suit a plaintiff or defendant might be defeated in his case or in his defense, because a witness comes in and says 'I do not remember,' would be unable to proceed and complete the trial of any case. That would be giving a witness or witnesses the power to stop all proceedings in court. And as is said in this motion, gentlemen, as to prejudicing you against the defendants, there is no evidence in the case that any of these defendants are responsible for this witness' testimony. There is no evidence in the case to justify you in drawing the inference that any of these defendants are responsible for the attitude taken by the witness, so you should not draw any inference against the defendants. The young man on the stand is a witness called by the government. Whatever their relations may be, as appears by the testimony, would not warrant the court or the jury in charging this up, so to speak, to the defendants, or any of them; so you should be very careful not to let the conduct and the testimony of the witness in the respect indicated work any harm against any of the defendants. Now, before we take our recess, Judge Oeland, I wish you would ask him how long they have had their desks in the same room. I understood him to say one time more than a year and a half.

"Mr. Oeland: That is the way I understood him.

"The Court: I understood him another time to say a year and a half.

"Mr. Sparks: Nothing in the court's remark in reference to my motion can be deemed by me to have cured the situation which I assume to exist.

"The Court: Not in the least. The motion is denied, and what the court said is in explanation of the ruling it made in denying the motion.

"By Mr. Oeland: Q. How long have you been within 10 feet—your desk being within 10 feet of Mr. MacMillan? A. About a year and a half.

"The Court: How long has your desk been in the same room with Mr. MacMillan?"

"The Witness: About a year and a half.

"The Court: Before this year and a half, did you occupy different rooms or workshops?"

"The Witness: He was not there; he had no desk.

"The Court: What kind of a desk do you work at, whether roll top or flat top?"

"The Witness: Roll top.

"The Court: And what kind of a desk does Mr. MacMillan work at, whether roll top or flat top.

"The Witness: Roll top when he is there.

"The Court: I did not ask you when he was there. Are there any other desks in this room?"

"The Witness: Yes, sir; about 30.
 "The Court: About 30 desks?
 "The Witness: Yes, sir. * * *
 "The Court: Well, you have been away attending these meetings and conventions; have you dined with him?
 "The Witness: On some occasions.
 "The Court: In a dining car?
 "The Witness: No; I do not think we have been in a dining car together.
 "The Court: In hotels?
 "The Witness: I think we have been in a hotel together, but not in the same room.
 "The Court: Never dined with him in a hotel on the European plan, in a restaurant where you make out—or a railway dining car where you make out—a schedule of the things to be served. Did you see him write?
 "The Witness: I think not.
 "The Court: Does he carry a little pocket memorandum book?
 "The Witness: I could not say.
 "The Court: Did you ever see him write in that?
 "The Witness: I do not know that he carries one.
 "The Court: You cannot tell about that?
 "The Witness: No, sir.
 "The Court: Tell the court whether you care to take any further time on this matter, do you?
 "The Witness: My time is your time.
 "The Court: I suggest that you might confer with counsel.
 "The Witness: No, sir; my answers will be exactly as they have been.
 "The Court: Very well. You are adjudged to be in contempt of this court and you are ordered to be committed to jail forthwith. Mr. Clark, you prepare the commitments. You are in the custody of the marshal from now on. And you may call the next witness."

Subsequently the court said:

"The Court: Well, gentlemen of the jury, I should say the action of the court in this regard should not be considered by you. You should draw no inference against these defendants, because there is no evidence in the case warranting it at the present time, and you will give attention, Mr. Reporter, to transcribing this testimony, in order that it may be used this afternoon. We will stop here for about 10 minutes in order that we may obtain another reporter.

"Mr. Sparks: Will your honor have an exception noted for all of these defendants?

"The Court: Certainly. All of these defendants, so far as they are entitled to an exception to this proceeding against the witness, and not against the defendant."

June 11, 1918, the witness was committed for contempt, and remained in prison until April 14, 1919, when he was discharged by the United States Supreme Court upon a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that his testimony, even if false, did not obstruct the court in the performance of its judicial duties. In *re* Hudgings, April 14, 1919. Mr. Justice White said:

"Testing the power to make the commitment which is under consideration in this case by the principles thus stated, we are of opinion that the commitment was void for excess of power—a conclusion irresistibly following from the fact that the punishment was imposed for the supposed perjury alone, without reference to any circumstance or condition giving to it an obstructive effect. Indeed, when the provision of the commitment directing that the punishment should continue to be enforced until the contempt—that is, the perjury—was purged, the impression necessarily arises that it was assumed that the power existed to hold the witness in confinement under the punish-

ment until he consented to give a character of testimony which in the opinion of the court would not be perjured.

"In view of the nature of the case, of the relation which the question which it involves bears generally to the power and duty of courts in the performance of their functions, of the dangerous effect on the liberty of the citizen when called upon as a witness in a court which might result if the erroneous doctrine upon which the order under review was based were not promptly corrected, we are of opinion that the case is an exception to the general rules of procedure to which we have at the outset referred, and therefore that our duty exacts that we finally dispose of the questions in the proceeding for habeas corpus which is before us. It is therefore ordered that the petitioner be discharged."

We think that the attitude of the court in regard to the testimony of these three witnesses and the action it took in the presence of the jury in the case of the witness William F. Hudgings was most prejudicial to the defendants. It was very likely to intimidate witnesses subsequently called, to prejudice the jurors against the defendants, and to make them think that the court was satisfied of the defendants' guilt. What a judge may say to the contrary on such an occasion will not necessarily prevent such consequences. It is not enough to justify a conviction that the defendant be guilty. He has a right to be tried in accordance with the rules of law. The defendants in this case did not have the temperate and impartial trial to which they were entitled, and for that reason the judgment is reversed.

MANTON, Circuit Judge. I dissent. As stated in the prevailing opinion, the plaintiffs in error (hereinafter called the defendants) were officers or employes of the Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society, the People's Pulpit Association, and the International Bible Students' Association, corporations under which, it is alleged, they were engaged in following a religious belief. While our country was at war, and before the armistice was signed, the defendants were tried and convicted on an indictment containing the four following counts:

First Count. A conspiracy to cause insubordination, etc., in the military and naval forces of the United States.

Second Count. A conspiracy to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States.

Third Count. An attempt to cause insubordination, etc., in the military and naval forces of the United States.

Fourth Count. Obstructing the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States, etc.

The offenses charged were committed between June 16, 1917, and May 6, 1918. The corporations, acting through their officers and employes, who were indicted, between June 30, 1917, and March, 1918, caused to be published 850,000 copies of a book called "The Finished Mystery." These copies were distributed in large numbers in the army camps of the United States, and many hundreds of thousands of copies were distributed throughout the United States and Canada. The book purported to be an interpretation of the Book of Revelations and the Book of Ezekiel. The book has taken the shape of a small bible or prayer book. The first half is devoted to many quotations, with interpretations, from the Scriptures. Then, in about the center of the book,

are found writings, placed there in a very indirect manner, of which the following extracts are a type:

"Standing opposite to those Satan has placed three great untruths. Human immorality, the Antichrist and a certain delusion which is best described by the word Patriotism, but which is in reality number, the spirit of the very Devil. * * * Under the guise of Patriotism the civil governments of earth demand of peace-loving men the sacrifice of themselves and their loved ones and the butchery of their fellows, and hail it as a duty demanded by the laws of heaven." Page 247.

"If you say that this war is a last resort in a situation which every other method, patiently tried, has failed to meet, I must answer that this is not true—that other ways and means of action, tried by experience and justified by success, have been laid before the administration and willfully rejected.

"In its ultimate causes, this war is the natural product of our unchristian civilization." * * * There is not a question raised, an issue involved, a cause at stake, which is worth the life of one blue-jacket on the sea or one khaki-coat in the trenches." Page 251.

At about this stage, the fertile mind of the reader would be very much interested, if sanctimonious at all. At this stage, he is supplied this food of poison for his patriotism and loyalty to his country. Under the mockery of religion or religious teaching, I can conceive of no worse thrust at America and at America's needs, at the time of the publication of this book, than that which was published in this book by the defendants. We in America all accord to men of all religious faiths the right to an honest and faithful belief in their creed and the practice of it accordingly, but that the defendants' efforts were intentional and for the desired purpose is apparent from a mere recital of some of the happenings during this period.

The defendant Rutherford wrote on July 17, 1917, referring to The Finished Mystery:

"It seemed good to the Lord to have the seventh volume prepared. * * * When the time came for publishing this work we were in the midst of much opposition, and knowing that to consult the opposers would hinder the publishing of the volume, I took counsel with Brothers Van Amburgh, MacMillan, Martin, and Hudgings of the office force."

The book was paid for out of the funds of the corporation with which the defendants were associated and which they managed. The effect of the book upon the drafted men is exemplified by some of these circumstances. As instances:

One Dutchess, formerly a National Guardsman, sold a copy of the book to one Sisson of Binghamton, N. Y. The latter claimed exemption later before the local board as a conscientious objector and was aided in this by the defendant Van Amburgh.

One Insberg was drafted and sent to Camp Devens in October, 1917. After purchasing the book, he refused to perform any military duty. He later bought a dozen volumes of the book and put them in the library of the Young Men's Christian Association at Camp Devens. Later he deserted.

One De Cecca was drafted, sent to Camp Devens, took a copy of the book with him, and then refused to work in camp.

One Niciti was drafted, sent to Camp Devens, got 30 copies of the

book, distributed them in camp. After he put on his uniform, he took it off and refused to do any work in camp.

One Anderson was drafted and sent to Camp Upton. After reading the book, he deserted, came to the Tabernacle (defendants' establishment), and while there an army officer was looking for him. He saw the officer; used the fire escape as a means of escaping from the building.

The record is replete with evidence indicating the defendants' active advising men subject to the draft to claim their exemption and to refuse to perform any duty in camp if they were drafted.

A pamphlet was later published, called the Bible Students' Monthly, and this by the Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society. An article therein was as follows:

"Young man, the lowest aim of your life is to be a good soldier. A good soldier never tries to distinguish right from wrong. * * * A good soldier is a blind, heartless, soulless, murderous machine. He is not a man; he is not even a brute, for brutes only kill in self-defense. * * * No man can fall lower than a soldier. It is a depth beneath which we cannot go."

Ten thousand copies of this monthly containing this quotation were reprinted in October, 1917, and paid for by defendants in the name of the Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society.

The guilt of the defendants is plain, and I do not understand that the majority of the court are of the opinion that the facts did not warrant this conclusion of the jury.

But this judgment is to be reversed because of the alleged adverse attitude of the court in regard to the testimony of three witnesses, Mrs. Mabel Campbell, Mrs. Agnes Hudgings, and William F. Hudgings, and the action taken by the court in the presence of the jury in the case of the witness Hudgings in committing him for contempt of court, saying it was so prejudicial to the defendants that it could not be cured by the many words of caution expressed by the trial judge.

In order to establish its case, the government found it necessary to call as witnesses employes and others who were attached to and associated with the defendant corporations. Mrs. Mabel Campbell was a stenographer for the defendants. She had written letters, carbon copies of which were taken from the defendants by a search warrant. She identified initials on the letters, and was placed on the witness stand to identify the letters. She refused to identify the letters. The court was apparently of the opinion that she was not telling the truth, and from the recital of what took place, as this record discloses, the court was undoubtedly correct in this conclusion.

Agnes Hudgings, also a stenographer, wrote certain letters to which she attached initials which she used in her course of business conduct in writing such letters; letters indicating the initials of the person who dictated the letter. She was the wife of one of the officers of the association. She refused to identify the letters, and the court, having reached the conclusion that she was not telling the truth, did not hesitate to tell her that she was evading and fencing, and not frank and truthful. Whatever was said by the court in his questions was at once

followed by directing the jury not to permit it to prejudice any one; that it should not reflect against the defendants or the government, for nothing appeared, he said, indicating that the defendants or the defendants' counsel were responsible for the attitude taken by the witnesses, the two stenographers.

Hudgings was called as a witness to identify the handwriting of one of the defendants, MacMillan. He was in close association in the same office, sitting within 10 feet of the desk occupied by MacMillan for two years, and declared that he could not identify the handwriting of either MacMillan or Van Amburgh.

At this stage of the trial, the conduct of the witnesses who were called, and who were associated with the defendants, became so palpable that the court properly told the witness he was not telling the truth. He ordered him committed for contempt of court. At once the court instructed the jury:

"There is no evidence in the case to justify you in drawing the inference that any of the defendants are responsible for the attitude taken by the witness, so that you should not draw any inference against the defendants."

The right to commit for contempt of court, or to summarily cause the arrest of a witness for perjury, is well recognized and approved by our courts. Of course, there must be facts justifying the contempt proceedings. This rule was recently laid down in *Re Hudgings*, 249 U. S. 378, 39 Sup. Ct. 337, 63 L. Ed. 656, decided April 14, 1919, by the Supreme Court of the United States. In this recent decision of the Supreme Court, the power to commit for contempt, when the circumstances warranted it, was recognized; but it was held that in the particular instance of *Hudgings* the circumstances did not warrant his commitment.

Throughout the trial, the court constantly protected the defendants' rights by frequent caution, and in many instances he asked the jury not to be prejudiced because of occurrences which took place during the course of the trial, which the court felt might in some way prejudice the defendants. And again, in the charge to the jury, the court left with the jury the statement that he had no opinion as to the facts, and that the facts were for the jury solely, and that no unfavorable inferences should be drawn by reason of any statement made by the court, nor should they be influenced by anything that occurred during the course of the trial. The rule has long been established that the trial judge of the District Court has wide latitude in the conduct of a trial; he may even comment upon the weight of evidence; so, too, he may comment upon the conduct of the witnesses and of counsel. *Simmons v. United States*, 142 U. S. 148, 12 Sup. Ct. 171, 35 L. Ed. 968; *Vicksburgh, etc., Co. v. Putnam*, 118 U. S. 545, 7 Sup. Ct. 118, 30 L. Ed. 299; *Lovejoy v. United States*, 128 U. S. 171, 9 Sup. Ct. 57, 32 L. Ed. 389; *Breese v. United States*, 106 Fed. 680, 45 C. C. A. 535; *Smith v. United States*, 157 Fed. 721, 85 C. C. A. 353.

Indeed, it is my opinion that the learned District Judge was most patient and considerate of the defendants' rights. His consideration of defendants' counsel, who in their zeal to protect their clients' interest

many times overstepped the bounds of due respect to the dignity of the court, was magnanimous and kindly.

I see no error warranting a reversal of this conviction in the conduct of the trial judge, and in my opinion the judgment should be affirmed.

HICKSON v. UNITED STATES.

(Circuit Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit. May 5, 1919.)

No. 1709.

1. WAR ⚡—ESPIONAGE ACT—INDICTMENT FOR VIOLATION.
In an indictment for violation of Espionage Act June 15, 1917, § 3 (Comp. St. 1918, § 10212c), by willfully making false reports or statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval operations of the United States, when the United States was at war, it is unnecessary to aver that such statements were made in the presence or hearing of persons in the military or naval service, or subject to military or naval duty.
2. WAR ⚡—ESPIONAGE ACT—VIOLATION.
Evidence held to sustain a verdict finding defendant guilty of violation of Espionage Act June 15, 1917, § 3 (Comp. St. 1918, § 10212c) by making false statements with intent to interfere with the military or naval operations of the United States when at war.
3. CONSTITUTIONAL LAW ⚡—WAR ⚡—ESPIONAGE ACT—FREEDOM OF SPEECH.
The Espionage Act June 15, 1917, § 3 (Comp. St. 1918, § 10212c), is not unconstitutional in making criminal in time of war statements or utterances which in time of peace might be within the constitutional rights of a citizen.
4. CRIMINAL LAW ⚡—EXECUTION OF SENTENCE—FEDERAL COURTS.
Unless a defendant convicted of crime is sentenced to imprisonment for a period longer than one year, or to hard labor, a federal court is without authority to order the sentence executed in a state penitentiary.
5. CRIMINAL LAW ⚡—UNAUTHORIZED SENTENCE—CORRECTION BY APPELLATE COURT.
Where a federal court has exceeded its authority in the sentence imposed on a convicted defendant, the error may be corrected by the appellate court by remanding the cause for appropriate sentence.

In Error to the District Court of the United States for the Western District of South Carolina, at Rock Hill; Charles A. Woods, Judge. Criminal prosecution by the United States against F. C. Hickson. Judgment of conviction, and defendant brings error. Reversed with directions.

Cornelius Otts, of Spartanburg, S. C. (J. K. Henry, of Chester, S. C., on the brief), for plaintiff in error.
C. G. Wyche, Asst. U. S. Atty., of Greenville (J. William Thurmond, U. S. Atty., of Edgefield, S. C., on the brief), for the United States.
Before PRITCHARD and KNAPP, Circuit Judges, and ROSE, District Judge.

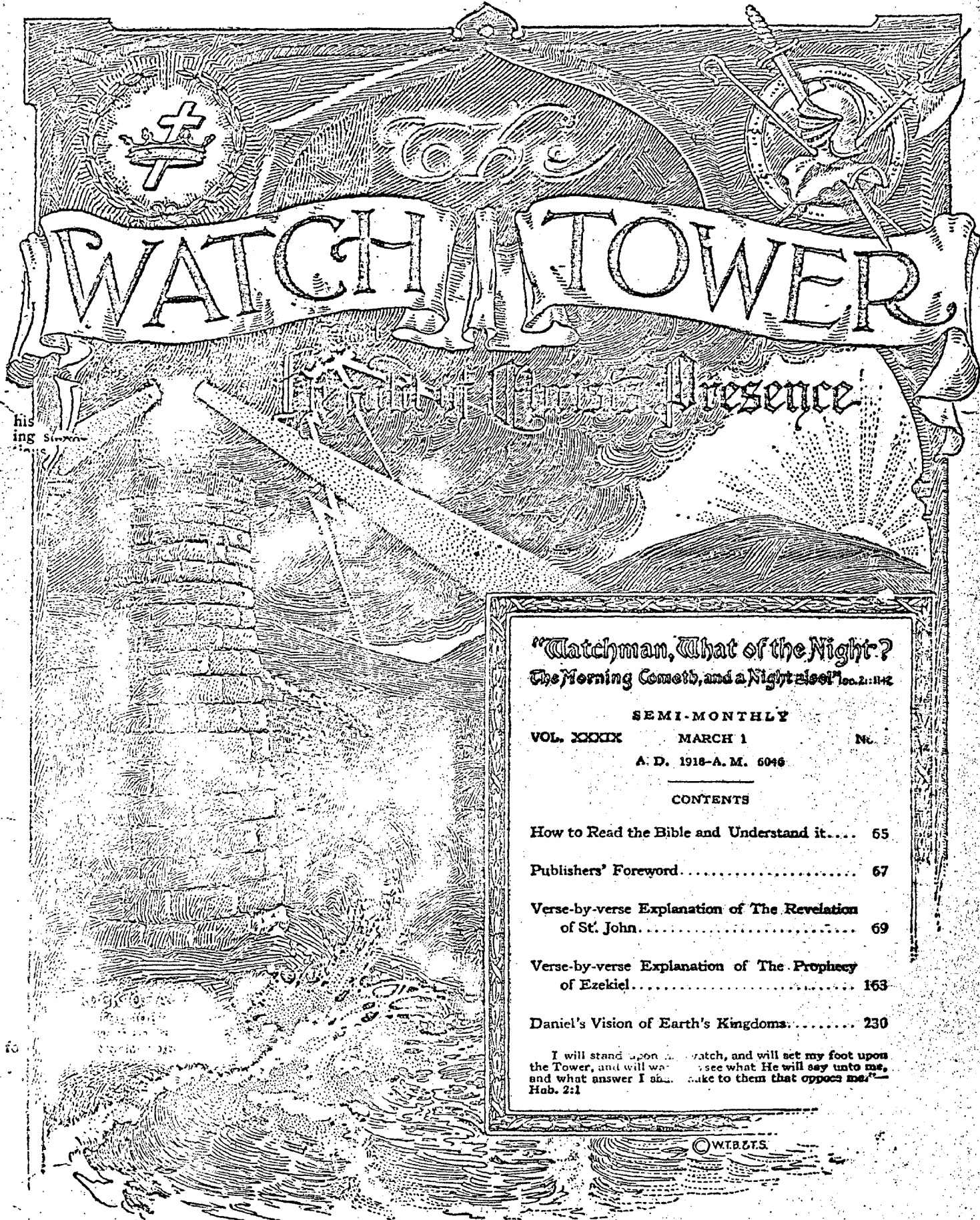
PRITCHARD, Circuit Judge. This was a criminal action instituted in the District Court of the United States for the Western District of South Carolina.

⚡ For other cases see same topic & KEY-NUMBER in all Key-Numbered Digests & Indexes

APPENDIX E

This is the special issue of The Watch Tower mentioned in footnote 5 of page 59. Note the reproduction of the Postmaster General's special order in the upper right-hand corner. This issue carried extremely blunt statements of the Bible Student's position on the World War, denouncing both the Allied and enemy positions.

Notice to reader: When you finish reading this magazine place a one-cent stamp on this notice, hand same to any postal employee and it will be placed in the hands of our soldiers and sailors at the front. No wrapping—no address—
A. S. Burlison, Postmaster General.



"Watchman, What of the Night?
The Morning Cometh, and a Night is Over" *Isa. 21:11-12*

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I will stand upon a watch, and will set my foot upon
the Tower, and will watch to see what He will say unto me,
and what answer I shall make to them that oppose me.—
Hab. 2:1

© W.T.B.Z.T.S.

Upon the earth distress of nations with perplexity; the sea and the waves (the restless, discontented) roaring; men's hearts falling them for fear and for looking
at the things coming upon the earth (society); for the powers of the heavens (cosmic materialism) shall be shaken. When ye see these things begin to come to pass,
then know that the kingdom of God is at hand. Look up, lift up your heads, rejoice, for your redemption draweth nigh.—Matthew 24:33; Mark 13:29; Luke 21:31-32

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