

**Doers of the Word: Seventh-day Adventist Social
Christianity in Thought and Practice
during the Gilded Age**

by

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*For Daddy y Mami
Thank you for teaching me to love history, writing, and learning*

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Introduction

Solving a Paradox

Growing up in Michigan as a Seventh-day Adventist, the adults in my life always taught me to believe that the second coming of Jesus was a soon and present reality, that in my lifetime we would no longer be living on this earth, but that we would be taken to heaven. At the same time, I was also raised to admire the medical institutions that our church had created, as well as her educational system, and that our religion required us to take care of the environment and provide for the wellbeing of others. It never occurred to me that there might be contradiction in my beliefs until I heard an NPR story about a general disregard for this world by those who anxiously expected the next. Understanding the history of my own denomination, I did not think that this was true. But I still had no idea why my religion developed a different philosophy of service while sharing common ground with other denominations about the end of time.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church is a product of the Millerite Movement. William Miller began to preach in the mid-1800s that he, based on his study of prophecies in the book of Daniel, had calculated the return of Jesus to be in 1843. When Jesus did not appear in 1843, Miller revised his calculations to find that Jesus was actually supposed to return to earth on October 22, 1844. However, as we know, Jesus did not return on that day either. Of the 50,000 followers that he had at the time, most left the movement. But there was a small group that believed their calculations had been correct. They continued to study the Bible in attempts to

explain what had happened that day. Out of this group of people grew what would become to be known as the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which became incorporated in the 1860s. Their understanding of the events that transpired on that day gave them a unique theological lens through which they viewed the world.

Thus as a formal, organized religion, Seventh-day Adventism, (often in this paper referred to simply as Adventism) began to grow in the Gilded Age, the era of American history following the Civil War and leading up to the First World War. During this time, the Industrial Revolution really began to come of age, transforming the country from an agrarian society to a capitalistic one. In this transition from farms to machines, the United States also became extremely urbanized. The city, the location where these changes occurred, drew people in from the rural parts of the United States and from around the world. Soon the cities were growing larger and larger, the population exploding. During this time period the combination of a high population density in metropolitan areas with the by-products of industrial processes painted a stark and ugly picture of the new urban American life in the midst of exciting economic, technologic, and scientific developments.

Premillennialists anticipate Christ to return before the millennium so that he can establish it through his own mighty power.¹ Premillennialists, then, are those Christians (including Seventh-day Adventists, I argue) who believe that the world was soon to come to an end. In the last half of the nineteenth century, they believed that these drastic societal changes were simply evidence of a world spinning further and further out of control, which confirmed their belief that the millennium was at hand. Postmillennialists, on the other hand, are those Christians who believe that it

¹ Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism 1875-1925* (New York Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

is the responsibility of the church to establish the millennium before Christ could return to earth.² The developments in society, technology, and economics, along with the new theories of evolution and Social Darwinism, led these people to believe, unlike premillennialists, that society was at least heading in the direction of gradual improvement, and they believed they had the understanding to manipulate it in such a way that they could ensure perfection one day being accomplished by their own hands, rather than by supernatural agencies.³

Although both of these theologies existed prior to the Civil War, it was especially during the Gilded Age that they each gave birth to distinctive movements. George Marsden claims that for much of the nineteenth-century liberal and conservative Christianity had more in common than historians and theologians usually acknowledge. For example, the conservative, presumably premillennialist, and the liberal Christian would both have agreed before the turn of the century that the poor were in their position in society because of the presence of vice in their lives. Likewise, both sides would have taught that prosperity was one of the main objectives of Christianity. However, the process of modernization, particularly within scientific developments that contradicted the Bible, caused the schism between the two sides to enlarge.⁴

Because they believed in the need to perfect the world, during the Gilded Age postmillennialists started promoting a Social Gospel, a theology that not only encouraged work for the individual, but also the betterment of society. They believed

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ George Marsden, "The Gospel of Wealth, the Social Gospel, and the Salvation of Souls in Nineteenth-Century America," *Fides et Historia* 5, no. 1 (1973).

that it was possible to bring perfect order to this earth, thus making it distinct from social Christianity in general. Appalled by the idea of human wrought perfection, premillennialists responded with a counter movement, Fundamentalism. The Fundamentalist movement, which developed in the first few decades of the twentieth century should not be confused with the term fundamentalist I use in a liberal manner in the paper at times. I use this term to refer to those Christians on the more conservative side of the spectrum who believe in the inherency of the Scriptures. Adventists, because of the relationship between what they teach in their theology and the way they practice their religion, do not fit nicely into either of these categories.

This is where the question really comes into focus. Because they are premillennialist and share common elements with fundamentalist theology, it seems inconsistent for Seventh-day Adventists to practice their own version of the Social Gospel. One author, Robin Theobald, suggests that there is not an inconsistency in Seventh-day Adventism's belief and practice, but rather that an evolution in their approach to the world has taken place. While Adventism began as a rural movement, with the industrialization and urbanization of the country, it was necessary for the church to become more urban and modern and leave behind its millennial preoccupations in order for it to survive in the changing American landscape. As a result it became more institutional and worldly focused in order to accommodate those in the city—people who were more concerned with their

surroundings than with the coming millennium. He argues that this shift occurred around the turn of the century.⁵

Another author, Malcolm Bull, argues that there was not a shift in Adventism at all, but rather historians and theologians have wrongly categorized Adventists as premillennialists when really they support a theology that proves them to be postmillennialists. Therefore, there would be no contradiction in them practicing the Social Gospel because they would naturally fit right in with the movement.⁶

Through my own study of primary sources, I believe that the analyses of the Adventist theology and its relationship and implications for a social outreach will be shown to be incomplete and often inconsistent with the evidence.

I have thus organized my thesis in order to address the two main issues that arise out of these arguments. Primarily, I address if it is inconsistent for Adventism to be both premillennialist and practice social Christianity. Secondly, I explore Adventist health reform, and especially the work done in Chicago, to discover whether their move into the city shows a change in their belief to match the times in which they lived.

In order to answer these questions, I have chosen to examine Seventh-day Adventist social thought and practice in the 1890s and early 1900s. The thesis is divided thematically into three chapters. The first chapter examines the history of social and religious thought, while the second serves as a transition between thought and practice, and third chapters focus almost completely on practice.

⁵ Robin Theobald, "From Rural Populism to Practical Christianity: The Modernisation of the Seventh-Day Adventist Movement," *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 60, no. 1 (1985).

⁶ Malcolm Bull, "Eschatology and Manners in Seventh-Day Adventism," *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 65, no. 1 (1988).

The first chapter answers the question regarding premillennialism and social Christianity by examining some of the writings of the Seventh-day Adventist prophet Ellen G. White. By comparing her writings with the ideas that were being promoted during the time period, a distinct view of the person and society appears. Furthermore, the distinctive contribution of Adventism to Christian theology will prove to be the key to understanding the sensibility of having a social Christianity while eagerly anticipating the millennium.

The second chapter explores the development of Adventist health reform, both in terms of its institutions, as well as the ideal established for those who should staff the institutions. This study will expose the special, distinctive message that Adventists believed the health reform movement was to help proclaim while anticipating the return of Christ. The reason for looking specifically to the health reform movement is because all other forms of Adventist outreach were born out of this initial work.

Finally, the third chapter addresses what Adventists saw as the social implications for their outreach by examining the practices of the Chicago Medical Mission. Placed in the context of Chicago in the 1890s the Mission displays a variety of ways in which Adventists worked in the world around them. This work shows that they believed they were meeting specific needs in the city.

Chapters two and three rely heavily on the material in the John Harvey Kellogg Papers. The collection is problematic when discussing aspects of the history of the health reform movement. The Battle Creek Sanitarium burned to the ground in 1902, presumably consuming many of the documents about its work that would be relevant to this inquiry. While the Sanitarium was rebuilt, most of the documents

in the collection after the fire are in the period beyond the scope of this investigation. The few relevant documents included in the collection I incorporate into the thesis both in the history of the movement, and to provide an understanding of the principles that the Chicago mission propagated.

Dr. Kellogg, as a character in the story relayed in this project, also presents potential problems. First of all, though he was an Adventist for quite some time, Dr. Kellogg eventually was removed from membership of the church in 1907, after which time he would no longer be classified as a Seventh-day Adventist practitioner of social Christianity.⁷ While this is true, the documents that I present in this paper were all produced prior to his leaving the church. However, even if I had included some of his later papers, their presence would have been included, they would not have necessarily been problematic because although he was no longer a church member, Dr. Kellogg continued to adhere to many of the health and moral principles associated with the denomination.

Additionally, and by far the larger challenge to some of the ideas shared in this presentation, is the fact that Dr. Kellogg was a eugenicist. The reason why this is problematic is that Adventist belief (along with many other Christians) states that all people were created in the image of God, and therefore are equal. This fact, as we will soon see, is part of the motivation behind mobilizing a social Christianity in the first place, just as it was with the Social Gospel. I do not pretend to be naive of the fact that a belief in eugenics would undermined this view of humanity, thus eliminating one of the rationalizations for the work explored in this project. While recognizing the gravity of this concern, I decided not to engage Dr. Kellogg in his

⁷ Ibid.

views on eugenics for a fear that it would be an intellectual tangent that would take the present project in a different direction than I originally intended. That stated, it would be interesting to see through further research if and how Dr. Kellogg's spin on eugenics might be different than his contemporaries, including his friend C.C. Little and what implications this belief would have on his strong desire to perform Medical Mission work. One saving grace in regards to this project is that, although in some scratched out paragraphs of speeches made before his departure there appears to be some evidence that he might have secretly been harboring such beliefs, he did not become active in the eugenics community until after he left the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The following chapters are an attempt to answer to my question. As a Seventh-day Adventist, I am cognizant of the possibility for bias to influence my perception of the primary evidence I have encountered and my critique of Adventist specific secondary sources. However, I realize that even if I did not identify with the Adventist faith, I still would have viewed the documents with a bias, just from a different point of view. As a Seventh-day Adventist familiar with the theology and history of the church, I am actually in a good position to consider the material at hand because I am familiar with the terms and ideas expressed in the documents, and thus can provide an informed analysis. This thesis has been an intellectual pursuit to answer a question that is fundamental to my belief system. While this journey had been personally rewarding, I believe that the attempt to answer my question will also show that Adventist deserve to be considered more closely and more often by historians as contributing unique ideas, practices, and players in American history.

Chapter One

Doers of the Word

"But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only..." James 1:22, KJV

In the market

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, few knew or even dreamed of the drastic changes in daily life that would take place over the next one hundred years in the United States. Developments, revolutions, and discoveries, drastically changed the way of life for all Americans. The Civil War tested the resilience of the young country and her ideals. Following the war, changes came at an even more accelerated pace as the Industrial Revolution really came of age. The assembly line simplified and made work in factories more efficient. The opportunity for employment in these factories drew the population into the city. Additionally, developments in technology increased communication and shortened travel distances.

In the sciences, the theory of evolution was introduced. Not only did this have strong implications for the relationship between science and religion, challenging the beliefs of many Americans, it also affected the way other disciplines looked at how the world works. Out of this new theory came the ideas of Social Darwinism that added to the already present questions about human nature and behavior, and seemed to legitimize the practices of capitalistic entrepreneurs.

Within Christianity differing ideas circulated attempting to explain the times in which people were living and explain why things were changing. Many found themselves trying to defend their beliefs, explain the world around them, and their place in it. This struggle took place as the marketplace of ideas was flooded with

theories, thoughts, and explanations from Wall Street, research universities, and the pulpit. Old religious ideas died, new ones developed, and new systems of belief were embraced.

It is no wonder that at this time of drastic change so many Christians would believe that the end of the world was imminent. For those postmillennialist Christians who believed that Christ's coming was a long way off and that humanity was currently living in the millennium, a humanitarian concern for others developed into a version of social Christianity, the Social Gospel, which led to numerous forms of social outreach and reform. On the other hand Christians who believed that the millennium had not yet happened, but was about to start, viewed its coming as a cataclysmic end to earth's history as we know it, a total destruction of the earth, and the beginning of a new era of perfection in the human experience. As a result of this view of the world, premillennialists were less concerned about the condition of the earth or the bodies and minds of people. In their mind's eye, all those things were about to be destroyed anyways. It was more important for them to reach out to others and convert them in order that they might be ready to meet Jesus and reign with him.

Although American Christians of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century can be divided into these two broad categories, there are sure to be groups who do not fall into these categories. One of these groups is the Seventh-day Adventist Church, formed in the middle of the nineteenth century. While Adventists believe in the imminent return of Jesus, a premillennialist position, they have developed a comprehensive social outreach network in schools, hospitals, clinics, and other institutions. Monuments such as the present day Federal Center, formally

the Sanitarium, in Battle Creek, Michigan, pay homage to their concern for this world, although they believed they belonged in a world to come.

At a casual glance, coupled with the notion of a premillennialist tendency to deemphasize social outreach, it would seem that Seventh-day Adventist's focus on social Christianity is in direct contradiction with their premillennialist worldview. But, as we will see in this chapter by studying their approach to the rich, the development of character, and their approach to the poor, the idea of a pre-Advent investigative judgment not only clears up the apparent contradiction, but also necessitates both a this- and other-worldly outlook for life.

In order to fully understand these ideas, it is important to look at the source from which people within the church learned them. Though she never claimed the title for herself Ellen White is considered a prophetess among Adventist circles. She wrote extensively from the 1840s until her death in 1915, writing often about the need of both sharing the gospel and doing social good. She also draws links between the two and their relationship with character development and its effects on the pre-Advent judgment.

In January of 1898 she published a two-part article titled "Christian Benevolence" in which she outlines the good works in which Christians should participate. By comparing what she has written in this article with what she wrote in various other publications around the time of the turn of the nineteenth century, her approach to both a gospel outreach and a social outreach becomes clear and apparent, when she defines the purpose and usefulness of both pursuits. Additionally, we are able to see how Ellen White is explaining to her readers that the

world around them is operating. Thus she contributes thoughts competing for prominence in the market place of ideas at this time.

“Poor rich men”

True Christian Benevolence⁸ does not come naturally to man. Rather, Ellen White states that it is born out of Christian love. Christian love, then, she defines as the result of a person who loves as Christ loved and works as he worked, and that it is the product of love for Jesus. This love for Christ will then be projected onto all of those surrounding an individual, no matter their class.⁹

Even before talking about reaching out to other people, Mrs. White is emphasizing the need for the believer to have his own personal relationship with God. This relationship is so important to her because she believes that it is the means by which others will be attracted to God. She writes that in a love for God manifested through missionary labor, individuals will be won for God, not just to “relieve bodily maladies,” but also to, “heal the diseased soul, leprous with sin.”¹⁰ Although she is here emphasizing the soul, from the outset we can already see that her approach to outreach is comprehensive, exhibiting a concern for the body as well.

Christian love, Ellen White seems to believe, means displaying works in life that match the faith of the believer. Thus she is emphasizing the need of an experience with God that results in love for others. The relationship between the

⁸ For the purpose of this chapter, “Christian Benevolence,” although also the title of the article written at the beginning of 1898, will also refer to the Adventist approach to social Christianity and outreach.

⁹Ellen G. White, “Christian Benevolence.--No 1.,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 75, no. 1 (1898).

¹⁰ Ibid.

believer and God is integral to the work of Christian Benevolence. This indeed conforms to the idea that premillennialists emphasize—the need of salvation for the soul. However, the Social Gospel too emphasized the need for personal conversion. Ellen White agrees with both, also emphasizing works. “Poor rich men, professing to serve God, are objects of pity,” she writes. Explaining why she states that, she says, “While they profess to know God, in works they deny Him. How great is the darkness of such! They profess faith in the truth, but their works do not correspond with their profession.” Even more, she points to the reason for this inconsistency between faith and works: “The love of riches makes men selfish, exacting, and overbearing. Wealth is power; and frequently the love of it depraves and paralyzes all that is noble and godlike in man.”¹¹

Hence, when talking about the need for spiritual conversion, Mrs. White especially targets the rich. She says, “. . . our prayers are most needed by the men entrusted with prosperity and influence.”¹² Of this work to be done to win over the wealthy, she does not allow for anyone to believe it will be a simple task. Rather, she writes, “It is by no casual, accidental touch that wealthy, world-loving, world-worshiping souls can be drawn to Christ. These persons are often the most difficult of access. Personal effort must be put forth for them by men and women imbued with the missionary spirit, those who will not fail or be discouraged.”¹³

While at first glance somewhat perplexing, Ellen White makes her targeting of the wealthy clear. She describes the different reasons to reach the wealthy, and also what the implications of their conversion would be for the work of the gospel.

¹¹ ———, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols., vol. 2 (Pacific Press Publishing Association; reprint, 2002), p. 682.

¹² ———, *Ministry of Healing* (Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1905; reprint, 2002), p. 212.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

Primarily, the wealthy need to be converted because “Riches and worldly honor cannot satisfy the soul. Many among the rich are longing for some divine assurance, some spiritual hope. Many long for something that will bring to an end the monotony of their aimless lives. Many in official life feel their need of something which they have not.”¹⁴ Even the famous have no peace. Ellen White recommends a solution, “These men are in need of the gospel. They need to have their eyes turned from the vanity of material things to behold the preciousness of the enduring riches.”¹⁵

Of this work for the wealthy, Ellen White states, “There are miracles to be wrought in genuine conversion, miracles that are not now discerned. The greatest men of the earth are not beyond the power of a wonder-working God. If those who are workers together with Him will do their duty bravely and faithfully, God will convert men who occupy responsible places, men of intellect and influence.”¹⁶ No wonder she begs the believer, “Shall we make no personal appeal to them?”¹⁷

The reason that the wealthy are in so much need, according to Mrs. White, is because they have so much. “Thousands in positions of trust and honor are indulging habits that mean ruin to soul and body. Ministers of the gospel, statesmen, authors, men of wealth and talent, men of vast business capacity and power for usefulness, are in deadly peril because they do not see the necessity of self-control in all things.” Because their wealth allows them to do to excess what they please rather than live a temperate life. The remedy then is this: “They need to have their attention called to the principles of temperance, not in a narrow or arbitrary way, but

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 210.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 213.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 216.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 210.

in the light of God's great purpose for humanity. Could the principles of true temperance thus be brought before them, there are very many of the higher classes who would recognize their value and give them a hearty acceptance."¹⁸

She is writing this at a time when some believed people developed habits out of instincts innate to man as a result of the evolutionary process. Not only that, but some also believed habits to be the force that helped keep men in their social orders, the rich on top and the poor at the bottom, and prevented any sort of social upheaval.¹⁹ Not only would Mrs. White reject turning to evolution to explain habit development but she outright contradicts the idea that habits keep men in their places. Rather, she believes that bad habits lead to destruction. She writes, "Among the wretched victims of want and sin are found many who were once in possession of wealth. Men of different vocations and different stations in life have been overcome by the pollutions of the world, by the use of strong drink, by indulgence in the lusts of the flesh, and have fallen under temptation."²⁰ So we see in her estimation, human nature is influenced by the surroundings of an individual, and therefore environment has a profound effect on the behavior of that person even leading to harmful habits. We will further explore her view of human nature later in this chapter.

Her belief in the malleability of the person is another reason why Mrs. White is so adamant in advocating reaching out to the wealthy. Believing in power over a habit, she begs, "While these fallen ones excite our pity and demand our help, should

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 211.

¹⁹ Merle Curti, *Human Nature in American Thought: A History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, Ltd., 1980), p. 207.

²⁰ Ellen G. White, "The World's Need," in *Counsels on Health* (Review & Herald Publishing, 1923), p. 15.

not some attention be given also to those who have not yet descended to these depths, but who are setting their feet in the same path? There are thousands occupying positions of honor and usefulness who are indulging habits that mean ruin to soul and body. Should not the most earnest effort be made to enlighten them?"²¹ Though she was not alone in her belief in the ability to overcome bad habits, again she goes on to relate the soul to the body, suggesting that habits affect one's spiritual condition. She is thus unique in believing that a person's habits not only impact where they are in this life, but also have an influence on what happens to them in the next.

Her solution to the problem of bad habits and a lack of self-control, as we saw above, is temperance. During this time period, on the eve of the Prohibition Era, temperance was often regarded as the mere avoidance of alcohol, or even tobacco. But Ellen White uses the term in a much broader sense. Temperance is not confined to abstinence from drinking, but is rather a concept that cuts out all things that are harmful for the body and allows all that is beneficial for the body in reasonable amounts. Because of a lack of temperance, Mrs. White explains that people are in a less than ideal state, not just physically, but are also affected mentally and spiritually, reflecting her endorsement of the three-fold person.²² We will explore below a closer examination of this holistic view of the person and its relationship to the Adventist version of social Christianity.

Although she clearly presents which needs to meet for the wealthy in society, Mrs. White seems to anticipate some hesitation on the part of church members in reaching out to the rich as a group. This hesitation could be for some of the same

²¹ Ibid., p. 15.

²² White, *Ministry of Healing*, p. 211.

reasons she highlighted before, the rich would have no interest in spiritual things, they have all of their needs met, they are too educated to be susceptible to conversion. To all of these opposing ideas, Mrs. White states that men of high rank and plenty will indeed be converted by the power of God. She is emphatic in not only making sure that people recognize the need for reaching out to the rich, but also the fact that it is a work that needs to be done.²³

When thinking about establishing a philosophy for social Christianity, emphasis on the rich seems paradoxical for a number of reasons. Although Ellen White does mention that the wealthy could face certain health risks as a result of their lack of temperance in alcohol and fine foods, the rich do not seem to need much. Mrs. White recognize, this thought, and that is why she emphasizes the need for the rich to be converted. Although their earthly needs may be met, through the conversion of the wealthy, they too can make sure their heavenly needs are met. But by itself, the emphasis on the conversion of the rich makes White's argument for social outreach more spiritual, rather than social, in nature. It also aligns Adventist thought more closely with the beliefs of most premillennialist Christians, emphasizing the soul over the body. Such an understanding of Ellen White's argument, though, would be a shallow and false one. As we will see, her version of social Christianity is broad indeed, far extending (although still including) the need for personal conversion of individuals.

We can begin to see the widening scope of Ellen White's approach to social Christianity when she begins to talk about the results of converting the rich to Jesus. Their conversion will lead to some decisive actions. "When it is made plain that the

²³ Ibid., p.212.

Lord expects them as His representatives to relieve suffering humanity, many will respond and will give of their means and their sympathies for the benefit of the poor. As their minds are thus drawn away from their own selfish interests, many will surrender themselves to Christ."²⁴ Not only reaching out to the poor, Ellen White hypothesizes that "When converted to Christ," they will also "become agencies in the hand of God to work for others of their own class. They will feel that a dispensation of the gospel is committed to them for those who have made this world their all. Time and money will be consecrated to God, talent and influence will be devoted to the work of winning souls to Christ."²⁵ We see that another motive for converting the rich is to increase the number of workers available to reach out both to the poor and to other people who are rich.

Once again, in stirring up the church members to reach out to the wealthy, Mrs. White writes, "There are many wealthy men who are susceptible to the influences and impressions of the gospel message, and who, when the Bible and the Bible alone is presented to them as the expositor of Christian faith and practice, will be moved by the Spirit of God to open doors for the advancement of the gospel."²⁶ It is interesting to see that she here argues that the Bible and the Bible alone should be what wins people over to Christianity, excluding even her own writings. By deemphasizing her own writings, we gain an idea of how Ellen White viewed her own role. Her writings were not to be used instead of, or even on par with, the written Word. Rather she wrote to point people back to the Bible. More interesting than her emphasis on what to teach, though, is what those being converted will be

²⁴ Ibid., p. 216.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 216.

²⁶ Ellen G. White, *Gospel Workers* (Review & Herald Publishing, 1915), p. 348.

won over to do.

We once again must remember the time in which Ellen White wrote these things. This was the time when a few select men gained great fortunes—the Gilded Age. For the first time in American history, wealth, position, and power were not held locally by men made wealthy by the land they owned. Rather a few men had control over much of the nation’s money as well as the jobs of the vast majority of Americans. Some of these men, such as Andrew Carnegie, felt an obligation to aid those men who were not as well equipped to succeed in life as a result of the tycoons’ belief in social evolution. However, they were not moved to equalize the playing field (this would be an unfair advantage in the process of natural selection) nor did they view any equality with those men of lower rank in society.²⁷ But Ellen White contradicts all of these ideas. She rejects the notion that a few men should control all the wealth of the nation for a benefit to themselves. She rejects the idea that those in control are more fit for social survival than other men, resulting in their success and riches for themselves. She also rejects the idea that there is a hierarchy of humanity. She writes, “God never meant that this misery should exist. He never meant that one man should have an abundance of the luxuries of life, while the children of others should cry for bread. The means over and above the positive necessities of life are entrusted to men to do good, to bless humanity. God has entrusted his goods to stewards; and if these stewards love him, they will love those formed in his image.”²⁸

Mrs. White comments that the question has long been present about how

²⁷ Roger L. Ransom, *Coping with Capitalism: The Economic Transformation of the United States, 1776-1980* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981), p. 54.

²⁸ White, "Christian Benevolence.--No 1.."

money should be raised to do worldwide and domestic missions. She recognizes that in the rich this need can be met, and shows that the conversion of the wealthy will open the door to their pockets so that they can be the means by which people are sponsored to do their mission works.

She also writes that men of wealth should be sought after and converted because of their power and influence, making them worthy of reaching out to others. She emphasizes the fact that these individuals are entrusted with "precious gifts" which God "lent them in trust" so that they may set up centers for Bible influence in the great cities of America. So not only is Ellen White calling for the wealthy to reach out to others by sharing the gospel, she is also calling for them to share their wealth with the advancement of this gospel.

"Bank of heaven"

Rather than believing that wealth is an indication of favor with God and a reward for being a good individual, or an indication of one's own natural ability to outwit his fellow man, Ellen White believes that the only reason that the wealthy were granted their status was so that they could contribute those funds to the work of God.²⁹ She writes, "The money that God has entrusted to men is to be used in blessing humanity, in relieving the necessities of the suffering and the needy."³⁰ While this is not a new idea to Christianity, we see that the language in which Ellen White presents the need for sharing is tailored to her place in time, using money, banks, and investments as metaphors that accurately reflect Adventist beliefs about judgment.

Thus, Mrs. White develops the idea that money and success are a gift from

²⁹ ———, *Gospel Workers*, p. 349, 350.

³⁰ ———, "Christian Benevolence.--No 1.."

God and as a result are not to be used for the pleasure of oneself. Instead they should be used to help those who are less fortunate. The contribution of these funds is by no means limited to the advancement of the gospel through teaching of the Bible.

Rather, she says, "There is a work to do for the wealthy, in awakening them to a sense of their responsibility and accountability to God to conduct all their business relations as those who must give account to him who will judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and kingdom. The wealthy man needs your labor in the love and fear of God."³¹ Speaking in the language of the wealthy, using terminology of capitalism, Ellen White is showing that people will be held responsible for what they do with what they have. The reason for helping the poor is not just for giving them needed aid, but also for the good of the one giving, who will be judged.

In order to fully understand what Ellen White is trying to describe in the need for the rich to share their wealth, we must understand that she develops a type of spiritual economy based off of the parable of the talents found in the Bible.³² In this parable, a servant is entrusted with five talents³³, another with two, and another with one. The first two reinvest their talents in order to have a profit ready for their master when he returns. But the third servant buries the talent instead, and returns exactly what that master gave him. Jesus comments that the master was angry with

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ellen White writes extensively about this parable in her classic *Christ's Object Lessons*. Although not as explicit, she refers back to this parable in many of her other writings in order to motivate people to service, to remind them that they must settle their accounts. Indeed, the quote in the previous paragraph is alluding directly to this parable.

³³ A talent is a denomination of money, not a reference to physical or other talents that a person may possess, although this story is often used to encourage people to use those talents as well, believing in the same idea of multiplicity versus stagnation.

the servant for not having more than he was given, and the reader can infer that the same is true for all who are entrusted with any kind of capital.³⁴ Momentarily we will see the significance of the fact that this story of the talents happens to be placed right before a parable of the final judgment in the Bible.

We must take note that she is writing at the time of expanding American capitalism. Although many resented the owners of the trusts who owned the majority of the money of the day, many also wished they could achieve the status of those men. It is reasonable to believe, then, that both for the wealthy and for the less fortunate many would be familiar with the terminology and processes of American capitalism.³⁵ Ellen White seems to make this assumption and uses the language of American capitalism heavily in her writings to describe how one can be sure to be prepared for the judgment.

Explaining the parable, Ellen White states that the rich who hoard their money and wealth are like the servant who does not reinvest that which his master lent him while away. They still show a love for earthly things and money, and that is why they hide away their treasures. Rather than meeting an angry master, the rich will meet a disappointed Jesus who has already judged their actions. To help others avoid this end she writes, "Christ points out the way in which those who have worldly riches and yet are not rich toward God may secure the true riches. He says: Sell that ye have, and give alms, and lay up treasure in heaven. The remedy He proposes for the wealthy is a transfer of their affections from earthly riches to the eternal inheritance." By changing their behavior and "investing their means in the

³⁴ Matthew 25:14-30.

³⁵ Vincent P DeSantis, "The Gilded Age in American History," *Hayes Historical Journal* VII, no. 2 (Winter 1998).

cause of God to aid in the salvation of souls, and by blessing the needy with their means, they become rich in good works and are 'laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life.' This will prove a safe investment." Although a more desirable outcome is achievable, she mourns that some do not elect it, saying "But many show by their works that they dare not trust in the bank of heaven. They choose to trust their means in the earth rather than send it before them to heaven, that their hearts may be upon their heavenly treasure."³⁶ Her previous emphasis on true conversion is because as a result of it the rich will want to store for themselves treasure in heaven, rather than "bury" it on earth by spending it on self indulgence.

The idea of good works immediately brings us back to the idea of the judgment. And thinking about the judgment is exactly what Ellen White wants to happen, and is probably one of the reasons she chose this parable to illustrate her point. Just as a parable of the judgment follows the parable of the talents and as judgment is passed on the servant, she wants to show that the judgment, the examination of ones works in relation to their profession of faith, will be determined by their faith as expressed through their works.

The works that the wealthy should perform are specific, and are not limited to the preaching of the gospel. She says that calling for funds for "the relief of the sick poor or for the training of children and youth for usefulness in the world. To such an appeal not many would refuse to listen."³⁷ Money is to be spent in working for the body and the mind, not just the soul. So what on the surface appeared to be a fundamentalist approach to outreach now appears to also have a Social Gospel

³⁶ White, *Testimonies for the Church.*, pp. 681, 682.

³⁷ ———, *Ministry of Healing.*, p. 211.

element to it as well with the inclusion of training individuals for usefulness in the world. How this idea was put into practice will be explored to a much greater extent in the following chapters.

White's emphasis on the wealthy and their role in social outreach reinforces the idea that Christian Benevolence, a social gospel message, has to do with more than just helping the poor in urban slums and more than just meeting the physical needs of people. She is calling for people to meet the spiritual needs of others, specifically by telling them that they need to come to know Jesus and his will for their life. This is a prerequisite for service. In order to be one who bestows Christian Benevolence, a participant in a social gospel, it is necessary for the person to first have his own personal experience with God.

This raises a puzzle for the student of history. Seventh-day Adventism was born out of the Millerite Movement in the 1840s, a group who believed that Jesus would return to earth in 1844. Although as heirs of the Millerite Movement they later claimed that the day and the hour of the return of Christ is unknown, Seventh-day Adventists retain the belief that Jesus will be returning soon, as their name clearly signals. This belief in the imminent end of the world is an inherently premillennialist idea. But something about Adventism is different here. Although they believe Jesus is coming soon, their prophet, Ellen White, is advocating that church members should be actively pursuing acts of social good, first through recruiting the rich to help their effort, then through direct intervention with the poor. Why would a group with such an otherworldly view have such a concern for this world? Through understanding the judgment and how Adventists view it, the reason for this paradox will not only be made clear, it will also be shown not to be a paradox at all.

Each time Ellen White writes about the need to reach out to either the poor or the rich she presents the reminder that the reason people ultimately should reach out is for judgment, either to warn people who do not know that judgment is coming, and in fact is here³⁸, or for people to prepare themselves for the judgment. Her continual emphasis on judgment is a reflection of the unique theological contribution to Christianity of the Seventh-day Adventist church, the idea of the pre-Advent judgment. This belief states that an investigative judgment of the works of humans must take place before the coming of the millennium. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that this unique doctrine would lead to a unique approach to viewing and participating in the world.

This idea of a pre-Advent judgment is the way in which Adventists explained the “Great Disappointment” of Christ not returning to earth in 1844. Rather than returning to earth, as the Millerites originally thought, they believe the Bible shows³⁹ Christ started the investigative judgment, in a heavenly sanctuary. At the end of the judgment, they believe, he will return to earth to reward the faithful by taking them to heaven. Because the judgment happens before Christ returns to earth, it becomes clear that this life on this earth is the only chance that one gets in order to prepare oneself for heaven.

Realizing this, the necessity and urgency for a social gospel message comes to light in two ways. Primarily, in the Adventist worldview, people are being judged

³⁸ The idea that the judgment is now, and that people need to be told about it comes out of an understanding of Dan. 8:14 and Rev. 14:6-7, respectively.

³⁹ This understanding came to one of the Millerite believers on October 23, 1844 when he read Hebrews 9.

right now, and the determination of their eternal condition is the end result.⁴⁰ The logical thought process that follows is that if Christ is coming soon, meaning the judgment would be over, as much work needs to be done now in order to reach out to those who are suffering, whether physically or spiritually, in order to prepare them for the judgment at hand and the soon coming end of time.

Secondly, by bestowing acts of Christian Benevolence, a person improves her character. A noble character will in turn contribute to the determination of whether or not she will be saved. This is true because a noble character gives evidence of good works as a product of faith. As a result, the believer will be better able to face the judgment and be prepared for the soon coming Christ. The rest of this chapter will explore this idea of the relationship between social Christianity as presented in Adventism and character development.

In both of these instances we see that the idea of doing social good is not against, but rather is in harmony with the premillennial idea of the near end of the world. Through doing good works, Christians can show their faith and be seen as pure in the judgment, thus being prepared for Christ's second coming. Those who are told, in turn, are able to find out about the judgment and soon coming end, and make the adjustments necessary in their lives in order to be ready themselves. Even more, they will continue to share with others the acts of Christian Benevolence which they themselves benefited from. Simply put, through acts of Christian Benevolence, all are prepared for the end of time in a way that neither believers nor nonbelievers would be if these acts were not shared. Christian Benevolence applies

⁴⁰ I say condition here simply because according to Adventist belief, one will either live forever, or forever cease to exist. Adventists have no belief in eternal punishment.

to everyone. Through the act of Christian Benevolence, all have the potential to be saved—either in serving or being served.

“Daily determining our destiny”

As she continues, Mrs. White reminds the reader, “The gospel of Christ is not only to be believed, but to be acted. We are to be doers of the word. We are daily determining our destiny in the future life by the character we develop in this.”⁴¹ By placing emphasis on the current development of character, Mrs. White reinforces the idea that works themselves do not save an individual, although they are necessary, first to develop one’s own character to be prepared for judgment, and in order to give others the opportunity to do the same. However, she is making it clear that while belief is essential, people will be judged by their works.

The relationship between works and character is therefore key to understanding why people are to reach out and serve, both for others, and for themselves. She writes that on the final day of judgment, “When the Lord takes account of His servants, the return from every talent will be scrutinized. The work done reveals the character of the worker.”⁴² She spells it out clearly, once again, the language of American capitalism, using the idea of an audit. The works a person does are an evidence of the character that they have formed. Character is important because one, “formed according to the divine likeness is the only treasure that we can take from this world to the next. Those who are under the instruction of Christ in this world will take every divine attainment with them to the heavenly mansions. And in heaven we are continually to improve. How important, then, is the development of

⁴¹ Ellen G. White, “Christian Benevolence.--No. 2.,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 75, no. 2 (1898).

⁴² ———, *Christ’s Object Lessons* (Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1900), p. 360.

character in this life.”⁴³ She is telling people that their efforts are misplaced in attaining worldly wealth. Furthermore, their conception of the amount of time one has is too short. If they understood that characters continue to develop throughout eternity, they would make sure to lay a strong foundation for that character now. It is clear that Ellen White states that a good character bears good works (works that will be judged), and that bad character would thus bear bad works, or even no works at all. She also seems to imply, in addition, that good works will lead to a perfection of character, which in turn leads to more good works. Thus, by participating in social Christianity, a person is able to further refine their character and be prepared for heaven.

Before Ellen White even delves into what good works people should be doing for others, we see that she emphasizes the fact that no matter what work is being done, whether missionary or medical, the purpose is to save souls from sin—as stated, a clearly premillennialist idea. But Mrs. White does not just state that the worker and the ones being served need to be saved from sin; she also states what the purpose of this salvation is “to restore the moral image of God in man,” which is a perfect character. When reading in her other works, this harkens back to her description of redemption, which she equates with true education, saying its purpose is “To restore in man the image of his Maker, to bring him back to the perfection in which he was created, to promote the development of body, mind, and soul, that the divine purpose in his creation might be realized—this was to be the work of redemption. This is the object of education, the great object of life.”⁴⁴ While she speaks to the purpose of Christian Benevolence, restoring people to the image of

⁴³ Ibid., p.332.

⁴⁴ ———, *Education* (Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1903; reprint, 2002).

God, and points out that the total person—mind, body, and soul—must be cared for, each contributing to the make up of character, she also highlights an interesting frame of mind that the Christian must have in order to bestow these acts of Christian Benevolence.

It is important to recognize here several ideas that are implied in the statements made above. The fact that man is to be restored into “the image of his Maker” suggests two things. Firstly, it is a direct reference to creation. Ellen White, like many other Christians of her time, is rejecting the theory of evolution that had been circulating for the past fifty years. This can be seen not only in her belief that humans were created rather than evolved, but also in her rejection of the many social theories prevalent at the time that were born out of interpretations and applications of the theory of evolution to the social realm.

Secondly, the person is supposed to be just that, a person, made up of three equal and complete parts. At the same time, the assembly line had been introduced and increased the efficiency of production and thus profits for companies, but reduced humans from being skilled workers to fulfilling simple, mindless motions. No longer having the need to use their creative and other mental faculties, men were reduced to “automatons.” She rejects this type of work and would view it as useless in developing a character for eternity because it does not engage the full person.

Her assertion of the three-part person contributes to the discussion and debate of what makes up the person. At this time there were those who were dualists, who believed people were made up of that which could be studied, the body, and that which was beyond the realm of study, the spirit. There were others who believed a person was not made up of separate parts, but rather the complete

product of the evolutionary process. In mainstream thought, though, it does not appear that there were any academics or researchers who were promoting a three-part explanation of the person.⁴⁵

Likewise in the religious arena the thought of a three-part person helped distinguish the Adventist understanding of a person being made in the image of God from others. The Social Gospel movement was also motivated by the belief that people are created in the image of God. However, what this truly means in Social Gospel theology is not entirely clear nor is it as defined as it is in Adventist thought.⁴⁶

While on the subject of character, Ellen White also talks about the characters of the poor who are to be served. In her writings, she goes into detail describing the conditions of the city and how they affect children. The modern city was a new concept to Ellen White and her contemporaries. While before the Civil War there were only two cities with over 500,000 inhabitants, and only one in five people in the United States lived in towns with a population of at least 2,500 residents, by 1920 twelve cities had a population greater than 500,000 and thirty cities had at least 250,000 inhabitants.⁴⁷ It is easy to understand why the city would be subject to so much observation and interest in efforts to understand and explain it. Ellen White's perception, along with many others', was that cities were something to be afraid of, to shun, especially with the images that they received from them.

⁴⁵ Curti, *Human Nature in American Thought: A History*. Ransom, *Coping with Capitalism: The Economic Transformation of the United States, 1776-1980*.

⁴⁶ Susan Hill Lindley, *"You Have Stept out of Your Place": A History of Women and Religion in America* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), p. 135.

⁴⁷ Ransom, *Coping with Capitalism: The Economic Transformation of the United States, 1776-1980*, p. 53.

Mrs. White narrates, "In every large city there are human beings who are not cared for, and are made of less consideration than the brutes. Moral degradation meets the eye and pains the senses. Human beings live in dark cellars, in houses that are reeking with dampness and filth." Taking it further she says, "Children are born in these terrible place[s]. Through the years of infancy and youth, their eyes behold nothing attractive; nothing of the beauty of nature cheers their vision. They hear the name of God only in profanity."⁴⁸

But she does not stop there. She continues to go in depth about what children are experiencing in these places. "These children," she says, "are allowed to grow up molded and fashioned in character by low precepts, disagreeable surroundings, and wretched examples." Making up these surrounds are, "Impure words and the fumes of liquor greet the senses. Want and wretchedness are on every hand, because of the insufficient and miserable food, which is unfit for human beings to subsist upon; and from these abodes of want there are sent forth piteous cries for food and clothing by many who know nothing about prayer."⁴⁹

Based on our previous examination of character, then, we can assume that growing up with a poor character diminishes the opportunity these children will have to be a part of the kingdom of God. She therefore appeals to people's sympathies, saying, "Christians, will you not consider that Jesus gave his life to save these souls? Will you not cooperate with him in this great work?" again reminding them that even these children, are created in the image of God, and therefore, they must be helped. Her appeal to sympathy, not limited just to this instance, exhibits a common belief at the time. The capacity for sympathy was perceived as the ability to view oneself in

⁴⁸ White, "Christian Benevolence.--No. 2.."

⁴⁹ Ibid.

the position of another, and as a result of social consciousness and the human bond, people were moved to act in promoting a moral community. Sympathy above all else kept humans humane.⁵⁰

Additionally, it is interesting to note that even when dealing with children, Ellen White is not just emphasizing the fact that they need to be saved—that their characters need to be molded in a more perfect way. She also describes their physical predicament, and even points it out as the cause of an imperfect character. So here we see an even clearer illustration of why Christian Benevolence must meet all the needs of a person. By ameliorating the surroundings of a person, you can improve the likelihood of them developing a sound character and thus their chance of being saved. This is the exact opposite of the approach of fundamentalists and all Christians for the majority of the nineteenth century, who simply thought if you changed the virtue, or character, of a person they would automatically change their surroundings, ignoring the fact that an individual's environment has a direct impact on the character development of an individual.

And while this is in harmony with the belief held by some scholars at the time that environment is the decisive element in determining human nature, this idea was not the dominant theory of the age. Mrs. White therefore also contradicts the then wide-held belief, especially by the entrepreneurial class, in Social Darwinism. This also eliminates the belief that people end up where they are because in society of their nature, the traits that they inherited from their parents, grandparents, and further ancestors. Thus the person has no control over their position in society.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Curti, *Human Nature in American Thought: A History*, p. 240.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 289, 290.

In order for a believer to do these services, they must recognize that the people they serve were created in the image of God. In doing this work the better off are reminded of their similarity with those they are serving. They too are created in the image of God and need to be restored into that which was originally purposed for them by developing a pure character. Thus we see that at the foundation of the practice of Christian Benevolence, as articulated in Ellen White's writing, is the idea that all men are equal and of value because all were created in the image of God. She will continue to use this idea to inspire people to labor for their common man, and for those who are in a station of life lower than their own.

Ellen White writes that this type of Christian Benevolence is important because it results in the perfection of character and preparation for heaven. She ends, again alluding to the language of capitalism, "And as we heed these calls by labor and by acts of benevolence, we are assimilated to the image of him who for our sake became poor. In bestowing, we bless others, and thus accumulate true riches."⁵² She writes, "If Christ is formed within, the hope of glory, he will be revealed in the character, it will be Christlike. We are to represent Christ to the world, as Christ represented the Father."⁵³

As we saw earlier, Ellen White emphasizes why it is important for the men of wealth to understand the work that they have been called to do. She writes that their wealth is a gift from God that must be bestowed upon others—not as donations to institutions or churches, but in actively and directly helping those in need.

Out of this, we can draw the idea that in her development of a social Christianity message, she is not condemning the poor for being in their position necessarily as a

⁵² White, "Christian Benevolence.--No 1.."

⁵³ ———, "Christian Benevolence.--No. 2.."

result of their own actions. Instead they are portrayed as victims of sin in the world. This point of view is in direct opposition to what both liberal and conservative Christians believed before the turn of the century, and what Fundamentalists continued to believe after their ideological split from the rest of Christianity.⁵⁴ Mrs. White is writing during what could be viewed as the transition period for both types of Christianity, but she remains clear and consistent throughout. Although in most respects she would rightly be classified as a fundamentalist Christian, she does not believe that wealth is the result of being good. Neither is poverty the result of being bad. Alternately, those who are rich have been made rich because they have been entrusted to help those who do not have all that they need. Rather than being rewarded for their goodness, they are responsible stewards for their fellow man.

“Ye have the poor always with you”

Finally, we must examine the second group of people that she concentrates on—the poor. She says that poor are “representatives of himself [Christ]. By their necessities, a ruined world is drawing forth from us talents of means and of influence, of which it is in perishing need.”⁵⁵ It seems that while Mrs. White would not completely dismiss the idea that some people find themselves in their current position because of past sins in their lives, she also acknowledges the fact that the problems of this world are the result of sin in general, the sin that has manifested itself in the world, and has thus, “ruined” it. This is a departure from the traditional fundamentalist approach to the poor that then opens to door to not just meeting their spiritual needs, but also meeting their mental and physical needs. This is the

⁵⁴ George Marsden, “The Gospel of Wealth, the Social Gospel, and the Salvation of Souls in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Fides et Historia* 5, no. 1 (1973).

⁵⁵White, “Christian Benevolence.--No 1..”

case because if indeed the poor are not necessarily in their position because of their own sin, taking "sin" away from their life will not solve their other problems. We will continue to encounter this idea throughout this project.

She writes that it is important to not just serve other people who are also rich, but the poor, saying, "It is not God's plan at all that the rich should give gifts to those who have abundance. It is the distressed, the downtrodden, the discouraged, the hungry, the suffering, the naked, the poor of whom Christ says, 'Ye have the poor always with you.'"⁵⁶

Although she says that the whole world needs these acts of Christian Benevolence, Ellen White mentions specifically where and how acts of Christian Benevolence should take place. First, people should be found in their homes. Second, people should look on the "highways and byways." People need to get out of their own neighborhood and their own town and actively seek those who are in need, wherever they may be. She is saying not to wait for the poor to come to one's self, but rather, to go to them. Also in attitude, those serving must approach those in need where they are, not as a superior. This idea of approaching people in humility, observing those who they serve as their equals, reminds us once again of the reason that Christian Benevolence is shared in the first place: the belief that people are formed in the image of God and need to be restored into that image in order to be prepared for his soon return.

She continues her counsel on the theme of humility. "If you work for them while mounted upon the stilts of your dignity and superiority," she warns, "you will accomplish nothing; but if you will be truly converted to the Lord Jesus Christ, and

⁵⁶ ———, "Christian Benevolence.--No. 2.."

learn of him who is meek and lowly in heart, you will show that you have learned how to work the works of God.”⁵⁷ The emphasis on humility not only reminds us that people are equal and that they are to view each other as creatures made in the image of God, but it also reemphasizes the fact that people are doing acts of Christian Benevolence in order to perfect their character. Showing an attitude of humility displays the fact that the believer has become more Christlike, and thus more ready to meet Christ at the end of time.

Therefore, because it would make a person more likely to be saved and more ready for the end, he or she would be eager to display the fact that they are humble of heart in order to show that they are living their life in harmony with the fact that they believe Christ is coming soon. So even the idea of humility and viewing people as equals can in itself be consistent with a premillennial worldview.

“Time is golden”

Although she talks about the need to go from home to home, along the highways and byways to find people who need help, to reach out to the rich to convince them to aid in reaching others, Mrs. White believes, in harmony with the belief that Jesus is returning soon, that time is of the essence. People should not drag their feet or use the amount of territory as an excuse for inaction. She says, “But we have no time to waste, no time to devote to selfish pleasure-loving, no time to give to the indulgence of sin. Time is golden. We have characters to form for the future, immortal life.”⁵⁸ Her emphasis on the way time is used is interesting to consider since during this period there was push for the eight hour work day so that laborers could have time for leisure as well as work. But for Ellen White, there is no

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

time for leisure. Time must be taken to do social good, to practice Christian Benevolence, because it is the means by which the character is perfected.

Hence, Mrs. White believes that this idea of Christian Benevolence is applicable to daily life. As a result, service is not just something that these people are supposed to do; it is a lifestyle they are supposed to live. More than anything, this is a *carpe diem* message. She tells the reader, "Work while the day lasts: the night cometh, when no man can work. Jesus asks, 'Are there not twelve hours in the day?'"⁵⁹ She constantly reminds the reader that Christian Benevolence is the result of daily communion with God, that it is to be carried out in daily life, and that each hour must be spent wisely in working for God. She is saying, now is the time to act.

This meant not just a need to do social good for others and purifying the earth of sin, as the Social Gospel Movement believed, but an urgency for the work to be done because Adventists needed to have as many people ready for the second coming of Christ. Therefore, the work must be quick, efficient, and meet all parts of a person's being: their body, their mind, and their soul.

Thus, compared to the Social Gospel message, which focused either on people's minds and bodies and the transformation of society as a whole, or premillennialists whose focus became mainly the soul, the Seventh-day Adventist social gospel message—Christian Benevolence—was a holistic approach to the individual. This ideology attempted to meet all of their needs in this life in order to make him better prepared for the next one.

On a broader scale, this view of Christian Benevolence shows us a social Christianity message at the turn of the nineteenth century that is placed in the

⁵⁹ Ibid.

context of the belief of the soon coming of Christ—a message not to purify the earth before Christ is able to come, but rather preparing the people in time to meet the one in whose image they were created.

Chapter 2

The Gospel in Illustration

“When Jesus heard it, he saith unto them, They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.” Mark 2:17, KJV

“Return to Nature”

Even before the Civil War, when the Industrial Revolution had not yet gained full speed, there were those unsatisfied with the direction in which society headed and believed that men and women need to be restored to some lost ideal. As a response George Ripley, a Unitarian minister, established in 1841 what has probably become the most famous utopian community in American history. We know it as the Brook Farm Experiment, which took place in West Roxbury, Massachusetts. Famous writers such as Henry David Thoreau and Nathaniel Hawthorne participated in the experiment in attempts to live in a perfect community. Although many of the people who participated in this community were Unitarians, Ripley made sure that the community was not based on any particular sectarian belief or creed. He desired the community to be one where people of all religious persuasions felt at home and accepted, not alienated. As a result, this was the first secular utopian community established in New England. To establish the community, participants and investors purchased stock in the farm and the community members intended to support themselves through agriculture. Additionally, the community established schools in which students could receive a liberal education, intended for those who were not planning to enter into the

professions. The community operated until 1847 when it could no longer stay open, finally succumbing to the financial woes that burdened it from its beginning.⁶⁰

Dr. Kellogg, a Seventh-day Adventist physician in the late nineteenth-century, believed that the origins of health reform and institutions backing health reform started with these men. Dr. Kellogg believed those at Brook Farm attempted to live by the Ancient Greek and Roman example, societies in which he believed men were living closer in harmony with nature and in deeper communion with God.

In Dr. Kellogg's estimation, after the Brook Farm Experiment failed its idea disappeared for some time from the consciousness of people in the United States. However, he believed that in Battle Creek the idea was regenerated. Collaborating with Dr. David Paulson, a colleague and fellow Adventist, Dr. Kellogg delivered a lecture on the principles guiding the efforts of medical missionaries in the Sanitarium work. In this lecture Kellogg describes how health reform work within the Seventh-day Adventist Church had its genesis. Speaking in 1903 he said, "About forty years ago another group of men who really knew nothing about the men who gathered at the Brook Farm, associated themselves together in Battle Creek, and the community began to set before the world an example of right living, of wholesome living, to plant a standard which would have written upon it, 'Return to Nature,' and would have for its principles the whole law of God, the great Decalogue for the rule of conduct for the physical man as well as for the moral man."⁶¹

⁶⁰ Sterling F. Delano, *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 28, 39-41, 68-70.

⁶¹ Address: "The Principles of Medical Missionary Work as Carried on in our Sanitariums." By Dr. David Paulson, Dr. J.H. Kellogg, November 30, 1903. Lectures and Speeches 1903 Sept-thru Nov, Box 4, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. P. 9.

Dr. Kellogg asserts that the idea of a “Return to Nature” paired with living by the moral law of God was not necessarily a new concept, but linked with the principle behind the beginning of the Brook Farm Experiment. Although he acknowledges that the men were most likely not familiar with the Brook Farm Experiment⁶², Dr. Kellogg’s attempt to connect the idea of Adventist health reform with the utopian community which was home to and supported by so many famous Americans seems to be an endeavor to legitimate he and his colleagues’ work as not just a sectarian venture. Rather they were addressing a need that other people outside of the church also recognized and attempted to meet in their own way. This analysis gains further support from the fact that he chose Brook Farm as an example rather than any of the Shaker settlements that were still in existence at the same time as the Brook Farm.⁶³ While Dr. Kellogg does succeed in drawing some similarities between Brook Farm and the establishment of Adventist health reform, our examination of the work will show that the Adventist venture was distinct in many ways from the utopian community. These men who began the health reform work in the Adventist Church were embarking on changing the approach to the individual. They were not to care just for the physical man, or for the spiritual man, but rather they were to engage and cultivate both. While the Brook Farm Experiment did attempt to change and educate the man, it was a secluded, although not exclusive, community. The institutions that the Adventist church set up, on the other hand, were to be places of education and learning where people could learn how to live

⁶² Many of the founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church were originally from New England and may have been among the founders of the Institute (Dr. Kellogg does not mention the founders by name). Although Dr. Kellogg states that these men were not aware of Brook Farm, there is a possibility that they actually did have some knowledge of its existence and practices.

⁶³ Delano, *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia.*, pp. 39,40.

both physically and morally, and continue this lifestyle anywhere that they were and share that knowledge with others. An exploration of how they were trying to accomplish their mission follows in the last chapter

In this chapter we will clearly understand that although Adventist health reform was not to be a sectarian work, Adventists had a unique motivation to do the work. Because they had this special work to do, we will also see the type of people selected for this work, and how actively participating in the gospel of health they believed they were demonstrating the larger truths they were trying to teach.

The Enterprise

Immediately following the Civil War the development of the corporation and the growth of American capitalism provided a strong model for developing new organizations. Adventist health reform work began as an enterprise by establishing an institute. Of the corporation Dr. Kellogg says, "Shares of stock were sold at \$25 each, and those who took stock in the institution were guaranteed a clear dividend of at least 10 %." So the company was not established as a charity to begin with, but rather "it was a dividend paying, money-making institution." Long after he was disfellowshipped⁶⁴ from the Adventist Church, Kellogg remembers, "The financial development of the institution had not been accomplished by donations but by the sale of stock. The records showed no evidence of any solicitation of funds for the institution. Neither is there to be found in [the publications] the Review and Herald or the Health Reformer...any indication of a general solicitation of funds for the institution."⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Removal of formal membership with the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

⁶⁵ A Brief History of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, March 31, 1943, Clippings Battle Creek Sanitarium 2, Box 13, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Pp.1,2.

Furthermore, Dr. Kellogg notes that this institution, the Western Health Reform Institute, “was not organized...by any church body, but by a dozen men who were interested in these health principles and in the interests of the work.” Reminding us again about the source of funding that established the work he says, “These men put in their money,--no tithe, no collection, but their own money which they took out of their pockets, and they put it into the institution here in the form of stock.”⁶⁶

So far Dr. Kellogg’s comparison seems fair. Just like the Brook Farm Experiment, this was not a denominational organization, and it was established by an investment of stock. It was set up by a group of men with a certain set of ideals. The difference is that the group of Seventh-day Adventist men who established the Institute based the work on the health principles that they believed their church had received through special instruction from God by means of a proper understanding of Scripture. The testimonies of Ellen White further clarified this understanding. Nonetheless, the Western Health Reform Institute was an undenominational endeavor established by a group of men with a common held belief. Unlike Ripley’s community, the laity rather than a clergyman established the endeavor. As we will see later, Dr. Kellogg does not seem to make this point because he believes his work should not be under the guidance of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Instead he, like Ripley, does not want the work to be exclusive to non-Adventists.

After the Institute had been operating for two years as an enterprise, James White, one of the leaders of the Adventist church, as well as husband of prophetess Ellen White, returned to work in the church after having been absent from its

⁶⁶ Ibid.

business activity for quite some time due to illness. When he found out about the way that the Western Health Reform Institute had been established and that it was a money-making enterprise, he weighed in his own opinion of how it should be operated. Recalling what he was told of the situation, Dr. Kellogg reports of Elder White, "And he said, Brethren, it is not right to have this dividend plan. This money ought to be used for the poor. If there are any earnings here, they should be used for the poor; they should not be used to make money out of this enterprise. So he brought the matter before the stockholders, and the stockholders voted to devote the earnings to the poor." Additionally, Elder White, who ran the flagship publication of the church the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* published a statement in the paper "to the effect that this new plan had been entered upon, and if there was anybody who did not like this plan, and was not satisfied with it, to just call for their money and they would get it. Some of them called for their money, and it was paid back to them."⁶⁷

Thus the Western Health Reform Institute, the beginning of all Adventist health reform work, and the forerunner to the Battle Creek Sanitarium, became a charitable endeavor. It is interesting to see that although the Institute was not an official institution of the church that one of the men with such prominence in the church body had the ability to have such a powerful influence in the course of how it ran. This goes to show that although the institution was undenominational, its oversight was not to be divorced or separate from the Adventist church and those in it.

⁶⁷ Talk by J.H.Kellogg, Thursday, December 28, 1905, Sanitarium Chapel, 8 P.M., Lectures and Speeches 1905 Oct-Dec, Box 4, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Pp. 4,5.

The time in which the establishment and alteration of the organization transpired was quite short. Dr. Kellogg confirms, "the institution was organized in 1866, incorperated [sic] in 1867, this change was made in 1868."⁶⁸

By 1876, Dr. Kellogg describes that the Institute was losing patronage and in a state of decline, because, "the end of the water-cure era of medical reform had come and it was time for a new career to begin."⁶⁹ At this time Dr. Kellogg had just graduated from Bellevue Hospital. Elder White and his wife asked if Dr. Kellogg would take over the Institute. Although reluctant at first because he believed himself too young and inexperienced for the task, he finally accepted after reassuring words from Mrs. White. "Mrs. Ellen G. White, with whom I had been acquainted from my early childhood," he remembered decades later, "urged me to accept the position to keep the institution from being closed, and" he said, "promised me that she would stand by me and help me and this she did and continued to be my steadfast friend to her dying day. I never doubted her and she did the best she could to help me under difficult and most embarrassing circumstances."⁷⁰

In 1897, the original charter of the organization expired, as Michigan state law during this period did not allow for corporations to last for more than 30 years at a time. At this time, "a new corporation entitled Michigan Sanitarium & Benevolent Association was organized as an eleemosynary or non-profit, non-divident [sic] paying institution and incorporated....Care was taken in this corporation to make very clear that the institution was strictly non-sectarian. This was found highly

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 5.

⁶⁹ A Brief History of Battle Creek Sanitarium, March 31, 1943, p. 2.

⁷⁰ Ibid, pp. 2,3. The embarrassing circumstances he is referring to are most likely those associated with his process of being removed from membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

necessary and was strongly supported by Mrs. White.”⁷¹ It was this corporation that oversaw the work of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, the descendent of the original Institute. The church established comparable organizations to serve a similar purpose in overseeing other institutions in other parts of the country, and even around the world. Dr. Kellogg’s reference to the support of Ellen White in this matter is meant to answer the uneasiness for some within the church that the work was ‘non-sectarian.’

While the history is clear that Seventh-day Adventists established a system for health reform after the Civil War, this account seems rather unremarkable and dry. This perception vanishes, though, by examining the principles behind the health reform movement.

“A health reform for society”

In the previously mentioned 1903 speech given along side Dr. Kellogg, Dr. Paulson spoke of the principles guiding the medical missionary work within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He began the speech stating that, despite thoughts to the contrary, human society was not headed in a better direction. Describing the mission field, he believed that it was not just those “in lands of heathen darkness” who were in need of missionary aid, but those who were “wherever there are persons who are violating law—and we find in modern civilization that physical law is being violated almost as extensively as spiritual law is being violated...the result we see all about us.” He sites the high number (27 million he asserts) of reported illnesses and the number of funerals that should not have taken place (half a million) as “an evidence that there is something radically wrong within modern civilization!” He

⁷¹ Talk by J.H.Kellogg, Thursday, December 28, 1905, p. 8. A Brief History of Battle Creek Sanitarium, pp. 3,4.

continues by saying, "In fact, it seems as though modern civilization is the wilderness in which chronic invalids have gone astray..."⁷²

The leading cause for the plethora of "chronic invalids" is the deteriorating health of the population, which leads to the degradation of society. Viewing the deterioration of health as a result of a lack of understanding, Dr. Paulson states, "We sometimes deceive ourselves, make ourselves think we are coming up, but while we are learning a great deal about electricity, about steam, and the forces of the world, men seem to have been overlooking themselves, seem to have been studying everything else but themselves" acknowledging that this increase in knowledge is not necessarily bad, and often good, the pursuit for knowledge has meant that "we have been neglecting the main thing, the real thing, the development of our physical powers."⁷³

The motivating desire of health reform, then, is to change this emphasis, to make people study themselves. In his lecture, Dr. Paulson says that in each era in the past, there have been those who have tried to reclaim humanity, both physically and spiritually, and that this age should be no different. He calls for a physical, as well a spiritual, righteousness in this day. As a Seventh-day Adventist, he says, "A complete gospel affords both; and the primary object of this sanitarium movement is not simply to heal the sick, but it is to carry out a great educational movement that shall prevent a vast deal of sickness." The notion of education as a form of prevention is very important because he suggests, "The same amount of effort that is put forth in ministering to the relief of one invalid if put into educational effort and

⁷² Address: "The Principles of Medical Missionary Work as Carried on in our Sanitariums." By Dr. David Paulson. Lectures and Speeches 1903 Sept-thru Nov, Box 4, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. P. 1

⁷³ Address: "The Principles of Medical Missionary Work as Carried on in our Sanitariums." P. 20.

work will prevent five people from being sick. So there has been connected with this sanitarium movement right from the start a great educational, health reformatory campaign." Because the Sanitarium comes to the aid of dozens of sick at a time, such a shift in focus shows he is not just calling for aiding the sick, but also for a health reform for society as a whole. In this regards, he is like the Social Gospelers who desire to create a society-wide change. However, at this point rather than political or moral reform, he is specifically calling for health reform, a different type of change than others sought. In calling people to help this campaign, he is not simply calling anyone who would want to just help with health reform as a hobby or part time occupation. Rather he says, "Every one connected with this work, every one who takes the training in our institutions must pledge to God that he will give his life to the cause of God and suffering humanity as educator and healer. Only such are admitted into the courses of training of our institutions."⁷⁴ Thus, the radical problem with modern society is calling for a radical solution—a complete change in the approach to health, and viewing its relationship with the gospel, work only to be done by the extremely committed.

“The True Physician”

Because institutions of health are supposed to be places of education, the role of the physician goes beyond curing the present illness and elevates him to the position of professor. The professor-physician is to impart instruction, according to Dr. Paulson, "to teach people how to live righteously; how to obey the great decalogue." Living righteously means one must learn, "how to eat right, dress right,

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 2.

sleep right, and conduct themselves properly in all the relations of life, and hence, if they get sick, to know how to utilize the forces of nature,--the air, the sunlight, the water, and those good hygienic agencies,--how to utilize them so as to make them powers for good in restoring the body to health."⁷⁵ The final result of an "education" from the Sanitarium is a person's ability to be self-sufficient in the care for themselves in order to live well. Because people can be taught to live well, we see that an individual's nature can be overcome and is not the defining element of a person's life by necessity.

For their dual role as physician and educator, Dr. Kellogg does believe that Christians pursuing a career in medicine must possess specific qualities. "First of all in the list I think I must place good, sound common sense, unfortunately a rather rare quality..." Additionally, he believes that each physician "ought to be a ray of sunshine, a source of light, happiness and good cheer so brilliant as to be able to eliminate the darkest [sic] gloom of the sick chamber. He ought to be a veritable walking dynamo, producing a moral electric light of such radiance as to leave a luminous glow behind him wherever he goes." And finally, "The true physician must have a heart full of sympathy for his fellow men, a great love for humanity, no end of good will for everybody. The idea that a man whose sympathies are keenly alive to suffering is therefore unfitted for the practice of medicine and surgery is entirely an error."⁷⁶

In addition to qualifications relating to personality, Dr. Kellogg also viewed education as an important element to the one who desired to become a physician.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 16.

⁷⁶ The Medical Profession: An address delivered by request before the Students' Christian Association, at Ann Arbor, Mich., April 29th, 1894. (Address, April 29, 1894), Lectures and Speeches 1894, Box 3, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, University of Michigan. Pp. 22, 23, 26.

He writes, "Notwithstanding, education is not a thing to be despised [sic]...at the present time a liberal education is absolutely essential as a preparation to enter upon a study which is so comprehensive in its scope, so rich in accumulated wealth of facts and experience and so momentous in the responsibility which it involves."⁷⁷

At this time, the concepts of the ideal physician were changing. The physician had always stood out in the population's idealized version of reality as an upstanding member of the community who should be honest, hard working and altruistic. While society maintained these ideals, people started to realize that doctors did not always meet expectations. While it was acceptable for a physician to be successful, it was unacceptable for him to be greedy or pursuing a practice for the sole purpose of making a living. Because this was at the same time that physicians were in the process of professionalizing their trade, people also began to look at them as being too presumptuous in pursuing such advanced education. Many viewed them as setting themselves up to be authorities, much like the clergy and lawyers, the only two professions to this point in time who really had the type of advanced education that medical professionals now advocated. Also, if a physician was cold and solely looked after the body, he was viewed as ineffective even if he helped the patient in some way. The expectation was that he meet the person on the level of her spirit as well and that this might be even more important than the science of medicine. Overall, doctors were still expected to be upstanding members of society, as well as expected to relate with the person on an individual level.⁷⁸ However, people anticipated that physicians would not meet these expectations. Dr. Kellogg therefore

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 23.

⁷⁸ Melissa McBain, "The Changing Concept of the Ideal Physician in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century American Drama," *Journal of Popular Culture* 26, no. 2 (1992).

calls for a return to this type of idealized work within the profession, although he does not reject the idea of a medical or liberal education.

Over all, Dr. Kellogg asserts that “The doctor of all men, needs to possess a well rounded, symmetrical character; he needs all the elements which make up true nobility, true Christian dignity, true manhood. Sincerity and supreme honesty of purpose must characterize him. I think I am not going too far when I say that of all men none need more the aid of genuine religion than does the doctor.”⁷⁹

More than attempting to return to an idealized version of the occupation, Dr. Kellogg calls for such refined persons to enter the field because he sees that they have a unique opportunity for perpetuating good in the world. He states, “Christian physicians might do more for the moral elevation of man, more for the redemption of the lost ones in the dark places of our great cities than all the priests, preachers, and evangelists of every description combined.” Furthermore, he states, “Physicians may wield an immense power for good in combating the growing skepticism of the times, which is drawing annually a large number of bright minds into its net.”⁸⁰ The skepticism that he is referring to has to do with that in regards to God, creation, and religion, all bred by modernization and the scientific developments of the time, many of which we discussed to some degree in the previous chapter. But as we know, Dr. Kellogg is not anti-education. A deep study of science, he believes, should not lead the doctor into skepticism. Instead, it should evaporate any doubts in a physician’s mind about the reality of a creator God. He writes, “The physician who carries his studies far enough to get hold of the roots of things, looks more deeply into the heart of nature than does any other man. He finds himself surrounded by biological,

⁷⁹ The Medical Profession, p. 28.

⁸⁰ The Medical Profession, p. 35.

physiological and [psychological] mysteries which are unexplicable [sic] upon any finite theory.”⁸¹ With such a deep understanding and personal encounter with evidence against evolution, Dr. Kellogg is advocating that these professionals share their experience. Physicians are not only to instruct in living well physically. Their experience with the physical body is also to prepare them to educate others, especially their peers, spiritually.

“The gospel in illustration”

In a handbook on conducting city missions (a document we will examine in more detail in the next chapter), the whole purpose of establishing a medical mission and embarking in health reform is to open the door to the spread of the gospel in a new way. Dr. Kellogg says, “It gives as much prominence to the physical needs of the sinner as to his moral needs. Recognizing that disease is the result of sin, and that the same power which forgives sin heals disease, working through appropriate means both for the enlightenment of the sinner as regards his lost condition morally and the way of escape, and also for the correction of his wrong physical habits and the healing of his diseases.”⁸² Thus Dr. Kellogg is kindly chiding the work done on either extreme of society for being too narrow. Both the body and soul must be addressed.

Ultimately, what Dr. Kellogg and his colleagues taught was that disease was indeed the result of sin. But it was not necessarily the result of the transgression of the moral law, but rather of the laws of nature, the laws by which the human body is governed. Therefore, the purpose of the sanitarium work was to teach people to live

⁸¹ The Medical Profession, p. 29.

⁸² City Medical Missions., Chicago Medical Missions, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Pp 1,2.

in obedience to natural law just as much as to moral law, all laws that were put in place by God for the benefit of humanity to know how to live rightly.

Within this work the physician, for whom Dr. Kellogg sets such high standards, has the greatest of opportunities. Agreeing with this point of view, Ellen White writes, "Every medical practitioner may through faith in Christ have in his possession a cure of the highest values,--a remedy for the sinsick soul. . . . Through the sanctification of the truth, God gives to physicians and nurses wisdom and skill in treating the sick, and this work is opening the fast-closed door to many hearts. Men and women are led to understand the truth which is needed to save the soul as well as the body."⁸³ She also writes to remind the physician that their work is not separate from that of the preacher. She states, "Medical missionary work is in no case to be divorced from the gospel ministry. The Lord has specified that they two shall be as closely connected as the arm is connected with the body. Without this union, neither part of the work is complete. The medical missionary work is the gospel in illustration."⁸⁴

The way that the medical missionary work illustrates the gospel is similar to the belief propagated by Dr. Kellogg, Dr. Paulson, and their colleagues. A body that is in transgression of the laws of nature and partakes of those things that the body cannot by design endure will leave it in a miserable state. In the same way, the person who falls into sin by transgression of the moral law will have their soul in a state that it is not supposed to be in. By teaching people the laws of nature by which

⁸³ "The Physician's Work a Cure of Souls" 1899, Undated., White, Ellen--writings, box. no. 3, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. P. 1.

⁸⁴ "The Medical Missionary Work and the Gospel Ministry" December 22, 1897, White, Ellen--writings, box. no. 3, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. P. 8.

their bodies are governed, then they will see themselves restored into good health. In the same way those who accept the gospel message and are converted and saved receive instruction on how to live right morally. With the two aspects of the gospel combined, people are by this reasoning restored into the complete image of God.

By likening the medical reform work to the arm of a body, Ellen White is also advocating the fact that while it is not to be the complete work that the church does, like the approach of some Christians at this time, it is to be an important part of the work of spreading the gospel, at the forefront in its own unique way.

As part of this right arm of the gospel, the physician is at a great advantage for carrying forward the work. Dr. Kellogg states, "The opportunity for usefulness for the physician is almost infinite in possibilities. Every neighborhood in every civilized land needs the uplifting power of such a missionary as the Christian physician may be." Beyond the United States, he says, "Every heathen land is stretching out its hands in pitiful appeal for Christian physicians who above all other men, are prepared to present the whole Gospel, a symmetrical Gospel, a Gospel of saving both soul and body, and which finds no excuse for torturing or destroying one to save another."⁸⁵ Furthermore it appears that Dr. Kellogg offers a critique of the other work done at this time. In addition to being too narrow, as we noted above, when taken to either extreme, the work has the ability to do more harm than good. A balanced approach is therefore the most efficient method of outreach.

The gospel that these physicians are to spread is a version of the gospel that Seventh-day Adventists view as especially entrusted to them to share with the

⁸⁵ The Medical Profession, p. 35.

world.⁸⁶ Speaking once again of the health reform movement, Ellen White says, "This is an element that gives character to the work for this time." Going into detail, she describes, "The medical missionary work is as the right arm to the third angel's message which must be proclaimed to a fallen world, and physicians...in acting faithfully their part, are doing the work of the message." Earlier she described health reform as the right arm of gospel ministry. From this quote we can conclude then that the gospel ministry is the proclamation of the three angels' messages, especially the third in this case. Emphasizing the scope of the work she says, "In this work the heavenly angels bear a part. They awaken spiritual joy and melody in the hearts of those who have been freed from suffering, and thanksgiving to God arises from the lips of many who have received the precious truth."⁸⁷

The third angel's message refers to Revelation 14:9-12, where the last of three angels give a part of the final message to the inhabitants of earth before the end of the world.⁸⁸ While seen as a special message they were supposed to share, many Adventists did not know what the essence of the third angel's message was. Mrs. White clarified the interpretation by saying, "Several have written to me, inquiring if the message of justification by faith is the third angel's message, and I have answered, 'It is the third angel's message in verity.'"⁸⁹

This raises a question of whether Mrs. White had any familiarity with church

⁸⁶ This understanding comes primarily from Revelation 10. The scroll that was sweet and then turned bitter Adventists interpret as their experience with the Great Disappointment. When John is told to prophesy again, the interpretation is that the Adventists were to search the Scriptures again to find what message they were really supposed to be sharing in relation to the calculated time of 1844.

⁸⁷ "The Physician's Work a Cure of Souls," p. 1.

⁸⁸ The whole message is found in Revelation 14:6-12. On a very basic level, the message is about the current investigative judgment, worship of the Creator God (referring even back to the seventh-day Sabbath); a call to be separate and distinct from the world; and righteousness by faith in Jesus as opposed to righteousness by works. This message is to go the whole world, and each of these aspects make up the complete, "everlasting gospel."

⁸⁹ Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, vol. 1, 1890, p. 372, cited in *Last Day Events*, pp.199, 200.

history. Seventh-day Adventists were by no means the first to preach righteousness by faith. In fact, it was this idea that helped spark the Protestant Reformation three centuries earlier. She clarifies this though. Since the original proclamation, “Many had lost sight of Jesus. They needed to have their eyes directed to His divine person, His merits, and His changeless love for the human family.”⁹⁰

Once again, claiming that Christians, those bearing his name, lost sight of Christ seems a very bold statement. But we must remember that she is writing at a time when Christians took many forms that contradicted with this idea. There were those who adhered to the Gospel of Wealth, believing it necessary for Christians to accumulate earthly riches and be successful. Also the Social Gospel, the movement with which we make so many comparisons in this study, operated on the belief that it was not Christ who would usher in the millennium, but that they would do it on their own. This movement was mostly comprised of Protestants, the very people who were the inheritors of the righteousness by faith principle, yet they were practicing a belief in salvation for humanity by works. Further going into detail about the culture of the age here would take away from other chapters, but the emphasis on self gain, materialism on the part of some, and the struggle for survival of others, and even some of the theories coming out of the natural and social sciences, point to a society as a whole who was focused on self-sufficiency and self-salvation, if even for just this life.

Because of this life philosophy pervading society, Ellen White writes, “The Lord in His great mercy sent a most precious message to His people....This message was to bring more prominently before the world the uplifted Saviour [sic], the

⁹⁰---. *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers*, 1895, pp. 91, 92, cited in *Last Day Events*, p. 200.

sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.”⁹¹

It may seem awkward that the message that Adventists view as especially entrusted to them is one of righteousness by faith, yet they are to preach this by works. However, Ellen White states that this message “presented justification through faith in the Surety; it invited the people to receive the righteousness of Christ, which is made manifest in obedience to all the commandments of God.”⁹² Because she is emphasizing Jesus and a faith in him, she would surely point us back to his definition of the commandment of God: love God with all of your heart, soul and mind, and others as your self. Complete obedience to this law would then manifest itself in the very thing that we have been studying: a social Christianity. It is simple to see how health reform fits easily into this practice.

The whole purpose for establishing sanitariums and other institutions as a means to serve people then has to do with the spreading of the third angel's message. Mrs. White writes, “To present these truths [gospel truths] is the work of the third angel's message. The Lord designs that the presentation of this message shall be the highest, greatest work carried on in our world at this time....In these institutions the attributes of God are to be unfolded, and the glory and excellence of the truth is to be made to appear more vivid.”⁹³

“Live the life”

There are dangers, both physical and spiritual, with entering into this special work of spreading the third angel's message. Addressing the physical aspect, Dr.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ “God's Design in Establishing Sanitariums.” Dec. 22, 1899. (Not for Publication), White, Ellen--writings, box. no. 3, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. P. 3.

Kellogg speaks of how doctors are often regarded by those not medically trained as being a special species of human, of having some special characteristics that give them a unique place in society, and thus become the objects of superstition. People believe them to be privy to some secret that “renders them proof against contagion.” But he asserts that, “I have often found it difficult to convince ever [sic] intelligent people that physicians are only ordinary mortals, and just as liable to contract a contagious malady, or to die from any other cause, as ordinary mortals—perhaps a little more so, since the mortality rate of the profession is well known to be considerable above the average.”⁹⁴

On a spiritual level, physicians are in danger when in contact with the rich. Because physicians are bound to come in contact with those of a higher class, Ellen White also warns against conforming to the very superstitions and beliefs that Dr. Kellogg said the vast majority of the populace deals with. Because the work is to be done by converted Christians, she writes,

When brought in contact with the higher classes of society, let not the physician feel that he must conceal the peculiar characteristics which sanctification through the truth gives him. The physicians who united with the work of God are to co-operate with God as his appointed instrumentalities: they are to give all their power and efficiency to magnifying the work of God's commandment-keeping people. Those who in their human wisdom try to conceal the peculiar characteristics that distinguish God's people from the world will lose their spiritual life, and will no longer be upheld by his power.⁹⁵

She is obviously encouraging that the physicians do not lose their power of being a “veritable walking dynamo.”

⁹⁴ The Medical Profession, pp. 3,4.

⁹⁵ “Dangers and Duties of the Physician and the Medical Missionary.” 1899, Undated., White, Ellen--writings, box. no. 3, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. P. 9.

Mark Twain coined the term "the Gilded Age" to describe this era in American history because he believed that the society of the time was lacking any substance in the areas of literature, culture, and politics. Additionally, he believe with the wealth accumulated by the gradual shift towards capitalism and industrialism, people were focused much on the material wealth that they could accumulate, often making their homes and their very appearances gaudy. Thus, rather than being a golden age, it was an age simply overlaid with gold, not solid, yet glittering nonetheless to keep up appearances.⁹⁶

Perhaps agreeing with this assessment of the times in which they lived in, and further enforcing her encouragement for peculiarity, Ellen White asserts, "Never let the idea be entertained that it is essential to make an appearance of being wealthy. There will be a strong temptation to do this, with the thought that it will give influence. But I am instructed to say that it will have just the opposite effect. All who seek to uplift themselves by conforming to the world set an example that is misleading." The very reason that this is misleading is because by conforming, one is no longer living by faith in accordance with the God's requirements, and rather are trying by their own means to reach people. Therefore they are completely misleading the third angel's message. She continues. "God recognizes as his those only who practice the self-denial and sacrifice which he has enjoined. Physicians are to understand that their power lies in their meekness and lowliness of heart. God will honor those who make him their dependence."⁹⁷

Interestingly, although physicians are to carry forth the third angel's message,

⁹⁶ Vincent P DeSantis, "The Gilded Age in American History," *Hayes Historical Journal* VII, no. 2 (Winter 1998), p. 39.

⁹⁷ "Dangers and Duties of the Physician and the Medical Missionary," p. 9.

viewed as a special mission for the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Dr. Kellogg continued to be adamant about the fact that this work was not to be denominational. When questioned about the difference between denominational and undenominational work, and whether in the end, their objects were the same, Dr. Kellogg responded,

The ultimate object is to help humanity; then let God make use of that work; do not follow it right up ourselves; do not strike the enemy; do not use the hammer ourselves, but let Providence do it. We have been told again and again by any number of testimonies⁹⁸ that in our work in this institution we should be careful and not make our peculiar views so prominent that prejudice would be created. You will always give good [sic] tracts, always find Christian workers ready to give an answer for their faith. The object of the Sanitarium is to live the life, live the religion, the true religion, to show the world how the thing works out in practical every day life. That is the way this institution is to preach Seventh-day Adventism while at the same time doing a special work in teaching special principles.⁹⁹

Thus, although not preaching outwardly the special beliefs of Adventism, the workers are to live them out. This is consistent with Ellen White's call for maintaining one's peculiar character in one's work and the final revelation of God's love. Even more, the content of third angel's message itself that makes Adventists different and unique; rather it is their willingness to match their profession with their actions that makes them stand out.

This work is a somber one, because it will be weighed in the balance of the judgment, a theme already discussed. Ellen White writes, "A work of reformation is to be carried on in our institutions. Physicians, workers, nurses, are to realize that they are on probation, on trial for their present life, and for that life which measures

⁹⁸ The testimonies that Dr. Kellogg refers to here are special messages that Ellen White would receive in vision and share with those she was instructed to share them with. These testimonies have been compiled into a nine volume series still read by Adventists today, and some of the insight provided by these testimonies have been included elsewhere in this thesis. See bibliography.

⁹⁹ Talk by J.H.Kellogg, Thursday, December 28, 1905, p. 33.

with the life of God. We are to put to the stretch every faculty, every nerve and muscle, in order to bring saving truths to the attention of suffering human beings. This work must be carried on in connection with the work of saving the sick. Then the work will stand forth before the world in the strength which God designs it shall have. Through the influence of sanctified workers the truth will be magnified. It will go forth as a lamp that burneth.”¹⁰⁰

Because of the need for health reform, the sanitarium and medical mission work began within the Seventh-day Adventist church. Society, technology, and science are progressing at this time, “...but men and women have been degenerating. This thing was recognized, and the men at Battle Creek recognized something was needed, that men were needed to preach the gospel of health, that there should be reforms started, not only temperance reforms, but anti-tobacco movements, and it was known that there should be reforms which would recognize the evils of tea and coffee, the evils of mustard, pepper, peppersauce, and the various evils in diet and habits of dress.”¹⁰¹

So we know that according both to an Adventist thought leader and to Adventist physicians, that there was a need in the world for health reform, that physicians were to play a part in this, and that it was necessary to spread the gospel along with health. Out of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, which catered to the who's who of Americans at this time, other sanitariums were established. However, as we will see, other aspects of reform grew out of this initial institution, all working to fulfill the mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, proclaiming the three

¹⁰⁰ “Dangers and Duties of the Physician and the Medical Missionary,” p. 13.

¹⁰¹ “The Principles of Medical Missionary Work as Carried on in our Sanitariums,” p. 12.

angels' messages, although these institutions may not have had denominational status or teachings.

Those who lived at Brook Farm were calling for a return to nature, the original state of humanity before the present age, and sought to make changes through their own efforts. Adventist health reform too wanted to return to a fallen ideal, but one of a different sort. They wanted to return to the original Protestant principle of righteousness by faith. While preaching this message to heal the sinsick soul, they were also trying to heal the physical body to completely restore the person into the image of God.

Chapter 3

Repairers of the Breach

“... and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach...” Isaiah 58:12, KJV.

The Model City

Lying on the western shore of Lake Michigan, Chicago in the 1890s truly reflected the changes in America as a result of industrialization and modernization. Between 1860 and 1890, Chicago's population grew from 100,000 residents to one million. As a model for the new, modern city Chicago was selected as the site of the 1893 Columbian Exposition where people from all over the world came to see many of the new ideas and theories in the natural and social sciences that were exhibited, and new technological developments that were unveiled.¹⁰²

While Chicago showcased all the right in America for the Exposition, that was not the only way in which the city mirrored the times. It also started to exhibit the changes in the social structure of the country. No longer were businesses, industries, and housing for all classes interspersed within the same neighborhoods. Now housing for the rich, the poor, and industrial quarters were distinct and separate, wedges in the wagon wheel-shaped city.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the city was subject to the same booms and busts of the economic cycle that the rest of the country experienced during this time. The rapid change in events in the economic

¹⁰² Timothy B. Spears, *Chicago Dreaming: Midwesterners and the City, 1871-1919* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 3-4, 5, 8, 11, 10, 15, 180-181, 211.

¹⁰³ Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, Second ed. (New York and London: New York University Press, 1984; reprint, 1988), pp. 124-125.

cycle left laborers unemployed for long periods of time and subject to low wages.¹⁰⁴ Even more, the city's new industries and factories that created the changing face of America polluted the waters of the city and the lake, posing health risks for the inhabitants.¹⁰⁵

For the Americans who were not fortunate enough to benefit from the changes in the economy, the lengthy periods of unemployment and low wages while employed left families with little to support themselves. In some cases, every member of the family had to work in order to make ends meet. The worst off of these were the unskilled workers who experienced high job and residential mobility, preventing any sense of stability for their families. Because they were without regular employment and had no skill, they were also very unlikely to be able to organize into unions in order to lobby for better wages and lifestyle. Their only means of defense was the mass strike, which compared to other methods of demonstrating against employers was very unconventional.¹⁰⁶

Only a year after showing the wealth, culture, and innovation of a growing and developing nation, Chicago also became the center stage for the exhibition of the cultural and class conflicts prevalent within the United States. Employees for the Pullman Company seemed to have it better than most others in the laboring class. In addition to employment, the company also furnished its employees with homes and shops in a separate community that it had created within the city. But the appearances were deceiving. Although they were not in a slum, the workers were

¹⁰⁴ Eric L. Hirsch, *Urban Revolt: Ethnic Politics in the Nineteenth-Century Chicago Labor Movement* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Louise Carroll Wade, *Chicago's Pride: The Stockyards, Packingtown, and Environs in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), pp. 130-133.

¹⁰⁶ Hirsch, *Urban Revolt: Ethnic Politics in the Nineteenth-Century Chicago Labor Movement.*, pp. 6, 40, 41, 82.

still living in a segregated ghetto, and were subject to the company playing the role of both landlord and employer. They had to buy everything they needed from the company, whose prices were more expensive than outside of the community. Despite this, in the boom-bust cycle of the economy of the 1890s, the company decided to lay off over half of its employees and cut wages for those who remained. Despite this they continued to maintain the prices of the housing and goods which the employees were obliged to use, and they continued to pay regular dividends to their stock holders. This left some of the laborers with only a few cents to their name, and some with nothing at all.¹⁰⁷

Employees, after a failed attempt at negotiating with the owner of the company, George Pullman, decided to strike on May 11, 1894. The strike grew in scope when the American Railway Union intervened in June. This brought the dispute to the national level. The members of the Union refused to handle any of the cars owned by the Pullman Company, which soon resulted in the disabling of the American railway system, having profound effects on the economic activity of the whole country. Within a week, the federal government intervened to end the strike, resulting in violence, including riots and the military firing on civilians.¹⁰⁸

The government intervention in the strike showed the unwillingness of the upper and middle classes to tolerate the social and political dissent of the laboring class. Thus Chicago again proved to be the model for sentiments in the country at large.¹⁰⁹ The strike exposed the gap between the well off and the struggling, pitching the educated and privileged versus the unskilled and disadvantaged. But this was not

¹⁰⁷ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 258.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 258,259, 261.

¹⁰⁹ Spears, *Chicago Dreaming: Midwesterners and the City, 1871-1919*, p. 19.

the only gap that the city displayed. William T. Stead, in his book *If Christ Came to Chicago*, described that people paid no regard to the law, civil or moral, showing a discrepancy between the right way to live and the way people actually lived.

Although the country had just survived the Civil War, America during the Gilded Age was by no means unified. At this time, Dr. John Harvey Kellogg set out to establish a medical mission in the inner city of Chicago, a first of its kind within the Adventist Church. Reflecting on the work in the city and how it might be applied to other cities in the country, he and his colleagues had great hope for the work. Speaking of the work done in Chicago, presumably some time after the Pullman Strike, a colleague, Professor Prescott, stated with confidence, "And I believe that this work that is now being entered upon will have a wonderful influence upon this message which is to go to all the world,--I am sincerely convinced of that. I believe this work will have a tendency to oppose the mob spirit that has arisen" adding, "I believe that God will use this work with the ulterior purpose of helping a poor man right where he is now..."¹¹⁰ Another colleague of Dr. Kellogg's, Dr. Kress, held great optimism in the work's ability to fix the problem at hand. He said, quoting from scripture, "'If thou draw out thy soul to the hungry and satisfy the afflicted soul.....then shall thy light rise and the Gentiles shall come to thy light,' and this same chapter says, 'Thou shall be called the repairer of the breach.'" He goes on to apply this Scripture to the time he is in, saying, "The breach is so wide between the poor and the rich,--the poor are so neglected, that I really believe that all that is needed is simply repairers of the breach—for people to step in and become the

¹¹⁰ S.D.A. MEDICAL MISSIONARY AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION, S.D.A. Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Pp. 48-50 (misnumbered, no p. 49).

channels so that God can use the means which belongs to Him to communicate with and bless the poor and needy.”¹¹¹ The purpose for the Chicago Medical Mission, and subsequent missions to follow in other cities, was to stand in the gap between the rich and the poor, the skilled and the unskilled, and repair the breach.

“A different work”

While Dr. Kellogg inherited the Western Health Reform Institute, he started his own work of city reform in Chicago. From a donation of \$40,000 from Francis H. and Henry Wessels,¹¹² wealthy brothers of Cape Town, South African recently converted to Adventism, and under the counsel of the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association,¹¹³ Kellogg set out to establish the Chicago Medical Mission in the spring of 1893, the same year that the country was severely impacted by a recession in the economy. The Chicago Medical Mission was an institution, “which from a small beginning as developed until at the present time the various lines of Christian and philanthropic work described in these pages are in active operation.”¹¹⁴

To start the mission, Dr. Kellogg and an Elder Olsen made several trips to Chicago to find the best place to locate it. The men approached the police chief and asked for “the dirtiest and wickedest spot in all Chicago,” with Dr. Kellogg explaining that he “wanted to do something that nobody else wanted to do and so I wanted to find the dirtiest spot and the worst spot in the city.” The police chief

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 26,27.

¹¹² Dr. Kellogg's work in Chicago, New York Observer, August 6, 1896 (typed). Chicago Medical Missions, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Richard W. Schwarz, "Dr. John Harvey Kellogg as a Social Gospel Practitioner," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 57, no. 1 (1964), pp.10,11.

¹¹³ A Seventh-day Adventist governing body established by the General Conference of the church.

¹¹⁴ The Chicago Medical Mission, Chicago Medical Mission, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

responded that the place they should search around was the Harrison St. police station.¹¹⁵

While looking for a place to put the mission, Dr. Kellogg remembered that it seemed as if “there was a prejudice against there being any more missions” in Chicago. Even more, he said, “There seemed to be a sort of spirit of jealousy and envy among the missions; I do not say that this is true of all missions, but it was true of all that I came across in Chicago.” His understanding of this reaction was that “if we undertook to start a mission in Chicago we would draw the fire of criticism,--that we would have the criticism of all the missions of the city and of the prominent citizens of the city focused right upon us and that we would be in a very unhappy situation if we did not do something that nobody else had done instead of duplicating the work that someone else was doing,” and further emphasizing his conclusion he said, “unless we did something that needed to be done and that nobody else was doing and something that nobody was preparing to do.” Finally, some rooms were found available for rent at the City Garden Mission, an organization whose superintendent at first was reluctant to have the presence of another mission, but later had a change of heart and was happy to receive Dr. Kellogg. From this beginning the Chicago Medical Mission would grow to include a number of branches and departments and be a thriving institution of service for the citizens of Chicago.¹¹⁶

Thus, appearing somewhat as latecomers on the scene of Christian service organizations in Chicago, the Seventh-day Adventist approach to outreach needed to be unique simply in order to be able to compete with the other missions that were

¹¹⁵ S.D.A. MEDICAL MISSIONARY AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 1-4.

present in the city. Indeed, we see that Dr. Kellogg keeps reiterating that the Adventist Sanitarium work in general, and the Chicago Medical Mission more specifically, must do something that no one else did. Understanding how he saw the operation of other missions and the function of his own mission will explain to us, at least from Dr. Kellogg's point of view, how the Adventist approach to urban Christian outreach varied from all others and makes it an interesting case of study. Indeed, Dr. Kellogg himself stated that, "I think the Lord has given us a different work from others."¹¹⁷ And as we remember from the previous chapter, this perception of needing to do a different work is supported by what they perceived as their unique mission.

From the previous chapter we understand that the different work was to teach health reform as a way of sharing the third angel's message to the world. The work done at the Chicago Medical Mission (as well as to some degree at the Battle Creek Sanitarium) shows us how practically this work could be conducted by examining the ways in which people were instructed to live in the divine way of life. In a handbook on how to establish and run medical missions based on the model developed in Chicago, Dr. Kellogg sets forth the way that this type of education should take place.

He contrasted his organization with others, arguing that the purpose of a medical mission "is not simply a dispensary or an institution of medical relief, but a complete mission. Christ came to redeem man, physically, mentally, and morally." Holding fast to the belief in the three-part person, Dr. Kellogg is advocating a mission that will restore each of these aspects of men. He continues "A medical

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 4.

mission is a place in which the whole gospel, which includes the gospel of health, is both preached and exemplified [in] practice. The sole object of the medical mission," therefore, "...is the salvation of men, but the intimate relation of mind and body, health and morals, is recognized as an important factor requiring careful attention and consideration."¹¹⁸ While he does not "have anything to say against missions of the character named" above, those that merely refer the sick to physicians or distribute medicines he emphasizes, " a true medical mission undertakes to grasp the problem in a larger way."¹¹⁹

The way in which the sole object of the mission will be met in a broader way, according to Dr. Kellogg, is through a variety of services and practices: "Gospel meetings, personal work, dispensaries, treatment rooms for giving baths of various sorts, electricity, massages, etc., free shower baths, free laundry, penny lunch counter, industrial department, employment or home-finding bureau."¹²⁰ These were all aspects that would help the individual find complete restoration in their personal lives and in society.

In addition the helping the "orphans, homeless aged persons, sick and needy persons of all classes, and giving medical aid," the work of these medical missions was also to work in "educating missionary physicians and nurses, promoting home missionary work, organizing Christian Help bands, [promulgating] the [practices] of health and temperance and doing good in various other ways..."¹²¹ Among these

¹¹⁸ City Medical Missions, Chicago Medical Missions, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. P.1.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 1,2.

¹²⁰ Ibid, p. 9.

¹²¹ Outline of Organization for the S.D.A. Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, S.D.A. Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

“various other ways,” the Chicago Medical Mission eventually became home to a mission college and a medical school.

“A complete medical mission”

Dr. Kellogg also describes in detail in which part of a city a mission should be established. Remembering his own experience in establishing the Mission in Chicago, he advises, “It is especially desirable to find a location not too near some other mission, so that there will be no clashing or competition.” In order to find out where the work is most needed, he also suggests that, “It is a good idea to seek advices from the mayor, the commissioner of the poor, chief of police, the police judge, and from those who may have long been engaged in mission work in the city.”¹²²

Once a location is procured, he advises on the facilities that need to be used in order to conduct the mission. It all depends on the “kind and extent of the work which is proposed to undertake.” The bare minimum requires, “means for serving penny meals and baths, with such medical assistance as can be given by a well trained nurse.” More elaborate facilities, on the other hand “will afford facilities for lodging, the fumigation of clothing, laundry facilities, and attendance of the work by a physician at a stated hour daily or on certain days of the week.” Finally, “a complete medical mission in addition to the above will have hospital facilities more or less extensive, according to the circumstances, and a corps of nurses to visit the sick in their homes.”¹²³ Based on these assessments, although starting simply, the Chicago

¹²² City Medical Missions, Chicago Medical Missions, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. P. 23.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 13.

Medical Mission and the Battle Creek Sanitarium were complete missions, serving all of the possible physical needs of an individual who would come into their care.

Dr. Kellogg outlined in a speech he gave in 1896 the health conditions confronted within the city, deteriorations the result of the modernizing world. He said "A large proportion of men are sick from more or less unwholesome conditions which have impaired their health." Because of this, it was important to get these men out of the city, where many of them suffered from "disordered stomach and liver" as well as "coughs, bronchial catarrhs, ulcers, abscesses, and other evidences of badly disordered functions."¹²⁴

Dr. Kellogg includes giving baths as one of the most basic things that medical mission must provide. Giving more specific directions concerning this, he explains, "In the use of baths it should be remembered that hot baths debilitate, while cold baths are tonic. Hot baths (98° to 106°) relieve pain, neutral baths, (92° to 95°) quiet the nerves and are hence invaluable in case of delirium tremens and the opium habit." Continuing he says, "The cold bath is a wonderful tonic for weak, debilitated men, and will sober a drunken man in an astonishingly short space of time, but broken down, weak, hungry men do not stand the cold bath very well."¹²⁵ In one document, the men of the city were described as lining up down and around the street simply to take a bath. Thus while Dr. Kellogg explains some of the physical and curative advantages of providing baths, he also simply provides for the needs of the men in the city who would do anything just to experience being clean.

¹²⁴ Address, Oct. 11, 1896 (copy), Chicago Medical Missions, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. P. 9.

¹²⁵ City Medical Missions, p. 18.

In addition to the medical work, the Mission also supported an industrial department of work. In this department, the staff provided work “of such a sort that unskilled men can undertake it.”¹²⁶ Now we begin to see what makes Dr. Kellogg’s work in Chicago special by getting to the root of the problem. He is not just cleaning men up. He is also providing training to better equip them for the world when they leave the Mission.

Dr. Kellogg describes who he classifies as unskilled laborers: “The great majority...are men who have no regular trade or occupation and through a lack of practical ability to earn a livelihood,—men who were dull boys, men of small mental capacity, lacking practical ability to cope with the competing elements of the world.” Rather than blame their condition on themselves as their own fault, Dr. Kellogg continues, “They were born so, and are no more responsible for their natural deficiencies than though they were born club-footed or shorted or short-sighted, or with some other physical deficiency.”¹²⁷

This was for the purpose of giving men training so that upon their treatment at the medical mission, they could become productive members of society and perhaps find some more stability for their lives. Even though their training may not specifically prepare them for employment outside of the mission, the belief behind the department was that “they can remain under the influence of the mission for a sufficient length of time to become established in Christian ways and to become thoroughly rid of the appetites which have led them astray.”¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Address, Oct. 11, 1896 (copy), p. 3.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ City Medical Missions, pp. 27,28.

While the above was the approach to unskilled workers who ended up at the mission, a different approach was given to those who were skilled workers. Dr. Kellogg writes, "Not infrequently, however, skilled mechanics, shoe makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and printers, and experienced workmen in other trades are rescued from the lowest depths of degradation, to which they have fallen as the result of intemperance." Unlike the unskilled, though, "These men can generally find employment as soon as they become sober, or at least as soon as they become able to keep sober."¹²⁹

Both of these approaches to alcoholic men reiterate an important point. Dr. Kellogg and his colleagues were operating under the same belief that Ellen White wrote about and which we discussed in the first chapter. People were able to learn and unlearn habits and work. Their environment, therefore, influenced people perhaps just as much as their nature. The differing approaches do show some belief in the amount of training it may take people of different sectors of society. Those who were skilled laborers need only to be rid of their evil habits because their previous training was already enough to keep them as good members of society. This is because they have already received at some point the instruction needed to get them to that point in society. But those who had no skill must stay long enough to become good Christians, suggesting Dr. Kellogg saw that more training was necessary in their case, although both groups of men are presenting the same symptoms of intemperance.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 27.

¹³⁰ These possibilities are interesting to consider especially in light of the fact that we know Dr. Kellogg also became a eugenicist.

We see this philosophy in housing as well. Though the mission provided shelter for those who had no home, this was not to become a permanent home. Rather they were to be “temporary stopping-places where friendless and discouraged men can be brought under wholesome and elevation educational influences, and where they can be given opportunity as far as possible, self-supporting while being helped and trained, and thus prepared to maintain themselves on a higher social level.” Once again we see the belief that men can be educated in order to reach a different level of social existence, therefore rejecting the idea that people are always stuck in their lot in society because of who they are and what the endowments with which they were born. These shelters also provided for men to get out of the city, “to new country connections whereby he can find himself supporting employment elsewhere”¹³¹ and away from the offers of temptation and threats to health that would not only endanger his physical health, but his spiritual end. Dr. Kellogg states, “Often men who are thoroughly disheartened and discouraged through rebuffs, disappointments and misfortunes,—men who are perhaps only to a very small degree responsible for their unfortunate condition; they are the unfortunate creatures of bad heredity, of bad environment, and of neglect or one-sided education.”¹³² By fixing the environment and the education, there is a great chance that he can overcome his heredity.

Dealing with those who overused alcohol by providing them with a place to stay was not unique, although the other method practiced was distinct from the approach of the Chicago Mission. In the late nineteenth century, some physicians and scholars began to look at alcoholism as a disease, a mental illness similar to

¹³¹ Address, Oct. 11, 1896 (copy).

¹³² Ibid, p. 3.

insanity, which should be approached in a similar way as insanity. Asylums were meant to get the inebriate away from alcohol for as long as possible, even years, in order for him to be quarantined from the disease. Others rejected this idea, saying that alcoholism was simply a bad habit and a sin. While these presented two extreme views, the idea of an inebriate asylum showed within medicine a utopian idea of producing perfect social order and repairing problems. These same physicians believed that all classes were susceptible to this disease, including clergymen and that it was the result of heredity not environment. The asylum approach, though, often only dealt with the mental and the physical, and just quarantined from the influences and issues that led to alcoholism. It did not offer any other sort of services or training for its inmates.¹³³

Fallen Women

In general, Dr. Kellogg encourages breaking down parts of the work by gender. When asked whether women shall work for men, he replied "As a rule, no. Exceptions are exceedingly rare. A gray haired, motherly, experienced, dignified woman could sometimes render help in a mission, especially if working in connection with her husband, but single young women can certainly find a more appropriate and profitable field of Christian activity." His reasoning for this was that, "When young women have a great burden to rescue some leprous masculine sinner, there is reason to fear that the devil is setting traps for their souls."¹³⁴

¹³³ Edward M. Brown, "'What Shall We Do with the Inebriate?' Asylum Treatment and the Disease Concept of Alcoholism in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* XXI, no. 1 (1985).

¹³⁴ City Medical Missions, p. 39.

Dr. Kellogg gave advice for the reverse situation as well. When asked if men should engage in work for “fallen women,”¹³⁵ Dr. Kellogg again answered, “It is certainly very rare indeed that the Lord calls men to engage in this line of work. It is a work especially for women, and experience has shown us to beware of men who manifest a special burden for this line of work,” surely using the same reasoning as in the first case. Besides, he encourages that, “There are men enough to be saved to occupy the attention of every man whose heart is aglow with the gospel fervor, and who feels that God has called him to labor for the helping and uplifting of his fellowmen.”¹³⁶

Just because this work is left for women, Dr. Kellogg is not dismissing it. On the contrary, he takes the work for fallen women very seriously and holds it in high regard. He says that “In every large city, and in fact in almost every city, there is to be found a larger or smaller number of women who have fallen to the very lowest depths of human degradation.” He asserts that there is almost nothing that can be done with this class of women and that they are “generally looked upon as hopeless cases.” But among these he says that there are some who are “looking and longing for an opportunity to escape...It is to help such that rescue work must be organized and conducted in an orderly and proper manner.”¹³⁷

Those who decide to seek these women out should be those who feel they have received a call from God specifically for this type of work. He describes the work as “difficult, discouraging, soul trying, and dangerous,” and that all should understand when undertaking this work, “that life and health must often be

¹³⁵ prostitutes

¹³⁶ City Medical Missions, p. 39.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 30, 31.

imperiled" because "in snatching one of these fallen ones as a brand from the burning, it often seems as though all the demons of hell were let loose to drag their victim back to perdition." Even setting a time, Dr. Kellogg states that this work should take place "especially between 11 and 1 o'clock" when "these women come out upon the streets to solicit." He states "a woman of experience will quickly recognize a person of this class by her manner and conduct. It is not necessary to employ men for decoys, as is sometimes done. A woman who cannot readily recognize suitable subject for missionary effort is not prepared to engage in this kind of work."¹³⁸

While Dr. Kellogg believes that Homes for Fallen Women should not be established because it would probably lead more people into their sin than helping save women out of it, he does believe that women should be placed in people's homes so that they can receive a positive Christian influence. He states, "It is only necessary that the sympathies of Christian people be enlisted, and the duty to take in the outcast placed clearly before them, to secure a sufficient number of missions homes to provide for all who need such care."¹³⁹ He blames that lack of such homes as one of the reasons that these women fell into prostitution in the first place, once again touting the importance of environment. His support for private, familial home over group homes or halfway houses stands in direct contrast to the standard practice of the day. Most other Christian groups engaging in this work built homes

¹³⁸ Ibid, p. 31.

¹³⁹ Ibid, pp 31, 32.

for fallen women to all live together under one roof while they were in the process of becoming reformed.¹⁴⁰

Finally, in regards to working for fallen women, Dr. Kellogg states that it may be necessary to make accommodations for pregnancies resulting from their lives prior to rescue. He writes, "In large cities it is often necessary to establish maternities or lying-in homes for those who have, through evil influences, been led into disgrace. The purpose of such homes to bring them under the influence of the gospel, so that they may be permanently rescued from the moral peril threatening them..." Once again, we see the belief that environment has the power to bring about change. This change is so important to Dr. Kellogg because, "A maternity without the converting power of God actively at work in it can scarcely be regarded as other than an encouragement to vice."¹⁴¹

Considering the work available for women to do as medical missionaries as well as the approach to the prostitute is an interesting case to study. Having women actively involved in social Christianity was not unusual during this time, nor the idea to have a woman laboring to rescue prostitutes unique. In general, though, Christian workers viewed prostitutes as women who were beyond the ability to be saved, although a man who had become as a prodigal son, the comparable male figure, could be recuperated.¹⁴² While we saw before that Dr. Kellogg agreed that saving these women is a difficult task, he does believe that there is some hope for rescuing some of them.

¹⁴⁰ Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).

¹⁴¹ City Medical Missions, p. 32.

¹⁴² Spears, *Chicago Dreaming: Midwesterners and the City, 1871-1919*, p. 22.

At this time, middle and upper class men paid more attention to women who were of lower classes because they were often unable to fulfill the idealized role of wife and mother in creating a good, nurturing home. Because they had to work to help make ends meet or they had to succumb to the evils of prostitution or exploitation they were unable to sustain this basic component of society, the family. On the other hand, the men paid little attention to the Social Gospel activities of middle-class women, and viewed their work acceptable as long as they did not neglect their own families nor became too active and radical. So the men of the Social Gospel Movement had more of a concern for the fallen women while Dr. Kellogg seemed to exhibit care for the women who will be doing the work in addition to the fallen women.¹⁴³

Women in the Social Gospel Movement did have a motivation for the rescue of fallen women. They viewed it as an opportunity to help right the wrong of the moral inequity between the women being viewed as sinners and the higher class men they were servicing, who continued to be regarded as upstanding citizens.¹⁴⁴ Based on the examined evidence, we cannot say whether Adventist women viewed this as a motivation to do the work.

Overall, it is hard to say whether the gendering of the work in this decisive of a way is distinct to the Adventist work or not. While it is clear that there are specific aspects of reform with which women involved with themselves in the Social Gospel Movement, the majority of the history written about this period is gender neutral. This does not suggest gender neutrality in the work, but rather that the vast majority

¹⁴³ Susan Hill Lindley, *"You Have Stept out of Your Place": A History of Women and Religion in America* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996)., pp. 137,138.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

of scholarship has failed to approach the subject in such a way as to examine the differences between the sexes in contribution to and views of the work.¹⁴⁵

Cottage Meetings

Recalling Dr. Kellogg's requirement that a maternity must have the power to convert reminds us that the medical mission does not only serve the physical and mental needs of the people. Its overall purpose is to help convert people. Thus, in addition to the baths, the industrial training, the saving of prostitutes, and the myriad of other services provided by the mission in the city of Chicago (and in other cities where like missions were established), the gospel must be preached. And while we know that he believes that some of this preaching should be done through the way that physicians, nurses, and other workers live their lives, he also advocates actual preaching of the gospel. He had very specific ideas about how this should be done in connection with the Mission as well.

One method of preaching the gospel that Dr. Kellogg suggests is through cottage meetings. "The purpose of cottage meetings is to reach the class of people who cannot be reached in a other way. In every large city there are to be found two classes of persons who seem to be almost entirely outside of religious influence." The presence of the two classes reminds us of the original gap mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. The first group "are the very poor, who feel that they are exclude from church perhaps because of their inability to provide themselves the

¹⁴⁵ Wendy J. Deichmann and Carolyn De Swarte Gifford Edwards, "Introduction: Restoring Women and Reclaiming Gender in Social Gospel Studies," in *Social Gospel and Gender*, ed. Wendy J. Deichmann and Carolyn De Swarte Gifford (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

clothing which will secure to them a cordial reception by the users of the average church" because they have too little. Then, there are those, "on the other hand the very rich, who are supplied with all the comforts and luxuries to enable them to live in ease and contentment, with little thought to the future or serious matters which pertain to the present."¹⁴⁶ Most likely viewing himself and those with whom he works as in between the two great classes of people, Dr. Kellogg believes they are in a position to reach both groups of people by entering into their homes and conducting Bible studies and other meetings that allow people to have a personal experience with the gospel, thus, in a way, bringing church to them rather than them having to leave their homes to attend church. The cottage meeting, then finds a way to bridge the gap.

On one occasion Dr. Kellogg describes the result of such meetings in some of the city tenements. He tells that the visiting nurses would go into the homes of those living in the tenements in the stockyards of Chicago where there was strong Catholic presence. Dr. Kellogg says they began to break through the influence of that church and its institutions that the nurses would go into the homes, and then ask those whether they would like to go to a Bible reading, Bible study, or a gospel meeting. If the person said yes, they would encourage them to invite some of their own friends, and they would have a meeting there in the tenements, a cottage meeting.¹⁴⁷

Different than cities on the east coast of the United States, Chicago had a significant Catholic population who had a strong impact institutionally on the city. The church came in while the city was still growing, and grew along with it.

¹⁴⁶ City Medical Missions, pp. 7,8.

¹⁴⁷ S.D.A. Medical MISSIONARY AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION.

Additionally, while the city had grown from 100,000 to 1 million inhabitants in forty years, at the end of that time three-quarters of those who were in the city were either immigrants or the children of immigrants.¹⁴⁸ The vast majority of these immigrants were not from Protestant nations as those who first settled the United States. Rather they were from countries in Europe where Catholicism was still the dominant religion.¹⁴⁹ Because the Adventist denomination was relatively new, and its presence in Chicago much shorter than Catholicism, inroads made in Catholic territory would be something in their own eyes to be proud about. Their success would be further verification of the fact that there was something about their work that was unique and that set them apart from everyone else in the city, both in terms of the work done and the message preached.

Dr. Kellogg continues the story, saying,

A nurse started out day before yesterday to see about a meeting and while on her way she went into a house and found a poor woman who was sick and she put in her time working for that sick person. In the mean time, while she was there, a friend called who came from a wealthy family—a lady who knew the woman—called and said, ‘Now I want you to come to my house,’ and she went up there and talked with the lady, and the result was that this lady was the wife of one of the wealthiest people of Chicago—worth hundreds of thousands of dollars—this lady said, ‘Now I want a Gospel meeting at my house’....So this nurse established a gospel meeting by stopping to take care of this sick poor woman. Now if she had gone by her, like the priest or the Levite she would have missed her opportunity. This illustrates the way in which this work is done.¹⁵⁰

No matter what form meetings to preach the gospel took, Dr. Kellogg always made sure to make one thing clear. While all their work was educational, “It should be borne in mind that the purpose of the meeting is to rescue perishing souls and not to teach theology. There is one great truth which is paramount to all others, and

¹⁴⁸ Spears, *Chicago Dreaming: Midwesterners and the City, 1871-1919*, pp. 3-4, 8, 11, 10, 15, 180-181, 211.

¹⁴⁹ Timothy Walch, "Catholic Social Institutions and Urban Developments: The View from Nineteenth-Century Chicago and Milwaukee," *Catholic Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (1978).

¹⁵⁰ S.D.A. MEDICAL MISSIONARY AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION, p. 9.

which should precede all others, viz., that the Lord Jesus Christ came to save sinners, that he is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto him. This is the one great theme appropriate to the gospel meeting." The reason to stay away from "theology" is because "such ideas provoke a controversial state of mind which is not conducive to conversion. Men are never saved by argument. Men are moved by conviction rather than by reason."¹⁵¹ Thus we are reminded of the fact we covered in the previous chapter that although attempting to fulfill their unique mission, the Adventist mission was not supposed to get people tangled up in sectarian difference but rather just teach them to have faith in Jesus.

"A good thing"

With such an apparently welcoming message and comprehensive program, the Chicago Medical Mission must have been able to have some form of measurable impact on the city. Indeed, the mission's records claim that it did. According to a two-year report, extending from January 1, 1897 to January 1, 1899, the Chicago Medical Mission accomplished the following:

- No. of treatments given, 18009
- No. of baths given, 35483
- No. of examinations, 984
- No. of surgical operations, 385
- No. admitted to the surgical ward, 456
- No. in the Maternity, 139
- No. of visits by the visiting nurses, 2934
- No. of days' nursing, 1557
- No. of garments given away, 2675
- No. of cottage meetings held, 391
- No. of meals served, 668325
- No. of lodgings given, 101091
- No. using free laundry, 52924
- No. in attendance at Gospel meetings, 250600
- No. of Gospel meetings held, 2851
- No. of open air meetings, 183

¹⁵¹ City Medical Missions, p. 2.

No. of Testaments and Bibles given away, 6383
No. of pages of literature distributed, 3574000
No. of professed conversions, 3670¹⁵²

While these numbers are impressive, the response of the people, according to Dr. Kellogg, was varied at first, but eventually became greatly supportive. Just a few days after starting the mission in Chicago the chairman of the city board of charities summoned him. He recalls the meeting with them, describing that,

I found Prof Henderson, and several other prominent men who said; 'We understand that you have down in Custom House Place an institution where you feed tramps, and it is not the right thing to do it will draw tramps from everywhere and we think we ought to look into this matter, because we are endeavoring to get tramps out of the city, and you have a great many people who are not worthy, and you keep them over night and supply clothing to them, and they do not deserve it; we have asked the Bureau to investigate every case of charity and see that the person is worthy, and if we find a person who is not worthy we refuse to help him' and they wanted us to join them in their machine.¹⁵³

The view that Dr. Kellogg claims these philanthropists possessed was that merit determine who to help, that people deserve help not because of their condition but because of who they are.

Dr. Kellogg continues,

I said, 'Gentlemen, I will simply explain our work to you; You have the impression that we have a sort of tramp's nest, but that is not the situation we have a tramps' hospital'....So I gave them live experiences; tears came in their eyes and they all said, 'You need not say anymore; this is a good thing; and they have all spoken highly of our work and have been cooperating with us, and they are also using their influence to get everybody in the city to cooperate with us because they see it as a good thing.'¹⁵⁴

While speaking about the principles of the medical missionary work, Dr. Kellogg tells the story of a street boy who came to the Mission. Dr. Kellogg sent

¹⁵² Report of Work in Chicago From Jan. 1, 1897 to Jan. 1, 1899, Chicago Medical Missions, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹⁵³ S.D.A. MEDICAL MISSIONARY AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION, p. 21.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 21.

him to Battle Creek to work and get away from the city. This boy later grew up to be a medical teacher, both at the college set up by the Mission and at a medical school in Chicago, married a young woman of high class, and had a child with her. He told this story to show the change in life that this young man was able to experience as a result of the work of the mission. On a broader level he concluded by saying, "I just mention this story as an illustration of the fact that the sanitarium work strikes the whole gamut of society. It is intended to reach every class of men from the tramp, from the runaway boy on his way down hill to perdition to become a criminal, to the millionaire." Describing the medical missionary work both in and outside Chicago he says, "I might tell you that we have in Chicago, and we have in other places, nurses who are standing at the bedsides of the wealthiest people, the most honorable people; and we have at Battle Creek, I could introduce you to senators, governors, lawyers, clergymen, and doctors. If you go over across the water you will find the Battle Creek idea in the palaces of kings and royalty."¹⁵⁵ From this we can see practically what we heard suggested at the beginning of this project and this chapter. This worked served to breach the gap between rich and poor and met the physical and various other needs of both classes of people.

The response was also positive from those who would be viewed as in need to be saved. Dr. Kellogg stated in a lecture, just a year after establishing the Mission that, "The proprietor of a gambling house, who called at a Medical Mission in which he was interested, remarked, 'I don't go much on the Gospel, but this sort of

¹⁵⁵ Address: "The Principles of Medical Missionary Work as Carried on in our Sanitariums." By Dr. David Paulson, Dr. J.H. Kellogg, November 30, 1903. Lectures and Speeches 1903 Sept-thru Nov, Box 4, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Pp. 24-26.

preaching I believe in.”¹⁵⁶ Thus the witnessing done by living out the life, meeting people’s needs, and simply preaching Jesus had more impact than other approaches this man encountered.

The most important response, however, that Dr. Kellogg indicates resulted from the Medical Mission, was the inspiration to move to action of those who before were indifferent. “Not infrequently men and women may,” he says,

by seeing the work which is being done, and which needs to be done, be moved upon to contribute money, clothing, provisions, and other necessities of the work. Some, also by seeing what can be done and what is being done by others, may be led to turn away from ambitions and follies and dedicate their lives to the same work. Others may, by seeing what God can do in a minute in the direction of transforming a hardened criminal to an ardent follower of Christ, be led to an increase of faith in the saving power of the gospel, and through a more complete surrender of self may be lifted to a higher spiritual level.”¹⁵⁷

Not only is this work striving to get people to higher social levels, but also to higher spiritual levels. And this is exactly the aim that Dr. Kellogg hopes happens among Adventists in churches, that each member gets involved to start their own type of rescue mission.

The work of a missionary, however, is not to be left to the medical missionary alone. Rather, all should be striving in their own sphere of influence to be spreading the third angel’s message. Dr. Kellogg in his handbook writes, “From the Christian standpoint, everything belongs to God. Christians are simply the managers and distributors of the goods entrusted to their care. The unjust steward was condemned to be discharged from his stewardship when he wasted his master’s goods, but when he began to distribute his master’s property to the poor and needy,

¹⁵⁶ Materialism in the Medical Profession, Oct. 20, 1894, Lectures and Speeches 1894, Box 3, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, University of Michigan.

¹⁵⁷ City Medical Missions, p. 34.

he was commended and restored to favor. Every Christian home must be a mission. Every Christian's farm must be a mission farm."¹⁵⁸

While Chicago stands as a model for the cities of the Gilded Age, Dr. Kellogg's work in this city is the model for the holistic approach to people. Not only does it attempt to reach the entire person based on the Adventist conception of the image of God, but it seeks to repair society as well, individual by individual. The sheer amount of services that Kellogg and his co-workers provided demonstrate this fact. However, the purpose was always to preach the gospel. So while Adventists did move into the city, and they did meet the needs of the urban dweller, they were always keeping in mind the motivation behind their work—the soon coming millennium.

¹⁵⁸ City Medical Missions, p. 29.

Conclusion

“Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee. . . .? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.” Matthew 25:34-40, KJV.

“The mission has received many evidences of providential care, and assistance has frequently been received in most unexpected ways. One day an elegant turnout dashed up to the front door, and a flashily dressed man sprang out of the carriage and handed \$5 in at the door, saying, ‘This is the kind of preaching I believe in.’ He proved to be the proprietor of a gambling resort.

“A poor colored girl was brought into the mission one day, having been picked up on the streets by one of the visiting nurses. She was in the most unfortunate condition, suffering from a terrible pelvic inflammation, as the result of a criminal operation which has been performed but a short time before. She had been inticed [sic] away from her home in Kentucky by a dissolute barber, who had recently thrust her out, after treating her in a most chameful [sic] and cruel manner, leaving her to die alone among strangers in a great city. It was evident that a surgical operation would be required. The first thought of the attending physician was to send her to a hospital in the city, as it was evident the expense of caring for her would be very great, as she would require constant nursing for a long time. The second thought which came was to send her to the Sanitarium hospital at Battle Creek, which is connected with the Chicago Medical Mission, being under the supervision of the same association. Taking out his pocket book, he found but five dollars, just sufficient to pay his own fare home. He returned the money to his

pocket, saying to the nurse, 'Send the patient to the hospital.' Another thought came so forcibly as to seem almost like a spoken voice: 'Give the nurse the money to buy a ticket for the poor girl: the money will be returned to you.' The nurse was recalled, the money placed in her hands. Half an hour later, a boy placed an envelope in the doctor's hands, saying, 'A lady just passed this in at the door, telling me to hand it to you.' opened [sic] the envelope, it was found to contain twenty-five dollars, without the name of the donor.

"Similar instances might be cited. The promoters of this enterprise and those engaged in it, are content to go forward in the work, trusting in kind Providence to incline the hearts of those who are interested in this kind of work in behalf of the unfortunate classes, to contribute their means to support the work by contributions of money or other necessities as the needs of the work may require."¹⁵⁹

When Ellen White wrote that people needed to learn to trust in the bank of heaven. These surely are the examples of providence working out situations as she anticipated. While several themes in this thesis are clear and do not bear the need of repeating, I would like to draw some final observations similar to the one above in what we saw in this project.

In the first chapter, Ellen White counseled that people should humble themselves and go into the homes of those they are serving, and out on the highways and byways. The cottage meetings and visiting nurses of the Chicago Mission surely fulfilled this requirement and Dr. Kellogg tells that this work brought great success

¹⁵⁹ Untitled document, describing medical mission and lack of funding, Chicago Medical Mission, Box 12, John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Pp. 1, 2.

both in conversions and in helping to meet the needs of those they came in contact with.

Dr. Kellogg spoke of the physician's ability to win other physicians away from skepticism by sharing with them wonders seen in a deep understanding of science. This reminds us of Ellen White's belief that once one man is converted to the gospel, he will be able to reach others in his same class.

Ellen White also believed that if wealthy men were converted, they would use their wealth in order to support the mission work of the church, and the two brothers who generously donated \$40,000 to Dr. Kellogg after their conversion certainly exemplify this idea.

These instances are but a few of the many that we find between the ideas that Ellen White promoted and the outcome of the work that Dr. Kellogg did. It is true that the two were friends, and thus shared ideas and approaches to the work. Despite this, the consistency between the two provides an exciting work to study.

In the course of my research, I came across a number of areas for additional research that would prove to be enlightening. First of all, a dialogue between Ellen White and John Harvey Kellogg on their ideas about nature and nurture, as well as the idea of a person being created in the image of God and that belief's implications on the theory of eugenics. This would prove to be very stimulating and test the idea that their thoughts lined up in such a similar way as they did in this paper.

Secondly, an investigation on Kellogg's view of the newly formed American Medical Association and its requirements for the movement towards professionalism in the medical field as well as for medical schools would be interesting. This is the case because of the fact that for a while he ran his own medical school in Chicago,

and he held such idealized visions of what the Christian physician should be while at the same time still advocating a liberal arts education for the doctors.

Finally, although this paper set out to examine social Christianity within Seventh-day Adventism, I only scratched the surface. Their social institutions also include schools, and while mentioned, a deeper exploration of the Adventist theory of education in comparison with the other theories circulating at the time would contribute more knowledge in this field. Adventist civic involvement in the political arena is also an area to investigate as they came out strongly against attempts in the US Congress at establishing a national Sunday law in the late 1800s. As well, their ideas about domesticity and the family as the center of society would prove to be an interesting inquiry, along with a number of other areas. While excluded from this paper because of time and space, each deserve their own special study.

Overall, I believe that it is clear that Seventh-day Adventists had a clear mission and purpose that was motivated by the fact that they believed the millennium was on its way. While they shared this belief with others, in many ways the way they acted on their understanding set them apart from others doing similar types of work. Over a century later, at places like the Loma Linda University Hospital, and with organizations like ADRA (Adventist Development & Relief Agency International), this work continues as Adventists eagerly continue to prepare for a soon coming millennium when they and those they have served will be able to enjoy the treasures they strive to store in heaven.

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