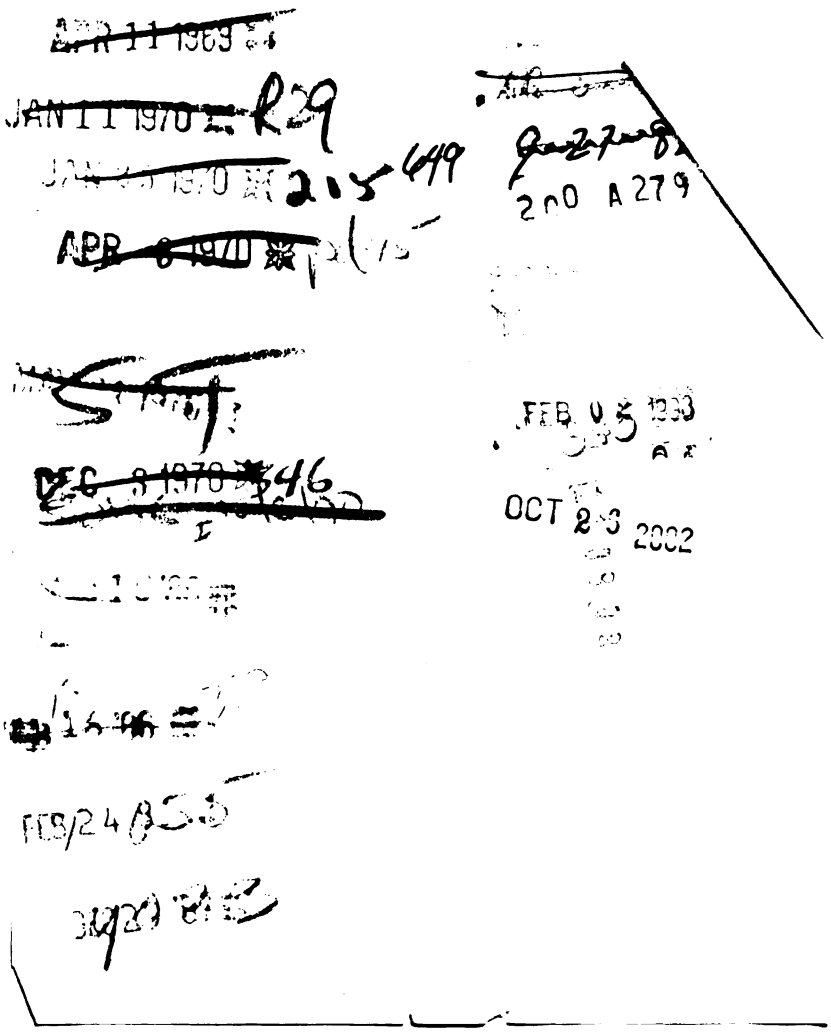
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THE SECOND COMING

IN THE

THIRD NEW ENGLAND

(THE MILLENNIAL IMPULSE IN MICHIGAN, 1830-1860)

By

Nathan G. Gordon Thomas

who keeps doing this to all the middle initials?

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

1967

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ABSTRACT

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The millennial impulse in Jacksonian society has been underestimated by historians who have dealt with it chiefly in connection with William Miller and the Second Advent excitement of 1843-44. Millerism and Mormonism, the two most spectacular millenarian crusades of the era, were not isolated phenomena; they were simply the most immediate and dramatic demonstrations of a millennial belief which was a commonly held American religious doctrine. Millennialism neither began with Millerism, nor ended with the disappointed hopes of the Adventists in 1844. The millennial impulse, in fact, increased in the years leading to the Civil War, and was manifested through the great moral and social reforms of the time.

The Millennial Hope was real to American Protestants during the period from 1830 to 1860; the Millennium was literal to them, a promise of God given through Biblical prophecy which evangelical Christians believed would be fulfilled in America. This millennial influence manifested itself in Michigan in various benevolent organizations of the era, such as the American Home Missionary Society,

temperance and antislavery societies, and in religious denominations, such as the Presbyterians, Universalists, Mormons, and Adventists.

Because of the large influx of Yankee-Yorker stock from Buffalo, New York, across Lake Erie to Detroit during the formative years of the state, Michigan's population, institutions, and leadership were generally established under New England auspices and ideals. The influence of millenarian beliefs, already inherent in American Protestantism, was intensified in Michigan by the migration of former New Englanders from the "burned-over district," the Genesee Country of western New York where the millennial fires had raged. Many of the emigrants had been influenced by the millennial preaching of Charles G. Finney, Lyman Beecher, William Miller, Joseph Smith, and other less well-known figures, before arriving in "the third New England," in Michigan.

George Duffield, pastor of the largest single congregation of Presbyterians in Michigan and head of the Committee for Home Missions in the state, was an ardent premillennialist, believing that Christ would come in person before the thousand years of righteousness. The Congregational-Presbyterian Home Missionaries in Michigan mainly espoused the postmillennial view that God would cleanse society with His spirit, thus establishing the Millennium before His return at the end of the thousand years. According to either view, however, Christ was returning in

spirit or in person to establish His Kingdom. The Alphadelphia Association, a Fourieristic Utopian society established near Galesburg, Michigan, by Michigan Universalists, was largely millenarian motivated. The Mormon Church, led by Joseph Smith, exerted a strong premillennial influence in the early history of the state, as did the later schismatic Mormons, who attempted to build a Kingdom of God on Beaver Island, Michigan, under the leadership of James J. Strang. Seventh-day Adventism, which derived from the Millerite Movement of 1843-44, was a premillennial church that established its world headquarters at Battle Creek during the 1850's. The millennial impulse was also manifested in the great social reform movements of temperance and antislavery, taking the form of abolition of evil and the purification of society for Christ's coming. A fervent hope in the Biblical Millennium played an important role as a basic inspirational force among religious men in Michigan during the Jacksonian Period.

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PREFACE

The importance of the millennial impulse in mid-nineteenth century religious and humanitarian movements has been underestimated by historians who have dealt with it chiefly in connection with William Miller and the Second Advent excitement of 1843-44. The two most spectacular millenarian crusades of the day, Millerism and Mormonism, were not isolated phenomena; they were simply the most immediate and dramatic manifestations of a millennial belief which was a commonly held American religious doctrine. Historians' in their emphasis on the two movements have overlooked the prevalence and popularity of the Millenial Hope among Jacksonians as a whole. Nor was the Hope limited to the ignorant or illiterate. Evangelical Protestants quite generally believed that Christ was returning, either in person or in spirit, to establish a thousand year reign of righteousness, the Millennium described in the New Testament Book of Revelation.

Millenarians were of two general types, premillennialists and postmillennialists. The premillennialists believed that Christ's personal Second Coming would occur before the thousand years of heaven on earth; postmillennialists, probably the majority of religious men in the period from 1830 to 1860, interpreted the Millennium to be

a period of near perfection before the Second Advent brought about by the Holy Spirit working through men. Yet despite variant views, the agreements among millenarians were more important than their differences, and the belief in a literal Millennium held an important position in the minds of Jacksonian Americans. In an age of intense revivalism and reform, the Millennial Hope, in one form or another, was a basic inspirational force. All Protestants considered the success of the great moral and social reforms of the day, such as those brought about by missionary, Bible, tract, and temperance societies, as signs of the approaching Millennial Day.

American Protestant millennialism closely paralleled the secular faith in science and progress which also characterized the pre-Civil War years. Yet the Biblical Millennium was a distinct doctrine accepted only in religious circles. Acceptance of the secular idea of progress alone implied a strong belief in the efficacy of man's own material and intellectual accomplishments, not God's. And when a churchman did absorb the philosophy of progress, as indeed he often did, his millenarian faith always placed the Deity at the source of inspiration and success. The true Millennium was to be God-ordained and God-given. Man could not bring the Millennium through his own efforts, since it was the Spirit of God working through humanity that would purify the world and usher in the prophetic period of peace and righteousness.

When Christians spoke of a Millennium, it was not just a philosophical figure of speech which was used to denote the progress and perfection of society. The Millennium was a definite measure of time which meant the Second Coming of God. Christian millenarians often accepted the secular idea of progress, however, as long as it could be harmonized with what they thought was the will of God or could be given scriptural justification. To those adhering strictly to a secular view, the Millennium was broadly construed as a future period when man's reason and scientific achievements would reign supreme; man would perfect the world with his own enlightened mind. Yet the secular and the religious reformers actually sought the same goal, since both were agreed upon the eventuality of perfection on earth. The period was an age of expectation, when all Americans optimistically hoped for the speedy delivery of mankind into a Utopia of happiness and prosperity.

Michigan has sometimes been called the "third New England" because of the predominant New England and New York Yankee influence upon the state during the period of 1830 to 1860. Millenarian ideas, already inherent in American Protestant faith, moved with emigration from New England to western New York state, where these ideas flourished and multiplied. Mainly because of the intensity of millennial expectations, western New York became known as the "burned-over district," which Whitney R. Cross so aptly described in a book by that name.

In his work, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, Whitney Cross analyzed the movements in the "storm center," sometimes called the "infected district" or "burned-over district," where "religious forces were the driving propellants of social movements important for the whole country in that generation." He found that the faith of such courageous non-conformists as Charles G. Finney, William Miller, Joseph Smith, John H. Noyes, and the spiritualist Fox sisters, derived largely from a hope that the Millennium was within their grasp. Millerism, "the boldest panacea of the era," was the "logical absolute of fundamentalist orthodoxy" which had capitalized on two generations of rising millennial enthusiasm. "All Protestants," Cross wrote, "expected some grand event about 1843, and no critic from the orthodox side took any serious issue as basic principle with Miller's calculations" (pp. 320-321).

Cross' study of the fires of passion which raged in the "burned-over district"is more than a local history on the interplay of religious, economic, and social forces in western New York, but provides a case history in the westward transit of New England culture. As Professor Cross realized, however, New York was only the beginning; the Millennial Hope would continue westward with national expansion. Farming land in the Territory of Michigan, which for various reasons had been bypassed previously, was easily

accessible for the emigrant after the completion of the Erie Canal. During the late twenties and early thirties emigrants flocked across Lake Erie from Buffalo to Detroit to give Michigan more of a New England flavor than any other western territory or state.

The transfer of the millennial impulse to Michigan can be seen in the effort of the Presbyterian-Congregational American Home Missionary Society of New York City, which directed an important evangelistical endeavor in Michigan during the state's formative years. After the first few years of Congregational-Presbyterian cooperation in the venture, the Congregationalists began withdrawing to leave the Presbyterians largely in charge of the Society's operation within the state. The Home Missionaries usually emphasized postmillennial doctrines in their effort to build up a "Zion" in Michigan, yet George Duffield, the pastor of the First Presbyterian church in Detroit, who for many years coordinated the Home Missionary Movement, was an ardent premillennialist. As the state's most prominent Presbyterian clergyman, his premillennial position points out the prevalence of both premillennialism and postmillennialism doctrines of the Second Coming in one of Michigan's largest Protestant denominations. The Millennial Hope was a positive desire of the Home Missionaries; in George Duffield's theology, an absolute faith in the imminent Second Coming held a central position.

Even the Utopian community called "Alphadelphia," located at Galesburg, Michigan, which was organized by a Universalist from New York State, Henry R. Schetterly, was regarded by contemporaries as a millenarian experiment. A Fourieristic phalanx, founded upon the principles advocated by the French socialist Charles Fourier, Alphadelphia was promoted by Universalist ministers who had accepted Fourierism as a gate to the Millennium. The Universalist penchant for science and progress made him particularly vulnerable to any idea which he felt might hasten the Millennial Day.

The adventism of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was also successfully preached and accepted in Michigan. Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, as well as the principle leaders of the young church, made several visits to Pontiac, Michigan, where several of the Prophet's relatives had settled. A belief in the Second Coming of Christ then became a reality to the inhabitants of Oakland County, as many accepted the new faith and departed for the Mormon kingdoms in Jackson County, Missouri, and Nauvoo, Illinois, where the "gathering" would take place to await the Lord's return. After Joseph Smith's assassination, James J. Strang, another New Yorker from the "burned-over district," claimed the apostalic succession and set up a millennial kingdom on Beaver Island, Michigan. The majority of Mormons, however, chose to make the long trip to the Great Salt Lake "Zion" with Brigham Young.

Yet the schismatic Strangites were a powerful influence in Michigan Mormonism with their "Stake of Zion" on Beaver Island. Until the time of his assassination in 1856, James J. Strang continued to preach the dangers of the "last days" and the need to gather into the Mormon Island kingdom to await the Saviour.

The Millerite Movement, though mainly centered in the Eastern states, created considerable excitement in Michigan. William Miller, the Baptist preacher from Low Hampton, New York, predicted that the Second Coming would occur "around 1843." The evidence shows that Millerite preachers lectured in several places in the state and Second Adventism received a substantial following. After the failure of Miller's predictions, a small group of Adventists, who still believed Miller to be right on his basic chronology, added a seventh day sabbath tenet to their millennial belief and chose Michigan as the headquarters for their sect. Joseph Bates and James White, the founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, came directly from New England and New York to organize their denomination at Battle Creek in the 1850's. The millennial doctrine of the Sabbatarian Adventists soon made Battle Creek into an Adventist town and made Michigan a stronghold for the belief in a literal and imminent Second Coming.

Although never so obviously millenarian as Mormonism or Seventh-day Adventism, the great crusades for temperance and antislavery were motivated to a large degree by a millennial passion to abolish evil and establish the Kingdom of Righteousness on earth. Early in the movements the millennialism of the popular evangelists, Lyman Beecher and Charles G. Finney, established a precedent for the age. These two men, as well as many later abolitionists and temperance reformers, such as William Lloyd Garrison and Theodore Dwight Weld, taught that intemperance and slavery were sins, which must be eradicated before the Millennium could be achieved. Michigan reformers were likewise convinced that the abolition of slavery and intemperance would hasten the Millennium. They also predicted that God's wrath would be poured out on a nation which deliberately thwarted the divine millennial plan, unless America quickly abolished her social sins. Therefore, the coming of the Civil War was often viewed as God's intervention in the affairs of the nation. The Millennium, to the Michigan abolitionist and temperance worker, was a literal truth and not a fanciful dream concocted by some legendary misty-eyed millenarian fanatic. The Millennium, in fact, to all of Michigan's evangelical Christians, was considered a promise which could be fulfilled during their own lifetime.

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Nathan G. Thomas

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CHAPTER I

THE KINGDOM AT HAND

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote of Jacksonian America that "the religious aspect of the country was the first thing that struck my attention" and that "there is no country in the whole world, in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America. . . ." Furthermore, "In no country in the world," he noted, "has the principle of association been more successfully used." These voluntary associations, he believed, were formed not only to "resist enemies which are exclusively of a moral nature" such as the "vice of intemperance," but also "to promote public order, commerce, industry, morality, and religion. . . ."[1] Not only foreign travellers, but all contemporaries were agreed upon the importance of religion in the young republic. It was, as Carl Russell Fish wrote, "distinctly and increasingly a religious period" when "every orator had to prove that his position was endorsed by the Constitution and the Bible."[2]

And, as the religious intensity deepened, the revival became the cutting edge of evangelical Protestantism adopted and promoted by major segments of all the denominations.[3] Revivalism, this "cutting edge," was distinctly an American phenomenon which played an integral part in the growth of evangelical Protestantism. By 1830, Calvin Colton,

Presbyterian minister and prolific writer of the Jacksonian Period, believed that revivals had become the "grand absorbing theme and aim of the American religious world;" Charles Finney, the greatest revivalist of his time, wrote that, "If there be any true religion in the world, I have not the slightest doubt it is formed in its most unequivocal form as the fruits of our great revivals in America."[4]

By 1830 the revival was generally accepted in most denominations as the best method of increasing membership, even though the excesses of the great Methodist camp meeting revivals were deplored by many conservative-minded Christians. Nevertheless, most Christians believed that the sovereign Holy Spirit was providing the power to convert and civilize the entire world and to bring Christ's reign on earth. For this reason thousands who decried the methods of the revivalist could see his successful fruits as a sign of God's will, not only for the backwoods and frontier regions, but for the East and the great cities.[5]

One important facet of revivalism, beginning even before the years of this study, was its tendency to promote cooperation among the major denominations. Revivalism "helped to melt these ancient prejudices" and to promote "a growing spirit of union" among the churches.[6] Nowhere is this better shown than in the establishment of the Presbyterian-Congregationalist Home Missionary Society in 1826 and in the growth of the great interdenominational prayer meetings in 1858. Yet, not all was harmony by

any means. It is "paradoxical that purportedly nonsectarian revivalism and benevolence should encompass much of the spirit they professed and yet engender interdenominational strife of a bitterness scarcely to be paralleled."[7] In general, though, it seems fair to state that the spirit of cooperation was increasing through these pre-Civil War years, with organizations such as the Y.M.C.A. being the logical outcome. Much of the existing strife was due to intradenominational friction rather than disputes between the large denominations. The Presbyterian schism of 1837 is the classic example, of course, with the slavery controversy increasingly disturbing most denominations. But one expects to find the "ancient prejudices" erupting to some extent, since the denominations, despite their claims to the contrary, were interested in increasing church membership. The advance, on the whole, was in the direction of interdenominational social and religious work.

Since Christianizing the land, especially the West, was one of the immediate goals set by the evangelical churches, most of the leaders felt that a certain degree of cooperation was necessary to achieve this end. The interdenominational tract, missionary, temperance, and Bible societies provide abundant evidence for the growing feeling of cooperation during these years; it should not be forgotten that the undertaking of the churches was an extremely large one. Not only must individuals be regenerated,

but society itself and all institutions were to be purified. Every humanitarian cause--temperance, peace, prison reform, antislavery--became the crusade of sincere Christians whose hearts were stirred by the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ.[8] The strong union between religion and morality led the church revivalists and reformers deeply into "ultraism," the extremism of the era. There could be no other conclusion to this attempt to perfect man and society.

Perfectionism, the optimistic hope of man's attaining a state of freedom from sin on this earth, was also predominate during the pre-Civil War years. This belief, of course, in its various forms, is as old as mankind. In America it proved particularly potent from 1830 to 1860. The American variety was to some extent a transfer of the Methodist doctrine of sanctification to the Calvinistic denominations. But whether the influence came from Methodist, Quaker, or Pietest groups, perfectionism seems to have accompanied the great revivals and finally penetrated deeply into all Protestant denominations. Sometimes called "the second blessing," "holiness," "perfect love," "sanctification," and "entire sanctification," perfectionism flourished in all the major denominations before the Civil War. Calvinism was liberalized to fit the increasing Jacksonian stress on the free individual. As Sidney Mead writes, "The perfect individual was the fully free individual. . . who had developed his every potential to the fullest possible extent."

Charles G. Finney was only typical for the times "in interpreting Christian perfection in the image of the free individual." Democracy, equality, individualism, and perfectionism walked together through the first half of the nineteenth century. It seemed to be "America's calling, under God, to build a perfect society. . . and democracy seemed to be the way thereto."[9] The drive for perfection, it may be noticed, fit well into the "Restoration Theme" of the Jacksonian democrats.[10] Tocqueville believed that the principle of equality was what suggested to Americans the idea of the indefinite perfectibility of man.[11]

Perfectionism, therefore, in one form or another, and whether looked upon from the religious or secular side, was a driving force in young America. It could advance to the ultraism of John Humphrey Noyes, probably the most radical perfectionist of the nineteenth century, or it might take the more mild form espoused by Charles Finney. The freedom from the sense of sin preached by this great revivalist at Oberlin did not go to the extreme of believing that anyone could be perfect, but only that individuals should aim at being perfect. Finney took a direction away from the Puritan views of human inability and imperfect sanctification. He wandered too far for many Calvinists and his interpretation naturally invited schism in the church. Nevertheless, revivalists and perfectionists dominated the New-School Presbyterians, while the Methodists

grew strongly perfectionist branches in the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Free Methodist Church. It is important to notice that all churches were affected by this search for holiness. This quest helped make Protestantism a strong social force in the nineteenth century, and this force of American Protestantism was directed most single-mindedly when perfectionism was wedded to the belief in Christ's imminent return to the earth--the potent doctrine called millennialism.

A genuine moving spirit, a spiritual impulse which lay sometimes half concealed under the surface manifestations of perfectionism and revivalism, was millennialism. It was the leaven producing the ferment of reform and revivalism so common to the era, with a final product which gave to Protestantism its dynamic social strength. The new enterprises of Christianity--"the Bible societies, foreign mission societies, abolition societies, and the like. . . all were hailed as the harbingers of the millennium."[12] While it is true that perfectionism and revivalism worked together toward this end, they only became "socially volatile" when combined with Christ's imminent conquest of the earth.[13] The period of American history between 1830 and 1960 was one of particular restlessness and expectancy since "Orthodox Protestantism had long been developing a strong millennial tone." And, not just sectarians, but "all protestants expected some grand event about 1843. . . ."[14] Millennialism

was indeed the yeast that kept the religious cup running over during these eventful years.

The coming Millennium is referred to only in one chapter of the Bible, the twentieth chapter of Revelation. According to these passages, Satan is to be bound in the "abyss" for a thousand years. Christ will come, either at the beginning or end of the thousand years, and the righteous will reign.

Broadly speaking, there are three main classifications or systems of millennial belief: premillennialism, postmillennialism, and amillennialism. The premillennialist stresses the most pessimistic view in that he believes the world must grow continually more evil until the Second Coming. The "last days" will bring war and tribulation and Satan's hold on the world will tighten. But when Christ returns, He will set up His Kingdom and then will follow a thousand years of peace and righteousness. The important point is that Christ comes in person to reign <u>before</u> the Millennium. The premillennialist is a man in a hurry, since he teaches that the return of Christ for judgment will come soon. In method, he tends to use a literal approach to the study of Scripture and accuses his postmillennialist and amillennialist opponents of "spiritualizing" the Bible by giving it a figurative or symbolic interpretation.[15]

In contrast, postmillennialism describes a world that is growing better through the work of the Holy Spriit. The return of Christ will take place after the world has been Christianized and prepared for Him at the end of the Millennium of peace and righteousness. The thousand years will be a period of spiritual prosperity, when evil will be reduced to a minimum if not completely eradicated.[16]

The belief in amillennialism hardly falls within the scope of this study since its growth has come chiefly in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As the word defines itself, amillennialism teaches that the Bible does not predict a millennium at all. Good and evil will exist and develop together until the Second Coming of Christ. Then the resurrection, the judgment, and eternal happiness for the righteous will follow. However, as with the other systems, theories vary considerably in amillennialistic circles.

There is another kind of millennialism, a rare type called intramillennialism. The best example of this belief in American history is Mother Ann Lee, founder of the Shaker Church. The Shakers were convinced that the Christ Spirit had become incarnate in her, thus starting the Millennium for Ann Lee's followers who gathered into communitarian settlements of righteousness.[17] In brief then, there were actually only two main types of millennialistic belief, excepting Shakerism, in operation during the first half of the nineteenth century--premillennialism and postmillennialism.

Millennialism is as old as Christianity. Christ's disciples and the early church fathers were premillennialists until the time of Augustine. Shirley Jackson Case writes, in discussing the Millennium and the City of God: "The Millennium was now no longer a desideratum, it was already a realization. Working from this point of view, Augustine lays the ghost of millenarianism so effectively that for centuries thereafter it is practically ignored." Augustine believed the Millennium began with the reign of the Church during his own lifetime.[18]

They no doubt existed, but millenarian doctrines did not become prevalent or popular again until the Reformation. The Lutheran and Reformed Churches both espoused a restrained type of millennialism, but premillennialism itself existed as a more radical hope among the sectarians. In England, millenarian groups caused Cromwell trouble during the Revolution. Then another great surge of millennial expectation crystalized in the late eighteenth century resulting in the Shaker movement. Ann Lee succeeded, however, in transferring this movement to America. But long before the Shakers, the Puritans, and particularly the Separatist Puritans, brought the hope for a "Kingdom of God" to America.

The study of prophecy held an important place in the lives of the Massachusetts Puritans. Not just the Separatists groups alone, but all the Puritans shared interest in the Biblical prophecies. They could see God's will revealed

to them in the establishment of a Holy Commonwealth which was to be preparatory to Christ's Second Advent. American historians have shown little interest in the Puritan fascination for the Prophecies, perhaps because the Puritan did not experiment with idealistic Utopian kingdoms such as those of the nineteenth century. But, despite their belief that the Kingdom might not occur immediately, the Puritan hope for the Second Advent was a basic, literal aspiration.[19]

There was, however, for a good many years a waning interest in prophecy after the early period. The sons and grandsons of the Puritan Fathers "with a mixture of resignation and despair. . . relinquished the dream of millennial Kingdom in their times."[20] But with the coming of the Great Awakening and its revival enthusiasm, millennial hopes again became an important part of evangelistical emphasis. Jonathan Edwards, the last of the great Puritan preachers, adopted the views of postmillennialism in a figurative resurrection and a temporal Millennium. He was most positive that this millennium would start in America. Further, he asserted that the revival itself was evidence that God was beginning a new spiritual world in America.

The years after the Great Awakening brought a declining interest, at least in intensity, in the millenarian hope. The young nation's first great poets, Barlow and Freneau, might write that America's mission was to speed the Millennium,[21] but it was not until the "Great Revival" or "Second

Awakening" at the turn of the century that the religious interest in prophecy and the Millennium was once more heightened. At this time the evangelical zeal of Protestantism burned furiously in America. And again, the Millennium was one of the main concerns. Samuel Hopkins and Timothy Dwight were thoroughly convinced that Christ's earthly reign must come soon. Hopkins believed that one could not tell the beginning or the end of the thousand years, but that the introduction was close. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale, despite his close relationship with Hopkins, was a strict premillennialist, deciding that the Millennium would come before the year 2000. William Linn, president of Rutgers, placed 1916 as the date of Christ's coming; Eliphalet Nott, President of Union, agreed with Dwight on the year 2000. Most college teachers and academic leaders accepted and preached millennial doctrines.[22] By many of these leaders, the success of American revivalism, following late eighteenth century deism in America and "French infidelity" overseas, was hailed as a sign of Christ's return--either spiritually or visibly in person.

The evangelical institution most likely to bring the Millennium, according to the Methodists and the Baptists, was the camp meeting. Forced out into the open, since no buildings in the west could hold the large crowds, the camp meeting served the frontier areas in providing preaching

and religious experience for thousands of lonely people. Here, as in the other revivals, the Gospel was highly seasoned with millenarian doctrines.[23]

The flame of revivalism after the Second Awakening, discouraged perhaps by excess emotionalism, burned low for awhile but then suddenly shot upward in the "burned-over district" of western New York. In 1824 Charles G. Finney began a ministry which made him one of the most effective evangelists of all times. Later as teacher and then President of Oberlin College he taught a brand of sanctification and perfectionism little compatible with orthodox Calvinism. His millenarian beliefs, nevertheless, were in line with the prevailing millennial winds. Finney, and nearly all the revivalists for that matter, anticipated "a Millennium, a period of great happiness when holiness would be triumphant." Charles C. Cole notices that references to these "latter days" crept into their speech, for by using the imminence of such an event they could "spur on their potential converts."[24] Finney's belief in millennial perfectionism is important, since his great revivals helped to introduce the era of revivalism and reform before the Civil War. His leadership in launching a fervent expectancy of the Millennium could scarcely be equalled by anyone. But his millennialism was in fact a mild variety compared to that which would soon be preached by many of his more literal-minded contemporaries.

Even a casual reading in the denominational literature of the pre-Civil War period indicates the prevalence of the Millennial Hope. The doctrine was found in all the churches of the period, but three groups in particular were stressing millenarian doctrines as a basic part of their creeds. Joseph Smith's dominant motif was his dream of the Millennial Kingdom. John Humphrey Noyes, great perfectionist leader and founder of the Oneida Community, in retrospect, remembered the awakening of 1831 and how his heart was "fixed on the millennium," and how he had "resolved to live or die for it."[25] To Noyes, millennial perfection was the ultimate standard in religious experience. The third outstanding example of ultra-millennialism was the crusade of William Miller to warn the world that Christ was returning in 1843 or 1844. The Millerite Movement was the most radical and at the same time, because of its belief in the imminence of Christ's return, the most intense of all millennial movements in American history.

The large majority of seventeenth and eighteenth century religious leaders were premillennialists. Postmillennialism was of relatively recent origin, dating back to the teaching of Daniel Whitby, an English preacher who wrote a two-volume Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament in 1703. Whitby insisted that the world would be completely evangelized to give the church universal control before the Coming of Christ. The first secure hold this "new" doctrine obtained in America, was when accepted

by Jonathan Edwards who proceded to preach a figurative resurrection and a temporal millennialism. Charles G. Finney, who made some pretense of following in the footsteps of Edwards, also espoused a by-then popular postmillennialism.[26]

In brief, by the nineteenth century postmillennial doctrines were running a close race with premillennialism in popular religious thought. According to Timothy L. Smith, the premillennial crusade of William Miller only helped "speed the adoption of a fervent postmillennialism, attuned to the prevailing optimism of the age."[27] Premillennialism did not die out, though, in any sense of the word. To be convinced, one has only to notice the "Prophetic Conference" held at New York City in October of 1878, when over one hundred ministers, editors, college presidents, and teachers attended because the "previous doctrines of Christ's second personal appearing has, we are constrained to believe, long lain under such neglect and misapprehension." These leaders were assembled, not from just small sects, but from the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Methodist, Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, Independent, and Adventist churches.[28]

The millennial impulse was a principle motivating factor in the establishment of the great religious and humanitarian movements during the first half of the nineteenth century. It helped provide the materialistic American

with a sense of social responsibility. Oliver Wendell Elsbree affirms this in his study on the formation of missionary societies: "It is difficult to see how an effective missionary propaganda could have been developed without an incessant appeal to Bible prophecy as a final authority in regard to the duty of Christians to evangelize the world."[29] The effort to purify society similarily included the abolition of slavery as the "next step to be taken on the way to the realization of the promise of the kingdom of God on earth."[30] Likewise it is this millenial impulse that helps account for all the other reformist activities such as Bible societies, home missionary societies, temperance societies, peace societies, the crusade against Sabbath-breaking, educational reforms, and prison reform. Even the American socialistic schemes of the era were trying to achieve a millennium.[31] But according to the evangelicals, America must first be Christianized and a "way made for the Lord," The secular philosophy of progress often fit perfectly into their plans for doing just that.

During the Jacksonian period, the millennial impulse which had been prevalent earlier in the East, was transmitted directly from New England to Michigan, but more often from western New York,--the "second New England"--to Michigan. During the 1830's, because of disputes with the Holland Land Company, the Dutch concern which held many of the mortgages in western New York, and because of the availability

of good land in Michigan at a reasonable price, the Yorker migration to the Wolverine state reached floodtide. In the year 1836 alone, four million acres of Michigan land were sold, doubling the previous year's sales. The migrating Yorker now had access to the Erie Canal, and deck passage from Buffalo, New York, to Detroit, Michigan, was only three dollars per person on one of the fifty steamers in use on Lake Erie. As one verse of the song "Michigania," which was very popular in the East declared:

> Then there's the State of New York,
> where some are very rich;
> Themselves and a few others have dug
> a mighty ditch,
> To render it more easy for us to find a way,
> And sail upon the waters to Michigania,---
> Yea, yea, yea, to Michigania.[32]

In the years following 1830, Michigan had every reason to be called the "third New England" as the Yorkers moved in to transplant their Puritan ideals and institutions. By 1840, the state had a larger proportion of New England-New York stock than any other western state,and the Millennial Hope, under Yankee-Yorker leadership, was firmly established. Whether the postmillennialism of the missionaries sent out by the American Home Missionary Society of New York City, or the premillennialism of Millerism or Mormonism, any concept of the Second Coming would find abundant adherents in the Wolverine state, the third and last New England.[33]

Michigan became a territory in 1805, and at that time there were only four towns within what would later be the state borders. The port of Detroit, the largest town, had a population of eight thousand. By 1830 though, many new towns had been built up along the roads leading to Detroit. These roads usually followed old Indian trails like the Saginaw Trail and the Old Sauk Trail. To survive, the towns were always planted along a principle route of travel, such as Clinton, Coldwater, Sturgis, and Niles along the Chicago Road, or along a river or creek where water power was available, such as the thriving mill town of Pontiac.[34]

Settlers poured in during the thirties, until Michigan had a population of 212,267 in 1840. In fact, during the decade of the thirties, Michigan had a larger percentage increase in population than any other state or territory. By 1860, the total figure had grown to 749,113 inhabitants, nearly all living in the first four tiers of counties. The total picture in 1860, was one in which southern Michigan had been settled with Yankee emigrants from New England, and western New York.[35] It is a picture of a frontier state hardly emerged out of the wilderness.

In economic development Michigan lagged behind such states as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the impression was widespread that Michigan consisted of little more than mosquito infested swampland. But land selling for $1.25

per acre drew the settler to the prairies and "oak openings" of the territory. After the Erie Canal made Michigan accessible, emigrants arrived at Detroit by the shipload.

From Detroit inland, transportation proved a major problem because of the low swampy ground. Congress passed a law to construct a road from Detroit to Chicago which was surveyed in 1825 and completed by 1835. Other roads were built from Detroit to Saginaw, from Detroit to Port Huron, and the Territorial Road which ran through the second tier of counties north of the Chicago Road via Ann Arbor, Jackson, Battle Creek, and Kalamazoo to St.Joseph on Lake Michigan. These roads were little more than cleared strips of land which, in rainy weather, became such mudholes that it took as many as six horses or oxen to draw a wagon over them.

Besides public roadbuilding, the Michigan internal improvement program included railroads and canals. Upon statehood in 1836, the Michigan legislature passed a law to provide for the building of three railroads and two canals to cross the state from east to west. The new projects progressed until early 1839 when the money ran out. The state's indebtedness and the five million dollar loan which financed the internal improvement program became a political football for the Whigs and Democrats. Hard feelings and hard times brought an agitation against internal improvements at state expense which largely ended the program.

Railroad building, therefore, as well as canal transportation, remained behind most other states.

The financial distress after 1839, was alleviated to a certain degree by the beginning of large scale lumbering and mining operations. Lumbering in Michigan, it is true, did not come into its own until after the Civil War. Yet the value of forest products rose from $1,000,000 in 1840 to $6,000,000 in 1860. Mining also became important after 1840, with the rich fields of copper opened in the Upper Peninsula, and the discovery of the Marquette iron range.

The majority of Michigan inhabitants, however, were not miners or lumberjacks, but small farmers. The farmer found that Michigan soil would produce fine crops of corn, wheat, oats and potatoes, Wool, dairy products, maple sugar,rye, barley, buckwheat, tobacco, and hops were also successfully produced in early Michigan.

The Michigan pioneer-farmer had to be hardy enough to endure the extreme privation of an "open-faced camp," until his neighbors helped him erect a better log cabin. Since stores were often miles away, he had to be to a large degree self-sufficient, preparing his own food, clothes, furniture, and even tools. Farming was usually combined with fishing, hunting, and lumbering operations if possible.

Medical help often being several days away, the pioneer and his family had to be strong enough to endure malaria, commonly known then as "chills and fever" or "ague."

On the political scene, the state belonged primarily to the Democrats until 1854, when the slavery issue became more and more important an issue. James G. Birney became a resident of Michigan in 1841 and received strong support as a presidential candidate in the election of 1844. The Compromise of 1850 brought further discord to Michigan politics; personal liberty laws were passed to protect the fugitive Negro and the Underground Railway increased its operations. Then in 1854, the Republican Party was organized "under the oaks" at Jackson which soon took over as the political party of Michigan with Lewis Cass being forced into the background by Zachariah Chandler, the new political leader of the state. From 1854 down until 1932 Michigan remained a Republican stronghold.

During most of the Territorial period, the population was predominantly French-Canadian Catholic, and Protestant churches were not established until late in the period. Reverend William Mitchell, a circuit rider, organized the first Methodist church in Detroit in 1810. John Monteith, a Presbyterian, came to Detroit in 1816 at the request of Governor Cass to lead aninterdenominational Protestant Society. This society, however, voted to become Presbyterian in 1825. Other Protestant groups soon followed: the

Baptists at Pontiac in 1827; the Congregationalists in various towns, but especially Pontiac and Marshall between 1828 and 1836; and the Lutherans in 1833 at Ann Arbor. During the next few years the Home Missionaries and circuit riders worked tirelessly to build societies and churches in all Michigan towns.

The reforming movement that swept over America in the 1840's and 1850's found a ready place in the Michigan churches. The Protestant churches furnished leadership in all the great crusades whether for antislavery, temperance, Utopian socialism, prison reforms, women's rights, dietary reforms, or anti-Catholicism. The New York-New England background no doubt contributed a large share in making Michigan a leader in these crusades. This spirit of reform, too, eventually added new churches to the state's history which included Mormons, Seventh-day Adventists, Spiritualists, and Universalists. Reform also brought schism to many large denominations which produced other churches such as the Wesleyan Methodists and the Freewill Baptists. But in general, the established denominations all enjoyed a healthy growth in both numbers of members and church structures from 1830 to 1860. Church membership statistics are hardly an accurate guide to measure church attendance, however, since hundreds who were not members attended church regularly and expected to experience conversion sometime in the future. Religion, above all else, held a central place in the thinking of the Michigan settler.

FOOTNOTES

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (Tr. Henry Reeve; New York, 1945), I, pp. 191-192, 303, 308.

2. Carl Russell Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850 (New York, 1927), p. 179.

3. Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (New York, 1957), p. 45; see also Peter George Mode, The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity (New York, 1923), p. 41.

4. Quoted in Charles C. Cole, The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists (New York, 1954), p. 71.

5. Smith, Revivalism and Reform, pp.7, 9, 157.

6. Ibid., pp. 43-44.

7. Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastical Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, New York, 1950), p. 40.

8. H. Richard Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America (Hamden, Conn., 1956), pp. 122-123; Fish, Common Man, pp. 179 ff., 256 ff.; Smith, Revivalism and Reform, p. 60.

9. Sidney Mead, The Lively Experiment (New York, 1963), pp. 92, 93.

10. Marvin Meyers, The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief (Stanford, California, 1957), pp. 11-23.

11. De Tocqueville, Democracy, II, pp. 33-34.

12. Dixon Ryan Fox, Ideas in Motion (New York, 1935), p. 116; Niebuhr, Kingdom of God, p. 158.

13. Smith, Revivalism and Reform, p. 225.

14. Cross, Burned-Over District, pp. 200, 321; Fox, Ideas in Motion, pp. 99-126; John R. Bodo, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848 (Princeton, New Jersey, 1954), p. 251; Oliver Wendell Elsbree, "The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in New England, 1790-1815," The New England Quarterly, I (1928), pp. 297-300; Bernard A. Weisberger,

They Gathered at the River (Boston, 1958), p.131; Stow Persons, American Minds: A History of Ideas (New York, 1958), p. 90; Cole, Northern Evangelists, p. 232.

15. A form of premillennialism called "Dispensationalism," popular in America today, divides history into seven dispensations. The seventh thousand year period which starts after Christ comes,is the Millennium. Dispensationalism is treated here as only a variant of premillennialism since Christ comes before the Millennium according to this belief.

For a discussion of Premillennialism see: George E. Ladd, The Blessed Hope (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1956) and Crucial Questions About the Kingdom of God (Grand Rapids, 1952; C. Norman Kraus, Dispensationalism in America (Richmond, Va., 1958).

16. For the classic interpretation of Postmillennialism see: David Brown, The Second Coming: Will it be Premillennial? (Edinburgh, 1856), fourth edition.

17. Persons, American Minds, p. 177; Cross, Burned-Over District, p. 31.

18. Shirley Jackson Case, The Millennial Hope (Chicago, 1918), pp. 179, 180.

19. LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation, III (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp. 33-42, 44-45, and passim.

20. Persons, American Minds, p. 89.

21. Russell B. Nye, The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830 (New York, 1960), p. 51.

22. Froom, Prophetic Faith, III,pp. 217-221, 242-299; Fox, Ideas in Motion, pp. 99-126.

23. Charles A. Johnson, The Frontier Camp Meeting (New York, 1955), p. 106; Weisberger, Gathered at the River, p. 131.

24. Cole, Northern Evangelists, pp. 232-233.

25. Quoted in Cross, Burned-Over District, p. 200.

26. Froom, Prophetic Faith, II, pp. 651-655; III, pp. 252-253; Ladd, The Blessed Hope, pp. 32-33; William G. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism (New York, 1959), pp. 105-106; Cross, Burned-Over District, p. 168; Smith, Revivalism and Reform, p. 228.

27. Smith, Revivalism and Reform, p. 228.

28. Premillennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference, Held in the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York City (Chicago, 1897), p. 11.

29. Elsbree, "The Rise of the Missionary Spirit," p. 297.

30. Niebuhr, Kingdom of God, p. 158; Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (New York, 1964), first printed in 1933, pp. 161-163.

31. Arthur Alphonse Ekirch, The Idea of Progress in America, 1815-1860 (New York, 1944), p. 139; Niebuhr, Kingdom of God, pp. 122-123, Fox, Ideas in Motion, p. 116; Fish, Common Man, pp. 179, 256.

32. Silas Farmer, History of Detroit and Wayne County and Early Michigan, I (Detroit, 1889), p. 336.

33. For the third New England concept see J. Harold Stevens, "The Influence of New England in Michigan," Michigan History, XIX (1935), pp. 321-353; Morris C. Taber, New England Influence in South Central Michigan," Michigan History, XXXXV (1961), pp. 305-336; W. V. Smith, "The Puritan Blood of Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXXVIII (1912), pp. 355-361.

34. The facts and figures for a general picture of Michigan, 1830-1860, are taken from: F. Clever Bald, Michigan in Four Centuries (New York, 1954) and Willis Frederick Dunbar, Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State (Grand Rapids, 1965).

35. Stevens, "The Influence of New England in Michigan," pp. 350-351; Smith,"The Puritan Blood of Michigan," pp. 355-361.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESBYTERIANS AND THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The postmillennial fervor of the missionaries sent to Michigan by the benevolent interdenominational American Home Missionary Society, and the premillennial expectancy expressed by the eminent pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, George Duffield, were alike directed toward preparing Michigan for the Second Coming of Christ. A study of the Presbyterian Church in Michigan presents a clear picture of both premillennialism and postmillennialism within the ranks of the orthodox during the Jacksonian period.

The evangelical enthusiasm and cooperation generated by the Presbyterian-Congregational Plan of Union in 1801 reached a peak in the founding of the American Home Missionary Society at New York City in May, 1826. This Protestant Society, purportedly interdenominational but in Michigan primarily controlled by the Presbyterians, commissioned hundreds of Presbyterian and Congregational pastors to preach the Gospel to the destitute in the newly-formed frontier communities. By the decade of the thirties Michigan had become a main objective for the New England-

trained missionaries to save from infidelity and deism and to establish a reign of righteousness.

The missionary clergymen sent to Michigan were interested not only in saving individuals from sin, but in preparing the way for the Millennium. Christ would return to reign only when the Gospel had been preached to every living creature. The missionary believed that God had chosen Protestant America to begin His thousand year reign of righteousness. The formation of the American Home Missionary Society and its early success were regarded as signs that the approaching golden era would occur during the missionary's own lifetime. As the population moved westward, the evangelicals did not despair of setting up the Kingdom, but increased their endeavors to Christianize and save the entire land. The frontier territory of Michigan presented a leading challenge to the newly formed Society. The Millennium would come when the territories and states had been purified.

Therefore, the preaching of the Gospel itself was no more important than destroying every influence that the missionary considered evil in Michigan society. Millennial peace would be postponed, he reasoned, until drunkenness and sabbath-breaking, and the other sins of society were abolished. But human efforts working with the Holy Spirit would hasten the Blessed Day. So the American Home Missionary

worked with a kind of millennial fervor to regenerate Michigan society and cleanse it from sin.

The Plan of Union, generally speaking, worked advantageously for the establishment of the Kingdom until the withdrawal of the Congregational churches after 1840. Even after schism in 1837, the separation of Old School Presbyterian Churches, which never numbered more than fifteen in the Synod of Michigan, the New School attempted to remain on friendly terms with Congregationalism. Yet the gulf was wide and the bridge built in 1801 rested on an insecure foundation. One of the first Congregationalist missionaries sent to Michigan, "Father" Isaac Ruggles, a Congregational clergyman sent out by the United Domestic Missionary Society, forerunner of the A.H.M.S., came to Michigan "with the avowed intention of building up pure Congregationalism."[1] In fact, Ruggles stirred up so much trouble between the two denominations that Pontiac, Michigan, remained a trouble spot in their relationship for many years after Ruggles had been replaced. In brief, it seemed to many Congregationalist missionaries and pastors, that the Presbyterian polity was not so necessary to set up God's Kingdom on the frontier after all and that perhaps the purpose of the Presbyterian form was to aid the "Presbyterian lion" swallow the "Congregational lamb."[2] From 1840, the story is one of increasing withdrawal of Michigan Congregational churches from the Plan of Union.

The period from 1816, when the American Board of Foreign Missions sent the Presbyterian minister John Monteith to Detroit in 1816 at the request of Governor Cass, until 1840 have been considered the halcyon years of Michigan Presbyterianism. If 1837, the year of the Presbyterian schism, was not the pivotal point in the history and growth of the church, it is certain that the Congregational defection in the years immediately following definitely started a downward trend.[3]

The largest single congregation of Protestants in Michigan during this period was the First Presbyterian Church in Detroit. In 1816, when John Monteith arrived, it was simply called a "Protestant Society" which included people from all denominations. Monteith resigned in 1821 after organizing the first Protestant church in Detroit as well as serving the state as the first president of what would later be called the University of Michigan. The Protestant Society later voted to become Presbyterian, and the eloquent John P. Cleaveland, an important temperance and antislavery leader, served as pastor. Cleaveland gave up his pastorate in 1837 to assume his new position of president of the embryo Presbyterian college at Marshall which, due to the financial crisis of the time, scarcely got off the drawing board. The following year, George

Duffield, probably the most famous and influential clergyman to serve in Michigan during the nineteenth century, accepted the position as pastor.

George Duffield, one of America's most prominent millenarians, arrived at Detroit fresh from his involvement in the perfectionist controversy which helped bring schism to the church. He had served for nineteen years as pastor at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, then two years at the Fifth Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, before becoming minister at the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City. During his pastorate at Carlisle he became a theological storm center by producing a work called Spiritual Life: or, Regeneration in which he allegedly departed from church doctrine with his explanation of sanctification.[4] Partly because of his influence, schism came in 1837, and Duffield, a "New School" Presbyterian, accepted the challenge of frontier Michigan to begin a long ministry of thirty years at Detroit.

A national figure, Duffield was in a position to exert more millenarian influence upon Michigan than any other one person in the state.[5] He had become important as a temperance advocate, especially after writing The Immorality of the Traffic in Ardent Spirits in 1834. And despite his tendency toward conservatism,[6] he remained a man of strong convictions, an outspoken and fearless preacher of the imminent coming of Christ, and the outstanding civic leader over the "largest and finest"

pastorate "in the then Northwest."[7] To prepare the way for the Millennium he worked for the causes of antislavery, antisabbath-desecration, and education. His reform work contributed more to the moral stability and progress of Detroit than any other man. He was looked upon as the city's first leader by all denominations.[8]

George Duffield was a man who knew what he believed. He was convinced that his religious views were correct and that neither Catholics nor Episcopalians, his main competitors in Detroit, had a chance for admission to the Kingdom of God. The "miserable spirit of Congregationalism"[9] and the Oberlin perfectionism[10] of Finney alike met his condemnation. Even though he had been accused of perfectionism himself in the famed heresy trial, his diary entries during and after Finney's visit to Detroit, leave little doubt as to his distaste for the "loose principles" as well as the "repellent manner" of Finney.[11] He was sure that the vengeance of God would be meted out to all those who strayed even the slightest bit from his interpretation of the scriptures. His diary displays his strong belief in a God of vengeance and in eternal punishment for the wicked. But a study of Duffield's theology reveals something even more interesting in respect to his eschatological belief: Duffield was an ardent premillennialist fighting a strong current of popular postmillennialism in the Presbyterian church.

The millennialistic belief and teaching of George Duffield, in general, varied but little from that of William Miller. He had read all that Miller had published for many years past;[12] Duffield believed Miller's calculations to be "erroneous in many respects." Nevertheless, in a letter to Joshua V. Himes, editor of the Millerite paper, Signs of the Times, he expressed his appreciation for the publication and for Miller's efforts to awaken a "slumbering church and world." According to this letter the main difference between Duffield's view and Millerite premillennialism was a matter of the precise "time."[13] He condemned Miller for setting the year and the day, since "God, we think, has purposely left these dates in doubt so that we may not be able to know precisely the day of Christ's coming."[14] It is evident that Biblical prophecy was one of Duffield's chief studies; as a matter of fact, the subject matter of his sermons consisted almost entirely of explanations of scripture and prophecy, or of the doctrinal standards of the church.[15] In the winter of 1841-42 he gave a series of sermons to his Detroit congregation setting forth his views on the coming Millennium. These sermons were so well received that his congregation requested their publication which was done in a 434 page work called Dissertations on the Prophecies Relative to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. The discourses are well documented and show his prodigious love for Biblical study and research. The ease

with which he handled scores of writings of both European and American interpreters of prophecy displays an unusual mastery of millennial literature.

Duffield got right to the point: Would the Millennium introduce a righteous new world brought about by the preaching of the Gospel or would Christ come in person before the Millennium? Duffield stated that the only way to find out was to use a literal interpretation in studying the prophecies.[16] The literal interpretation, he insisted, had been used by the prophets and apostles; it was folly to believe those who tried to "spiritualize" the Millennium to mean no more than a highly prosperous state of the church brought about by missionary tracts and Bible societies. Speaking of Christ and his apostles, he asserted that "Not one word or hint is heard from any of them about the gospel's enjoying a thousand year's prosperity before his coming."[17]

Three of his chapters were devoted to tracing the millennial doctrine through the centuries. He concluded from the kingdom prophecies of the seventh chapter of Daniel that the Coming must be premillennial and literal. The Advent was to be literal, and the end of the Papacy would be literal, just as the destruction of the four great secular kingdoms in Daniel's prophecy had been literal. The conclusion then, was that "the coming of Christ is first in order" before the Millennium.[18]

Chapter thirteen, "The Season and Signs of Christ's Coming," reads like a Millerite tract. Since he believed that the end was clearly evident in his day, he listed the increase in knowledge, the increase of wealth, the peace plans and preparations, and the slumber on the part of the church as signs that the end of all things was near. How near? By studying the 2300-day time prophecy of Daniel he came to the conclusion by various calculations that the final year of this long time-period had or would come in 1764, 1782, 1843, 1856, 1866 or 1868. William Miller, he stated, chose the third date but had not "proved his assumption to be correct." Yet Duffield himself came close to date-setting when he wrote "that somewhere from 1843 to 1847, will be marked by very clear and decided movements in God's providence. . . which shall render it a marked epoch, and prove that we are advanced one stage nearer to the time of the end."[19] Similarly, he noticed God's warnings in the heavens: "It is remarkable that, for the last hundred, and especially the last fifty or sixty years, the atmosphere and celestial phenomena have been more marked, frequent, and varied, than in any previous age of the world."[20]

A postmillennial advocate, Professor Moses Stuart of Andover Theological Seminary, soon replied with Strictures on the Rev. G. Duffield's Recent Work on the Second Coming of Christ. Duffield fired back in 1843 with 183 pages of Millenarianism Defended; A Reply to Prof. Stuart's "Strictures

on the Rev. G. Duffield's Recent Work on the Second Coming of Christ." He accused Stuart of evading vital principles of biblical interpretation and of unfairness in his discussion of the premillennial position; Stuart, he decided, wanted to spiritualize and allegorize scriptural meaning entirely. Duffield for instance, believed the visible church to be the Kingdom of Christ as "accepted by most commentators," but Stuart interpreted Zion "as the church this moment and heaven the next."[21] The real argument then, was one of literalism versus a figurative interpretation of the prophecies.

Despite the disappointment of Adventist premillennial hopes in 1843-44, Duffield never changed his position on the Second Coming. In April of 1848, he recorded in his diary:

> I see the public papers secular & religious rejoicing & glorying in these wonderful revolutions in Europe & much like the false prophets in the days of Jeremiah crying that they see omens of peace ultimately & the repose of the world under the influence of Democratic principles & institutions. But I think that the very opposite is plainly to be discerned & that these revolutions are but the shocks of the great earthquake under the 7th vial which are to divide the great city into three parts & to be followed by the Great Hailstorm or northern invasion.[22]

He still believed that "the seven times of Gentile domination & the 2300 days of Daniel are rapidly drawing to a close if this be not the year of their termination."[23] He consistently remained a firm adherent to the premillennial view in spite of its unpopularity after the Millerite debacle.

It should be remembered that George Duffield furnished the leadership for the largest Protestant church in Michigan as well as the Detroit community in general. The acceptance, or even toleration of his premillennial position points out a paradox in pre-Civil War millennial belief. Premillennialism and postmillennialism were often adhered to even in the same congregation. Did Duffield advocate strange or new doctrines? Evidently not. At Duffield's death in 1868 the Reverend Dr. Hogarth of the Jefferson Avenue Church, the pastor of longest continuous residence in Detroit, stated that Duffield had "proclaimed no new doctrine, had no philosophy to declare, but all his trust was in the word of God; all his faith was predicated to the testimony of the Bible."[24] William A. McCorkle, Duffield's successor at the First Presbyterian Church, probably spoke for the majority of Michigan Presbyterians when he explained that George Duffield's

> ministry was marked by his views of the second coming of our Lord. His study of the scriptures led him to the belief that the millennium is to consist in the personal reign of Christ, in great glory, upon the earth; although he pretended not to know--and earnestly taught that no one could know--the time of the second advent. Upon this subject he published and preached. Whether sympathising with his views or not, no one could question the earnestness of his own belief, nor could it be doubted that his teaching was such as to incite others to 'search the scriptures whether these things were so.'[25]

Many of the missionaries sent out by the American Home Missionary Society, however, regardless of the premillennial influence of George Duffield who was head of the Committee on Missions, believed that they were regnerating

society for the postmillennial return of Christ. Yet Duffield's hope for the conversion of the world by Christ's personal visible return to set up His reign does not seem to have been a cause of conflict. He warred on the evils of society in preparation for Christ's coming; the Home Missionaries destroyed sin to establish a spiritual reign of Christ for a thousand years before His personal return. No doubt in the small town and rural community, the missionary's influence through direct contact with the people was even greater than Duffield's. No great number at first, the missionaries sent out to Michigan by the A.H.M.S. were only ten in 1830 but steadily advanced to a high of eighty by 1848. But ten years later the number had decreased to sixty-five.[26]

As missions expanded, both at home and abroad, the postmillennial belief was intensified. The Home Missionary asserted in 1850 that if one would just sit down and read even a report he could see how God was pouring out his Spirit, shaking the nations and marshaling his hosts for battle: "The events of a century seem now to be crowded into a year; and the year, like days, and hours, are bearing us swiftly into the millenium [sic]."[27] C. B. Haddock, who had been United States Minister to Portugal, wrote that "Prophecy and Providence both teach us to hope--both full of promise; the earth is to have a millenium [sic]--as a

more perfect state, the last blissful result of a long and painful experience. . . a glorious issue of a great struggle."[28] In an anniversary speech, Julian M. Sturtevant, President of Illinois College, assured the missionaries that the great event would take place before the year 2000 and before "our grandchildren go to their graves."[29] The hymn written for this same anniversary meeting of the A.H.M.S. in May 7, 1857, effectively caught the postmillennial missionary spirit of the times in its last stanza:

> Like an armed host with banners,
> Terrible in war array,
> Zion came with glad hosannas,
> To prepare her Monarch's way.
> Unto him all power is given,
> All the world his sway shall own,
> And on earth, as now in heaven,
> Shall his will be done alone.[30]

According to the quarterly reports requested of each worker by the home office in New York, the duties of the Michigan missionary included encouraging church membership and Sunday School participation, organizing temperance societies, and building up "Zion" in general. To report the progress of the Kingdom in Michigan, the account nearly always stated the number of hopeful conversions, number of church members and Sunday School pupils, the number of volumes in the Sunday School library, the attendance at preaching services, and the amount of contributions received. In addition to his regular responsibilities in establishing the Empire of Christ in Michigan, sometimes the missionary was

forced to become a physician to his congregation if he wished to preach. John Dudley reported that often his meeting house was empty, since the whole congregation was sick at home when he arrived to preach.[31] Samuel Benton, missionary to Armada, found that by practicing medicine he gained more influence with his church members.[32]

Malaria was prevalent, and even occasional cholera epidemics occurred, but other problems than disease proved deterrent to Christ's reign. Since most immigrants had been drawn to Michigan "to get ahead," the missionary found that his members early succumbed to the temptations of "worldiness, that meet the Christian in this new country" which were "quite as severe a test of character, as would be even the fires of persecution." Many who were known to stand high in the Church in the East had fallen when the guards and influences of the older states were removed.[33] J. N. Parsons wrote from Niles that the country was full of "stray sheep" who had been members of the churches of the East but had not "disclosed their professions since they came to this country."[34] Before the panic of 1837, speculation became an "inveterate mania" which created an "irreligious and demoralizing tendency."[35] "Land fever" and speculation were frequently of more immediate importance than spiritual concerns. Silas Woodbury disgustedly wrote that "speculation is the all in all" and that money was sometimes loaned at fifty to one hundred per cent interest while "ye whole country round us is on tip-toe."[36]

The desire of the pioneer-farmer to get rich quick sometimes involved a desecration of the Lord's Day which was abhored by the puritanical missionaries. The Millennium could never arrive, they knew, unless the Sabbath was kept rigidly as a day of rest and religious activity. The Home Missionary letters abound with references to their efforts in preventing Sabbath-breaking. Much to his consternation, George Hornell, veteran missionary minister at White Lake, found that the farmers and timber-cutters would desert his meetinghouse, and run their lumber to market on the Sabbath when a freshet came. They explained to him that the freshets usually came on the Sabbath.[37] Railroads too were condemned at the outset for "the tide of wickedness created by the rolling of cars over otherwise peaceful villages on the Sabbath." Charles Lockwood complained that the "great Sabbath breaking railroad pours a tide of immorality upon us neutralizing all efforts at good."[38]

While it is true that the Home Missionary often magnified the ravages of sin in the "waste places of Zion" to justify to the home office his own position in a particular locality, there is much truth in his claim of the irreligious character of early Michigan. Since the frontier settlements were certainly far from his dream of the Millennial Kingdom, they did not always readily accept the missionary. Alexander McJunkin's letter from Plymouth in 1835 is not atypical of the hostility often faced by the

new missionary: "To stand it against the array of earth and hell in a rising village of 300 inhabitants where every man and woman knows you and every one sneers, requires from the outset a zeal of martyrs and the heroism of Paul."[39]

It is evident, though, that much of the hostility errupted from denominational rivalry, chiefly among the Protestant denominations. The fear of "Popery" was a powerful motive for founding Protestant home missions, but as Colin B. Goodykoontz has pointed out, it was a fear based upon the fancies of the Eastern religious leaders rather than the experiences of the missionaries themselves.[40] In Michigan, Roman Catholicism posed little problem to the Protestant millennial dream. Until the period of heavy foreign immigration, the Michigan missionary, often working in a region with a strong Roman Catholic background, seldom referred to them. Alanson Darwin from Tecumseh found that "two thirds of the population of the adjoining county of Monroe are of that persuasion." And even though he charged them with being "very zealous and active in endeavoring to gain proselytes," his letter, like many others, shows only a weak hostility toward Catholicism.[41] Methodists and Baptists could be tolerated, at least at times. Efforts were made to cooperate with these denominations; in fact the same church buildings were often used, but no steady cooperation was maintained. Both Presbyterian and Congregationalist believed that the true Zion for

the coming Millennium would be founded and sustained by their own Calvinistic denominations. The emotionalism of the Methodists was deplored by the missionary. Erie Prince, early missionary to Farmington, Michigan, told of holding a meeting when a "Methodist rushed in and had what I considered a disorderly meeting, 4 or more praying, singing & exhorting at once spatting their hands, & some one thing & some another." He admitted that it could have been the work of God since some had given evidence of a real change of heart;yet twelve "had gone to the Methodists on six months probation, and where the other will go, God only knows,[until] they begin to think for themselves, the Methodists are willing to think & act for them."[42] Similarly, P. W. Warriner wrote of a Methodist quarterly meeting at Monroe which lasted six weeks "day & night, & the most noise & irregularity that I have ever heard before."[43] The Baptists likewise, were regarded only as stumbling-blocks in the path to the Millennium. According to Seth Hardy, who allowed an agent from the American Baptist Bible Society to take his pulpit at Owosso to present the "bible cause," they couldn't be trusted. The Baptist minister was "invited, after preaching saturday [sic] evening, to occupy a part of the day on the sabbath. And do you not think he took that opportunity to come out in a violent tirade against all denominations of Christians but his own."[44] Mormons,

Campbellites, and Universalists, who were also working to build a Kingdom of Heaven on earth were alike detested and classed with the infidels and deists. At best they were "disturbers of Zion" preaching falsehood and creating dissatisfaction among the "orthodox," A good minister, however, could use their activity as a lever to move his own members to action.[45]

The fact of the matter is, however, that a rivalry with the Methodists, Baptists or other denominations impeded the growth of the Michigan Presbyterian Zion but little; the schism of 1837, the withdrawal of the Congregationalists, and the perfectionist controversy in the 1840's hurt much more.[46] It was not until 1851 that the Committee on the Narration of the State of Religion of the Presbyterian Church could report that:

> Peace and harmony prevail in our church, and a growing disposition to regard those who belong to different denominations, and yet hold to the vital principles of religion, with fraternal affection; and, for the first time, since our organization as a Synod, has a correspondence been opened between our Methodist brethren and ourselves.47

Of the several basic motives underlying the evangelical zeal of the Home Missionary in Michigan, such as nationalism, or rescuing souls from infidelity or the Pope, the millennial impulse tended to be the strongest. This impulse enlarged the missionary's field of vision to take in the whole world as a potential Kingdom of God. His object was

not just to convert individuals, but to save society from falsehood, immorality, materialsim, and agnosticism. His enterprise became a millennial mission to transplant the high standards of a settled, organized community on the frontier. But whether in Michigan or elsewhere, one has to agree with Oliver W. Elsbree that back of all the motives for missions was a universal conviction that bible prophecies pointed to transpiring events which would soon convert the world.[48]

The millennial drive was not just an added stimulus but a basic compelling force in building up the realm of God in Michigan. The editors as well as the ministers writing in The Home Missionary, reminded their readers in every issue that the time for establishment of Christ's Kingdom had come. The Reverend Daniel Temple, missionary to Malta in the Mediterranean, declared in 1829 that "no age, like the present, has yet passed over the world, so full of wonderful indications that its redemption draweth nigh."[49] This same year the editors stated that ministers should thank God that they live in the nineteenth century since "the jarring movements of a sinful, restless world, are resulting, under the harmonizing hand of God, in the prospect of millenial[sic] peace."[50] Gideon Blackburn, President of the college in Danville, Kentucky, urged all Christians to unite and "be bound together by the holy desire for the coming of the kingdom of Christ."[51] An

address delivered at the seventh anniversary of the A.H.M.S. on May 8, 1833 went as far as to place the date for the final conversion: "We infer then, that God has determined to hasten, in his time, the conversion of the nation. Before the one hundredth anniversary of the American Home Missionary Society. . . we may say to the nations, Look up and lift up your heads for your redemption draweth nigh."[52] The signs of the times told the missionary leaders of the coming Millennium, even as they had indicated to George Duffield that Christ was soon to appear: The rapid diffusion of truth, the working up of the Church of God, the increase of unity of feeling and effort among the denominations, the pouring out of God's grace through His Holy Spirit, the great revival in religion--all these things could only mean that "Zion's redemption draweth nigh."[53] Nearly a decade later, Milton Badger and Charles Hall,then Secretaries of Correspondence for the A.H.M.S., appealed to the American churches to "arise in earnest to the conquest of the <u>whole land</u> to Christ, and verily they shall not have you over all the cities of Israel ere <u>the Son of Man shall come!</u>"[54] Even a year after Miller's failure in predicting the end of all things, they wrote: "Great events are succeeding each other. . . the vast designs of Providence are being fulfilled. . . . The end of all things is drawing near. . . . The destiny of our country will soon be a matter of unalterable record."[55]

But after 1844, despite the many ambiguous references to the "Kingdom of God," the "Kingdom of Christ," the Redeemer's Kingdom," and "Zion" by both the leaders and the missionaries,[56] the predicted Millennium was nearly always to be a postmillennial one. R. S. Storrs might announce in addressing the Anniversary of the A.H.M.S. in 1840 "that our sphere of action will soon be transferred to another world" and affairs "will shortly be wound up,"[57] but certainly the editors left little doubt as to what was meant when they wrote, "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ." In replying to a missionary from Michigan who had written testifying to his belief that the world was near its end and Christ would come soon, they explained that it was not in their province to discuss the truth or falsehood of the opinion but rather to inquire "whether there are not some other doctrines concerning which there is entire agreement among all evangelical men" which would awaken the people of God. For points of agreement they suggested three: the Day of the Lord is always at hand for each person, since death meant judgment; the crisis of the country's fate was at hand; and judgment day decision was at hand for all, since no one knew when the present probationary period would end.[58]

While it is true that the terms "Zion" and "Kingdom" so frequently mentioned in the Bible can have various interpretations, there is, with very few exceptions, little doubt about their meaning in the Home Missionary letters and literature. The Kingdom was the Church, which must preach the Gospel until peace and righteousness reigned. Their own country must be regenerated first, according to the missionaries. It would then accept its responsibility to evangelize the world. Until that time, the blessed Millennium would not arrive.

This millennial spirit evoked a sense of urgency which sometimes almost reached a point of frenzy. The Home Missionary knew his job well; he was to evangelize and convert the "destitute" areas, in this case Michigan, and build up Zion. The battle with the kingdom of Satan had concentrated in the West, and he knew it to be a war to decide the destiny of the country and the world. The church already established in the East, though not perfect, was the pattern to be used in preparing the West, the country, and the world for the postmillennial return of Christ. He believed the A.H.M.S. to be a main instrument of the Lord in "hastening in the hour of Jesus invincible."[59] But only if the West was regenerated could the country be saved. The struggle to erect God's Kingdom in the West would decide whether "the light which has shown upon us for a half a century, shall shine with increasing brightness, until it ushers in the

millenial [sic] day, or whether it shall glimmer on a few short years, and then be put out for ever."[60] The Michigan missionary well understood the urgency for him to destroy the strongholds of sin. William Page, missionary to Ann Arbor, realized that his success in that burgeoning new frontier town indicated the Millennium:

> Who ever heard until the report from this place, of a church one month old, in a community less than two years old, on the very frontier of the nation, with all the ordinances of the gospel permanently secured among them, increasing in one year, to 50 members, erecting a meeting house, purchasing a parsonage, and before two years are ended, sending forth her charities and struggling with older churches of the land for the Millenium [sic]?[61]

The missionary knew that he was working for a total regeneration involving the molding of society in its formative state. Justin Marsh wrote from Leoni requesting the Home Missionary Society to send missionaries to Michigan immediately since the character of the state was being formed.[62] John S. Kidder, stationed at Schoolcraft, declared, "It is interesting to reside in such a place as this & observe the changes going on in Society, in its forming state; & more interesting still to exert an influence in moulding it into a moral & religious community."[63] Bible reading, temperance, church and Sunday School attendance were all considered necessary for Christ's spiritual reign during the golden period. One clergyman refused Sabbath travel on a boat, even though it cost him ten dollars extra to keep two Sabbaths, since he knew that boats would not run on Sabbath during the Millennium.[64]

It is difficult to see how enthusiasm for home missions could have reached the pitch that it did without the propelling force of millennialism. The success of the movement was largely brought about by the sincere desire to hasten the day when all nations and peoples would keep God's law and be united in peace and happiness. The imminence of the Millennium meant that the whole state, the whole country, and even the whole world must be prepared for Christ.[65] For the Home Missionaries, as for George Duffield, this remained the ultimate goal of evangelism in pre-Civil War Michigan.

FOOTNOTES

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2. William H. Davis and Philo R. Hurd in The Congregational Church of Michigan for the First Fifty Years of Their Organization into a State Organization (Printed by order of the Association, 1892),pp. 14, 23.

3. Lewis G. Vander Velde, "The Synod of Michigan and Movements for Social Reform, 1834-1869," Church History, V, passim.

4. Clarence M. and M. Agnes Burton, editors, History of Wayne County and the City of Detroit, Michigan (Chicago-Detroit, 1930), p. 276; Harris Elwood Starr in Dictionary of American Biography, V (New York, 1930), pp. 490-491.

5. Lewis G. Vander Velde, "The Diary of George Duffield," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIV (1937-38), p. 21.

6. Lewis G. Vander Velde, ed., "Notes on the Diary of George Duffield," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIV (1937-38), p. 57.

7. Ibid., p. 22.

8. Burton, Wayne County, p. 276; Vander Velde, "Diary," p. 25.

9. George Duffield, Diary, February 28, 1947; October, 1851.

10. Ibid., March 1, 11, 12, 20, 21, 1847.

11. Duffield, Diary, February 28,1847; June 29, 1847.

12. George Duffield, Millenarianism Defended; a Reply to Prof. Stuart's "Strictures on the Rev. G. Duffield's Recent Work on the Second Coming of Christ" (New York, 1843), p. 91.

13. Signs of the Times, March 1, 1841, p. 179.

14. George Duffield, Dissertations on the Prophecies Relative to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ (New York, 1842), p. 389.

15. Vander Velde, "Diary," pp. 30-31.

16. Duffield, Dissertations, pp. V, VI.

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18. Ibid., pp. 277-290.

19. Ibid., pp. 388-389.

20. Ibid., p. 404.

21. Duffield, Millenarianism Defended, pp. 37-41, 182.

22. Duffield, Diary, April 23, 1848.

23. Ibid., December 13, 1848.

24. The Detroit Free Press, June 30, 1868.

25. William A. McCorkle, A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Late Rev. George Duffield, D.D. (Detroit, 1868), p. 26.

26. The Home Missionary, II (January 3, 1830), pp. 144-145; XXXI (July, 1858), pp. 56-57.

27. Ibid., XXIII (June, 1850), p. 27.

28. Ibid., XXVIII (September, 1855), p. 213.

29. Ibid., XXX (November, 1857), p. 170.

30. Ibid.

31. John Dudley, Genesee, Michigan, October 21, 1838, in A.H. M.S. papers, Chicago Theological Seminary.

32. Samuel A. Benton, Armada, Michigan, October 15, 1844, in A.H.M.S. papers, C.T.S.

33. The Home Missionary, IX (October, 1836), p. 115.

34. Maurice F. Cole, Voices From the Wilderness (Ann Arbor, 19 61), p. 214; The Home Missionary, XII (April, 1841), p. 280.

35. E. N. Nichols, Clinton, Michigan, in The Home Missionary, IX (November, 1936), p. 127.

36. Silas Woodbury, Bronson, Michigan, May 5, 1836, in A.H.M.S. papers, C.T.S.

37. The Home Missionary, X (Sept., 1837), p. 129.

38. Cole, Voices, p. 155.

39. Cole, Voices, p. 168.

40. Colin B. Goodykoontz, Home Missions on the American Frontier (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), p. 234.

41. Cole, Voices, p. 74.

42. Ibid., pp. 224-225.

43. Ibid., p. 302.

44. Ibid., p. 101.

45. Ibid., pp. 87, 112; The Home Missionary, I (October, 1828) p. 103; III (December, 1830), pp. 156-157; XVII (January, 1845), pp. 206-207.

46. A. S. Arms, Milford, Michigan, March 21, 1844; George Barnum, Leoni, Michigan, April 5, 1844; E. Boyd, Brooklyn, Michigan, April 12, 1844; Elias Child, Clinton, Michigan, March 29, 1844 in A.H.M.S. papers, C.T.S.

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49. The Home Missionary, I (March, 1829), p. 178.

50. Ibid., II (October, 1829), p. 92.

51. Ibid., II (May, 1829), p. 1.

52. Ibid., VI (Sept., 1833), p. 78.

53. Ibid., IV (February, 1832), pp. 170-171.

54. Ibid., XVIII (June, 1845), pp. 46-47.

55. Ibid., XVIII (June, 1845), pp. 46-47.

56. Cole, Voices, pp. 31, 35, 37, 61, 71, 167-168, 200.

57. The Home Missionary, III (August, 1840), p. 79.

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59. C. G. Clark, Webster, Michigan, January 8, 1830; Justin Marsh, Leoni, Michigan, September 1, 1840 in A.H.M.S. papers, C.T.S.

60. The Home Missionary, III (July, 1834), pp. 44-46.

61. Ibid., I (May, 1828), p. 11.

62. Justin Marsh, Leoni, Michigan, September 14, 1840, in A.H.M.S. paper, C.T.S.

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CHAPTER III

THE UNIVERSALISTS AND THE ALPHADELPHIA ASSOCIATION

The Alphadelphia Association, a Utopian community located near Kalamazoo, Michigan, was the state's single communitarian experiment before 1860. By July 23, 1844, when the Alphadelphia Society began operations, the ideas of the French socialist, Charles Fourier, had been hailed by several American reformers as a plan of scientific socialism which would, if adopted on a large scale, ultimately save society from evil. In Michigan, ministers and editors of the Universalist denomination heartily adopted Fourierism as a scheme of regeneration with the hope that it would hasten the Millennium. The Alphadelphia Community, though purportedly non-sectarian, was organized and promoted principally by Michigan Universalists.

At first glance the Universalist Church might appear as the least likely of denominations to be influenced by millenarian ideas. Yet while it is true that the official position of the Universalist Church was never openly millenarian, its acceptance of and belief in science and progress made the membership particularly vulnerable to a theory of millennial perfection. The Universalist was confident that his denomination in particular, liberated from the conservative hold of Calvinism, was destined to

accelerate the progress of religion and bring the Kingdom of God to Michigan. His optimistic attitude toward future salvation for the entire human race inspired him with an unsurpassed enthusiasm to perfect society. Christ's coming Kingdom, he constantly preached, was one of love and not of damnation. When all peoples had accepted the gospel of universal salvation, the resulting brotherhood would establish the Redeemer's Kingdom on earth.

For Universalists, knowledge was the key to unlock the door to millennial peace. Michigan Universalists believed that since God worked through human will and effort to accomplish His divine purpose of erecting a Kingdom of Righteousness, new "scientific" experiments to perfect society should be accepted as from God. Perhaps, they would prove to be shortcuts to the Millennium. For this reason phrenology, mesmerism, Fourierism, and land reform schemes were readily accepted by a large share of the Michigan Universalists.

Both the English and the New England background of the Michigan Universalist Church were clearly millenarian. Some of the earliest exponents of universal salvation, the fathers of the Universalist Church in America, were caught up with prevailing millennial ideas. English Universalists Joseph Priestly and Elhanan Winchester were both ardent believers in ideas about the nearness of the Millennium. Early American Universalists likewise accepted the progress of society toward the Millennium.[1]

By 1840, however, in view of the extreme premillennial expectancy of the times, The Universalist Quarterly warned its readers that the Church advances steadily toward the perfect age and that people should not look for the sun to turn to darkness or the moon to blood for signs of the coming Millennium, but should turn their eyes toward Christ's Spirit, their already descended Saviour. Christ was here now, the editors continued, and could be seen working through charities and reforms:

> In all this, we see the continued evidence of the presence of the great Master of Christians--not bodily and in superhuman splendor--nor personally careering through mid heaven attended by myriads of winged celestials--but in the progress of human affairs and the beneficient influence of his gospel.[2]

Hosea Ballou, a former New England Baptist and leading Universalist preacher and writer, in a later article entitled "The Millennium; or the Golden Age to Come" amplified the position taken by The Quarterly by denying that an entirely perfect reign of Christ upon the earth could ever take place. Ballou's belief was predicated on an adversity theory that society would degenerate if it were without trials and difficulties. True happiness, he argued, comes only through effort and labor, and therefore, the Golden Age would be slow in coming; when it arrived it would not be a thousand years of effortless bliss.[3] On the other hand, John G. Adams, a Universalist historian, admitted in 1882 that from the time of the founding of the American

Universalist Church many of its members had embraced the Kingdom of God concept. Adams recognized that "there were not a few in it [the Universalist Church] who saw very clearly that the great Gospel in which they believed was in the world to do a regenerative work with the human family. . . ." The last half century, he added, had been a period especially marked with progress and would prepare the way for "the kingdom of God upon the earth."[4]

After its successful introduction in the eastern part of the United States by George De Benneville, John Murray, and Hosea Ballou, Universalism spread rapidly to the frontier states. As a kind of a lower class parallel to the Unitarian revolt against orthodox Calvinism, it spread from New England and by 1840 had reached its zenith as an active and aggressive sect.[5] During the period from 1830 to 1860 it, out of necessity, had developed a belligerent and aggressive attitude toward the attacking Calvinists, and vied with all denominations in evangelical proselyting enthusiasm.

After Murray's death, Hosea Ballou became the generally acknowledged leader, especially after writing his Treatise on the Atonement (1805) in which he accepted the central doctrines of Unitarianism to give Universalists their first consistent philosophy. Yet it should be made clear that Universalists have never had an official statement of faith or convenant.[6] And even though they

have grown progressively more liberal, their doctrines are and have always been a revolt against Calvinistic total depravity and endless punishment in hell. Man was basically good, they believed, and was capable of perfectibility.

In building this new church, the Universalists did not cause the schism in the Congregational Church that the Unitarians did, for they drew their converts from a fairly large cross-section of denominations, particularly the Baptists, as well as from the unchurched. By 1855, New England Universalism could no longer be considered the church of the common people;[7] but in the frontier states and territories it remained for many years a rural and small town movement, where Universalists struggled against the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist denominations. The settled portion of Michigan territory became fertile soil for the rugged itinerant farmer-preachers to plant their doctrine of universal salvation.

Universalism was first preached in Michigan in 1829 and a society was founded at Pontiac in 1830, Adrian in 1833, and another at Ann Arbor the following year.[8] Ann Arbor, where the first meeting house was erected in 1835, appears to have been the center of early Michigan Universalism. A Central Association was organized in June of 1836 embracing the whole state with delegates attending from Adrian, Blissfield, Tecumseh, and Ann Arbor, "besides

brethren from other sections."[9] Other associations soon followed: Kalamazoo River, 1841; the Southern, 1848; the Southwestern, 1863. The first state convention was held in 1843.[10] By 1845, the Universalists in Michigan supported but twenty-six societies and fifteen preachers, in comparison to the leading state, Massachusetts, with 145 and 134 respectively.[11]

Most of their churches contained very small memberships, but those were characterized by great dedication and devotion. Their eagerness for battle and enthusiasm for propagating their belief bordered on fanaticism. The constant fire from the so-called Orthodox sects multiplied their aggressiveness, no doubt, yet a sincere desire to evangelize and to proselyte were main motivational factors. The drive to establish the Universalist Kingdom of God in Michigan caused a bitterness unsurpassed in the religious history of the state. Nearly all denominations detested a new sect which, it was believed, lifted the lid from Pandora's box by abolishing the fear of eternal punishment.

The major religious denominations, in fact, regarded the Universalist as even worse than the infidel or deist, as being completely lacking in religion and morals.[12] A Presbyterian minister from Cassopolis, James McLaurin, neatly summed up the Calvinistic dislike for the "no-hell" Universalist in refusing to debate publicly with one of the challenging Universalist preachers: "The man who would

combat a lion may for good reasons decline coming in contact with a skunk."[13] Baptists and Methodists likewise spared no efforts to check the growth of Universalism. As a Universalist minister angrily explained in 1843, "every conceivable means has been resorted to by other denominations to impede our progress" in bringing Universalism to Michigan.[14] Since the orthodox denominations were positive that the fear of hell-fire played an important part in turning sinners to God and establishing His Kingdom on earth, it naturally was assumed that Universalism would undermine one of the very foundations of religious belief.

From the point of view of the Universalist, as he labored to build up his own version of the Kingdom in Michigan, the feeling was mutual. Groups that preached eternal punishment were condemned as "Partialists" who believed that God's love and salvation would save only part of mankind. The Universalist paper, the biweekly Primitive Expounder, first published in Ann Arbor in 1843, led the attack in the warfare against the opposing sects. Editor Richard Thornton regularly used its pages against the Baptists and Methodists, sometimes printing exposés of every known scandal or sexual irregularity among their preachers.[15] The Methodist Church was accused of having a church aristocracy as well as being a "slave holding and slavery defending church," and its members were invited to "Come out of her, my people."[16] The great Presbyterian

preacher, Charles G. Finney, was castigated in a lengthy article entitled "He Has Gone!" after his three-week revival in Detroit. Finney, The Expounder implied, had come to Michigan only for the money that he could take home with him.[17] Occasionally, it is true, better relations were maintained with their opponents. The Kalamazoo River Association having no meeting place, requested use of the Baptist Church in Battle Creek in 1847 and "it was promptly, unhesitatingly and generously granted" with many Baptists attending the meetings.[18] But this case was an exception to the rule.

William Miller's Second Advent doctrine was especially disliked by Universalists, since it predicted that a God of Wrath would come to destroy a sinful world. Not only were Millerites "Partialists;" they were Partialists of the worst kind, who called for a premillennial burning of sinners. Richard Thornton wrote with some delight in November of 1844, over a month after the day set by the Millerites for the end of the world, that he noticed the world had refused to burn. "The second advent of Christ," he explained, "is already passed. . . . The day of judgment commenced at the setting up of the gospel kingdom, and is now progressing. . . ." The Millennium would come, not with the appearance of Christ from the heavens, but in the promoting of the Redeemer's Kingdom here on earth. Thornton believed that Millerism had led to much insanity

and suicide and that it was merely an intensification of the doctrine of "future and awful judgment" taught by all the Partialist churches.[19]

Most of the reforms of the age were accepted by Universalists as harbingers of the coming Millennium, however. As an avowed perfectionist and reform church, the Universalists aspired to be the vanguard of all the latest ideas in the advancement of mankind. They accepted temperance reform wholeheartedly, although they often deplored the way the subject was presented by itinerant lecturers. During the Washingtonian crusade in Jackson, The Expounder explained that the celebrated Dr. Hume "entertained, amuzed, [sic] and disgusted the people upon the cause of temperance; spicing his discourse with that darling pet of partialism--endless misery."[20] The antislavery reform was also readily adopted by Michigan Universalists. In 1843, editor Thornton claimed that every Universalist in Michigan was a "full blooded abolitionist."[21] Upon the subject of Sabbath-breaking Michigan Universalists were just as vehement as the Congregationists or the Presbyterians. Thornton angrily declared that if the Central Railroad did not stop running cars and employing hands on the Sabbath, the people should rise and "endeavor to enforce the laws of the land."[22] Nearly every reform, even if originating from the Partialist churches, was taken up by Universalists.

Sunday Schools, Tract and Bible Societies were not to be "rejected because others have abused them."[23] It was difficult for the Universalist denomination, founded upon the principles of regeneration and progress, to reject any reform advocated during the thirties and forties.

The Universalist reformation was in most respects an attempt to restore Christianity to "its original purity." The owners of The Primitive Expounder established the paper to be "Devoted to Theoretical and Practical Religion, expounded in its Primitive Purity, Excellence, and Loveliness."[24] The Millennium, coming from the great social and religious reforms of the era, would accomplish the restoration and purification. If the Millennium depended upon progress, then surely it was being hastened in the frontier State of Michigan where improvement was rapidly taking place. As J. H. Sanford, one of the state's leading Universalist evangelists, wrote in The Expounder: "Surely Zion is awakening from her slumbers." The "waste places" of the Zion were being built up, and the Redeemer's Kingdom was soon to be established.[25] A few years later Sanford used less restraint in his millennial predictions: "The signs of the times are propitious," Sanford exclaimed, "and we have every reason to believe a new era is about to burst upon the Christian world."[26]

Most Michigan Universalists believed that the Gospel Kingdom had been instituted by Christ Himself at the Day of Pentecost. The duty of the Universalist Church which

was the Gospel Kingdom according to their interpretation, was to preach the principle of universal love to all people. Christian Universalism must be accepted before mankind could be reunited for a Millennium of peace and mutual love.[27] God had been working slowly but surely through the divine process begun at Pentecost. The Universalist could see the great changes and progress being made in his time, which convinced him that the Millennium itself was drawing close.

The Universalist leaders and editors never expected unanimity upon the question of the Millennium, however. One layman wrote to Richard Thornton dissenting from the opinion that Christ had already returned at Pentecost. He believed that Christ's Coming would be at the end of the "present dispensation" and would last until Christ "hath subdued all things to himself." Thornton replied that "this lay brother fails to convince us that his positions are correct, yet we trust they will be read with candor."[28]

The Universalist anxiety to hasten the Kingdom of God in Michigan through progress and perfection, carried them into Utopian Socialism of the French reformer, Charles Fourier. His plan of "scientific" socialism would supply a model for the perfect society, as well as provide a short-cut to the Millennium. Michigan's flirtation with Fourier-ism, the Alphadelphia Association, located near Galesburg, stemmed directly from the Universalist desire for the mil-lennial perfection of society.

The theories of Fourier, so popular in America in the 1840's and accepted by many Michigan Universalists, were definitely millenarian. Charles Fourier, who died in 1837, had taught that all the "pygmy labor" of individual reforms in the past was fruitless: "The human race is going to be. . . delivered altogether." There was a plan of God, he believed, a divine social design that would secure the happiness of mankind: "There exists. . . for man a . . . Divine Social Order to be established on the Earth for the regulation of the Social and Domestic Relations of the Human Race." Since Fourier was sure that he had discovered this divine plan, he advised his fellowmen to build no more new buildings, since all existing structures of the world would have to be altered to fit the new order. He believed that all his system of evolutionary socialism needed was a chance to show the world its virtues; then mankind would rally to it. His system, which he named the Phalanx System, would be "the most astonishing and most fortunate event which can take place on the globe. . . the sudden passage from social chaos to universal harmony."[29]

Albert Brisbane, American student of Fourier and the leading exponent of the Fourieristic philosophy and experimentation which swept over the country in the 1840's, admitted that Fourier's "Divine Social Code" was the "reign of Social Harmony--the reign of what is called, in the language of religion, the Kingdom of God." Fourierism, continued Brisbane, would bring the

> Advent of a future Social Harmony on Earth . . . the Millennium which has been prophesized in all ages, and is the realization of the great prayer of Christianity: "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."[30]

Albert Brisbane shared in his master's millennial dream:

> A great vision floated before my mind: it was the universal association of humanity on this earth. . . . I saw this associative humanity working with order, with concert, to realize some great purpose.
>
> . . . I saw it [this new humanity] a child of God, a god itself upon its planet. . . . I saw on one globe, as on all the globes, these divine humanities carrying out in detail the incomprehensible harmonies of the universe.[31]

Universalists in Michigan would accept this visionary scheme, since it emphasized a so-called scientific evolution, retained private property ownership, and kept relatively free from religious skepticism. Perhaps, they thought, Fourierism was to be the society of the future.

Nevertheless, Hosea Ballou warned the readers of the Universalist Review, belatedly it is true, against the dangers of Fourierism. Improvement of society was not its object, he stated, but rather the entire abolition of the existing system. If the present society was being perfected, there was little reason to destroy it, Ballou argued. He could not agree with the Fourierists that the complete development and realization of the phalanx system was "the Coming of Christ in the glory of his Father."[32] By the time Ballou issued his warning, however, the Universalists in Michigan had already launched what turned out to be the only Fourierist phalanx in Michigan, one of some twenty-five such experiments nationally.[33]

The Alphadelphia experiment was not officially sponsored or promoted by the Universalist Church of Michigan or even by any one of its societies, and from the time of its organization, in spite of the Alphadelphian founders' repeated claims to the non-denominational character of the phalanx, there was a great deal of confusion about Universalist involvement in the project. The Universalist paper, The Primitive Expounder, was edited at Ann Arbor by Universalist ministers who used its pages to promote the new socialist scheme in Kalamazoo County.

When The Primitive Expounder was moved from Ann Arbor to Alphadelphia, though it was privately owned by the two Universalist editors, it only increased the confusion. The editor of the eastern socialist paper, The Future, made it understood in letters to The Expounder's office that Fourierism absolutely was not Universalism. Conversely, The Expounder owners later had to answer charges that their paper had become entirely Fourieristic. The Future editor could foresee dangers of sectarianism and warned that it might wreck Alphadelphia. As it turned out, the Association was mainly a Universalist concern. Many of the leaders, including founder Henry R. Schetterly, were Universalists, and a large share of the preaching at Alphadelphia was done by Richard Thornton, James Billings, and E. Wheeler, all prominent pastors of that denomination.

An extract from a letter of James Billings of Ann Arbor to H. R. Schetterly at Alphadelphia throws some light on the sectarian feeling which soon came to exist in the phalanx. Somewhat offended because the Universalist paper, The Expounder, had been transferred to Alphadelphia but had not been printed yet, the Universalist minister declared: "I presume there are many members of the association that care but very little whether The Expounder is published or not. . . ."[34] A year later Calvin White affirmed the fears of The Future editor:

> The idea has become general that the association was formed for aristocratical and dishonest purposes and some supposed it to be an Infidel got up and some a Universalist concern and some suppose you were going down under the weight of your own dishonesty and bad management.[35]

The allegation of bad management may have been true; but there is little doubt about the Universalist domination of the Alphadelphian phalanx. A small slender dark-haired German Universalist, Dr. Henry R. Schetterly, a practicing physician formerly from New York State, was the controlling spirit of the Utopian organization. He was an effective speaker and writer, and his contributions to The Primitive Expounder show him to have been a man of high intelligence with a better than average education. Possessing a high degree of self-confidence and abundant energy, in a matter of weeks the Alphadelphian phalanx was in operation.

Dr. Schetterly issued a call through The Primitive Expounder, and in December of 1843 fifty-six interested individuals met in a schoolhouse at the head of Clark's Lake in Jackson County for a three-day session. Preliminary plans were drawn up, a skeleton constitution was adopted, and a committee, headed by Schetterly,of course, was elected to view three prospective sites. In January, 1844, The Expounder ran a notice that on "the first Monday of February next" stock certificates would be issued for a "Fourier Industrial Association" located near Galesburg on the Kalamazoo River in Comstock Township. The membership subscription books would be open at offices in Bellvue, Battle Creek, Marshall, Comstock, Columbia, Spring Arbor, Ann Arbor, Franklin, Birmingham, Northville, and Unadilla for six days only.[36] In a letter to the Phalanx dated May 20, 1844, Schetterly stated that $32,000 was paid to secure 2,814 acres of land, but that the land-debt was only $5,776 since most of the land was invested as stock. He also added enthusiastically, that the number of members had increased to "upwards of 1,300, [both resident and non-resident] and more than one hundred applicants were rejected, because there seemed to be no end, and we became almost frightened at the number."[37] To help insure the success of the institution, only those were selected who could produce qualified vouchers for their "moral character and industrial habits."[38]

Apart from economic details, the constitution of the Alphadelphia Association, as finally adopted and signed by fifty-one heads of families, concerned itself largely with health, education, and moral reforms. The new association, called Alphadelphia or "First Brotherhood," was to be a domestic and industrial association governed by a president, a vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, and twelve directors. Capital stock, to be divided into fifty dollar shares, was set at $200,000 but could be increased to $2,000,000 by a majority vote of the members and stockholders. After payment of taxes, insurance, and repairs, one-fourth of the remaining money was to be paid to the stockholders and three-fourths to the laborers, annually. Payment for labor would be "in proportion to the labor and skill bestowed." Provisions were made for a percent of profits to be set apart for general educational purposes; a public library and a seminary would also be established. Article nine included several sections to safeguard religious rights: "Every member. . . shall enjoy his own religious and political opinions, unmolested and inviolate. . . ." and "shall not be compelled to contribute in anyway to the support of religious worship. . . ." All denominations of Christians would be accomodated. One of the by-laws allowed a person the use of horses and wagons "on the particular day of the week each denomination have established as their Sabbath. . . ." Another section of the Constitution set

up a Council of Arbitration to settle disputes among members. This council finally became inundated with complaints and seems never to have functioned smoothly.[39]

The Association put their dream into operation in July, 1844. An official newspaper, The Alphadelphia Tocsin, was printed, sawmills ran day and night to provide the lumber for building a "Mansion House," and farming commenced on the "domain." The first entry in both the Journal and the Daybook was made July 23, 1844 and the last one on May 2, 1848 and April 30, 1848, respectively. The millennial experiment was never a success,however, even from its very beginning.

One of the first disputes arose, according to Dr. Schetterly, from a disagreement between a Mr. Tubbs, who wanted the Association buildings to be located on the land he had owned, and many of the other members, who wanted to build on the railroad side of the river. Tubbs was voted down, but from this time on he cautioned all interested people against investing at Alphadelphia. Schetterly felt that "this disagreement at the commencement of the experiment threw a damper on it, from which it never entirely recovered."[40]

The truth is, the disease was of more serious nature than Dr. Schetterly's statement indicates, for Alphadelphia had proved to be a consumptive patient from the day the first stock was issued. Members charged each other with

laziness and outright dishonesty. The Council of Arbitrations worked overtime trying to smooth over accusations of stealing tools and grain. From reading these Reports, one gets a general impression of irregularity and disorderliness.[41] E. S. Camp, who had helped draft the Constitution, angrily criticized the directors for having given James Billings a commission as agent for the Tocsin. The Constitution, he asserted, was written "to protect the interest of every individual member of the Association and to establish, as far as possible a perfect equality in the distribution of the income." The profit motive had very early caused a sharp dispute in the organization.[42] Billings for his part resigned as agent and attributed the dispute to "sectarian prejudices." Another writer in The Expounder gave as his reason for the failure: "The ruin was wrought in the beginning, by receiving some improper members whose only object was to make money. . . ."[43] The venture was so unsuccessful that many years later when questioned, one old Alphadelphian would only say, "When we left we banished every memory of the old domain from our minds and have not wished to recall them." Another answered: "Too many large families, poor and hungry, who could do no work, or were incapable of supporting themselves, got among us and were a continual expense--a hole in the meal bag from first to last, to the association."[44]

Jealousies arose, inequalities were charged in the division of the work, and members started dropping away. Schetterly attempted a merger with the Integral Phalanx, Sangamon County, Illinois, but after an exchange of several communications, he received reply which read: "We are almost certain however that a union could not be affected between us; in consequence, of our different opinions in relation to our Rules of Progress."[45] He finally gave up the enterprise as being completely hopeless. The Daybook contains a notation in June, 1846: "June 21, Dr. Schetterly ran away this day Sunday the 21st 1846."[46] Yet Schetterly's faith in a Fourieristic Kingdom of God on earth must have waned but little, since he joined the LaGrange Phalanx near Mongo, Indiana, and later the Wisconsin Phalanx at Ripon, Wisconsin.[47] Such then, was the fate of Fourierism in Michigan.

In the realm of philosophy, the founders and members of the Alphadelphia society knew exactly what they were about, as their records prove. Briefly stated, the Alphadelphians were trying to establish "one fond brotherhood" in Michigan, not as an escape from the problems of society, but as an example for the remaking of society. The existing evils of society must be remedied by "making man the friend and brother of his fellowmen." As S.A. Webster wrote to H. R. Schetterly: "The evils for which we seek a remedy

is in the heart of society, and not its extremities, and it is to the heart that we must apply the cure."[48] A friend of Schetterly's and member of the House of Representatives at Detroit, George Ecklee, who introduced the Alphadelphian Constitution in the House, wanted all the members of the Association to know "they stand in a more important position in regard to mankind and future ages than did their forefathers in 76."[49] The problem they faced was to build a Utopian organization so near to perfection that Michigan and eventually the nation would follow suit, and the Spirit of God would fill the land with peace and righteousness.

Strong religious overtones have been evident in nearly all communitarian schemes. Arthur Bestor found that most communitarian sects in America held Millenarian beliefs in some form.[50] In fact, millennialism and Utopianism are found hand in hand throughout the entire history of Western civilization. Historians have noticed this connection between millennialism and Utopianism, but yet not much has been written about it. It is evident that both religious and secular men were in quest of the same "heavenly city."[51] John Humphrey Noyes, whose knowledge and past experience with American socialism surpassed most men of the nineteenth century, claimed that while the religionists had for their great idea the regeneration of the soul, the Socialists wanted to regnerate society, which was the soul's environment. The two schools were too divergent, however,

to work together successfully. He hoped "that the next phase of national history will be that of Revivalism and Socialism harmonized and working together for the Kingdom of Heaven."[52] This combination was found to a large degree in a Universalist-Socialist union at Alphadelphia, yet the experiment still failed.

Some of the private correspondence to H. R. Schetterly shows the strong millennial undercurrent in the thought of Michigan Fourierists. William Jones, a Universalist convert to Fourierism, wanted to sell his property and join the phalanx but could not find a buyer for his property. He lamented that he had not had the opportunity of meeting Dr. Schetterly and

> becoming acquainted with what I consider the great object of man's creation and that for which our Saviour laboured to establish while on earth; the social enjoyment and the promotion of happiness and brotherly love while on earth; and revealing to the mind the butiful [sic] prospects that awaits us in the future.[53]

A few months later, Schetterly received a letter from a borad-minded subscriber to the phalanx newspaper, The Alphadelphia Tocsin, remarking on the millennial spirit in many other movements. From Schetterly's previous articles in the paper, Benoni Pixley, from Portage Lake, Michigan, concluded that:

> . . . Mohamedanism, Millerism, and Mormonism, were blessings of no less importance than Christianity--And why indeed, may we not reasonably conclude that all these things are designed, by an inscrutable providence, to advance the intellectual, moral, physical and social interests of man? Taking this view of the subject, I cannot doubt but your doctrines and undertakings, will result in much good to the human race. And if Fourierism is destined to prove a panacea for all our social evils, it will be hailed by philanthropists, in every land, with unbounded joy, as a renewed assurance that the Creator still remembers the work of his hands, and will, in the end, redeem them from every evil that their own madness and folly brought upon them.[54]

By the late summer of 1845, the handwriting was on the wall at Alphadelphia. John Caryle, from across the state line in Illinois, pleaded with Schetterly to hold on, since "Suffering humanity requires that all who have put their hands to this Noble work of God, should perservere [sic] unto the end. Victory is certain--for 'If God is for us, who shall be against us.'" Caryle found out that victory was not certain, for Alphadelphia had, in fact, collapsed. Yet he would not give up his hope for the Kingdom:

> You have undertaken this great work, a work when accomplished will cause all Heaven to rejoice, and Earth keep Jubilee, eighteen hundred years has expired since the command "after this manner pray ye, thy Kingdom come thy will be done on earth as done in heaven"[.] If heaven is a transcript of earth/as it now is/who wishes to go there,[.] Millerism has had its day, and the earth still remains [.] "All things remain as they were" [.] to my limited perception, I can see a God in this great Excitement, a Spirit of inquiry, a thirst for true light, a desire for Truth. . . which is destined to moraly [sic] renovate the world, and exhibit the King of Zion.[55]

Both the Michigan Universalists and the Alphadelphians were highly millennialistic. The Kingdom of God on earth, which they believed would commence in their time, became an integral part of their dream for Michigan. God was perfecting the world, they assured themselves; Universalism and Utopian Socialism were to be tools for His hands. The Universalist hope for perfection, however, did not end with the failure of Fourierism in Michigan; the Millennial Hope was simply diverted to other channels.

FOOTNOTES

1. In Oliver Wendell Elsbree, The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815 (Williamsport, Pa., 1928), p. 126.

2. The Universalist Quarterly and General Review, I (1844), pp. 394-95.

3. Ibid., IV (1847), pp. 146-147, 151.

4. John G. Adams, Fifty Notable Years: Views of the Ministry of Christian Universalism (Boston, 1882), pp. 50, 55, 321.

5. Richard Eddy, Universalism in America, II (Boston, 1894), p. 479.

6. Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (second Revised ed. Abingdon Press, 1961), p. 212.

7. Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Portestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (New York, 1947), p. 29.

8. Eddy, Universalism in America, pp. 384-385.

9. The Primitive Expounder, July 1, 1847.

10. Ibid.; Eddy, Universalism, pp. 384-385.

11. The Primitive Expounder, October 16, 1845.

12. The Home Missionary, I (October, 1828), p. 103; XVII (January, 1845) pp. 206-207; Maurice F. Cole, Voices from the Wilderness (Ann Arbor, 1961), pp. 87, 112.

13. The Primitive Expounder, September 23, 1847.

14. Ibid., September 23, 1843.

15. For instance see Ibid., January 28,1847.

16. Ibid., August 12, 1843.

17. Ibid., April 8, 1847.

18. Ibid., June 4, 1847.

19. Ibid., December 23, 1843; November 28, 1844.

20. Ibid., October 28, 1843; April 2, 1845.

21. Ibid., July 15, 1843.

22. Ibid., April 8, 1847.

23. Ibid., September 23, 1847.

24. Ibid., January 11, 1843.

25. Ibid., July 29, 1843.

26. Ibid., February 25, 1847.

27. Ibid., January 24, July 15, 1843; March 9, 1849.

28. Ibid., November 28, 1844.

29. Charles Fourier in F. M. Warren, Ten Frenchmen of the Nineteenth Century (Chautauqua, N.Y., 1804), p. 69; Albert Brisbane, The Social Destiny of Man (New York, 1857), p. 101; Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr., Backwoods Utopias; The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663-1829 (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 13.

30. Brisbane, Social Destiny, p. 107.

31. Redelia Brisbane, Albert Brisbane: A Mental Biography with a Character Study (Boston,1893), pp. 208-209.

32. The Universalist Quarterly and General Review, II (1845), pp. 52, 53, 56, 73; see also Horace Greeley's rebuttal in Ibid., pp. 136-147.

33. Bestor, Backwood's Utopias, pp. 238-239; histories of the Alphadelphia Association are found in: The Kalamazoo Gazette, January 24, 1937, (Centennial edition, Part II, p. 16); History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan (Philadelphia, 1880); Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, V (Lansing, 1884); John Humphrey Noyes, History of American Socialisms (New York, 1961, reprint of the 1870 edition), pp. 388-396.

34. James Billings to H. R. Schetterly, September 5, 1844 in Alphadelphia papers in the Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan.

35. Calvin White, Martin, Michigan, to H. R. Schetterly, September 29, 1845, in Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.

36. The Primitive Expounder, January 20, 1844.

37. In John Humphrey Noyes, History of American Socialisms (New York, 1961, reprint of the 1870 edition), pp. 391, 392.

38. The Primitive Expounder, March 3, 1844.

39. Alphadelphia Constitution, Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.

40. Noyes, American Socialisms, p. 394.

41. Council of Arbitration Reports, Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.

42. E. S. Camp to Directors of the Association, May 6, 1844, Alphadelphia papers, M,H.C.

43. The Primitive Expounder, March 26, 1846.

44. A. D. P. Van Buren's article in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, V (Lansing, Mich., 1844), p. 412.

45. Secretary of the Integral Phalanx to H. R. Schatterly, October 21, 1845 in Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.

46. Daybook, Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.

47. Van Buren,Michigan Pioneer Collections, p. 411.

48. The Primitive Expounder, October 28, 1843; John Bliss, Saline, Michigan to H. R. Schetterly, January 30, 1845; S. A. Webster to H. R. Schetterly, September 10, 1844 in Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.; see also Arthur E. Bestor, "Patent Office Models of the Good Society," American Historical Review, LVIII (April, 1953), p. 524.

49. George Ecklee, Detroit, Michigan to H. R. Schetterly in Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.

50. Bestor, Backwoods Utopias, p. 6.

51. Earnest Lee Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Ideas of Progress (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), preface and passim; Arthur A. Ekirch, The Idea of Progress in America, 1815-1860 (New York, 1944), pp. 139, 146.

52. Noyes, American Socialism, pp. 26, 28.

53. William Jones to H. R. Schetterly, August 23, 1844, in Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.

54. Benoni Pixley, Portage Lake, Michigan, to H. R. Schetterly, January 13, 1845 in Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.

55. John Caryle, Elk Grove, Illinois to H. R. Schetterly, August 26, 1845; September 16, 1845 in Alphadelphia papers, M.H.C.

CHAPTER IV

THE MORMONS AND A STAKE OF ZION

The twenty-five mile wide strip of "psychic highway,"[1] as Carl Carmer called it, across the State of New York in reality extended straight westward into the Territory of Michigan. After the opening of the Erie Canal, the decade of the thirties brought hundreds of settlers to lower Michigan from the "burned over" district in New York. This highway could also be called a "millennial highway," since this was the route of millennial ideas to Michigan. The fires of Mormonism and Millerism, the most radical of all such religious movements in America, at first burned fiercely in New York, then swept on toward the frontier of the West.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was, as the name suggests, an adventist church, composed of the faithful followers of the Prophet Joseph Smith, a chosen group of Saints who set out to bring Christ's reign of righteousness in America. The history of the Mormon Kingdoms in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois is a familiar one, but the coming of the Saints to Michigan is not so well known. This story of Michigan Mormonism is composed of two phases. The first one is that of Mormon proselyting in southern Michigan. The second phase, the history of the Mormon "King of Beaver Island," James Jesse Strang, is nearly fantastic.

There can be no doubt about the millennial ideas of Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism. Joseph Smith's parents were of New England stock, moving with ten-year old Joseph into the "burned-over" area in New York, a common path for the Yankee emigrant from the New England states. Here, at the very fountainhead of revivalism and religious excitement in America, young Smith seems to have absorbed, or at least have been well aware of, every prevailing millennial doctrine.

Smith's first major revelation, The Book of Mormon, was relatively measured in its hopes for the Millennium, but his subsequent pronouncements were strongly adventistic. His revelations mention the Millennium over and over again, with wars, crop failures,and signs in the heavens as portents of the coming event. He warned his followers "to be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are set forth upon the wicked" for the hour was nigh when "I will burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts, that wickedness shall not be upon the earth. . . ."[2] In this same revelation given to Smith in September, 1830, he described the Millennium after the destruction of the wicked:

> For I [Christ] will reveal myself from heaven with power and great glory, with all the hosts thereof, and dwell in righteousness with men on earth a thousand years, and the wicked shall not stand.[3]

Then the redeemed would reign on earth with Christ for a millennium, "Satan shall be bound and when he is loosed again, he shall reign for a little season, and then cometh the end of the earth."[4] The Coming, it was plain, was to be premillennial; the inhabitants of the world would grow continually more evil, with, of course, the exception of the Saints. The Saints would be warned of the approaching day because of earthquakes, hail storms, and signs in the heavens--"the sun shall be darkened, and the moon be turned to blood, and stars fall from heaven."[5] The Advent would usher in the great Millennial Sabbath--a beginning of the seventh thousand years in which the Lord God would "sanctify the earth, and complete the salvation of man and judge all things. . . ."[6] Joseph Smith was never as definite as William Miller would be on the precise time when the great event would take place. A direct revelation from God told him that it would occur during his lifetime, however. He prayed earnestly to know the time, but was told, "Joseph my son, if thou livest until thou art eighty-five years old, thou shalt see the face of the son of Man: therefore let this suffice and trouble me no more on this matter."[7] In a prophecy given March 14, 1835 he affirmed that "even fifty-six years should wind up the scene."[8] Millennialism, indeed, formed a strong foundation for Smith's new religion.

The evidence shows that this millenarian hope was precisely the pulling power of early Mormonism. Smith's biographer, Fawn Brodie, put it succintly in stating that:

> Many Mormon converts had been caught by the contagion of millennialism and saw in this rise of the new prophet, with his private and mysterious illumination, final evidence of the impending arrival of Christ. Many sprang to Joseph's cause hoping to stand at his right hand at the Judgement Day. And since Joseph himself was infected with the millennial spirit, he encouraged this sentiment.[9]

Significantly, Smith's first important convert was Sidney Rigdon, a former Disciples preacher with an intense millennial belief. The Prophet was simply capitalizing on a long tradition of millennialism, bringing it to a head, even as William Miller would do in preaching an even more millennial urgency in 1843-44. Joseph Smith, long before the peak of Millerite activity, reinforced the Expectation, by making it coincident with his own career on earth.

The "gathering,"--that is to say the assembling of the Saints to a place of refuge which was to precede the coming of Christ--, is of vital importance in Mormon millennial doctrine. Christ would not come, according to Mormon belief, until the Saints were gathered into a place of refuge. This first step in millennial progression made them buy and build "with a kind of desperate haste lest the day of the Lord's Coming find their lamps untrimmed."[10] Christ was to return to rule from his two capitals in Zion and in Jerusalem, following the restoration of the ten tribes

of Israel.[11] While other millenarians set the time for the Millennium, Mormons specified the exact place Zion was to be located in America, where Christ's government would be established. The Saints would eventually take over the country, even the whole world, with Christ in person as their King. Therefore, the "gathering" as William Mulder has written, was the unifying theme of Mormonism.[12] The assembling of the Saints was only the preparatory event to the establishment of the personal, literal reign of God on earth, however. The way must be made ready for the Lord by bringing the Saints to Zion from all places in the world. And while it is true that Michigan was not envisioned by Smith as the place to build Zion, as was Jackson County, Missouri,or Nauvoo, Illinois, Mormons could see the rapidly settling Michigan territory, with its background of Yankee stock, as an excellent field for proselyting followers. From their headquarters in New York State and Kirtland, Ohio, the Mormons would gather God's people from a now easily accessible Michigan on their way westward to the appointed place on the "borders of the Lamanites."

Aside from the fact that most of the settlers to Oakland County, Michigan, were from the "burned-over district," Joseph Smith had an even stronger reason to preach his millenarian ideas in Michigan. Stephen Mack, the founder of the thriving young mill-town of Pontiac, was an uncle of the Mormon prophet. Stephen Mack had died in 1826, but

he had left behind many relatives in Oakland County, including his wife and twelve children, who, Joseph knew, must be saved from destruction at the coming of Christ.[13]

Pontiac was being afflicted with a spiritual unrest which would help make Mormonism appear even more attractive to people who already believed in the imminence of Christ's return. The Presbyterian Church of Pontiac was rent with schism. Isaac Ruggles,[14] the energetic Home Missionary with Congregational designs, had succeeded in breaking the Presbyterian Plan of Union Church there, and in forming a Congregational group. There remained much bitter feeling, and with the unsettled state of affairs, the Mormons found an attentive audience to their new doctrine. Therefore, from a combination of reasons, Oakland County proved to be a natural field for successful Mormon proselyting. Pontiac would be home base for zealous missionaries in Michigan to call in the true believers.[15]

In 1834, Joseph Smith himself visited Pontiac,[16] accompanied by his father and his brother Hyrum, as well as the Three Witnesses to the plates authenticating the Book of Mormon, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris. With this top-level visit, one begins to see the importance of Michigan to the founders of the Mormon Church. Not only relatives, but many additional converts could be won here, Smith realized. There is little wonder

at the impression made on the town of Pontiac by Mormonism during these early years, since the entire Smith family (the father, mother, Joseph, and Hyrum), the Three Witnesses, and most of the leading missionaries had all been frequent visitors. As for how the people of Pontiac felt about their distinguished guests, Edward Stevenson, a young man who went to Utah with the Mormons, believed "that we were blessed above kings, rulers and potentates of the earth."[17] Meetings were held and large crowds turned out to hear the preaching of Smith and the testimonies of the Three Witnesses. A non-Mormon resident of Oakland County recalled many years later the great stir caused by the new religion in their early years of Mormonism:

> The spread of the new faith seemed to be a contagion; neighborhood meetings were held every day, and new converts announced. Some of the converts claimed to have received a new inspiration and to speak in unknown tongues. My father became an early convert and was received into the church. My mother. . . was also baptized. . . .[18]

Altogether, at least fifty persons in and around Pontiac abandoned their homes and departed this small frontier community for Zion.[19]

Mormon activity was not limited to Oakland County alone. Churches were established also in Lapeer, Wayne, Livingston, Washtenaw, and Lenawee Counties. By the 1840's in the western part of the state there was extensive Mormon activity in St. Joseph, Branch, and Kalamazoo Counties. Conferences were held as the Mormons organized their work and prepared their Saints to gather in the West.[20]

The urge to "gather" was extremely strong among the Michigan Saints,[21] and this urge was motivated by millenarian ideas. The Saints were in haste to seek refuge at Zion, for the Second Coming could happen at any moment after the successful collecting of God's chosen people. Almira Mack, who had married a Mormon, William Scobey, joined the Saints in Missouri. Some three years later her mother, Temperance Mack, also "gathered" there. They both showed a strong concern for the salvation of their friends and loved ones back in Pontiac. Notice the anxiety in Almira's letter to her sister Harriet at Pontiac:

> Perhaps some may think me deluded and feel to pity me, but will soon know the truth of these things, for great things await this generation, and it is for this reason that I feel so anxious for you and the rest of my friends, for behold the coming of our Saviour is nigh at hand, and this generation will not pass away untill [sic] he will appear in his glory and we ought to be prepared for it that whether in life or in death we may abide the day, for when he comes his Saints who have slept in death will arise and come with him and live on the earth a thousand years, while the wicked will have to remain in their graves untill [sic] the thousand years are expired then they will have to appear before the judgement seat of Christ.22

Almira, it is quite evident, believed that safety from God's wrath could only be found at the Mormon settlement in Missouri.

But safety from the gentiles in Missouri was another matter. The Mormons moved to Nauvoo, where they were certain they would see the Kingdom of God on earth. Temperance Mack wrote to her daughter that "the judgments of God are

about to be poured out upon all the inhabitants of the Earth except those who are gathered together in places which has [sic] appointed for the safety. . . ."[23] Nearly every letter of Almira and her mother Temperance to their relatives at Pontiac warned of impending judgment and appealed to them to seek the Mormon sanctuary. The Mormons sincerely believed in their mission, as witnessed in the fact that Temperance, despite her advanced age, and the persecutions in Missouri and Illinois, never lost her faith in the Mormon Kingdom of God. She endured the long, hard trek to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, satisfied that she had at last found the Heavenly City.

The Prophet Joseph, whose revelations spurred the followers on to build the City of God on earth, never ceased to proclaim the Lord's speedy return. In truth, the main Mormon motivation to settle and build in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles and persecutions, sprang from Smith's constant reminders that the Mormon Kingdom of God was to be established immediately before the Second Advent, and that it would happen in the Prophet's own life time. Every devoted Mormon believed that the Saints would all see Christ descend to rule from Zion. Nowhere in Smith's writings is this promise more explicit than in the ordination of his twelve apostles in 1835. The blessing upon Lyman E. Johnson stated "that he shall live until the gathering is accomplished. . . and he shall see the Saviour come and stand upon the earth with power and great glory."

Heber C. Kimball was blessed "that he may stand unto the coming of our Lord, and receive a crown in the Kingdom of our God. . . " Similarly, Orson Hyde's blessing read: ". . . that he may stand on the earth and bring souls till Christ comes." John F. Boynton's blessing was the most emphatic on the subject:

> Thou shalt lead the elect triumphantly to the places of refuge. . . Thou shalt stand in that day of calamity when the wicked shall be consumed, and present unto the Father, spotless, the fruits of thy labor. Thou shalt overcome all the evils that are in the world; thou shalt have wisdom to put to silence all the wisdom of the wise; and thou shalt see the face of thy Redeemer in the flesh.[24]

Then Joseph Smith was murdered. The Millennium evidently was not to begin during his lifetime. Confusion reigned among the Saints after Smith's assassination, since Smith had not clearly specified a successor in the event of his death. Mormon leaders realized that the Prophet's death on June 27, 1844, brought not one but two great problems, the problem of church government and leadership, and the question of where the Saints should settle to escape gentile persecutions. The first problem was of more immediate importance to the then leaderless Saints.

The Mormon Church in general was thrown into confusion at the death of their leader. The Michigan Saints seemed completely paralyzed, but there was no confusion in the mind of newly-converted Mormon, one James J. Strang. He appeared at a conference held at Florence, Michigan, in July, 1844, and announced that before Joseph Smith's death,

Smith had appointed him to be successor and prophet. The Michigan conferences, who were already leaning toward the Twelve Apostles at Nauvoo for leadership, took a dim view of Strang's pretensions. At Florence, the elders Crandall Dunn and Harvey Green, who were the presiding high priests for Michigan, immediately denounced him as an imposter.[25] Strang, however, persisted in the claim that he was the heir to Smith's prophetic position and that he was fulfilling the Mormon Prophet's revelations and instructions.

To a large extent he did follow Smith's example. He used a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, following the law of the Old Testament closely, as did Smith. Adultery was punishable by death in Smith's Zion as well as later in Strang's Kingdom. In accordance with Old Testament law, the whipping post was also used. Polygamy, too, which Strang first denounced but later accepted fully, has been promulgated by Smith's revelations.[26] A tithing system and the seventh-day Sabbath, accepted by Strang, no doubt came from a literal rendering of Old Testament law and Scripture.

On the other hand, Strang's concept of the deity differed considerably from Smith's. His diary reveals that he turned from the "distorted, uncouth, and broken" works of man toward "the stars for light and the works of nature for instruction." In a mystical illumination he found the

> darkness dispelled: the shades retired: the illusive works of man disappeared as I passed on, and the Spirit of Nature moved me with a holy inspiration. The sun had not yet appeared nor the moon arisen in the east but there was a glory in the light shades of evening, like Milton's twilight in heaven.[28]

With the exception of his diary entries, however, Strang was careful to use the popular names for the Christian deity in written communications. In most respects the Millennial Kingdom started by Strang at Beaver Island did bear a striking resemblance to the one outlined by Joseph Smith just before his death, if one overlooks Strang's added personal theological concepts--such as his deity, the "Spirit of Nature."

The most obvious parallel to Strang's kingdom was in Smith's little known inauguration in 1844 as the head of the temporal Kingdom of God in Nauvoo. Smith believed that God had given him a personal mandate to establish the kingdom spoken of in Daniel 2: 44-45.[29] It was literally to be a political kingdom from which Christ would reign as both spiritual and political ruler of the world during the Millennium. Smith's campaign for the presidency of the United States was not just a gesture or an attempt to dramatize the plight of the Mormons, but a real attempt to assume temporal power.

Smith had organized a shadow government of fifty men, a nucleus for the future Mormon world state. And this Council of Fifty bore close resemblance to Strang's Halcyon Order of the Illuminati, which was to help govern the Strangite Kingdom of God on earth. Two months after Joseph

conciliar govenment was established, however, he was assassinated. James J. Strang assumed that he would wear the crown to commence the new Millennial Kingdom, since he had a letter from Smith himself to establish "a Stake of Zion" at Voree, "the Garden of Peace," in Wisconsin.[30]

Strang's motives for setting up his own version of the Kingdom of God have long puzzled historians. At first glance, his history both at Voree, Wisconsin, and later on the Beaver Islands of Lake Michigan simply reveal a charlatan who saw an opportunity for power and jumped at the chance to take leadership of the Mormons. The more one studies Strang's papers, books, and periodicals, however, the more one is convinced of Strang's genius and obvious sincerity. His hunger for power as a youth, so plainly shown in his diary,[31] was no doubt a motivating factor behind his whole life's work; yet he cannot be dismissed as a clever imposter governed only by an unbridled ambition. Probably Strang will remain an enigma to historians. Nevertheless, his millennial philosophy furnished a clue.

Strang, like Smith, was a product of the "burned-over" area of western New York. He was born there, received rural school education, and studied law. In 1836 he married Mary Perce whose sister had married a Mormon and moved West. Strang and his wife decided to join them and some other Mormons at a small frontier settlement on the White River near Burlington, Wisconsin. There Strang, who

professed to be a free-thinker, came under the influence of Mormonism. In February 1844, he journeyed to Nauvoo, received personal instruction from Joseph and Hyrum Smith and was baptized by the Prophet himself. Strang was made an elder and sent back to Wisconsin to establish a Stake at Voree, near Burlington. Shortly after Strang's baptism, Joseph and Hyrum were murdered by a mob on June 27, 1844.

In July, Strang appeared before the Conference at Florence, Michigan, with his letter from Smith, which, if construed broadly, would have given the succession to Strang. He failed, however, to convince the Conference that the letter was authentic or that he had received the appointment by an angel, as he claimed. He maintained his claim, nonetheless, and he returned to Voree to gather the Saints into his "Garden of Peace." Strang managed to attract a good many Mormons from Nauvoo, as well as from Michigan, many of them very important in the church. William Smith, patriach of the church and brother of Joseph Smith, joined him, as did John E. Page, one of the apostles. William E. Marks, former president of the Nauvoo Stake, and John C. Bennett, who had been mayor of Nauvoo, both followed Strang. Although the Strangites never collected a large group of Saints, at least not compared to the "Brighamites," the list of Morman dignitaries who joined with them is quite impressive.

To establish his right as ruler in the Millennial Kingdom, at least till Christ came, Strang claimed revelations and visits from angelic beings much as Smith had done. He was told where to dig up the plates with strange writing, and how to interpret them with the aid of the magic stones, Urim and Thummim. To put it briefly, Strang followed Smith so closely in the discovery of ancient records divinely preserved and with divine help in deciphering them, that Mormons would seemingly have either to deny Smith or accept Strang. It was a neat trap, but the majority of the Saints at Nauvoo decided to follow the leadership of Brigham Young to a new Zion in Utah.

According to a revelation given to Strang on June 27, 1844, after he had received the controversial letter from Smith, he was ordered to make Voree a sanctuary for the oppressed:

> While the day of the wicked abideth, shalt thou prepare a refuge for the oppressed, and for the poor and needy. Unto thee shall they come, and their brethren who are scattered shall come with them, and the destruction of the ungodly shall quickly follow, for it already worketh.32

With this heavenly message to reinforce the letter of succession, Strang set out to build the City of God, maintaining that it was the true Zion of the Saviour, and that Brigham Young did not have divine authority to establish any other Kingdom. In his first pastoral letter "James the Prophet" pleaded with the Saints to follow God's leadership:

> Let not my call to you be vain. The destroyer has gone forth among you and has prevailed. You are preparing to resign country and houses and lands to him. Many of you are about to leave the haunts of civilization and of men to go into an unexplored wilderness among savages, and in trackless deserts, to seek a home in the wilds where the footprint of the white man is not found. The voice of God has not called you to this.

Strang urged the oppressed Mormons to flee for safety to Voree. The gathering of the people for the great Millennial Sabbath would be there.[33] He realized of course that the Mormon Church must desert Nauvoo, and he also knew that the destination this time would have to be a locality free from gentile persecution. Nauvoo had lost the heavenly mandate, it was sinful and impure. The Kingdom of God was to be transferred to Voree, Wisconsin, not just as "a Stake of Zion," as Smith had written in his letter, but "the Stake of Zion." Any other Stake following any other leader, was simply the work of the devil. As indicated by a poem in the Strangite paper, the Northern Islander, the Strangite Mormons never ceased believing that their's was the true gathering place for God's chosen people:

> Come up, Oh ye Saints, Altho'
> scattered afar,
> and truth will shine forth as a
> bright morning star;
> and blest Zion redeemed, will
> hasten the day,
> When sorrow and sighing will flee far away.[34]

Zion, it is true, can have many meanings. But the Strangite Saints knew exactly the Zion they were preparing for the Millennium. The preparation, or doctrine of progression, has been an inherent factor in Morman success

wherever they have settled. To the Strangites the Millennium was much more than a rosy dream for the future--it was a reality. They felt that with the Mormons at Voree the Saviour had already "commenced his religious and will soon. . . commence his political kingdom, which last is to destroy all the power of the devil."[35]

The Zion at Jerusalem, they emphasized, was not the Zion from which the deliverer was to come. The Jews for a certainty, must return "from the North Country" to Palestine and gather at their Zion, but Christ was to return to the Mormon Zion in North America. Zion in the last days would be located in the land of America, "on the sides of the North;" the city of David, or Zion at Jeruselem, was merely an "auxiliary," and not the principal. And furthermore, this establishment of a people to a "place called Zion is an absolute prerequisite to the bringing in of the kingdom of God,and the attainment of salvation," As John E. Page put it, Zion could only mean "the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" since it was "the only church that receives the gospel theory in all its doctrine and principles, as Jesus and the apostles preached it." In an article directed against Universalism, he stated emphatically that when Christ returned few would be saved, and the "proud" and the "wicked" would be burned up.[36]

Despite the strong millennial doctrines of Mormonism, John Page, speaking for the Strangites, had little use

for Millerism. In reviewing a copy of the Advent Herald he agreed with the Adventists that Christ must come soon. But the return of the Jews to Palestine must take place previous to the Second Advent. The Millerites, he decided, had done nothing but abuse the Bible, since God had never sent them to make a "midnight cry."[37]

Much as Miller had done a few years before, the Strangites sent out missionaries to warn the world of the impending danger and to gather the true-at-heart into the Kingdom to await the coming of Christ. The Strangites, as might be expected, worked especially hard in winning their own Mormon brothers to their cause, but the Gospel was delivered to the gentiles as well. Michigan was their prime target, probably because many of the Voree and Beaver Island schismatics were originally from Michigan. Pontiac, once again proved to be a center of Mormon activity together with Bath Mills, Albion, and Jackson. George J. Adams, Strangite minister, writing from Jackson in July, 1849, announced that there was a "throng inquiring after the truth." At Albion he preached in a crowded schoolhouse and in the Methodist Church, and turned the "place upside down."[38] Many in the "great crowds" that turned out to hear the Mormon preacher, it may be assumed, came only out of curiosity. Samuel Graham, another itinerant preacher of Strang's, reported from Albion the following Spring, "at priest-ridden Albion I preached last evening to a miserable

lot of empty benches."[39] Strang himself also toured lower Michigan to win converts to his church. He preached at Michigan Central College, at Spring Arbor, to large crowds of people, provoking a series of written communications and a challenge for a public debate from Professor D. M. Graham from that college.[40] The debate never was held, but Strang was always eager and sure of himself in public disputation. The Strangite papers contain numerous offers for debate. Mormons were every bit as aggressive as the Universalists, who were known for their cocky, belligerent attitude.

Mormon certainty in the coming Kingdom is affirmed in an interesting article in the Voree paper entitled "The Kingdom of God" and signed "C. J. D." Charles J. Douglass was actually Elvira Field, a beautiful young schoolteacher from Eaton Rapids, Michigan, with whom Strang had fallen in love. Since he was already married and had not yet announced his policy on accepting the practice of polygamy, Strang simply had her disguised as his "nephew," and lived with her without benefit of ceremony.[41] Elvira, his first polygamous wife, had learned her millennial lessons well:

> Ah! is Christ then to reign on the earth? Yes indeed. When this kingdom [Strangite Mormon] gets dominion on the earth, then Christ will come and reign with his saints literally for one thousand years. Christ's church is established upon the earth, and his kingdom soon will be. . . ."

Furthermore, she maintained that the Kingdom of God was not within the individual as some claimed, but was a definite literal kingdom to be established before the coming of the Son of Man.[42]

The evidence shows that Strang held the idea of the Kingdom of God and the Millennium as a kind of a whip over the heads of his followers. The nearness of Christ's coming, he undoubtably could see, was a most effective way of driving his followers to greater and greater efforts to gather the Saints and to build a temporal Kingdom of God. A sense of doom and approaching judgment was a chief source of strength. Strang told his followers,

> Let me warn you that the time draws near. Prophetic events are crowding close upon one another. The Prophet Joseph has warned you that these things shall happen in this generation. Come up to the places [Voree and Beaver Island] God has appointed; for the Lord delayeth not his coming; and it shall be as a thief, when you look not for it.[43]

He always exhorted his people to "look for the coming of the Lord Jesus," and knew that his own calling was one to lead "the church to peace and happiness and preparing a people for the Coming of the Son of God."[44] When the Temple was to be built at Voree, Strang's revelation from God was intended to provide the needed incentive for the task:

> Therefore come ye all my servants, and bring your silver and your gold, and your precious stones, and bring ye timber and stone, and labor with your hands and your cattle, and build a house unto me, and see that ye do all things according to the pattern which I shall show unto my servant James as he shall deliver it unto you; and make ye a free will offering, and build a tower of strength unto me upon the hill of promise; for if ye do all these things, dominion shall be given unto you, and Daniel the prophet shall proclaim the Kingdom of God, and shall call forth the saints to possess it.[45]

Even though Voree did not turn out to be a "Garden of Peace" for Strang's Mormons, conflicts with Gentile neighbors was not the greatest problem. Much of the land around Burlington, Wisconsin, had already been pre-empted by settlers before the arrival of the Mormons, and the Wisconsin farmers drove hard bargains on resale. Strang needed more land, especially since his dream of an empire could not be realized at Voree. At any rate, Strang heard that Beaver Island in Lake Michigan, just twenty miles off the Michigan coast, was to be sold by the federal government. He acquired the island, and after 1844, settlers came in a steady stream, although he had originally claimed that Big Beaver was to be only "the Great Corner Stake of Zion" with Voree as the main Stake.

After the transfer was made, Strang was crowned King and announced the will of the Lord in its fullest--the "Kingdom of St. James." Following the pattern laid down by a set of deciphered plates, which he called the Plates of Laban, Strang proclaimed himself ruler of God's

new Kingdom which was to be re-established on earth. The translation of the Plates of Laban was later put into book form as the Book of the Law of the Lord. As Milo Quaife has written, the book set forth "a surprisingly comprehensive framework of theocratic government. . . ample in scope to serve the needs of a kingdom of whatever size."[46] Strang had realized his dream; he was an absolute King. His legislation regulated polygamy, women's dress, Sabbath-keeping and a tithing system among many other things. After implementing these laws, Strang reached a position of power over his group never achieved even by the Prophet Joseph at Nauvoo, Illinois, before his death. As a Mormon poet had written about Strang in 1846:

> And the law which Joseph gave,
> To the Church, the Saints to save;
> Teaching us how we should live
> He enforces rigidly.
>
> Precious are his years to come,
> While the righteous gather home
> For the great Millennium,
> Where h[e]'ll rest in blessedness.[47]

Strang would not live to see his millennium on Beaver Island nor would any of his Saints. Yet his faith in the premillennial return of God as set forth in his Book of the Law of the Lord never wavered:

> To this many prophets have borne witness; that in his latter days, God would gather Israel again upon their own land, and establish them as an individual Kingdom. . . .
>
> The whole course of prophecy indicates that the nations of the earth will not be converted to Godliness, but that they will increase in wickedness and be destroyed.[48]

The rules established in Strang's Kingdom were those to prepare a people for the coming of God. There is little reason to doubt his sincerity in doing so. The growth of his colony from 1848 to 1855 to nearly over 2,500 Mormons testifies to his followers' belief in his prophecies.

In 1856 after several years of bitter relations with neighboring Gentiles, particularly the Irish Catholic fishermen of Mackinac, Strang was assassinated by three of his own malcontents. After Strang's death, the sheriff of Mackinac, who hated the Mormons, demanded that Beaver be vacated. When a mob appeared to help carry out this order, the leaderless Mormons fled for their lives from Zion. Many who did not escape by themselves were crowded on available steamers and sent into exile, as the mobs confiscated their property. Perhaps as many as 2,600 Mormons were driven from the island following the assassination of Strang. One ship alone took 490 to Chicago, while the steamers Iowa and the Louisville carried large numbers to Detroit. The Saints were scattered in every direction. Some joined the Brighamites in Utah; others later ended up with the Reorganized Church in Missouri, but the great majority probably abandoned all adherence to Mormonism.[49] Six Strangite Churches still exist today with a total membership of about 250,[50] but the dispersal of the Strangites in 1856 ended a remarkable attempt at building a temporal Millennial Kingdom within the United States.

Ultimately, according to both Smith and Strang, Mormonism was to branch out and establish dominion over the whole earth. Whether one speaks of a spiritual or a political kingdom, the millennial drive was a principal source of Mormon strength. In either orthodox Mormonism or the schismatic Strangite group, this force must be reckoned with in determining motivational factors. As time passed, however, Mormon adventism received less and less emphasis until, as William Mulder affirms, "The great events which seemed so imminent retreated into a future comfortably remote, and Mormonism settled down to an indefinite postponement of prophecy."[51]

FOOTNOTES

1. Carl Carmer, Listen for a Lonesome Drum, A York State Chronicle (New York, 1936), p. 145.

2. Joseph Smith, The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Containing the Revelations given to Joseph Smith, Jun., The Prophet for the Building up of the Kingdom of God in the Last Days (Liverpool, 1891), p. 143.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 181.

5. Ibid., pp. 180, 186, 187.

6. Ibid., p. 279; James E. Talmadge, The Articles of Faith (fifth edition, Salt Lake City, 1909), first edition in 1899, pp. 373-382; Joseph Smith, The Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City, 1888), pp. 45, 74-75, 80.

7. Smith, Doctrines and Covenants, p. 461.

8. Ibid., p. 461; Millennial Star, XV, pp. 206-207 in Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History; The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet (New York, 1945), seventh printing, 1963, p. 101.

9. Brodie, No Mans Knows, p. 101.

10. Ibid., p. 130.

11. Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (Nashville, 1961), p. 127; Smith, Doctrines and Covenants, pp. 477-488; Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons (Chicago, 1957), p. 35; Smith, The Pearl of Great Price, p. 122; Talmage, Articles of Faith, p. 380.

12. William Mulder, "Mormonism's'Gathering': An American Doctrine with a Difference," Church History, XXIII (1954), p. 251.

13. John and Audrey Cumming, The Saints Come to Michigan (Mt. Pleasant, Michigan,1966), pp. 1-2, this small book is a reprint of "The Saints Come to Michigan,"

Michigan History, XLIX (March, 1965), pp. 12-27; Samuel W. Durant, History of Oakland County, Michigan (Philadelphia, 1877), pp. 70-71; Stephen B. McCracken, "Fifty Years Ago and Now," in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, (Lansing, 1890), XIV, pp. 616-618; History of Oakland County, Michigan, I, (Chicago and New York, 1912), pp. 67-69.

14. See Cumming, The Saints, p. 3 for an account of Lucy Mack Smith's interesting conversation with "Father" Ruggles.

15. For extensive Mormon missionary activities in Michigan see The Primitive Expounder, February 17, 1844; Maurice Cole, Voices From the Wilderness (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961), p. 87; The Home Missionary, XVII (January 1845), pp. 206-207; Cumming, The Saints, pp. 4-5 and passim.

16. Edward Stevenson, Reminiscenses of Joseph the Prophet (Salt Lake City, 1933), p. 5 in Cumming, The Saints, pp. 6-7.

17. For Smith's visits to Michigan see Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Period I, II (Salt Lake City, 1904), pp. 168-169, 253; Cumming, The Saints, pp. 5-8.

18. McCracken, "Fifty Years Ago" in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XIV, p. 616.

19. Ibid.

20. Cumming, The Saints, pp. 12-15.

21. Ibid., p. 8.

22. Almira Mack Scobey to Harriet Mack Whittemore, Pontiac, Michigan, June 9, 1835 in Whittemore papers, Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan.

23. Temperance Mack to Harriet Mack Whittemore, Pontiac, Michigan, September 16, 1840 in Whiteemore papers, M.H.C.

24. Smith, History of the Church, pp. 189-191.

25. Milo M. Quaife, The Kingdom of Saint James (New Haven, 1930), p. 15; Quaife's is the best complete work on Strang. Others are Oscar W. Riegel, Crown of Glory (New Haven, 1935); Russel B. Nye, "James Strang," in A Baker's Dozen (East Lansing, 1956), pp. 162-183; "Foreword" and "Introduction," in Mark Strang, The Diary of James J. Strang (East Lansing, 1961), pp. vii-xiv.

26. Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, pp. 463-474; for Strang's polygamy see Milo M. Quaife, "Polygamy at Beaver Island," Michigan History, V (1921), pp.334-355.

27. James J. Strang, The Book of the Law of the Lord (Royal Press, Saint James, Michigan, 1856), pp. 23, 286, 288, 291; Gospel Herald, May 23, 1850; Elizabeth Whitney Williams, A Child of the Sea; and Life Among the Mormons (Charlevoix, Michigan, 1950), p. 65.

28. Mark Strang, Diary, pp. 35, 36.

29. "And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume these kingdoms and it shall stand for ever.

Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream is certain, and the interpretation therof sure."

30. Klaus Hansen, "The Making of King Strang: A Re-examination," Michigan History (XLVI (1962), pp. 201-219; see also Klaus Hansen, "The Political Kingdom of God as a Cause for Mormon-Gentile Conflict," Brigham Young University Studies, II (Spring-Summer, 1960), pp. 241-260.

31. Strang, Diary, pp. 15, 17-19, 32.

32. James J. Strang, The Diamond: Being the Law of Prophetic Succession and A Defense of the Calling of James J. Strang as Successor to Joseph Smith, and a Full Exposition of the Law of God Touching the Succession of Prophets Holding the Presidency of the True Church, and the Proof that this Succession Has Been Kept Up. (Voree, Wisconsin, 1848), pp. 6-7; also in Strang, The Law of the Lord, p. 171.

33. Strang, The Diamond, pp. 10-11.

34. Northern Islander, January 9, 1851.

35. Zion's Reveille, December, 1846.

36. Ibid., August 5, Septmber 2, 1847; Gospel Herald, November 15, 1849; March 14, 1850.

37. Gospel Herald, September 7, 1848.

38. Gospel Herald, August 16, 1849.

39. Ibid., October 7, 1847; August 16, 1849; May 2, 1850.

40. See Ibid,, November 2, 1848.

41. See Quaife, Kingdom of St. James, pp. 100-112.

42. Gospel Herald, November 15, 1849.

43. Zion's Reveille, August 26, 1847.

44. Voree Herald, January, 1846.

45. Ibid., July 1, 1846; also in The Diamond, p. 10.

46. Quaife, The Kingdom of St. James, p. 93.

47. Voree Herald, August, 1846.

48. Strang, Book of the Law of the Lord, pp. 172, 213.

49. Quaife, Kingdom of St. James, pp. 127, 180-181.

50. Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (Nashville, 1961), pp. 131, 132.

51. Mulder, "Mormonism's 'Gathering'," p. 260.

CHAPTER V

THE MILLERITES AND THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS

The establishment of the Seventh-day Adventist headquarters at Battle Creek in the 1850's climaxed the events which made Michigan a center of millennial faith. In the village of Battle Creek, Seventh-day Adventists, the most successful of the several sects of Adventists coming from the great Millerite excitement of 1843-44, organized programs in fields of evangelism, education, health, welfare work, and foreign missions. Regardless of their previous disappointment in Christ's expected return in 1844, the Adventists based each of these areas of endeavor upon a faith that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand. The Seventh-day Adventists did not regard themselves merely as founders of another church, but as a people specifically selected to fulfill Bible prophecy in preparing the world for the Second Advent of Christ. No other millenarian group in the state rivaled the Adventists in millennial expectancy. From their headquarters in Battle Creek they went forth to preach their gospel of millennial salvation to every human on earth. The State of Michigan had become a stronghold of Adventism by 1860.

The Adventist emphasis on health reform ultimately made of Battle Creek, Michigan, the cereal capital of the world and "The Biggest Little City in the U.S.A." As Charles W. Post, the Postum and Grape Nuts pioneer, stated after cereal manufacture had been established, "A cablegram from anywhere in the world addressed 'Battle Creek' will be delivered."[1] The city's position as "Food-town-U.S.A." stemmed directly from the importance Seventh-day Adventists placed upon diet and good health in preparation for the Kingdom of God. The principles of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, one of the nation's top leaders in health reform, and Ellen G. White, both important leaders in the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, constituted a medical and health program which not only made Battle Creek famous for cereals but also produced the world-known Battle Creek Sanitarium. As Gerald Carson has written, "What gave the city its special flavor was the religious-health-medical doctrine of the Seventh-day Adventists."[2]

The Michigan Seventh-day Adventist denomination had roots extending deeply in the Millerite Movement of 1843-44. William Miller, the leader of the movement, was a self-educated farmer from Low Hampton, New York. Brought up as an orthodox Christian, he had turned to Deism, which was widely popular at the turn of the nineteenth century. After the War of 1812, in which he served with the rank of Captain, he became dissatisfied with his own skepticism and set out

to "harmonize all those apparent contradictions in the Bible to my own satisfaction, or I will be a Deist still." Using only the Bible and a Concordance to study and compare "Scripture with Scripture,"he not only was converted to Baptist orthodoxy, but he became convinced that Christ's second coming was almost at hand.[3] Interpreting the writings of Daniel in a literal sense, and applying the widely accepted principle of a year for a prophetic "day" to the 2300-day prophecy of Daniel 8:14,[4] Miller was startled to discover that the long time period which predicted Christ's second advent ended, according to his reckoning, around 1843. Furthermore, the Second Coming would be premillennial:

> I found the only millennium taught in the word of God is the thousand years which are to intervene between the first resurrection and that of the rest of the dead, as inculcated in the twentieth of Revelation; and that it must necessarily follow thepersonal coming of Christ and the regeneration of the earth. . . .

There would be no millennium of righteousness and no general conversion of the world before the Advent; Christ's coming meant the end of the world for all who were unprepared for the event. Nor could one expect the conversion of the Jews as a sign of Christ's coming, as held by many theologians, on the grounds that "the promises respecting Israel's restoration are applied by the apostle [Paul] to all who are Christ's. . . ." According to Miller, the Jews would not be converted en masse before the Advent, since "spiritual Israel" included all who accepted Christ's Gospel and

awaited His return. After several years of checking and rechecking his calculations, and after much hesitation and soul-searching, Miller felt compelled to "go and tell the world of their danger."[5]

Miller's ideas soon inspired a movement, spreading rapidly over the evangelically "burned-over" area in New York, and fanning out across the eastern part of the United States. Thousands of people from all denominations turned out to hear "Prophet" Miller's predictions concerning the end of the world at the Millennium, either preached by Miller himself or by one of his converts. Miller did not desire nor anticipate a separate denomination.[6] He hoped to avoid disturbing denominational structure. As it turned out, however, his teaching created several new sects of Adventist churches.

Miller never set a precise day for Christ's appearing, but predicted that the Return would be "about the year 1843." When the Expectation failed to materialize during the Jewish year from March 21, 1843 to March 21, 1844, one of the Millerite leaders, Samuel S. Snow, launched the "seventh-month movement." According to Snow's calculations, the Lord was to come on October 22, 1844, the calendar equivalent of the Jewish Day of Atonement for that year. Miller as well as his colleagues and followers gradually accepted this interpretation. The millennial fires burned brighter than ever during the late summer of 1844 only to be extinguished by the day of "the great disappointment."

Miller's chronology had differed but little from many other nineteenth century students of millennialism. His premillennialism was more dramatic, mainly because it was more exact. His preaching was especially effective because he was so positive and forceful in his certainty of Christ's personal coming for judgment at a definite time.

The opposition to Miller's premillennial doctrine increased as the appointed day for Christ's appearing drew near. Charges by the press that Millerism caused insanity and suicide became commonplace, and strange stories of Adventists making white ascension robes to wear while waiting in graveyards and housetops for the Second Advent were freely circulated. The question is, then, why would Miller's doctrine on the Second Advent bring so much opposition and ridicule if millennialism was an integral part of the American dream? There appears to have been little doubt in the minds of most Americans that the Millennium was coming. Miller therefore, must have held variant ideas about the nature of the expected Millennium. It is too easy to believe that Miller's disagreement with orthodox millennialists consisted of his emphasis on a <u>precise</u> time for the Advent. Actually, the chasm was much broader than that; his millenarian beliefs ran counter to at least two main currents in America's religious thought at that time.

The first was the belief in postmillennialism which was, without doubt, the prevailing millennialism of the day. Professor George Bush of New York University wrote to Miller that, "you have entirely mistaken the nature of the events which are to occur when those periods expire. . . ." The great event, Bush argued, was not to be a physical conflagration but a moral regeneration. The cleansing of the sanctuary (Daniel 8: 14) was not to be done with fire, but would be accomplished by a temporal millennium.[7] The Millerite leaders themselves realized that the main issue was not really the time factor, since many theologians accepted Miller's "millennial arithmetic," but the main problem was to refute the common charge against Miller that: "'You may be right in your dates, but you are mistaken in the event. You confuse the Millennium with the Judgment.'"[8]

But in addition to opposing the strong tide in favor of the postmillennial return of Christ, Miller was in conflict with the accepted form of premillennialism. Many premillennialists, perhaps a majority, agreed with postmillennialists that the Millennium would be "temporal," that is, one in which unregenerate mortals existed and in which there was still sin and repentance. The main difference between premillennial and the postmillennial positions

was the question of whether Christ would return before or after the Millennium, and whether it would be a spiritual or literal return.

According to both theories, however, there would be a probationary period for sinners after Christ's return, regardless of whether the Second Advent was spiritual or literal. Miller would not accept any belief in a temporal millennium.

Miller's millennium offered less hope for the sinner in the fact that it represented the beginning of an eternal reign for immortal saints. Christ was literally to come at the close of human probation before the Millennium. Judgment would be pronounced at that time, and sinners would have no second chance for repentance: ". . . I saw conclusive evidence to prove the advent personal and pre-millennial, that all the events which the church look to be fulfilled in the Millennium before the Advent, must be subsequent to it. . . "[9]

The earth's surface was to be cleansed with "fervent heat" at Christ's coming:

> After which . . . it is to become the new earth, wherein the righteous will forever dwell: that, at his coming, the bodies of all the righteous dead will be raised, and all the righteous living be changed from a corruptible to an incorruptible, from a mortal to an immortal state; that they. . . will reign with him forever in the regenerated earth: . . . that the bodies of the wicked will then all be destroyed, and their spirits be reserved in prison until their resurrection and damnation at the end of the thousand years. . . .[10]

One can easily see why Miller's belief in the Second Advent was unpopular in an age of material improvement and faith in progress and an age in which many churches were breaking the restraints of the Calvinistic tradition. Miller's doctrines were not in accord with the temper of the times. His teaching seemed pessimistic to the average American, and not a "blessed hope" at all. To most Americans, furthermore, Millerism did not appear very democratic. Miller soon discovered that his emphasis on a wrathful God, an imminent judgment day as a last chance for sinners, and salvation for the few was not at all popular with clergymen. He was probably right when he wrote to the Millerite editor, Joshua V. Himes after the failure of the predicted event that, "I then thought, and do now, that their denial was based more on an unwillingness for the Lord to come than on any arguments leading to such a conclusion."[11]

After the day of the great disappointment on October 22, 1844, a large portion of the Millerites returned to their former churches, but a hard core, including William Miller himself, could not believe that their interpretation of Biblical prophecy was wrong. During this "scattering time," a time of confusion among second-advent believers, some of the more devoted Millerites gathered at each others homes to study and restudy the scriptural promises. It

remained for Hiram Edson, a Millerite preacher from Port Gibson, New York, to supply the most satisfying answer to what happened on October 22: the cleansing of the sanctuary was not the purifying of the earth by fire at all; the sanctuary was not the earth, according to Edson, but was a "heavenly sanctuary" after which the Old Testament earthly sanctuary was patterned. The Old Testament sanctuary service consisted of two phases: the regular services day by day all year long, and the yearly service on the Day of Atonement. Miller had been right in his calculation but wrong on the event. On October 22, 1844, Christ had entered the heavenly holy of holies to begin the "investigative judgment" of sinners. In other words, according to this teaching by Edson, which was accepted by the later Seventh-day Adventists, the coming of Christ was merely postponed for a short period until the finishing of the mediatorial work of judgment in the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary. No one knew how long this work would last, but it would not take long. The "sanctuary service" was to become a distinctive teaching of Seventh-day Adventists.

The Advent doctrines of this group of "sanctuary Adventists" was never again to include date-setting. James White, prominent leader of the early Seventh-day Adventist movement, declared,"We are now emphatically in the waiting time, in the time of the 'patience of the saints'." He stated that the Advent message "does not hang on time. . .

[for] What we have witnessed, for more than six years past, of the sad results of setting different times, should teach us a lesson on this point."[12]

The other distinctive doctrine added by this group of Adventists to Miller's belief in the Second Advent, was the sanctity of the seventh-day Sabbath. This belief, however, had been gradually spreading among many of the Millerites even prior to October, 1844.[13] The Sabbatarian tenent of their belief was derived from several sources, but the Seventh Day Baptists, some of whom were Millerites, exerted a steady influence on the Second Adventist believers to keep the seventh day holy. Joseph Bates, the rugged ex-sea captain and Millerite lecturer from Fairhaven, Massachusetts, with James White and his wife Ellen, the pillars of the embryo Seventh-day Adventist Church, were all preaching and writing the "truth" of the seventh day Sabbath by 1846. The seventh day Sabbath, in fact, became coequal with Miller's original doctrine of the Second Advent. The "Sabbath message" was interpreted to be the last of the "three angel's messages" of Revelation 14: 6-11. The Millerites had proclaimed, this new group of seventh-day keepers believed, the first angel's message of the gospel to the world. When the churches shut their doors to this message, the second angel's message was given "to come out of her [the churches-"Babylon"] my people" since Babylon

had fallen. The Sabbath doctrines were interpreted to be the third angel's message, and those who did not accept this truth would receive the "mark of the beast."[14]

Miller's own view of the Millennium was changed somewhat by Seventh-day Adventists before their arrival in Michigan. By the time The Present Truth was established as a pioneer periodical primarily to promote Sabbatarian views, the Adventists had crystalized their beliefs concerning the Millennium. They differed from Miller basically on two points: that the redeemed were taken to heaven during the thousand years, and that the renewal of the earth occurred at the end of that period. They agreed with Miller that there was no second chance and that probation ended with Christ's Second Advent. George W. Holt, prominent Millerite and later Seventh-day Adventists, explained in the Review and Herald, the successor to The Present Truth, that the explanation of three specific days answered the question:

> THE DAY OF WRATH. This we believe to be in the future, proceeding the day of the Lord. . .In this day the seven vials of God's wrath will be poured out upon the wicked, which will cause the time of trouble such as never was, spoken of by Daniel the prophet.
>
> THE DAY OF THE LORD, OR DAY OF JUDGMENT. The length of this day is 1,000 years. It is introduced by the voice of God, the revelation of Jesus Christ, the binding of satan, and the final deliverence of all who are found written in the book of life. . . . Jesus, according to his promise, has come and taken his children away from this earth, to live and reign with him in the Holy City, New Jerusalem,

> while the earth, which has been tilled for 6,000 years, rests, lays desolate, and is left without an inhabitant.
>
> THE DAY OF ETERNITY. This day is introduced by the loosing of Satan [after the 1,000 years], the devil, the resurrection of the wicked, the Holy City, New Jerusalem descending from God out of heaven, and the final destruction of the wicked.[15]

Thus the Seventh-day Adventists deviated even farther than Miller from a belief in a temporal millennium. It also should be pointed out that from the Seventh-day Adventist standpoint, the Millennial Hope was definitely a heavenly hope. The Millennium was made synonymous with Heaven; since the saints were to leave with Christ for the Millennium and would not return to the earth until after the thousand years, the Second Advent was equated with Heaven itself.

The primary leadership for Michigan Seventh-day Adventism was provided by three prominent Millerites: James White, his wife Ellen Gould White, and Joseph Bates. Only twenty-one years of age in 1842 when he first heard William Miller lecture, James White set out to preach the Advent of Christ in his home state of Maine, and was ordained to the ministry in the Christian denomination the following year. After October, 1844, he retained his millennial beliefs, and, in fact, assumed a dominant leadership among the Second Adventist believers. In 1845 he met Ellen Harmon, a Millerite from Portland, Maine, and they were married the following year. After their marriage they

read a seventh day Sabbath pamphlet published by Joseph Bates, accepted the message as "new light" and attended the first conference held by seventh day Sabbath-keeping Adventists at Rocky Hill, Connecticut, in 1848. In the summer of 1849, the Whites published The Present Truth, a paper emphasizing their Sabbath and sanctuary position which was the forerunner to The Second Advent Review and The Sabbath Herald, the official Seventh-day Adventist denominational paper. During these years the couple edited their periodical for short periods successively at Oswego, New York; Paris, Maine; Saratoga Springs, New York; and Rochester, New York.

While James White played a vital role in the forming and organization of the new Seventh-day Adventist denomination, his wife Ellen was even more important to the church. Because of bad health in her youth,she had received no formal education after the age of nine. In December of 1844, when only seventeen, she received the first of her many visions which she claimed were direct messages from the Lord. The acceptance of Ellen White as the "Lord's Messenger" having the spirit of prophecy by Seventh-day Adventists soon placed her in a position which eclipsed that of her husband. Dozens of books and some 4,600 articles contributed to journals of the church poured from her pen during her long life to furnish guidance and reproof for the church, as well as for its individual members. To

understand Seventh-day Adventism, one must recognize this important position that Mrs. White held in their denomination. To Adventists, she was the Lord's chosen vessel to prepare and guide them--"the remnant church"--to the Millennial Kingdom.[16]

Joseph Bates, the third important founder of the church, more properly deserved to be called the father of Seventh-day Adventism in Michigan, than James and Ellen White. He left his home at Fairhaven, Massachusetts, at an early age for a life on the sea. During an adventurous career, he experienced shipwreck, imprisonment in the British Navy, and spent over two years as a prisoner during the War of 1812. By 1824, now captain of his own ship, he had become a thorough temperance advocate, giving up wine as well as "ardent spirits," and even discarding all tobacco, tea, and coffee. After returning from the sea in 1828, Captain Bates became active in temperance and antislavery reform movements at Fairhaven. He heard William Miller lecture in 1839, however, and henceforth devoted his energy to preaching the Second Advent. Bates had become convinced by 1845, that the seventh day of the week was the true Sabbath. After a trip to Michigan in 1849, a great share of his remaining years were spent proclaiming the Second Advent and the seventh-day Sabbath in this state.[17]

Even though the Millerite Movement centered in the eastern part of the United States, there was enough Millerite activity in Michigan to prepare a strong foundation for later Seventh-day Adventism. Charles Fitch, second only to Joshua V. Himes in importance among Miller's followers, was a former pastor of a Congregational Church in Boston and the leader of the Millerite effort in the West, who preached in Detroit on several occasions. From Ann Arbor, S. B. Noble, a Second Advent believer, wrote to Joshua V. Himes that Fitch had recently visited there. Noble added that "there are many who believe with me" at Ann Arbor, and that in other sections of the state "there are several lecturing and preaching on the subject."[18]

Miller himself claimed to have labored in Michigan, although available Millerite periodicals and Michigan papers contain no account of it. On an extensive tour during the summer of 1844, Miller had planned to go further west than Cincinnati, "but freshets in the rivers in those parts prevented."[19] But regardless of whether Miller even personally preached in Michigan or not, there is evidence to show that Millerite millennialism was readily accepted by many of the state's inhabitants.

As a matter of fact, most denominations in Michigan found that the preaching of the "soon coming" of Christ increased church attendance and intensified frontier revivals. There was less opposition to Millerism in

Michigan than in the East, where the movement centered. Elijah H. Pilcher, one of the pillars of the Methodist Church in Michigan, and a capable church historian, recorded the excitement from the Millerite doctrine at Adrian, in the winter of 1842-43, where John Baughman, the "father of Michigan Methodism," was active. "Multitudes flocked to the church for refuge at this time," Pilcher stated, and many were brought in because of Millerism, ". . . it was a deep and extensive revival, and resulted in much permanent good."[20] Likewise, the official Baptist periodical for Michigan, The Michigan Christian Herald, edited by Andrew Ten Brook,pastor of the Baptist Church at Detroit and later professor and librarian at the University of Michigan, defended his fellow Baptist, William Miller, in no uncertain terms. The editor wished "that writers upon this subject [Millerism] would either plant their batteries against Miller's stronghold and demolish his fortifications, or else forever cease their skirmished upon his outposts."[21] A year later, in 1843, Ten Brook agreed with Miller that there could be no temporal millennium, and he added, in regard to Miller's entire doctrine, "we need only say that we have not read, nor can we construct a refutation at all satisfactory. . . ." The best plan, the article read, was to be ready for Christ's coming.[22]

On the other hand, Millerism in Michigan was condemned by others as a fanatical movement, a cause of hysteria and even of suicide. George Washington Pray, a student at the University of Michigan, recorded in his diary:

> How devilish it is that such a doctrine should be propagated by the money making publishers of Miller papers. If the people will not be warned by the fate which they know awaits them [,] that is by Death, why will they heed this doctrine? One of our neighbors, a very worthy man, Mr. [Hiriam H.] Tooker [,] after having attended the Millerite Conference at Detroit [,] came home a monomaniac and has for a few days entirely neglected his business.[23]

Universalists condemned the Millerites for preaching a doctrine of "Partialism." After the Millerite "first disappointment" in the spring of 1844, Richard Thornton, the editor of the Universalist Primitive Expounder at Ann Arbor, wrote about the prevalence of Millerites in Michigan and that "their disappointment seems not to have totally crushed their spirits. . . ."[24] Two years later he noticed that the "recent excitement of Second Adventism" had in some measure subsided.[25] In that same issue of The Primitive Expounder, a subscriber from Oxford, Oakland Co., claimed there were several Adventists in the vicinity who had gone crazy because of Millerism.[26] At Jackson, where Millerism had been strong, an Adventist interrupted a Universalist meeting in 1847 by exhorting "the end of all things" and had to be forcibly ejected.[27] It is plain that Millerites were quite active in Michigan even after 1844.

The best source of knowledge for Adventist activity in Michigan is the Midnight Cry, the most important of the Millerite periodicals established to warn Americans of the Advent. The many letters printed from believers in Michigan demonstrate a substantial Millerite sentiment in the state. Moses Clark, a Baptist minister of Portland, Michigan, wrote that he was lecturing on the subject and that many people had accepted it.[28] A "Brother Drew" from Howell stated "There is scarcely a neighborhood in my acquaintance but there are some that believe in the advent nigh."[29] E. Wesbrook, China, St. Clair Co., claimed that even the Roman Catholics were turning out to listen to the lectures. And from the small village of Climax came a call from Daniel B. Eldred for Millerite lecturers. Eldred promised large crowds since "the people want to hear."[30]

Another Millerite pericdical, The Signs of the Times, contained a letter from S. Barnes, Owosso, Michigan, to Joshua V. Himes which sheds light on the movement. Barnes declared that he had been an ardent believer in the Second Advent for twenty-five years, but had never heard a lecture on the subject. After reading a Millerite tract "I had no further doubts to remove. Immediately I. . . went to sounding the Midnight Cry." Barnes claimed that he had given the warning to large audiences in sixteen settlements, some of which were at distances of over one hundred

miles.[31] Adventism in Michigan was an indigenous movement, with an existing millennial faith furnishing the basis for the entire movement. Millerism in Michigan, the evidence indicates, was an expression of existing beliefs, rather than a novel or bizarre movement.

Michigan Adventists received no direction to speak of during the years immediately following their disappointment of 1844. Joseph Bates, one of the original advocates of the seventh day Sabbath, and, with James White, the recognized co-founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, arrived in Michigan in 1849 on fire with a pioneering spirit to convert all Adventists to his seventh day "Sabbath truth." Bates, performing with the ambition and zeal of a Methodist circuit rider, would hang up his charts wherever he could secure a church, hall, or schoolhouse, preach the imminent Millennium and present his stand on the Sabbath question. Michigan Adventists seemed to welcome Bates with open arms. At Jackson, which had already been a focal point for Millerite Adventism, he converted the entire company of Adventist believers. J. C. Bowles, wrote to James White in August of 1849 that "the little band here [at Jackson] have received the truth on the Sabbath, without exception." From statements such as this James White believed that finally the "scattering time" had ended, the "gathering time" had come.[32] Three years later, on a tour in Michigan, Bates traveled to Battle Creek converting

Presbyterian David Hewitt and his family to form a nucleus for a church that would grow to be the heart of Seventh-day Adventism.

Pioneer itinerant preachers such as Bates, S. W. Rhodes, J. N. Loughborough, M. E. Cornell, J. B. Frisbie, and S. T. Cranson had by 1853 turned Michigan into one of the main Seventh-day Adventist strongholds. Letters published by the Review and Herald between 1849 and 1853 showed "bands" of Seventh-day Adventists at Jackson, Battle Creek, Bedford, Eagle Lake, Hastings, Grand Rapids, Lapeer, North Plains, Plymouth, Tyrone, Climax, Hartland, Locke, and Conway. Adventists had good reason to believe that "the cause of truth was prospering in Michigan" and "that God is at work in the West."[33] J. N. Loughborough, pioneer Seventh-day Adventist preacher, arrived at Locke, Michigan, to find over forty members. He baptized twenty-three on that single visit. In the vicinity of Franciscoville, the Adventists held a meeting at C.S. Glover's barn, in Sylvan, with over four hundred present. James and Ellen White themselves visited Michigan in 1853 and despite the fact that they found the church at Jackson in "great confusion," since some refused to accept Mrs. White as the Lord's messenger, they could later report that, "the truth had been taking strong hold in Michigan. . . ."[34]

Even though the Sabbath topic seemed to overshadow all else, primarily because the Sabbatarian Adventists were working among Millerites who must be given the "new light," the millennial impulse remained as strong as ever before. With the "heavenly sanctuary" explanation of what happened in October of 1844, and the addition of the seventh day Sabbath--the third angel's message--the Adventists set out to preach the gospel to every living being. John N. Andrews, a new minister who would in 1876 by becoming its first missionary, start the denomination into its successful foreign evangelism program, expressed the hope of all Adventists when he wrote from Jackson in 1851: "We hope for the things promised--the kingdom of God, the first resurrection, immortality, to reign with Christ a thousand years in triumph over the Beast and his image."[35] Likewise, James White, writing in The Present Truth, had not lost any of the Millerite expectancy of the Advent. White argued that it was now more important than ever to spread the truth quickly, since Christ could come at any time:

> I tremble at the word of the Lord, and the importance of this time. What is done to spread the truth must be done quickly. The four Angels are holding the angry nations in check but a few days, until the saints are sealed; the nations will rush, like the rushing of many waters. Then it will be too late to spread before precious souls, the present saving living truths of the Holy Bible.[36]

Adventists always had agreed on the "soon-coming" of Christ, but they could not always agree on the nature of the Kingdom. The most serious challenge the Seventh-day keepers met in the formative years of the church was a serious dispute within their ranks concerning the interpretation of the Millennium. The defection began at Jackson, Michigan, where some of the Adventists refused to accept the reproof Ellen White gave them. The dissenters, after establishing a paper entitled the Messenger of Truth, joined forces with another dissident group of non-Sabbatarian Adventists in Wisconsin who held an "Age-to-Come" theory, believed that Christ's Advent would bring a Millennial Kingdom in which probation would continue and the nations of the world would all be converted under the reign of Christ and the saints. This form of premillennialism was the same kind that had been used to oppose William Miller years before; some Second Adventists, despite Miller's teaching, had accepted it. James White opposed the doctrine in the pages of the Review and Herald and by 1858 the so-called "Messenger Party" was dead.[37]

Because of Joseph Bates' successful promotion of Seventh-day Adventism in Michigan, the Whites decided that the young state would be the best area in which to center their activities. In Michigan, in the heart of the nation, a people could be prepared to go out and preach

the Millennial Kingdom to the entire nation. In 1855 James White's health failed, over-burdened by his heavy responsibility as church editor and coordinator for the entire movement. He asked the church to take over the Review and Herald office, which he had personally founded at Rochester, New York, "establish it where they pleased" and manage it with a publishing committee. Michigan Adventists wanted the Review at Battle Creek. James White wrote that

> We are happy to say that the Brethren in Michigan have cheerfully taken upon themselves the responsibilities of the Review office. They will probably move it to that state this fall. Brethren in Vermont are willing and ready to do the same, but regard Michigan to be more the center of the future field of labor. . . .

To make this move to Battle Creek, a $1,200 fund for the purchase of ground and the erection of a publishing house building was provided by four influential Adventists in Michigan. Then in September, 1855, at a meeting held at Battle Creek, it was voted to move the Review and Herald, the official denominational periodical, there.[38]

With this move, Adventism gained great encouragement in Michigan. A little more than a year later James White estimated that the number of Sabbath-keepers in the State of Michigan had increased more than one-half since the Review office was moved to Battle Creek.[39] The town of Battle Creek, was destined from this small beginning to be the world headquarters for Seventh-day Adventists during the next half century.

A short time after the press was moved to Battle Creek, Mrs. White had a vision encouraging the Adventist exodus to Michigan from the East which no doubt strengthened the Michigan church:

> The Lord has shown me in vision. . . That God has been opening the way for the spread of present truth in the West. . . . The people of the East have heard the proclamation of the second coming of Christ, and have seen much of the display of the powers of God, and have fallen back into a state of indifference and security where it is almost impossible to reach them at present.[40]

The move proved to be a good one for the Whites, personally, since they found "sympathizing friends" in Michigan who assisted them in obtaining a lot and building a house at Battle Creek. And Seventh-day Adventism flourished in the West.[41]

Once the Review and Herald was established in Battle Creek, the church branched out into various areas of reform. The Seventh-day Adventist gospel must be preached to all nations and peoples. Michigan itself, of course, was the first objective of the proselyting Adventists. Tent and camp meetings were organized, salesmen were sent out to distribute the tons of literature printed by the Review and Herald Publishing House. Evangelistic efforts were held in many areas of Michigan and the church grew rapidly, partly though, because of the large influx of Adventists from the East. The Adventists were not content with just preaching the Advent and the Sabbath, however.

Their efforts ranged to reforms such as temperance and health, dress and education. As Mrs. White stated in 1857: "We should take hold of very reform with zeal, yet should avoid giving the impression that we are vacillating and subject to fanaticism.[42]

Michigan Seventh-day Adventists, in fact, were probably as reform minded as any other church group in America. Each one of their reforms, it is also obvious, was instigated to prepare a chosen people to finish the work of taking the Seventh-day Adventist message to all the world. The "truth" must be proclaimed, laborers were few, and the Millennium was near. Adventists had a special work to do, they were positive, with a direct commission from Christ through His messenger, Ellen G. White. According to Mrs. White,

> Before the flood, God sent Noah to warn the world, that the people might be led to repentance, and thus escape the threatened destruction. As the time of Christ's appearing draws near, the Lord sends his servants with a warning to the world to prepare for the great event.[43]

Adventists have been noted not only for doctrines of the seventh day Sabbath and the Second Advent of Christ but also for their emphasis on diet, health, and medical programs. The background for these programs, however, was to a great extent millennialistically oriented. Some of the Millerite leaders had been health and temperance advocates, Joseph Bates and James White in particular,[44]

but the preaching of the Second Advent and the nearness of the event, subordinated health reform until after October, 1844. Once the church settled at Battle Creek organized, and solidified their doctrines through the inspiration of Mrs. White, the health and temperance reforms were increasingly stressed. The Adventist health programs, even to the building of the nationally known Battle Creek Sanitarium, were sponsored to prepare God's people to inherit the Kingdom. Mrs. White, the leading spokesman for the church, repeatedly made the connection in her writings:

> In the preparation for the Lord's second Coming, a great work is to be accomplished through the promulgation of health principles. . . The people should be taught that transgression of the laws of nature is transgression of the laws of God.

"We are, she continued, "to labor both for the health of the body and for the saving of the soul."[45] She, as the Lord's messenger, warned the people on the subject of temperance that:

> God's people are to learn the meaning of temperance in all things. They are to practice temperance in eating and drinking and dressing. All self-indulgence is to be cut away from their lives. Before they can really understand the meaning of true sanctification and of conformity to the will of Christ, they must, by cooperating with God, obtain the mastery over wrong habits and practices.[46]

Health reform, she always advised, was one of the "great branches of the work of preparation for the Coming of the Son of Man." Temperance and health reforms were to be

woven in the Adventist message "to turn the people of God from their idolatry, their gluttony, and their extravagence in dress and other things." The church members were taught to believe that their bodies were not their own, since "God has claims upon us to take care of the habitation he has given us, that we may present our bodies to Him a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable."[47] Health principles, it is evident, were important in the Adventist striving for millennial perfection.

The same millennial preparation is true of the Adventist endeavor along publishing and educational lines. Publications were "to prepare a people to meet God" and to give warning "to those who are standing on the very brink of ruin." The leaders who operated Adventist publishing institutions were to be held accountable for the souls of their fellow men. In the field of education, Mrs. White put her visions for the Adventist's school system into book form with a volume entitled Education. She left little doubt about the ultimate goal for the student. In Seventh-day Adventist schools students would learn "the principles of His Kingdom and becoming its subjects and citizens" and "be prepared at His coming to enter with Him into its posssession." The life on this earth was only a beginning, only an "invitation into the principles of heaven; the life work here is a training for the life work there." The entire Adventist educational system, from

beginning through college, was to prepare "the student for the joy of service in this world, and for the higher joy of wider service in the world to come." The church's educational institutions, as well as the publishing houses and health institutions were "instrumentalities of God to . . . cooperate in . . . the work of warning the inhabitants of the world that Christ is coming the second time with power and great glory."[48]

The decisively important factor in Adventist success was their belief in Christ's imminent coming. Church members worked in a breathless haste to give their message of salvation to mankind before probation closed. Jane Ginley, a Michigan Adventist addressing a letter to her "brethren and sisters" in the Review in 1857, typifies the Adventist spirit of total involvement in giving and building to prepare for the Lord's return:

> I know that Jesus is soon coming, but I must have a realizing sense of this fact; for I feel that every act of mine ought to be in reference to this one thing, and it seems strange how any one that believes in the soon coming of Christ, can hold on to their possessions, be so careful about a little of this world's goods and so fearful they shall do more than their part.[49]

In this convert's mind, as well as in every Adventist believer's, was the conviction that one's own acts could hasten or retard the Second Advent. Every Adventist was taught from childhood that he could hasten the Lord's return by proclaiming the Adventist message and giving liberally to the church to aid in that purpose.

Mrs. White, writing in the Review nearly a half century later, stated that if the church had done its duty in past years, "Christ would have come, and the saints would have received their welcome into the City of God."[50] From the time of the establishment of the church in Battle Creek,she feared a "falling away" from the original millennial fervor of the founding fathers. Since time had apparently been extended, she noted, many were becoming careless and indifferent. The Second Coming had become to many a familiar tale: "'My Lord delayeth His Coming' is not only said in the heart, but expressed in words and most decidedly in works." She warned time after time that worldly concerns were increasingly absorbing the church member's interests, and that little was being said of Christ's coming which was once the theme of all thought and conversation. Until her death in 1915, she kept the Kingdom of God and its imminence in the forefront of every writing. She made it clear that Seventh-day Adventists' responsibility was to declare the end of time: "The return of Christ to our world will not be long delayed. Let this be the keynote of every message." Believers were to "sound an alarm through the length and breadth of the earth. Tell the people that the day of the Lord is near and hasteneth greatly. Let none be unwarned." Christ's return, then, was the impelling millennial motivation, the strongest force behind all Adventist activity.[51]

With the formation of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists at Battle Creek on May 20-23, 1863, comprising a constituency of 125 churches and 3,500 members, the denomination was firmly established. In Michigan, Seventh-day Adventists built the foundations for a health and missionary program which would eventually take their gospel to peoples of 928 languages and dialects. At the turn of the century, however, the occurrence of several disasterous fires at Battle Creek was interpreted as divine disfavor upon the tendency of church members to congregate at Battle Creek instead of taking their message to all the world, and the denominational headquarters was moved to the nation's capitol. Out of a total church membership of more than one and a half million today, only 18,230 Seventh-day Adventists reside in Michigan.[52]

FOOTNOTES

1. Gerald Carson, Cornflake Crusade (London, 1959), p. 5.

2. Ibid., p. 10.

3. Sylvester Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller (Boston, 1852), pp. 68-69.

4. "And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."

5. Ibid.,pp. 73-76, 92; for accounts of Millerism see Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry: A Defense of the Character and Conduct of William Miller and the Millerites, Who Mistakenly Believed That the Second Coming of Christ Would Take Place in the Year 1844 (Washington, D.C., 1944); Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1950), Chapters 17-20.

6. From Miller's "Apology and Defense" in Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, pp. 361-362.

7. Quoted in James White, Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller, (Battle Creek, 1875), pp. 9-10; Nichol, Midnight Cry, pp. 445-449.

8. The Midnight Cry, December 1, 1842.

9. Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, p. 74.

10. Ibid., pp. 72,73.

11. Ibid., p. 256.

12. The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, August 19, 1851.

13. See the Midnight Cry, September 5, 12, 1844.

14. Seventh-day Adventists today teach the angels' messages as a threefold unit. They would preach the gospel to all, and encourage individuals to come out of sin, confusion, and false systems. They teach that the Ten Commandments are still in effect; the keeping of God's law, which includes the seventh day Sabbath, is a final test for God's people.

15. Review and Herald, March 23, 1852; see also November 15, 1853 and July 24, 1856; Ellen G. White, Early Writings (Washington, D.C., 1882), pp. 289-291, The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan (Mountain View, California, 1888), pp. 653-661; Adventist Leaders, Bible teachers,and Editors, Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine (Washington, D.C., 1957), pp. 489-508.

16. For the story of James and Ellen White see James and Ellen White, Life Sketches (Battle Creek, 1880); James White, Life Incidents (Battle Creek, 1868); Ellen G. White, Early Writings; also articles in Don F. Newfeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia (Washington, D.C., 1966).

17. See Joseph Bates, The Autobiography of Joseph Bates (Battle Creek, 1868); James White, The Early Life and Later Experience and Labors of Elder Joseph Bates (Battle Creek, 1877).

18. Signs of the Times, April 12, 1843.

19. Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, pp. 264, 327.

20. Elijah H. Pilcher, Protestantism in Michigan (Detroit, 1878), pp. 303, 304.

21. Michigan Christian Herald, December, 1842.

22. Ibid., March 27, 1843; May 8, 1843.

23. George Washington Pray Diary in Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan.

24. The Primitive Expounder, February 17, 1844.

25. Ibid., May 21, 1846.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., March 11, 1847; see also the January 22, 1852 issue for J. H. Sanford's review and refutation of E. R. Pinney's (a Baptist-Millerite minister from New York) work on the Second Advent.

28. Midnight Cry, March 24, 1843.

29. Ibid., February 8, 1844.

30. Ibid., April 18, 1844.

31. The Signs of the Times, May 21, 1843.

32. In The Present Truth, September, 1849.

33. Review and Herald, September 2, 1851; February 3, March 2, July 22, September 2, 16, October 28, November 25, 1852; January 6, 20, February 3, 17, March 3, 1853; for an account of Bates in Michigan see Arthur W. Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, I, (Washington, D.C., 1961), pp. 251-256.

34. Review and Herald, June 9, July 7, 1853; James and Ellen White, Life Sketches, p. 302; James White, Life Incidents, p. 297.

35. In Review and Herald, December 9, 1851.

36. The Present Truth, July, 1849.

37. Seventh-day Adventist Encylcopedia, p. 770; Review and Herald, January 14, 1858.

38. Review and Herald, September 4, October 2, 16; White, Life Sketches, p. 317; White, Life Incidents, p. 297.

39. Review and Herald, April 16, 1857.

40. Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church (Mountain View, California, 1948), pp. 146-147.

41. James and Ellen White, Life Sketches, pp. 313-317.

42. Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church, I, (Mountain View, California, 1948), p. 559.

43. Ellen G. White, Patriarchs and Prophets (Mountain View, California, 1890), p. 102; also Testimonies for the Church, VII (Mountain View, California, 1948), p. 107.

44. See the Review and Herald, May 1, 8, 1856; Joseph Bates, The Autobiography of Joseph Bates (Battle Creek, 1868), pp. 206-207, 230, 262.

45. Ellen G. White, Counsels on Health and Instruction to Medical Missionary Workers (Mountain View, California, 1923), p. 206; Testimonies for the Church, VI, pp. 224, 225.

46. Ellen G. White, Medical Ministry (Mountain View, California, 1932), p. 275.

47. Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church, III, pp. 61, 62, 63.

48. Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church, VI, p. 18; VII, 139-141; Education (Mountain View, California, 1903), pp. 13, 17, 184, 307.

49. In the Review and Herald, December 17, 1857.

50. Review and Herald, December 24, 1903; Testimonies for the Church, VIII, p. 22; IX, p. 58.

51. Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church, II, pp. 195, 196, 198; III, p. 255; IV, p. 306; V, pp. 9, 11-12, 387; VI, pp. 18, 22, 406, 436.

52. 1965-1966 Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination (Washington, D.C.), p. 4.

CHAPTER VI

TEMPERANCE AND ANTISLAVERY REFORMS

The attacks upon the "twin evils" of slavery and intemperance gained great strength from the millennial spirit which typified pre-Civil War American idealism. The sense of mission and the belief in a divine progress toward perfection spurred men on to usher in the era of peace, happiness, and righteousness. Christians believed that God required their cooperation to eradicate the evils of society and thereby prepare the way for the Lord. The Lord would come, they were sure, only when man had done his part in the purification process. After the great evils of society had been destroyed, or at least reduced to a minimum, Christ's triumph would be assured and He would pour out His spirit upon a civilized, enlightened and sanctified world. Christians would then enter into their millennial joy. The spread of Protestantism through the success of missionary, tract, and Bible societies, the emphasis on reforms pertaining to education, insane asylums, prisons, and women's rights were all considered signs of the Spirit working through men, while the two glaring evils of the day, intemperance and slavery, drew the greatest concentration of fire from the reformers.

Christian millenarians and the advocates of the idea of progress joined forces in reform and attack on evil. The optimism of the age,so clearly manifested through an expanding frontier, a rapidly increasing population, and the development of an industrial system, provided an impetus for an already inherent American faith in progress. A rising nationalism complemented material progress to make Jacksonians confident that the American mission was to build a perfect society. Among religious bodies,manifestation of progress and improvement, evident on every side, was accepted as the special sanction of Providence. The idea of progress, as Arthur Ekirch notes, was sufficiently vague in its meaning to be used to justify even contradictory tendencies of the age. In secular and religious circles, as never before in the nation's history, leaders were agreed that both the individual and society could be perfected in America. Whether speaking of the Biblical Millennium or the secular idea of a future American Utopia, fundamentally the impulse was the same.[1]

Among national religious leaders, Lyman Beecher and Charles Grandison Finney, two of the strongest millenarian reformers of the era, were powerful influences in Michigan. Beecher's influence on Michigan can be traced back to his views on temperance reform in 1825. He was later influential in his position as President of Lane Seminary at Cincinnati, Ohio, together with his lecturing in Detroit. But great

as Beecher's influence was on Michigan reform movements, Charles G. Finney's was greater. Even though Michigan has been called the "third New England,"[2] it should not be forgotten that New York was the "second New England" where Finney produced the greatest revival of the first half of the nineteenth century. A large proportion of the emigrants to Michigan Territory, which was rapidly being settled after 1825, came the Buffalo-Detroit water route from western New York. Even as late as the Civil War nearly 200,000 of Michigan's 749,213 inhabitants claimed New York as their native state.[3] Without doubt, many of these migrating Yankee-Yorkers had attended the Finney revivals in the Genessee Country of western New York. Although Finney himself was never a radical abolitionist he accepted the presidency to Oberlin College in 1835 which already included among its students the abolitionist "rebels" from Lyman Beecher's Lane Seminary at Cincinnati. Oberlin quickly became the abolitionist stronghold of the West, training antislavery agents for work in Michigan as well as elsewhere in the West.[4]

In spite of the fact that Finney always tried to persuade the reformers to subordinate abolitionism and temperance reform to revivalism, he more than any other single person inspired the "ultraistic" movements of the era by avidly pronouncing slavery and intemperance as sins. Finney attempted to draw all aspects of human behavior within the province of Christianity. In his Rochester

revival in 1830-31, he pronounced alcoholic beverages as sin which only conversion would cure. "The man's hands are RED WITH BLOOD," exclaimed Finney in 1835, "who stands aloof from the temperance cause." Slavery likewise was condemned as sin:

> Christians can no more take neutral ground on this subject. . . than they can take neutral ground on the subject of the sanctification of the Sabbath. It is a national sin. It is a sin of the church. . . I repeat, it is the sin of the church, to which all denominations have been more or less guilty. . . .[5]

He then went ahead to suggest what must be done in moral reform. The church had been negligent in promoting the Gospel and abolishing evil: "We ought to have done ten times as much as we have for missions, Bibles, education, tracts, free churches, and in all the ways designed to promote religion and save souls." If the whole church as a body had gone to work ten years ago, he stated, the world would have been converted and "The millennium would have fully come in the United States before this day." In his enthusiasm he finally decided that if "the church will do all her duty, the millennium may come in this country in three years."[6] The indictment of slavery and intemperance as sins, combined with a fervent millennial hope supporting its abolition, formed a powerful motivation for reform in Michigan. The reformers would find here rich ground for their crusades, since the sinfulness of slavery and intemperance must have been already accepted by many of the inhabitants.

In the temperance field the crusade for total abstinence began with Lyman Beecher's six sermons preached before the Litchfield, Connecticut, congregation in the autumn of 1825. In these sermons, published the following year for general circulation, Beecher stated that the daily use of "ardent spirits, in any form, or in any degree, is intemperance." Nothing less would suffice for the Millennial Kingdom than total abstinence:

> Everything needful to the perfect state of society can exist without it [ardent spirits]; and with it, such a state of society can never be attained. It retards the accomplishment of that prophecy of scripture which foretells the time when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, and violence and fraud shall cease.[7]

Beecher's appeal led to the formation of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance in 1826.[8] Justin Edwards, pastor of the Park Street Church, Boston, was the organizing spirit in the movement. Edwards preached that the Kingdom of God on earth was the ultimate end of the temperance movement. His Temperance Manual, a small catechism on temperance reform published by the American Tract Society, stated that all must repent and be converted from the sin of drinking "because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness."[9]

By 1830, the pattern and precedent had been set. The Home Missionaries would take the gospel of temperance to the West as part of their regular duties. The temperance reformer would now share the enthusiasm for progress

and perfectionism hitherto enjoyed by the evangelical revivalists, knowing that he was destroying sin and helping to restore a primitive edenic Christianity. The editor of the Temperance Recorder decided as early as 1832 that no one could look at the progress being made without the "conviction that this very cause is at once the harbinger of the millennium and destined to one of the most efficient means of its introduction.[10] Not only was the temperance movement a harbinger of the Millennium; it was itself considered the work of the Holy Spirit.

Gerrit Smith, a leading abolitionist and temperance reformer, wrote that "Well has the Temperance Reformation been called the John the Baptist of the Gospel." The American Temperance Society's literature made frequent references to the work of the Holy Spirit in preparation for "both worlds" and the time "when the will of God shall be done on earth as it is in heaven."[11] One of the most popular of all the temperance writers in the national movement, Lucius M. Sargent, described the future Kingdom in glowing words:

> The baser passions in men's nature. . . shall come under the government of reason; man shall regain the dominion over himself; religion shall resume her station in the soul. . . . the bitter waters. . . shall be dried up at their fountain heads. The sun shall shine with a brighter splendor; and the broad midway moon. . . shall diffuse her milder light over a temperate world.[12]

The hope for a purified America where temperance reigned was not lost track of in the conflicts over methods

of building the perfect society, such as the disagreements among reformers over whether to preach temperance or total abstinence; or whether to sponsor licensing or prohibition legislation. Neither the increasing pre-occupation with antislavery activity nor even the Civil War permanently stopped the movement. The impulse ebbed and flowed always with the expectation that Christ's spiritiaul return depended upon the removal of this great evil of American society. After the war the reformers once again set out to:

> Cast, cast the stumbling block away
> O'er which unnumbered thousands fall;
> Then, soon will dawn the better day,
> When Christ our king shall reign o'er all.
> Your flags inscribe with this device---
> We'll make the world a paradise.[13]

The temperance movement in Michigan kept pace with the national movement. The emphasis until mid-century was upon "moral suasion" and pledge-signing, with a certain amount of regulation from licensing laws dating back to early territorial days. Although many local societies had been formed earlier to promote temperance, the Michigan Temperance Society was not organized until 1833. When the societies found that temperance in the sense of moderation was not effective they turned toward abstinence from "ardent spirits," and finally to total abstinence from "all that intoxicates." In 1845, the granting of licenses was placed under popular control at either township or charter elections, but this regulating system was considered a

failure. The new state constitution of 1850 abolished entirely the license system. Three years later the Michigan legislature enacted the state's first prohibition law, which was to be submitted to the people for popular approval. Despite the fact the approval was given by substantial majority, the Michigan supreme court declared the law and the process of popular approval to be faulty. A new prohibition statute was passed by the Republicans in 1855, yet it was never enforced and was openly violated.[14]

Michigan furnished at least one national figure to the temperance movement, besides numerous local reformers known only with the state. General Lewis Cass helped organize the Congressional Temperance Society in 1833, and was chosen its first president. One year earlier as Secretary of War, Cass had abolished the grog ration in the army.[15] Of the local reformers, George Duffield, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, was probably the most influential, but the most sensational was Augustus Littlejohn of Allegan, who lectured during the Washingtonian Crusade, the great national reform begun by six "reformed inebriates" at Chase's Tavern in Baltimore in April 2, 1840. One witness from Kalamazoo, where Littlejohn was lecturing in 1844, claimed that he had never seen the city "so much excited on any subject, nor took so deep an interest in any reform before or since. . . ."[16] In addition to the work of Duffield and Littlejohn, all of the

Home Missionary workers and the majority of the antislavery leaders were avid temperance men.[17]

The stress on temperance reform in Michigan, as elsewhere, was considered a vital part of the great moral reform to hasten the Kingdom of God on earth. Temperance reform was blended with revivalism to the extent that signing the pledge was considered necessary for religious conversion. George Duffield believed, with many others, that prohibition must be achieved to hasten the Millennium. All were guilty and shared in the sin of intemperance, he asserted, if they remained "inactive, unconcerned spectators of the great moral movements destined to 'prepare the way of the Lord.'"[18] The pastor of the First Congregational Church of Detroit, H. D. Kitchel, could see God's will working through temperance reformation for a future golden age. In a Fourth of July oration before the Sons of Temperance Society in 1849, he told his listeners that:

> It is this God has our race under tuition, in process of development and cultivation. . . .this world's history. . . is a record of great moral experiments, in which the race has been all along testing the good and evil, and making proof of principles. And the results of these experiments go upon record and are for use in after ages in this world, if men be wise, and for use in other worlds where they will be wise.[19]

Two years previously, a Michigan writer covering the national parade of the Sons of Temperance at Philadelphia had declared that never had the world witnessed such a scene "since the days of Jesus of Nazareth." It was, he continued:

> A precursor of a brighter and more glorious day than they had heretofore seen--a day of millennial grace--a day in which the light shall break in upon the hearts of all the children of men with its great and subduing brightness--a brightness that would never come while a distillery or grog ship was allowed in a civilized and moral community.[20]

In the same vein, Lyman Beecher, speaking before the Temperance Society in Detroit, warned that:

> The millenium [sic] could never come while such an evil was in the world, and one of the signs God yet intends to redeem the world, is that the destruction of this very greatest evil that opposes the progress of the gospel has already commenced.

This final destruction of the evil, decided Beecher, would only come when the inhabitants of Michigan elected legislators who would pass laws against it.[21]

The best example of the millennial impulse behind temperance reform in Michigan is found relatively early in the movement. The January, 1842 issue of the Michigan Temperance Advocate, published at Marshall, Michigan, contained an article entitled "The Temperance Reform a Harbinger of the Millenium [sic] "which clearly set forth the millennial philosophy of the temperance reformers. The article stated that the church had for many years watched the signs of the times "to see if there were any thing that betokened the dawn of millen[n]ial glory" yet only a few streaks of light had been observed. But now it was not enthusiasm to imagine "that we are standing at this moment on the margin of the latter day glory; and that the church will soon strike up. . . her song of millennial joy." One had but

to notice the progress of the temperance cause to be fully convinced "that this cause is at once a harbinger of the millen[n]ium, and destined to be one of the most efficient means of its introduction." The writer then proceeded to describe the millennial society which would be established after intemperance was abolished from the land.

> Take out of the world all the misery of which intemperance is either directly or indirectly the cause, and the change would be so great that for a moment you would almost forget that the earth was still in any degree laboring under the original curse. Take away all the vice and the crime with which intemperance is identified or connected, and it would almost seem as if the "holy Jerusalem had descended out of heaven" to dwell with men. Limit your views to a single neighborhood or a single city, and suppose intemperance to be entirely banished, and imagine the greatness of the change; and then extend your views all over this great nation, and this wide world, and in each case suppose the temperance reformation to have become universal, and to have done its perfect work, and say whether its direct influence in bringing forward the millen[n]ium does not far exceed your most vivid conceptions.

The writer appealed to all Christians to pray for the Millennial Day and to act consistent with those prayers "lending your influence to help forward this glorious cause of moral improvement, which <u>must</u> prevail ere the millen[n]ium shall fully come." A pointed warning was given to those involved in making or selling the "poison." Those so engaged, concluded the article, should "Never open your lips then to pray for the millen[n]ium. If the millen[n]ium should really come, it would ruin your business forever!"[22]

As in the national movement, the hope of attaining millennial bliss through temperance reform continued strongly until the years just prior to the Civil War, when the anti-slavery movement overshadowed all other reforms. The Civil War itself proved to be a hindrance to the work in temperance reform. After the war, however, reformers once again turned their attention toward the evils of drink. "Now is a propitious time," declared Barton S. Taylor, a Methodist preacher from the Detroit Conference and a former anti-slavery leader, in a speech to the Order of the Good Templar's at Saginaw in 1866. "The war is over and we can turn our thoughts to things at home." Christians must engage in a new battle to "lessen the evils of intemperance. . . until the dawn of the millenium [sic]."[23]

In the context of these millennial hopes, the temperance and antislavery movements were intimately associated. Barton Taylor from Detroit, Erastus Hussey of Battle Creek, or Nathan Power of Farmington, to mention only three, could as easily lecture on temperance as on the abolition of slavery. The two crusades were seen as part of one effort to achieve this perfect society. Nathan Power, a well-known figure in Michigan antislavery circles, emphasized this point in the Signal of Liberty, December 15, 1841. Abolitionists had to be temperance men, according to Power:

> We make no dependence here on a man professing abolition unless he is a temperance man. . . The Temperance road is the great highway on which the holy cause of emancipation must travel. . . since slavery can never be abolished until drunkeness shall cease. . . .

A few months later Power strengthened this statement by declaring that, "I view the temperance enterprise allied to the cause of emancipation of the slave as the coming of John the Baptist to the Gospel dispensation."[24]

The millennial spirit manifested itself as clearly in the antislavery reform movement as in temperance. Many of the great national antislavery leaders were emphatically millenarian. Such prominent abolitionists as William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Dwight Weld, Lewis and Arthur Tappan, Angelina and Sarah Grimke, and Wendell Phillips espoused millenarian doctrines in their attempts to renovate American society. Garrison declared in The Liberator of December 15, 1837, that the object of the abolition was to usher in the Kingdom of God on earth. "We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world," he exclaimed, ". . . which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms." Theodore D. Weld also was an avowed millennialist. Of the two Quaker Grimke sisters, Angelina, who married Weld, was drawn to Millerism for a time. Wendell Phillips and the Tappan brothers were likewise absorbed in hastening the arrival of the Kingdom of Heaven to American society.[25]

A testimony to the millenarian designs of northern abolitionists was supplied by the southern defenders of slavery. James H. Hammond from South Carolina wrote to the abolitionists in January of 1845:

> I might say that I am no more in favor of slavery in the abstract, than I am of poverty, disease, deformity, idiocy, or any other inequality in the condition of the human family; that I love perfection, and think I should enjoy a millennium such as God has promised. But what would it amount to? A pledge that I would join you to set about eradicating those apparently inevitable evils of our nature, in equalizing the condition of all mankind, consummating the perfection of our race, and introducing the millennium?

The Millennium, concluded Hammond, was to be brought about by "the Almighty" and not by man. Man's past history, he stated, showed how futile human efforts were to accomplish God's purposes and how the Almighty had always carried out his designs by "unconscious instruments."[26]

George Fitzhugh, perhaps the most perceptive of all the spokesmen for the southern social order, who also had travelled in the north and talked freely with the anti-slavery leaders, could see that millenarian and Utopian ideas were the taproot of abolitionism endeavor. He could see that this millennial drive threatened not merely the institution of slavery, but all existing law and order. The abolitionists, to Fitzhugh, were neurotics obsessed with a millennialism and perfectionism which would destroy any institution not perfect. He could see that William Goodell, the New York abolitionist, philosopher, and newspaper editor, believed "the condition of his society is so

bad, that it becomes necessary to upset and reverse it by the millennium." The abolitionist Gerrit Smith also seemed "to look to an approaching millennium." The philosophers and philanthropists from the north, wrote Fitzhugh, had been "roaring" for years that the whole edifice of society is rotten, dangerous, and no longer fit for human dwelling. And now, he continued, the rats are headed, "into every hole that promises shelter"--some join the Rappists, Shakers, Fourierite Phalansteries, Spiritualists or "quietly put on their ascension robes to accompany Parson Miller in his upward flight." But the greater numbers, Fitzhugh decided, have waited for "Mr. Garrison and Mr. Goodell to inaugurate their Millennium." The antislavery Liberty Party was made of two groups, he wrote; the Millennial Christians "who expect Christ, either in the flesh or in the spirit, soon to reign on earth" and the "infidel" Social Scientists who follow the schools of Owen, Blanc, Fourier, and Comte. But "Infidel" or Christian abolitionism made little difference since they both

> betray a similar tendency. The Abolitionists of New York, headed by Gerritt Smith and Wm. Goodell, are engaged in precisely the same projects as the "infidels," but being Christians would dignify Free Love and No-Government with the appellation of Millennium. Probably half the Abolitionists at the North expect a social revolution to occur by the advent of the Millennium.[27]

George Fitzhugh and James Hammond were correct; the abolitionist's desire to hasten the Millennium and set up the Kingdom of God was a strong factor in the antislavery impulse.

The antislavery movement in Michigan got off to an early start compared to many other western states. A group of Pennsylvania Quakers, including Elizabeth Margaret Chandler who had worked closely with Benjamin Lundy in editing an early abolitionist newspaper, The Genius of Universal Emancipation, arrived at Tecumseh, Michigan, on the Raisin River in 1830. Under her leadership, the first antislavery society was founded the next year, the "Logan Female Anti-Slavery Society." Although Elizabeth Chandler died in 1834, Weld's agents from Oberlin College later found Lenawee County, Michigan, a virtual hot-bed of abolitionism. Benjamin Lundy, the great Quaker abolitionist, had visited the settlement in 1832, and Garrison's Liberator was extremely popular with the Quakers at Tecumseh. They had received his paper from its inception and corresponded regularly with Garrison.[28]

By the fall of 1836, when the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society was organized, the antislavery movement in Michigan was well underway. It was not until 1839, however, when the American Freeman was established as one of the first of the abolitionist periodicals in the western states, that Michigan received national recognition as a leader in the antislavery movement. The Freeman

was published at Jackson, Michigan, during 1830-1840 as the American Freeman and the Michigan Freeman and then was merged with the Signal of Liberty at Ann Arbor in 1841. The Signal of Liberty was the official organ of the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society. Seymour B. Treadwell, agent of the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society, and Theodore Foster from Scio, Michigan, editors of the Signal, were leaders in Michigan abolitionism. Guy Beckley, Methodist minister from Ann Arbor who was instrumental in founding the Michigan Wesleyan Methodist Church, also served as associate editor of the paper for several years. Ultra abolition, as well as abolition by political action, centered at Ann Arbor in the nucleus formed by these zealous editors. Other leaders included Nathan Thomas, a practicing physician from Schoolcraft, Michigan, who was in charge of the Underground Railroad station located there; Nathan Power, the Quaker school teacher from Farmington, Michigan, and one of the founders of the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society; Erastus Hussey from Battle Creek, the temperance and antislavery lecturer who was known for his work in Underground Railroad; and Jabez S. Fitch, a leading merchant of Marshall, Michigan, who was to run as gubernatorial candidate on the Liberty ticket in 1842. Most important to the leadership of the antislavery movement in Michigan, however, was James G. Birney, the Liberty Party presidential candidate, who settled in Saginaw in 1841.

Birney's presence necessarily drew national attention to Michigan, and to the Signal of Liberty, since this abolitionist paper then became a Liberty Party organ.[29]

The early antislavery reform in Michigan, as in the national movement, was based upon the desire to build a paradise on earth. The Report of the Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery State Convention held at Ann Arbor included letters from leading abolitionists from the East, urging their Michigan comrades on to the Millennial Kingdom. Alvan Stewart, the abolitionist lawyer from Utica, New York, and a leading figure in organizing the Liberty Party, reminded the convention delegates that:

> The battle will be like the battle of Gog and Magog--but we shall conquer! Fear not brethren; go forward and fight valiantly; and you shall not lose your reward in that day when the oppressor will pray for the rocks and mountains to fall on him from the face of the Lamb![30]

William Goodell, in a long letter prepared to be read to the Convention, set forth the perfect society that the newly organized Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society would help to achieve. He stated that the formation of the Michigan Society was proof "that there was a Spirit moving upon the mighty waters--a Spirit that had decreed 'Let there be Light!'" Furthermore, he wrote, "the Church of Jesus Christ will be trained to enter upon the triumphs of her millennial emancipation."[31] That the Michigan leaders accepted this millennial responsibility is evident from a letter written a few years later to Seymour Treadwell, editor of

the Michigan Freeman, by Jabez S. Fitch, one of the most important abolitionists in the state. He praised editor Treadwell for having endured so many "fiery trials" as the head of the Freeman. Fitch assured Treadwell that the Lord would sustain them in the righteous cause. But Treadwell must

> Continue to hold up truth, and it will prevail, and we shall triumph. The edict had gone forth that the great battle between Gog and Magog must be fought, before the Millennium can be ushered in and the troops under God are beginning to enlist. . . .[32]

In November of 1841 James Gillespie Birney, the former Kentucky slave-owner, arrived at Saginaw "almost out of the peopled world," where he could "live cheap and where I can put my boys to doing something to support themselves."[33] A few months later he purchased land in lower Saginaw (now Bay City) where he lived for the greater part of his remaining years. The move to Michigan did not, however, reduce Birney's antislavery and Liberty Party activities, since he kept busy lecturing in Michigan and often writing for the Signal of Liberty.

In 1834 Birney had written to the Elders of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky that the effects of slavery are "to exclude the knowledge of God and Christ, as well as of the necessity of any preparation for the world to come. . . " He realized, the letter continued, that he was not writing to "cavillers" but to those "who are willing to do whatever may hasten his glorious reign on earth,

and add to their own weight of glory in heaven."[34] Beriah Green, President of Oneida Institute of New York and former teacher at Western Reserve College in Ohio, recognized this millennialism of his subject in his short campaign biography of Birney published in 1844. No people could be "prosperous or happy. . . ," Green quoted from Birney's letters, "who deny His right to reign on earth among men."[35]

In his hope for the Kingdom, Birney sometimes despaired of both his country and government. Perhaps both would be destroyed. Seth M. Gates, a friend of Birney's in Congress and an abolitionist who had had a price placed on his head of $500 by one Georgian planter, assured Birney shortly after the latter's removal to Michigan, that God was still at the helm and the reign of God was sure:

> . . . there is prayer in the land, power in the truth, and especially the Gospel of truth, and I trust a more glorious part to perform in the scenes which are to convert the world and usher in the Millenium[sic] awaits us than final disorganization and annihilation as a Government.36

Yet Birney wrote to Lewis Tappan a little later that there was little hope: "Our Church is corrupt--our government . . . is corrupt. The end must come."[37] The success of the Liberty Party, Birney came to believe, was the only salvation for a corrupt nation. God would regenerate society through political means. Our Lord has declared, Birney told the people of Pontiac in a late summer speech of 1842, that

> oppression and violence shall cease in the earth, so sure it is that the march of improvement shall go forward, until the great foundation principle of human liberty--the common brotherhood of men--shall be recognized in all our land. . . .[38]

Theodore Foster, editor of the Signal of Liberty for many years, shared with Birney the promise of Christ's reign of peace and happiness on earth. All would be free, there would be no strife or suffering. Many years after he had resigned his post as head of the Signal of Liberty, during the dark years of the Civil War, he wrote his sister, Lydia Comstock of Wisconsin, of his concern about the suffering of the northern soldiers in southern prisons. He was consoled by the thought of the coming Millennial Day: "You and I not only believe but know that the time is coming when the whole earth shall be a paradise on which God shall delight to look, and these evils shall be known no more."[39]

Not only in the writings and philosophy of individual leaders such as Birney and Foster did the interest in the Kingdom of God on earth flourish. The resolutions of the various Liberty Party rallies and antislavery meetings around the state provided additional proof of the millenarian impulse in the Michigan movement. At an antislavery meeting held at Young's Prairie, Michigan, the resolution was adopted that "we believe slavery, as it now exists in the United States is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. . . ." A resolution of the Liberty Party in Lyon, Oakland County, read:

> Resolved, that we gratefully acknowledge the hand of providence in carrying forward the cause of liberty, and we believe it one important link in the vast chain of causes by which the all wise and benevolent Being will ultimately redeem a revolted world from every form of Sin and Oppression.[40]

In the minds of most reformers the dawn of the Millennial Day meant judgment as well as promise. If necessary, God would use His avenging sword of justice to humble a wicked and obstinate nation. By the late 1850's the prospect of a Civil War became increasingly accepted as God's retributive justice for national sins. When the war finally came, it was viewed by many as a cleansing process which would prepare America for the Reign of Christ.

In the opinion of reformers it was not the South alone that was guilty in the eyes of God; the North shared the sin for allowing slavery to exist in America. Seymour Treadwell represented the feeling of the Michigan abolitionists when he wrote in the Signal of Liberty:

> The North can, if she will, speedily redeem the slave and save the nation, if indeed the measure of our iniquity be not already full, and the nation thus fitted for sudden destruction! Surely the North ought to do this. If she will not, how can she expect the judgments of Heaven to fall lighter upon her own head than upon the South?[41]

The fear of God's wrath was thought important enough to be written into the Preamble at the founding of the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society:

> They [the undersigned] anticipate the vengeance of Heaven on their beloved country, should it persist in a crime of so deep a dye, and so adhorrent to the spirit and precepts of that religion which is from above.[42]

Similarly, James G. Birney's letters contain many references to the coming judgment of God. He wrote to the New York abolitionist, Lewis Tappan, that "we are ready now to be dashed to the earth--to be broken as a potter's vessel, and to be made a beacon to all coming times." The whole country was ready to collapse from the weight of its sins, and "our damnation as a people lingereth not."[43]

Among religious sects, both Mormons and Adventists saw the Civil War as evidences of God's anger. The Mormon leader Joseph Smith had predicted the judgment of God through a civil war which would be started by South Carolina. Then the inhabitants of the earth would "be made to feel the wrath, and indignation and chastening hand of the Almighty God."[44] The Seventh-day Adventist leader, Ellen G. White, compared American slavery to that of the Israelites when "the Egyptians were made to feel God's judgments." Thus, she wrote in 1862, "God is punishing the nation for the high crime of slavery. . . . He will punish the South for the sin of slvery, and the North for so long suffering its overreaching and overbearing influence." After the Union defeat at the First Battle of Bull Run, Mrs. White explained that God "would not suffer victories to be gained faster than he ordained, . . to punish them for their sins."

The war,she believed, was evidence that "the scenes of earth's history are fast closing. We are amid the perils of the last days."[45]

Baptists and Presbyterians were likewise fearful of divine justice. A circular letter of the Michigan's Washtenaw Baptist Association in 1842 declared that God was about to destroy the nation because of the twin sins of intemperance and slavery. It pointed to the four great fallen biblical empires of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, and warned that "The same causes that destroyed them are making rapid progress in our nation."[46] George Duffield of the Detroit First Presbyterian Church, who disliked fanatical abolitionism as much as the institution of slavery itself, pessimistically decided that the world must be scourged into peace and righteousness "by God in His own way." On the eve of the Civil War in a Thanksgiving Day sermon, taking Jeremiah 18: 7,8 as his text--"At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it . . . ."--Duffield pleaded for the country to turn away from its national sins such as intemperance and slavery before it was too late. God was just "waiting for this great nation to turn from its evil," then He would spare "our guilty land." A few weeks later, when the Union was already dissolving, Duffield spoke again:

> If God gives not repentance to put away voluntarily, the evils of slavery, and those it developed, He will, as He ever has done, interfere by His judgments to do it. . . .We tremble in view of His judgments and wrath, for we are guilty.[47]

George W. Clark, a reformer who had published Michigan's first temperance paper, the Michigan Temperance Herald, at Ann Arbor, in 1837, wrote to Lincoln in July of 1861 giving the President advice on how to end the judgments of God which were "being poured out upon the country." Clark, a popular songwriter nationally known in antislavery circles as the "Liberty Singer," told Lincoln to abolish slavery immediately--"obey the voice of God and 'proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants therof'" and once again God would look with favor upon a redeemed nation.[48]

The conviction that the nation would be punished for the sins of slavery and intemperance was shared by many churchmen and abolitionists in Michigan. The Kingdom of peace and righteousness was evidently to be set up only by the direct intervention of God. And though the war itself proved to be a shock to those hoping for an imminent golden age on earth, they believed that God still reigned and would help the North destroy slavery.

The hope for a temporal millennium and the sense of mission manifested by the Jacksonians was intensified in Michigan society during the period of 1830 to 1860. The crusades against slavery and intemperance were only two of the social reforms being stimulated by the millennial impulse. In Michigan, the "third New England," the strong

millenarian spirit demonstrated by both the leaders and the laity of the state, was a primary factor in the success of the great reforms. In every endeavor of the Protestant evangelical crusade, a fervent belief in the Second Coming moved men to action in preparing the way for the Lord. Whether exhibited in Home Missions, Fourierism, Mormonism, Adventism, or in the many great social reforms of the time, the millennial impulse, transmitted from western New York, was a powerful force for reform in the "third New England."

FOOTNOTES

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20. Michigan Temperance Journal and Washingtonian, July, 1847.

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22. Michigan Temperance Advocate, January 1842.

23. Newspaper clipping from the Barton Papers, Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan.

24. Signal of Liberty, December 15, 1841; March 16, 1842.

25. Truman Nelson, ed., Documents of Upheaval: Selections from William Lloyd Garrison's "The Liberator," 1831-1865 (New York, 1966), pp. 143, 146, 149; Louis Ruchames, The Abolitionists: A Collection of Their Writings (New York, 1963), pp. 39-40; John L. Thomas, The Liberator; William Lloyd Garrison (Boston, 1963), p. 317; Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke, I (New York, 1934), pp. 297-298; II, pp. 785, 961; Benjamin P. Thomas, Theodore Weld (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1950), pp. 27-28, 218; Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social

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38. Signal of Liberty, September 5, 1842.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

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No central collecting agency retained copies of the numerous newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlet literature printed during the early years of Michigan. For instance, no copies of the Fourieristic Alphadelphia Tocsin printed at the phalanx near Galesburg, or of its successor, the True Tocsin at Jackson, are available even though the original list of subscribers is known. Few copies survive of the Michigan Temperance Herald started by George W. Clark at Jackson in 1838, the Michigan Temperance Advocate published at Marshall, Michigan, during the 1840's, or the early Baptist periodical, the Michigan Christian Herald of Detroit. Existing issues of other local periodicals, which are potential sources of information, such as the Western Pioneer and Herald of Truth published at Litchfield, Michigan, cannot be found.

One of the best depositories for manuscripts pertaining to Michigan church history is the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan. Church records, private collections, and diaries housed there are invaluable to the student of early Michigan history. The Clements Library at the University of Michigan also has valuable sources, particularly the Strangite periodicals published at Voree, Wisconsin. The Burton Collection in the Detroit Public Library contains the large diary of

George Duffield, and manuscripts on nearly all subjects relating to early Michigan. A few rare copies of Detroit religious periodicals located in the Burton Collection are especially valuable for studying denominations. The American Home Missionary Society papers at the Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, remain a relatively untapped source of Michigan history. The hundreds of letters from the Home Missionaries to the parent office in New York City contain a wealth of information on early Michigan. The James White Library at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, is an abundant Seventh-day Adventist source, even having some of the early Millerite periodicals. The complete file of the Advent Review and Sabbath Herald from 1850 to 1860, located at the James White Library, provides an excellent history of the early growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The Michigan State Library at Lansing should not be overlooked, having valuable printed writings by both James Strang and George Duffield, besides numerous other rare books and pamphlets.

I am endebted to the very important study of American religious history done by Whitney R. Cross in the Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, New York,1950). Though sometimes considered as a local history of the Genesee Country, its major importance rests upon the work as a scholarly case study in the transmission of New England culture to western New York, and the

implications of the spread of these ideas westward from the "burned-over district." This transmission of the Yankee-Yorker culture to Michigan, the "third New England," is discussed in W. V. Smith, "The Puritan Blood of Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXXVIII (1912), pp. 355-361; J. H. Stevens, "The Influence of New England in Michigan," Michigan History, XIX (1935), pp. 321-353, and Morris C. Tabor, "New England Influence in South Central Michigan," Michigan History, XXXXV (1961), pp. 305-336.

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conditions in Michigan and letters from the Michigan Missionaries are included in nearly every issue. A convenient source for some of these Michigan letters to the home office in Maurice F. Cole, Voices From the Wilderness (Ann Arbor, Mic., 1961), a book of letters printed primarily for its philatelic interest, but of different importance to the social historian. Colin B. Goodykoontz, Home Missions in the American Frontier (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939) is the standard work on the subject.

Little has been written about Universalism in Michigan or concerning its connection with Fourierism. Richard Eddy, Universalism in America, 11, Boston, 1894) recorded some of the Universalist activities in early Michigan. The best source on this denomination, however, is The Primitive Expounder published at Ann Arbor, 1843-44, and then successively printed at Alphadelphia, Jackson, and Lansing until 1852. The Expounder was owned and edited by two Universalist ministers and represented the views of the Michigan Universalist Church. The background for Fourierism in Michigan is established by Arthur Eugene Bestor, Backwoods Utopias; The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America 1663-1829 (Philadelphia, 1950) and John H mphrey Noyes, History of American Socialisms (New York, 1961). Albert Brisbane, the American disciple of Charles Fourier,gives his own interpretation of Fourierism in The Social Destiny of Man (New York, 1857)

Since most accounts of the Alphadelphian phalanx are dated, rather superficial, and rarely documented, the student had best go directly to the original manuscripts at Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, where the entire collection is housed. Secondary accounts may be found in the History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan (Philadelphia, 1880); Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, V (Lansing, 1884), pp. 406-412; The Kalamazoo Gazette, January 24, 1937 (Centennial edition, part II). The pages of the Universalist paper, The Primitive Expounder, sometimes contained material on the Alphadelphia Association.

To understand both Mormonism and its prophet, Joseph Smith, the exceptional biography of Smith by Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet (New York, 1945) should be read. A good monograph on Mormonism was done by the Catholic scholar, Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons (Chicago, 1957). Joseph Smith's beliefs are found in his Doctrines and Covenants . . . . (Liverpool, 1891) and The Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City, 1888). Although a short account by Smith of Mormonism in Michigan appears in History of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, Period I, II (Salt Lake City, 1904), the best work on pre-Strangite Mormon activity in Michigan is John and Audrey Cumming, The Saints Come to Michigan (Mt. Pleasant, 1966). James J. Strang's kingdom at Voree, Wisconsin,and later on Beaver Island,

Michigan, can be followed through the pages of the Strangite paper published successively as the Voree Herald, Zion's Reveille, and Gospel Herald at Voree, Wisconsin, and finally as the Northern Islander at Saint James, Beaver Island, Michigan. The best secondary source on Strang is Milo M. Quaife, The Kingdom of Saint James (New Haven, 1930), though it needs to be read in conjunction with Mark Strang, ed., The Diary of James J. Strang (East Lansing, 1961) which effectively points out some of Quaife's mistakes. Mark Strang, a grandson of James J. Strang, edited his grandfather's youthful diary and included many key sentences originally written in an elementary code which had baffled Quaife. Klaus Hansen's revisionist "The Making of King Strang: A Re-examination," Michigan History, XLV (1962), pp. 201-219 is an important study in motivational factors. Aside from the Strangite periodicals, Strang's philosophy is best found in James J. Strang, The Diamond. . . (Voree, Wisconsin, 1848), much of which was included in the compilation of the laws for his kingdom in The Book of the Law of the Lord (Saint James, Michigan, 1856) published at the time of his death. Useful secondary sources on the Strangites include Russell Nye's essay in A Baker's Dozen: Thirteen Unusual Americans (East Lansing, 1956) and the sensationalized work by Oscar W. Riegel, Crown of Glory (New Haven, 1935). A hostile view of Strang was written by Elizabeth Whitney Williams, A Child of the Sea; and Life Among the Mormons (Charlevoix, Michigan, 1950).

An objective treatment of the Millerites has yet to be written. Francis D. Nichol, a Seventh-day Adventist historian, has done a painstaking research in The Midnight

Cry: A Defense of the Character and Conduct of William Miller and the Millerites . . . (Washington, D.C., 1944). Nichol disproved the accounts concerning ascension robes and suicides popularized by Clara Endicott Sears in Days of Delusion: A Strange Bit of History (New York, 1924). The biography, Memoirs of William Miller (Boston, 1852), written by Miller's close friend Sylvester Bliss, includes much of Miller's correspondence. Most biographical accounts of Miller are taken from Bliss' work.

Seventh-day Adventism is traced from its Millerite beginning in Arthur W. Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, 4 vols., (Washington, D.C. 1961-62). Joseph Bates' The Autobiography of Joseph Bates. . . . (Battle Creek, 1868), demonstrates the reforming fervor of this Adventist pioneer, even though only a small portion of the book was reserved for his Adventist activities. A narrative of the early labors of James and Ellen White is found in James and Ellen White, Life Sketches (Battle Creek, 1880) and James White, Life Incidents (Battle Creek, 1868). A primary source for Seventh-day Adventism is the official church paper, the Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, published at Battle Creek after 1855. To understand fully the Adventist philosophy the prophetic books of Mrs. Ellen G. White must be read, particularly the nine volumes of Testimonies for the Church (Mountain View, Calif., 1948) written from 1855 to 1909.

For a background to temperance and antislavery reform, the writings of Lyman Beecher and Charles G. Finney are important, especially Beecher's Six Sermons on the Nature, Occasions, Signs, Evils, and Remedy of Intemperance (New York, 1827) and Finney's Lectures on Revivals of Religion (Cambridge, Mass., 1960). Among the numerous biographical studies of the national antislavery reformers, the following are especially helpful on the topic of milennialism: John L. Thomas, The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison (Boston, 1963); Benjamin F. Thomas, Theodore Weld (New Brunswick, New Jersey), and Lewis Tappan, The Life of Arthur Tappan (New York, 1870). For the southern views of the northern abolitionists' millennialism check E. N. Elliott, Cotton is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments (Augusta, Georgia, 1860) and George Fitzhugh, Cannibals All! or Slaves Without Masters (Cambridge, Mass., 1960). A perceptive article explaining the southern viewpoint is John L. Thomas, "Antislavery and Utopia" in Martin Duberman, ed., The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists (Princeton, 1965). The Michigan antislavery movement has been studied by Arthur Raymond Kooker, as an unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan, entitled "The Antislavery Movement in Michigan," (1941). A most helpful source is the official organ of The Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, the Signal of Liberty published at Ann Arbor 1841-1848. Dwight L. Dumond, ed., Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857, 2 Vols., (New York, 1938) is also an

important work. Helpful articles on antislavery in Michigan are Merton L. Dillon, "Elizabeth Chandler and the Spread of Antislavery Sentiment to Michigan," Michigan History, XXXIX (1955), pp. 481-494; Charles E. Barnes, "Battle Creek as a Station on the Underground Railway," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXXVIII (1912), pp. 279-285; John E. Kephart, "A Pioneer Michigan Abolitionist," Michigan History, XXXXV (1961), pp. 34-42; Robert L. Kincaid, "Nathan M. Thomas: Michigan Pioneer," Michigan History, XXXXI (1957), pp. 315-326.

John Allen Krout, The Origins of Prohibition (New York, 1925) remains the standard work on the national temperance reform movement down to the Civil War. Since few copies of the Michigan Temperance Advocate are available, the student of early Michigan temperance must rely on the Michigan Temperance Journal and Washingtonian published at Ann Arbor, 1846-47. Some articles on the early temperance movement in the state, useful for a general picture, include Floyd B. Streeter, "History of Prohibition Legislation," Michigan History, II (1918), pp. 289-308; John Fitzgibbons, "King Alcohol: His Rise, Reign and Fall in Michigan," Michigan History, II (1918), pp. 737-781; and A.D.P. Van Buren, "Temperance in Pioneer Days," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, V (1892), pp. 426-433.