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ABSTRACT

This thesis is intended as a contribution to the field of the Sociology of Religion, in particular the study of Christian sects. It examines in a historical and sociological framework the origins and development of the Jehovah's Witnesses and their schismatic groups, concentrating on the period 1868-1942. This thesis draws on extensive primary sources to construct a more accurate historical record, and on this basis examines the factors of sect emergence, recruitment, leadership and authority, internal sect structure, informal elites, coherence of sect values, group commitments and the sect's relation to the world.

The early life of the founder, Charles Taze Russell, is discussed and the personal influence of some of his contemporaries is investigated in an attempt to trace the ideological origins of Russell's beliefs. His theology is briefly discussed, and the importance of the doctrines pertaining to the spiritual elite and character development is stressed. The subsequent development of the sect is then seen as the interrelation of structural and symbolic elements in a dynamic historical context.

Russell's sect emerged as a schismatic group in 1879 and consisted of a community of Bible students in locally governed ecclesias. They were originally a loosely organised, ill-defined group but their habituated association, the sacralising of their activities and the growing opposition from outside combined to change them into a consciously separated sect in 1916. Russell's attempts to promote evangelisation through his Watch Tower Society, the enhancement of his own status as leader, the lack of an authority structure and the existence of informal elites were all factors that helped to cause the schisms of 1894 and 1908 in the sect, which clarified his status and authority respectively.

The lack of an authority structure in the sect and the disconfirmation of the date 1914 (when God had been expected to take the faithful to heaven) led to severe structural and ideological strains, and Russell's movement split into different groups after his death, each emphasising a part of his message. Amongst these schismatic offshoots were the Pastoral Bible Institute who catered for an introversionist perspective involving individual character development, the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement who emphasised the exegetical and doctrinal complexity purveyed by a charismatic leader and the Dawn Bible Students Association who catered for those elements in Russell's following who were prone to move towards a denominational position.

Russell's Watch Tower Society, under its second President Joseph F. Rutherford, emphasised evangelisation and a centrally controlled sect structure. Rutherford first gained absolute control of the Society headquarters and then, from 1919 to 1931, extended his control to the ecclesias, by displacing the elected elders. He succeeded in changing the sect beliefs, norma and values, patterns of evangelisationnand worship, internal structure, group commitments and membership. The result was a new sect, Jehovah's Witnesses as they were named in 1931. There was a decrease in membership at this time partly due to the sect's involvement with the law and United States communities over the Flag Salute and other issues. During the second World War, however, the membership of the sect increased rapidly and has continued rising ever since to the present total of one and a half million.

Since 1942 the Witnesses, under the third Watch Tower Society president Nathan H. Knorr, have engaged in a widespread training campaign whose purpose has been the socialisation of new converts and their training to maintain the high rate of recruitment to the sect. The Bible student community, on

the other hand, has not increased in number and has no wish to. The thesis concludes with a brief discussion of the problems of charisma, schism and typological categories in relation to the sects discussed earlier in the thesis. Tentative conclusions are reached as to the likely future development of the groups that stem from C.T.Russell, including Jehovah's Witnesses.

A Sociological Analysis of the Origin and Development of the Jehovah's Witnesses and their Schismatic Groups.

by

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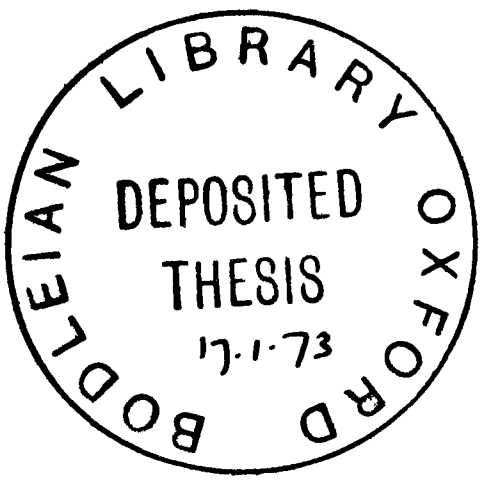

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is intended as a contribution to the field of the Sociology of Religion, providing a historical case study in a sociological and comparative framework. It is not intended to be an exhaustive factual account - the purpose is to illuminate and clarify the historical development of the Jehovah's Witness sect and its schismatic groups and analyse them in the light of models developed in previous studies of sectarianism.

The sect now known as Jehovah's Witnesses has its origin in the life and work of Charles Taze Russell (1852-1916). Russell was a highly successful Pittsburg draper with religious inclinations which led him to leave the established churches and preach his own doctrines and eschatology. Russell believed there was no hell, immortal soul or trinity and he also believed that Jesus' second coming had occurred invisibly in 1874 and that all world governments would be overthrown and God's kingdom set up in 1914. Russell devoted much of his time and money to printing and distributing his books and magazines, and by 1914 there were tens of thousands of his Bible student followers in ecclesias throughout the United States and some in England, Australia, West Germany and other countries.

After Russell's death in 1916, his organisation - controlled by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society - was managed by 'Judge' J.F.Rutherford who emerged from various internal schisms as absolute leader of the legal corporations and later of the ecclesias (which had been independent and democratically-run under Russell). Rutherford renamed his followers Jehovah's Witnesses[1] in 1931 and preached that the

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1) Consistently spelt with a small 'w' by sect members themselves.

way to salvation was through active 'witnessing' - each Jehovah's Witness was obliged to spend many hours each month attending meetings and going from door to door 'selling' Rutherford's books.

Rutherford's presidency was characterised by fierce legal battles in the United States over the rights of Witnesses to do the door to door work, their status as conscientious objectors and the Flag Salute issue. To this persecution the Witnesses reacted with hate towards the clergy in general and the Roman Catholic Church in particular. Rutherford believed in the imminence of a battle of Armageddon which would destroy all humankind except the Witnesses and would be followed by the last resurrection and the millennium.

After Rutherford's death in 1942, Nathan Homer Knorr was elected as third President of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. Knorr set about expanding all aspects of the Witnesses' work as part of what he called an 'educational drive' aimed at adult Jehovah's Witnesses. The congregations were brought under central control of the headquarters in New York and the result of this was an increased emphasis on statistics and a steady rise in the membership of the sect throughout the post-war years until there are now 1½-million Jehovah's Witnesses, of whom about a quarter are in the United States.

In this thesis more attention will be given to the period of Russell's Presidency, partly because more documentary evidence is available for those years and also because both the Jehovah's Witnesses and the schismatic groups stem from this time. The period from 1942 to the present has already been the subject of an earlier work,[1] and this thesis as a whole

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1) Rogerson,A.T, Dip.Ed., 1970. Here and elsewhere, see the bibliography for full references.

will concentrate on the period 1879-1942, although the important aspects of Knorr's Presidency will also be discussed. The limiting of this thesis to less than 100,000 words has excluded the discussion of a number of important and interesting problems related to the Witness movement but not directly relevant to its historical development. A general account of the Witnesses' organisation, history and beliefs has already been published by the author and it is not intended to repeat anything from that work here.(1)

One aim of this thesis is to provide an accurate historical interpretation based on an extensive study of sources. This will serve as the basis for an analysis which will include an examination of sect emergence, recruitment of members and the problem of the second generation, leadership and authority patterns, the internal structure of sect organisation, the existence and function of elites, the degree of separateness of the sect from society, the coherence of sect values and group commitments and relationships.

This study is the culmination of more than twenty years study and acquaintance with the Jehovah's Witness sect. The author was brought up as a member of the sect and, like most young Witnesses, participated fully in their beliefs and activities, including speaking at conventions. Having voluntarily left the Witness movement(2) at the age of sixteen the author maintained contact with the sect and read through the documentary sources on the history and beliefs of the Witnesses. In 1965 the manuscript for a book was written which was published in 1969 by Constable. Entitled 'Millions Now Living Will Never Die, A Study of Jehovah's Witnesses', the book was a comprehensive factual study of the Witnesses' history, beliefs and organisation.. In the same year the author began full-time

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1) Rogerson, A.T. Millions Now Living Will Never Die 1969

2) Throughout this thesis the words 'sect', 'movement' and 'following' will be used in the same sense.

research on the history of the sect as seen from a sociological perspective and an intermediate study of the Witnesses in relation to education since 1942 was accepted by Cambridge University for the Diploma of Education in 1970.

For the present thesis all the primary sources available have been read again (some several times) and almost all the secondary sources have now been traced and read. Two visits to the United States in 1971 and 1972 and numerous visits throughout Great Britain have helped to provide much additional evidence. A joint investigation of the Witness schismatic groups[1] has shed much light on the Russell era and subsequent developments.

The conclusions of this thesis are based on three sources of information:

(a) A period of actual membership of the sect. Owing to the secretive and close-knit nature of the sect, it is difficult for 'outsiders' to discover what sectarians believe and how they act amongst themselves.[2] This was particularly true when Czatt and Stroup[3] made their investigations, and their work was affected by this lack of 'inside information'. It is still true today that a great deal of time and work is necessary to achieve the state of knowledge of a sect member, and some of the best studies of the Witnesses are still those by ex-members.[4]

(b) The participant-observer method has been employed for many years while attending the meetings and conventions of Jehovah's Witnesses and Bible students, and in discussions with

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1) See the forthcoming study, Rogerson, A.T & Haughton, M.K: Schism, a Study of the Disintegration of Religious Sects.
2) Whitworth, J.McK, D.Phil., 1971, has a vivid description of the problems involved here.
3) CZatt, M.S, Ph.D., 1929, and Stroup, H.H: The Jehovah's Witnesses.
4) E.g., White, T: A People for his Name, on history; Gruss, E.C: Apostles of Denial - An Examination and Exposé of the History, Doctrines and Claims of the Jehovah's Witnesses, on doctrine. Outsiders are prone to elementary errors and sometimes gross misunderstanding. Books by ex-members have their own faults and the majority are too emotional or biassed to be relied on.

individuals. This method, which involves a delicate and personal interaction with sectarians, is felt to achieve the best results. The Witnesses are publicity conscious and have a highly developed and well-integrated public 'face' which is likely to mislead investigators.(1)

(c) Historical sources, which fall under four general headings:

1) Publications of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society and other literature of Bible student followers of C.T.Russell.

2) Other primary sources such as newspaper reports and court records.

3) Interviews with, or accounts by, individuals who witnessed the events described in this thesis.

4) Secondary sources commenting on and interpreting the subject.

Much of this thesis relies on evidence from (1), but this in turn has been checked for internal consistency and with evidence from (2) and (3) wherever possible. Not only do sects discourage investigation of their history but they are also capable of more than the usual amount of distortion when writing it - thus the reprints(2) edition of Zion's Watch Tower is not reliable on such matters as Russell's divorce and his debates. Hence a selection of isolated quotations from the reprints can give a misleading impression - a technique used by many of Russell's followers since his death. Unfortunately this is also true of some academics for whom a cursory reading

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1) And has done. The works of Pike,R: Jehovah's Witnesses. Who they are, What they teach, What they do; Czatt,M.S, Ph.D., 1929; Cumberland,W.H, D.Phil., 1958, etc., show signs of this.
2) This was an abbreviated form of Zion's Watch Tower for the years 1879-1919, published in seven volumes in 1919.

of the reprints seems to have been virtually their only source of information on the Russell era.[1] A critical and comparative treatment of the sources is not always made - for example Gruss is over-reliant on secondary sources critical of Russell, White has (deliberately) restricted his sources to Witness accounts while Beckford uses some secondary sources in an uncritical way.[2]

Much of the secondary material published about Jehovah's Witnesses is repetitive polemic and of little interest to the researcher. The works of P.S.L.Johnson, A.H.Macmillan and F.J.Schnell, however, (biassed as they are) are worth reading and valuable in parts.[3] All sources of this kind must be critically examined, of course, but the works of P.S.L.Johnson in particular contain detailed and reliable accounts of events in the Witness history that no serious study can afford to ignore.

Although some apparently objective studies, such as those by Cole,[4] Pike and Hébert,[5] are not particularly accurate or helpful, there are a small number of excellent factual and descriptive works which assist the researcher to analyse the evidence available. Thus Parkinson and White[6] have written helpful histories of the Bible student movement and Jehovah's Witnesses respectively; Baron and Burrell[7] have produced

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1) For example: Cumberland,W.H., D.Phil., 1958, Salzman,D.M., M.A., 1951, Schwartz,M.E., B.A.,1954, Zygmunt,J.F., Ph.D., 1967.
2) Gruss,E.C: Apostles of Denial, 1970, White,T: A People For His Name, and Beckford,J.A: Ph.D., 1972.
3) See the Bibliography for these books.
4) Cole,M: Jehovah's Witnesses: The New World Society, he was in fact a Jehovah's Witness, see Cole,M: Mob Rule in Crossville, THE NATION, June 9, 1951.
5) Pike,R: Jehovah's Witnesses. Who they are, What they teach, What they do, and Hébert,G: Les Témoins de Jehovah.
6) Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student Movement in the Days of C.T.Russell, and White,T.: op cit.
7) Baron,Rev.M., Doctorate of Sacred Theology, 1956, and Burrell,M., M.A., 1962.

intelligent theological accounts, while regional studies have been made by Kernaghan (on Quebec) and Mann (on Alberta).[1] Kim has written a specialised work on Jehovah's Witnesses and the Supreme Court and Manwaring's book on the Flag Salute controversy is a most impressive and definitive work.[2]

Of the academic theses devoted entirely to the Witnesses, mention must be made of those by Sprague, Cohn, Czatt, Stroup, Cumberland, Zygmunt and Rockford. Theodore W. Sprague[3] examines the Witnesses from a cultural social psychologist's viewpoint and is concerned with describing the 'group' characteristics of the sect. Much of Sprague's laboured terminology is unnecessary but some of his particular insights are interesting, despite his inadequate coverage of sources. Milton Stacey Czatt's[4] early study of Rutherford's movement has little merit. Both Czatt and Herbert Hewitt Stroup[5] recorded their impressions of the Witness movement but they were unable to determine much about the social composition of Rutherford's following. Werner Cohn's[6] analysis of the Witnesses as a 'Proletarian sect' has some interesting points but otherwise his interpretations are inclined to be erroneous. William H. Cumberland's[7] history of the Witnesses is little more than a poor synopsis of the reprints and later Zion's Watch Towers.

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1) Kernaghan, W.D.K., Ph.D., 1966 and Mann, W.E., Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta.
2) Kim, R.C.C., Ph.D., 1963 and Manwaring, D.R. Render Unto Caesar: The Flag Salute Controversy
3) Sprague, T.W. Some Problems in the Integration of Social Groups with special reference to Jehovah's Witnesses Doctoral thesis, 1942, Harvard.
4) Czatt, M.S. The International Bible Students Association, A Critical Study in Contemporary Religion Ph.D. 1929. Yale
5) Stroup, H.H. The Jehovah's Witnesses 1945, a published version of his thesis.
6) Cohn, Werner, Jehovah's Witnesses as a Proletarian Sect M.A. 1954, New School For Social Research, New York.
7) Cumberland, W.H. A History of Jehovah's Witnesses D.Phil 1958, State University of Iowa.

Joseph F Zygmunt has written two theses on the Witnesses. The first is an impressive study of contemporary Jehovah's Witnesses in Chicago[1] while the second is a long and detailed analysis of the history of the Witnesses.[2] Unfortunately the latter is less successful, the theoretical and descriptive sections do not link up and the general conclusions he makes are suspect. James A.Beckford has written a long thesis, the better half of which deals with contemporary Jehovah's Witnesses in Great Britain.[3] The historical account and subsequent discussion is not reliable, however, and the analysis of the Russell era is based on inadequate documentation.

Thus academic work on the Witnesses to date is, with one or two exceptions, disappointing. It is depressing that there has been no systematic or advancing body of knowledge and interpretation of the sect. Each researcher appears to have started from scratch again and produced a hasty and independent account. Source material is examined only superficially (if at all) and theses often contain numerous errors of fact and interpretation. So far there have been few attempts to discuss important problems related to the Witnesses but it is hoped that this thesis and forthcoming works by Gordon Melton[4] and Rogerson and Naughton[5] will break new ground in the analysis of the Witnesses and their schismatic groups.

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1) Zygmunt,J.F. Social Estangement and the Recruitment Process in a Chiliastic Sectarian Movement M.A., 1953, Chicago.
2) Zygmunt,J.F. Jehovah's Witnesses. A Study of Symbolic and Structural Elements in the Development and Institutionalisation of a Sectarian Movement Ph.D. 1967. Chicago.
3) Beckford,J.A. A Sociological Study of Jehovah's Witnesses in Britain Ph.D., 1972, University of Reading.
4) See the forthcoming Doctoral thesis of Gordon Melton at Northwestern University, Garrett Theological Seminary. He has made a special study of the schismatic Witness groups in the United States.
5) See note 1 on page 4 .

Although a number of theoretical studies of sects and sectarianism exist within the field of the sociology of religion, the conceptual development will be discussed only briefly here and only in as far as it relates to Jehovah's Witnesses. The main focal points of interest are discussed under separate headings.

Typology

The typology developed by Ernst Troeltsch[1] is still taken by some as a starting point in their analysis of sect development. Troeltsch contrasted the 'church type' with the 'sect type'. For him the church was a conservative religious institution, in principle universal, which utilized the state and the upper classes and dominated the masses. Sects were comparatively small voluntary groups, indifferent, tolerant or hostile to the world, whose members aspired to personal inward perfection, and thought of themselves as a gathered elect.[2] According to Troeltsch, sects were connected with the lower classes and were usually reacting against the established church in their reaffirmation of the fundamental ideas of Christianity.[3] In contrast with the church, sects served primarily to heighten the individual religiosity of their members.[4] Troeltsch also spoke of both sects and sectarianism as existing within the church and he conceived of the church-type and sect-type as two opposing ideals within Christianity as a whole.[5]

While Troeltsch's typology was illuminating, he was not primarily interested in distinguishing sub-types of sect and

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1) In The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches Vol.1,2. 1956.
2) Ibid., pp.331-4,337,339.
3) Ibid., p.330.
4) Ibid., p.337,etc.
5) Ibid., pp.693-4,700-1,714; see also Demerath,N.J: Social Class in American Protestantism, pp.44,49-50.

his work was mainly based on evidence from Christian sects in medieval Europe.[1] Several writers have tried to remove these limitations from Troeltsch's typology by modifying it. Becker and Wiese extended the two categories to four: ecclesia, sect, denomination and cult, in an attempt to account for a wider variety of empirical examples than those considered by Troeltsch.[2] Ecclesia in this scheme corresponds to church, while denominations were described as sects in an advanced stage of development in which some of the sect criteria had been relaxed.[3] Cults were religions of a private and personal character (for example, Christian Science) but it was admitted that no clear line could be drawn between sects and cults. The sect was characterised as a small group, which advised people to come out of 'the world'. It was an exclusive and elective body which emphasised ethical demands and some type of personal religious experience.[4]

A more extensive typology was developed by J.M.Yinger in which six categories were distinguished: (a) Universal Church, (b) Ecclesia, (c) Class Church (denomination), (d) Established Sect, (e) Sect and (f) Cult. This list is in order of increasing emphasis on individuality and decreasing 'universality'.[5] Yinger did not attempt to distinguish in detail the last three

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1) For a detailed critique of Troeltsch's typology see Wilson,B.R: A Typology of Sects in Actes de la X Conference Internationale de Sociologie Religieuse, Rome, 1969,Pp.32-3.
2) Becker,H & Wiese,L.von: Systematic Sociology, p.624 et.seq.
3) See also Clark,E.T: The Small Sects in America (revised ed.) 1949, p.16. For a full discussion of denomination as a type see Martin,D.A: The Denomination, BRIT. J. OF SOC., 13. (Mar.1962), 1, pp.1-14; also Pope,L: Millhands and Preachers - A Study of Gastonia, pp.118 et.seq.; Isichei,E: From Sect to Denomination among English Quakers, p.172 in Wilson,B.R (ed.): Patterns of Sectarianism and Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development, AM. SOC. REV., 24. (Feb.1959 pp.4-5.
4) Becker and Wiese, op.cit., pp.624-7.
5) Yinger,J.M: Religion, Society and the Individual, p.148 et. seq.

categories and claimed that the sect was opposed to the established order and functioned to satisfy individual needs, while sect members were mostly from the lower classes.[1] A classification rather than a typology[2] of sects was offered by E.T.Clark, based on his studies of the small sects in America.[3] Clark used mixed criteria and his categories were not exclusive. One interesting aspect of his classification, however, was the inclusion of 'cults' in his list of sects.

The most detailed typology of sects is that of B.R.Wilson.[4] In an attempt to abandon a theologically or historically constrained scheme, B.R.Wilson uses a sects' 'response to the world' to distinguish seven types of sect: (1) Conversionist, (2) Revolutionist, (3) Introversionist, (4) Manipulationist, (5) Thaumaturgical, (6) Reformist, (7) Utopian. Each type is described as follows:

> '1. The world is evil - God may change us that we may experience the world differently.
> 2. The world is evil - God alone can alter it, and will do so.
> 3. The world is evil - God requires us to withdraw from it.
> 4. The world appears to be evil - God wishes us to have the knowledge by which we might escape the experience of evil.
> 5. The world is evil - but God can grant a man dispensations from particular evils that beset him.
> 6. The world is evil - because there are some inadequate social arrangements, which by our

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1) Minger,J.M: Religion, Society and the Individual, pp.146-7.
2) For an elaboration of this distinction see Wilson,B.R: A Typology of Sects.
3) Clark,E.T: The Small Sects in America (revised ed.), 1949, p.22 et.seq.
4) In A Typology of Sects, see also Typologie des Sectes dans Une Perspective Dynamique et Comparative ARCH. DE SOC. DES REL. 16 (1963) by Wilson, translated in Robertson,R. (ed) Sociology of Religion pp. 361-383. Also Wilson,B.R. Ph.D. 1955, Religious Sects and An Analysis of Sect Development AM. SOC. REV. 24.(Feb.1959) and the criticism in Seguy,J Les Problemes de la Typologie dans l'etude des sectes SOC. COMPASS 12.3.(1965) pp. 165-170.

> God-given conscience we may amend, and so improve the world.
> 7. The world is evil - because its social organisation is evil: it must be remade according to God's plan for mankind.' (1)

Here again, cults are subsumed in the typology, most of them falling into categories 4) and 5).(2)

In setting out the defining characteristics for a sect, Wilson sought to avoid theological criteria and a dependence on evidence from a limited category of sects in a specific historical period. It appears that sects, as separated religious minority groups, are of world-wide occurrence and hence the criteria for distinguishing sects should be, as far as possible, culture free.(3) Briefly stated, Wilson applies the word sect to exclusive collectivities, which have a self-conscious self-conception, a high degree of member commitment (and ideally equality of commitment), and techniques for maintaining boundaries and group solidarity; sects tend to be totalitarian in seeking to control their members activities.(4)

One possible difficulty with Wilson's typology (apart from the fact that it is not exhaustive) is that it is taken for granted that sects are religious groups, and Wilson does not attempt to define (in sociological or other terms) what this word connotes. Is it appropriate that movements like Scientology(5)

1) Wilson,B.R: A Typology of Sects, pp.46-7.
2) Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development, AM. SOC. REV., 24. (Feb.1959), pp.3-15, (see p.5 note 7). For an attempted typology of cults see Nelson,G.K: The Concept of Cult, THE SOC. REV., 16. 3, (N.S.), (Nov.1968), pp.351-362, and The Spiritualist Movement and the Need for a Redefinition of Cult, J. FOR THE SC. STUDY OF REL., 8. 1, (Spring 1969), pp.152-160. See also Eister,A.W: Drawing Room Conversion, Pfautz,H.W: The Sociology of Secularisation, AM. J. OF SOC., 61. 2, (Sept.1955), pp.121-128, and Marty,M.E: Sects and Cults, ANNALS OF THE AM. ACAD. OF POL. AND SOCIAL SC., 332. (Nov.1960), pp.125-134.
3) Wilson,B.R: A Typology of Sects, pp.36-38.
4) Ibid., p.41; see also Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects, pp.22-26.
5) Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects, Chap.8; see also Vosper,C: The Mind Benders; Report of the Board of Inquiry into Scientology, Melbourne, 1965, and Foster,Sir John G: Enquiry into the Practice and Effects of Scientology

should be classed as 'religious' since it seems that some of the functions of religion are being assumed? 'Dianetics' is said to originally have no 'religious character', hence did it become religious when it changed from a therapeutic system, as it was, to one which possessed 'mystical and metaphysical legitimation'?[1] The classification of 'cult', imprecise as it was, covered both 'religious' and 'non-religious' groups. How far can we move, if at all, from the denotation of the term sect without being forced to define what we mean by 'religious'? It may be that a viable alternative to Wilson's scheme, avoiding this problem, is to consider separated voluntary minority groups *in toto* and form a typology on some strictly sociological (or empirical) attribute.[2]

A general practical difficulty arises, that sects often do not fit neatly into typological catergories.[3] This, Wilson agrees, is to be expected and certainly the point of a typology is to abstract some, but not all, of the sect's characteristics.[4] There is, however, a genuine difficulty in practice in deciding whether a sect may be fitted into a catergory or that the typology has failed. In recent studies, for example, it is claimed that Quakers and Humanists at one time manifested both

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1) Wilson,B.R., Religious Sects p.163. In at least one place in this work (p.141) Wilson speaks of 'salvation' in terms of secular goals only. While it is true that Scientology is a self-styled church, this in itself proves nothing and may represent an attempt on their part to avoid taxation! Foster,Sir John G: Enquiry into the Practice and Effects of Scientology.
2) In the context of this thesis, there is an interesting comparison between the Witnesses in the 1930's and the Black Muslims,for example: Lincoln,C.E. The Black Muslims in America. Also between the British Bible student followers of Russell and British Israelism. For general accounts see Smelser,N.J. Theory of Collective Behaviour and Hoffer, E. The True Believer-Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements
3) Faris,R: The Sect & The Sectarian AM.J.OF.SOC. 60.6.(1955) O'Dea,T.F. Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation AM.J.OF.SOC. 60.3.(1954) p.293.
4) Wilson,B.R.: A Typology of Sects p.31.

sect and denominational 'elements'.[1] Without necessarily questioning these (and other) particular judgements, there is clearly a danger that every group when looked at in detail will fail to fit into a category.[2] Such empiricism misunderstands and essentially negates the purpose of a typology.

A typology is not meant to be empirically exhaustive, but is a logical construction based on our knowledge of empirical cases.[3] Wilson suggests that our type construction defines the essential features of sects, and the test of any typology is that it might serve as a useful indicator of the clusters of other characteristics to be found in each type.[4] This test is not necessarily a difficult one, however, for it may always be possible to find many 'verifying characteristics' for a typology, thus inventing or creating clusters. The point is that our 'empirical' findings are themselves predicated by some conceptual scheme and even granted that a typology is (a) logically consistent, (b) the criteria are unmixed, and (c) it produces 'clusters', this still leaves the possibility of many other equally or more successful typologies.[5]

How 'useful' a typology is, therefore, depends on how and by whom it is used. For theologians concerned with a wide

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1) See Isichei,E: From Sect to Denomination among English Quakers in Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism, p.161, also Budd,S: The British Humanist Movement 1861-1966, D.Phil., p.420.
2) This particularly applies when there is more than one criterion and hence the advantage of an exhaustive and exclusive typology based on a single response - Wilson,B.R: A Typology of Sects, p.54.
3) Wach,J: Sociology of Religion, p.10; Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects, p.24; and Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism, pp.2,4.
4) Wilson,B.R: A Typology of Sects, p.31.
5) The nature of a typology is apparently misunderstood in Beckford,J.A. Ph.D. 1972, chap. 7. He speaks, for example, of the widening 'gap' between 'concepts and the reality which they are expected to represent'. The relation between conceptual models and 'empirical' data is clarified in Popper,K.R: The Logic of Scientific Discovery and Braithwaite,R.B: Scientific Explanation.

ranging survey of Christian thought and practice Troeltsch's scheme is more appropriate. Different typologies need not contradict each other as they may be based on quite different conceptual frameworks. In as much as this thesis sets out to examine in detail some historical and sociological aspects of a sect, then the typology developed by Wilson is more appropriate, for it is more detailed than those of Troeltsch and Yinger and more analytic than that of Clark.

The use to which the typology will be put here is to attempt to fit the particular sects examined into one or other of the categories and test any hypothesis concerning the sect's origins, development and relation with society that correlates with its category. The category of particular interest for this thesis is the revolutionist sect, which in Wilson's scheme is characterised by its belief that 'the only prospect of salvation is the overturning of the world by supernatural action'.(1)

Sect Origins and Development

According to Troeltsch, sects arose as a protest to the Christian church and were an expression of a return to primitive Christianity.(2) Troeltsch was less concerned with the subsequent development of sects, and it was Richard Niebuhr who pointed out that sects had a tendency to become denominations after the first generation of sect members had inducted their children into the sect. The latter lacked the fervour and conversion experience of their parents.(3)

Niebuhr criticised Troeltsch's analysis by asserting that the purely theological aspects of religious behaviour were

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1) Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects, p.38.
2) Troeltsch,E: The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches Vols.1,2, p.330.
3) For Niebuhr a church educated while a sect converted. Niebuhr,H.R: The Social Sources of Denominationalism, (1954 edition), pp.18,19.

inadequate to explain denominationalism[1] and he attempted to relate the United States frontier conditions, immigrant ethnic minorities, social class and other factors to the problem.[2] Niebuhr still appeared to accept Troeltsch's argument, however, that sects reflected the failure of the churches.[3]

Niebuhr's hypothesis on the development of sects into denominations is now seen to be applicable to only some sects (in particular conversionist sects in the United States) and it is certainly not true in general that sectarian organisation is valid for only one generation.[4] It was in a (nominalistic) attempt to deal with this fact that Yinger proposed the category of <u>established sect</u>.[5] This did not, however, answer the general questions of how and why a sect emerges. The fullest attempt to deal with these problems is contained in the work of B.R.Wilson and in a number of other studies of particular groups.

On the problem of sect emergence B.R.Wilson agreed with Niebuhr that sects were social movements, that they could be related to the class structure, that they were one response to acute social anomie and arise as a result of social change (urbanisation, industrialisation, culture contact, etc.)[6] and that sects might originate in one of five ways: (1) via a charismatic leader, (2) internal schism in existing groups, (3) spontaneous group of seekers, (4) attempts to revitalise beliefs and practices within major religions, and (5) Revivalism.[7]

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1) Niebuhr, H.R: <u>The Social Sources of Denominationalism</u>, (1954 edition), pp.12,13.
2) <u>Ibid</u>., pp.80,87,106,136,142,156,184,200,223,etc.
3) <u>Ibid</u>., pp.21,34-7.
4) The Jehovah's Witnesses themselves, the Mormons and other groups falsify this assertion, see Wilson,B.R: <u>An Analysis of Sect Development</u>, Am. Soc. Rev., 24. (Feb.1959), pp.3-15.
5) Yinger,J.M: <u>Religion, Society and the Individual</u>, p.148 <u>et.seq</u>.
6) Wilson,B.R, Ph.D., 1955, pp.19,23, and <u>Religious Sects</u>, p.212
7) Wilson,B.R: <u>Patterns of Sectarianism</u>, pp.17,18. This replaces an earlier analysis in 1959 (note 4 above), which contains an excellent discussion, pp.7-9.

In order to answer the question of how a sect develops B.R.Wilson considered in turn the circumstances of sect emergence, the internal structure of sect organisation, degree of separateness from the external world, coherence of sect values, group commitments and relationships, and attempted to relate each of these to the different types of sect. The development of a centralised organisation, central and local elites, and a professionalised ministry were considered as factors of internal structure which may or may not promote denominationalism.(1) Similarly a sect's separateness from the world may take several forms: vicinal, linguistic or ideological, each of which has different implications for subsequent sect development. The development of a sect is crucially dependent on how well it survives the internal tensions of its own beliefs and values, and their relation to those in the outside society. Also how effectively the sect socialises its second generation (if at all)(2) and whether the sect comes into conflict with the wider society over the matters of education,(3) politics, conscription and legal or moral issues. Conflicts in these matters may lead to a change in the sect organisation and self conception. B.R.Wilson concludes that, in general, conversionist sects are most likely to become denominations.

A variety of other studies of particular sects have been concerned with sect development. Some have applied Troeltsch's

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1) See Wilson,B.R, Ph.D., 1955, p.1220. For particular studies see Bordin,R.B: The Sect to Denomination Process in America: The Freewill Baptist Experience, CHURCH HISTORY, 34. (March 1965), pp.77-94. Also Harrison,P.M: Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition, p.12, and Hofstadter,R: Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, pp.98,106.

2) This process is examined in the Amana Society, Chaffee,G.E: The Isolated Religious Sect as an Object for Social Research, Am. J. SOC., 35. (Jan.1930), 4, p.526. See also Rogerson,A.T, Dip.Ed., 1970.

3) Clark,E.T: The Small Sects of America, p.20; Currie,R: Methodism Divided, a Study of Ecumenicalism in the Sociology.. PP.113,134-5; Rogerson,A.T., Dip.Ed. 1970.

sect-church typology to Seventh Day Adventism,[1] Methodism in the United States[2] and in Great Britain,[3] and so on. Others have focussed on the social class of sect members and its effect on sect development. B.Johnson in his studies of Holiness sects suggests that they socialise their members in the dominant values of society,[4] while Roland Robertson suggests that the Salvation Army[5] similarly functions as an agent for upward social mobility;[6] a process which has occurred also, for example, in the Baptists.[7] There are signs of a changing class composition in the Jehovah's Witnesses during this century and a similar process of 'social mobility' has gone hand in hand with doctrinal modifications.[8]

The Individual and the Sect

There is at present no general or systematic work on the

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1) Borhek,J.T: Role Orientations and Organisational Stability, HUMAN ORGANIZATION, 24. (Winter 1965), 4, pp.332-338.
2) Brewer,Earl D.C: Sect and Church in Methodism, SOCIAL FORCES 30, (May 1952), pp.400-408.
3) Chamberlayne,J.H: From Sect to Church in British Methodism, BRIT. J. OF SOC., 15. (June 1964), 2, p.147; also Dynes,R.R: Church Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status, AM. SOC. REV., 20. (Oct. 1955), 5, pp.555-560; The Consequences of Sectarianism for Social Participation, SOCIAL FORCES,35. (May 1957), 4, pp.331-334. See the critique in Glock,C.Y & Stark,R: Religion and Society in Tension, p.190, and Yinger,J.M: Religion, Society and the Individual, p.480.
4) See Johnson,B: A Critical Appraisal of the Church-Sect Typology,AM. SOC. REV., 22. (Feb.1957), 1, pp.88-92; and Do Holiness Sects Socialise in Dominant Values?, SOCIAL FORCES, 39. (1961), 4, pp.309-316.
5) Robertson,R: The Salvation Army: the Persistence of Sectarianism in Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism, p.100.
6) See also Pope,L: Millhands and Preachers. A Study of Gastonia pp.119,127.
7) Demerath,N.J: Social Class in American Protestantism, pp.16,40.
8) For tentative conclusions on this point see Rogerson,A.T, Dip.Ed., 1970.

relation between an individual and a sect[1] - particularly on the reasons for sect conversions. The reasons offered by researchers vary according to the explanatory models used: psychological, theological or sociological. Some writers assert that individuals are attracted to a sect because sects attempt to fulfill the rational consequences of the churches.[2] Aberle suggests that an individual's personal significance is enhanced by his association with Peyotism[3] although the same author asserts that Peyotism appeals to different people for different reasons, and that Peyotism is a reasonable response to degraded status.[4] Wach, on the other hand, suggests that a sect may appeal because it is different,[5] Calley implies that a sect offers certainty in an uncertain world,[6] while Marty says that sects function to isolate people from competing value systems.[8]

Many of the explanatory schemes implicitly or explicitly may be subsumed under A hypothesis of relative deprivation. Niebuhr had suggested that sects attract the socially deprived (those lacking social status, for example lower class people) and it was the sect's rigourous puritanical ethic that socialised the young in middle class values and led to denominationalism.[7] Niebuhr's suggestion was based largely on an analysis of conversionist sects in the United States and it is clear

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1) See Dynes,R.R: The Consequences of Sectarianism for Social Participation, SOCIAL FORCES 35.4.(May 1957) pp.331-4.
2) Report of the Board of Inquiry into Scientology, Melbourne, 1965,p.11; Bister,A.W. Craving Room Conversion,pp.85-6.
3) Aberle,D.F: The Peyote Religion among the Navaho pp.6,8,12.
4) ibid p.15.
5) Wach,J: Sociology of Religion, p.200.
6) Calley,M.J.C: God's People. West Indian Pentecostal Sects in England p.57; Gerth,H.H. and Mills,C.W: From Max Weber. Essays in Sociology p.278.
7) Niebuhr,R: The Social Sources of Denominationalism p.28; Glock,C.Y. and Stark,R: Religion and Society in Tension p.244
8) Marty,M.E: Sects and Cults, ANNALS OF THE AM. ACAD. OF POL. AND SOCIAL SC., 332. (Nov.1960), pp.125-134.

that sects in other catergories do not illustrate his thesis. Thus Christian Science recruits members of whom the majority are neither lower class nor apparently suffering from social deprivation in Niebuhr's terms.(1)

In an attempt to remedy these deficiencies Glock and Stark suggested that deprivation for an individual was relative - a 'rich' individual would feel poor amongst those even richer (it depended on his reference group). They proposed five types of relative deprivation which those entering sects might have felt.(2) These types were: economic, social, ethical, organismic and psychic deprivation, and were assigned according to whether individuals felt deprived of money or goods, status, group ideals and values, or physical or mental stability.

One objection to this scheme might be that in explaining everything, it explains nothing. If there is no clear test for the existence of deprivation, or for deciding the type of deprivation, then it is usually not difficult to find some plausible verification for a form of deprivation.(3) Social, ethical and psychic deprivations are particularly unclear concepts and are difficult to work with. The difficulty with the theory is that while remedying omissions in Niebuhr's scheme the result is a concept which is subjective - instead of empirically accessible as it was in Niebuhr's theory. Relative deprivation is a situation where an individual or group feels disadvantaged. Thus the major difficulty confronting those who attempt to use this theory(4) is that they have

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1) Wilson,B.R: Ph.D., 1955, pp.493,524,611,641,647.
2) Glock,C.Y. and Stark,R: Religion and Society in Tension p.246. For a good discussion of this subject see Wilson,J: D.Phil. 1966.
3) See Popper,K.R: The Poverty of Historicism and other works.
4) For an example of the use of the theory see Aberle,D.F: The Peyote Religion among the Navaho pp.23,326.

somehow to determine whether or not individuals <u>feel</u> deprived. Some researchers do not appear to have tested Glock and Stark's scheme, but have assumed it on the questionable grounds (often implicit in much of what is written about sects) that sect members must be deficient in some way or another because they lack high status and are deviant.(1)

The theory of relative deprivation is itself a form of functionalist explanation. By positing functions for the established church, or society as a whole, any failure in achieving these functions can be said to give rise to sectarianism. Difficulties in applying functional theory in this way have been commented on by Schneider, Eister and Tufari.(2)

In attempting to determine what may have prompted a sectarian to join, one major difficulty is that researchers are usually only able to question individuals already converted to the sect, when there are strong pressures on the individual to re-interpret his past life and motives in line with the sect's ideology.(3) One of the most successful attempts to overcome this difficulty is that of Zygmunt in his Master's thesis on Jehovah's Witnesses.(4) It is inappropriate here to discuss in detail his hypotheses and methodology, except to note that he employed the participant-observer method particularly successfully and obtained case study histories of a number of Jehovah's Witnesses in Chicago. Zygmunt's work contrasts favourably with

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1) Thrupp,S: <u>Millenial Dreams in Action</u> p.26; Talmon,Y: <u>Millennarian Movements</u>,EUROP.J.OF.SOC.,7.(1966),2, pp.181-2; but see Warburton,T.R: Ph.D., 1966, pp.143-4.
2) Schneider,L: <u>Religion,Culture and Society. A Reader in the Sociology of Religion</u>; Eister,A: <u>Religious Institutions in Complex Societies</u>, AM.SOC.REV.,22 (1957),4, pp.387-391; and Tufari,P: <u>Functional Analysis in the Sociology of Religion</u> SOCIAL.COMPASS, 7. (1960), 1 and 2.
3) Durkheim,E: <u>The Elementary Forms of Religious Life</u> p.30, and Festinger,L. <u>et al</u>: <u>When Prophecy Fails</u> p.168.
4) Zygmunt,J.F: M.A. 1953.

that of Festinger and Lofland,[1] for example, and also with those who investigated the Witnesses in the role of interested outsiders or sociologists and inevitably produced stock responses from the Witnesses.[2]

Sects are not easy to analyse because integrated and wide-ranging belief systems are not common outside the educated minority.[3] Thus B.R.Wilson points out that rational standards cannot be applied to a sect[4] although here he means they may lack a rational outlook, for this is no reason against applying a systematic model to the sect itself. It is in the assigning of rational standards to a sect member that we may be incorrect. As far as is possible in this thesis a general discussion of the individual psychology of the members vis a vis their joining a sect, will be avoided. There will, however, be an attempt to provide an organised explanatory model of some individual actions which avoids as far as possible any spurious rationality but is based on the 'internal logic' of the sect.[5]

Schism

It is intended to include a full discussion of schism in a forthcoming study and at present no detailed and extensive discussion exists on the subject of schism in sects, along the lines of Greenslade's work: Schism in the Early Church. There has, on the whole, been no attempt to clarify the use of the term 'schism' and the word is generally used for any division of a sect into one or more groups. The majority of sect studies

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1) Festinger,L et al: When Prophecy Fails; Lofland,J: Doomsday Cult.
2) See Stroup,H.H: The Jehovah's Witnesses, and Czatt,M.S: Ph.D., 1929.
3) A point overlooked by Rokeach,M: The Open and Closed Mind, pp.32-33, for example, and a serious objection to L.Festinger's work:A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance.
4) Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism, p.9.
5) For an excellent discussion of the general problems involved here see Runciman,W.G: The Sociological Explanation of 'religious beliefs', EUROPEAN J OF SOC., 10. (1969), 2, pp.149-191.

suggest some general causative factor for the splitting of groups, the common alternatives being theological or personal differences.(1) Lalive D'Epinay in a study of Chilean Pentecostal sects asserts that large scale schisms were due to personal rivalries and a struggle for power.(2) J.Wilson on British Israelism says schisms occur most frequently over doctrine.(3) Willems on South American Pentecostal sects says that most schisms are organisational.(4) B.R.Wilson mentions that the Elim schism was also due to organisational factors and adds that doctrinal schisms often disguised personal differences.(5) Talmon makes the dubious suggestion that sects are subject to schism because they attract 'rebellious, non-conformist and contentious people'.(6) Greenslade's point that it is difficult to separate theology and personalities is well illustrated in the above cases.(7)

B.R.Wilson's earlier work suggested that schisms come only from the elites, but this may merely mean that we are only aware of (or are only interested in) such schisms.(8) It is clear that in some groups local schisms are frequent and B.R.Wilson's later work has itself made this clear.(9) One conclusion of the forthcoming study on schism is that a deeper research into primary sources often completely reverses judgements on the

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1) The distinction between schism and heresy is rarely made - Greenslade,S.L: op.cit, p.8.
2) Lalive D'Epinay,C: Haven of the Masses, p.217.
3) Wilson,J, D.Phil., 1966, p.vi; see his article on schism in Hill,M. A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain /4.
4) Willems,E. Validation of Authority in Pentecostal Sects of Chile and Brazil, J.FOR.THE.SC.STUDY.OF.REL. 6.2. (1967)p254
5) Wilson,B.R: Ph.D., 1955, p.974.
6) Talmon,Y: Millenarian Movements, EUROPEAN.J.OF.SOC. 7.2. 1966, p.171.
7) Greenslade,S.L: op.cit, pp.9,55.
8) Wilson,B.R: ibid p.1237.
9) Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects, pp.76,78,88. See also Lalive D'Epinay,C: Haven of the Masses.

causes of particular schisms, and it is doubtful if any definite or conclusive judgements can be made using documentary evidence alone. To say that there is evidence of personal animosity and/or doctrinal differences does not necessarily allow us to infer a cause. The question of what was the 'real' cause of schism may be unanswerable - or rather have a variety of answers at different levels.

The subject of schism will be taken up in some detail in this thesis and an attempt will be made to clarify the factual evidence available on the schisms that occurred during Russell's lifetime and subsequently amongst his successors.

Chapter 1.

Ideological Origins of the Witness Movement

It is not unusual for sectarians to reinterpret (or even suppress) the details of the life of their founder and it is almost inevitable that they oppose any investigation of the sources of his doctrines.[1] It is not, therefore, surprising that at present no study of the early years of Russell's life exists,[2] nor any detailed investigation of the sources of his ideas.[3] Previous theological studies have been content to point out similarities in doctrine between Russell and other groups without discussing any possible historical connections.[4] An attempt is made here to trace some of the contemporary influences on Russell's beliefs and ideas, and to shed more light on the sources of his doctrines, in the United States and the Pittsburgh community in particular. This relating of Russell to his social and cultural context is an important first step in the analysis of the conditions under which sects emerge and develop.[5]

It is clear from the studies of life in the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century that Russell's outlook and doctrines were derived from the major trends of

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1) Brodie,F.M: No Man Knows my History, Wilson,B.R: The Origins of Christian Science, THE HIBBERT J. 225 (Jan 1957) and Patterns of Sectarianism p318, etc.
2) The only full-length books written about Russell are Johnson,P.S.L. The Parousia Messenger Vol.1,2 and The Laodicean Messenger, a collection of adulatory essays compiled shortly after Russell's death.
3) See, however, Gruss,E.C: The Jehovah's Witnesses and Prophetic Speculation.
4) For example, Burrell,M., M.A. 1962, Czatt,M.S., Ph.D. 1929, pp. 1-55 and so on.
5) Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development, AM.SOC.REV. 24. (Feb.1959) p7 et seq.; Embrey,P.L: The Early Development of the Plymouth Brethren in Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism pp.213-243

religious and social thought at that time.[1] The dominant figure in the nineteenth century adventism of the United States was William Miller[2] from whom Russell indirectly drew some of his ideas. Miller, like Russell, claimed to lead an interdenominational movement[3] and after intensive study from 1816 to 1818 came to the conclusion that the affairs of the world would end about 1843. In 1831 he started preaching in northern New England, and soon tens of thousands became involved with him and many magazines were circulated. On October 22, 1844, the Millerites suffered their major prophetic disappointment and Miller retired from chronological speculation. Many of his followers, however, continued to believe in an imminent burning up of the world, some of them looking to 1853. One prominent Millerite editor, George Storrs, who had joined in 1842, continued publication of his journal The Bible Examiner until 1880.[4] Other groups of Millerites united to form new movements and from this beginning sprang the Advent Christian Church and the Seventh Day Adventists who were organised around 1860.[5] It also seems likely that the repercussions of the Miller movement were instrumental in causing the formation of the Christadelphians by John Thomas in the 1840's.[6]

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century in the

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1) See Abell,A.I: The Urban Impact on American Protestantism 1865-1900; May,H.F: Protestant Churches and Industrial America; Hopkins,C.H: The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915; and McLoughlin,W.G: Modern Revivalism.
2) For detailed accounts see Froom,Le R.E: The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers / 4; Nichol,F.D: The Midnight Cry; and Sears,C.H: Days of Delusion; etc.
3) Cross,W.R: The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, p.297; In Miller's case this claim was, of course, true.
4) This is a much truncated account of an eventful period. For full details see works listed above in note 1.
5) Froom,Le R.E: op.cit; Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects: A Sociological Study; and Schwartz,G: Sect Ideologies and Social Status.
6) See Wilson,B.R: op.cit, p.103.

North East states of America disappointed Millerites continued to search the Scriptures, publish magazines, and debate the imminent second advent of Jesus Christ.(1) The rapid growth of industrial cities after 1865 combined with a falling off in conventional religious affiliation in the urban areas led to a situation ripe for revivals and the growth of adventist ideas.(2) Home and foreign missions, Bible and Tract Societies, and the Y.M.C.A., grew in size and importance; evangelical conferences were held debating the return of Christ and interdenominational millennialism became popular.(3)

At the same time the revivals of the latter half of the nineteenth century led to the rise in importance of the Holiness movement(4) and the Social Gospel.(5) It is not intended to suggest that all of these factors influenced Russell, and the Social Gospel for example did not, but it is clear that all his ideas are relevant to some of the major religious preoccupations of the late nineteenth century.(6) Thus Russell founded a Bible and Tract Society and genuinely believed himself to be leading an interdenominational, non-sectarian movement. His adventism is well-known, but associated with it were perfectionist ideas that were widely accepted at the time in the Holiness movements.(7)

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1) See the detailed account in Froom,Le R.E: The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers / 4.
2) Clark,E.T: The Small Sects in America p33; Cole,S.G: The History of Fundamentalism p32; Abell,A.I: The Urban Impact on American Protestantism 1865-1900 pp.3,6; Smith,T.L: Called Unto Holiness p13.
3) May,H,F: Protestant Chruches and Industrial America p39; Smith,E.A: The Forming of a Modern American Denomination CHURCH HISTORY 31 (1962); Krommınga,D.H: The Millennium in in the Chruch pp.231-2; Case,S.J: The Millenial Hope p204.
4) Clark,E.T: The Small Sects in America p72, but see Smith,T.L: Called Unto Holiness p11.
5) Hopkins,C.H: The Rise in the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915 p11.
6) Smith,T.L: Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America pp.8,29,73,80,225-230.
7) Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects chapter four.

Russell fits well into the ethos which Hofstadter[1] claims was typical of late nineteenth century American life - a businessman's ethic predominated in which little formal education was combined with business activism. Similarly Russell's rationalism and his emphasis on lay participation, were in keeping with a general trend of which C.G.Finney was another and more outstanding example.[2] Russell who can in some respects be compared with Finney and Dwight L Moody (both of whom he admired) possessed the former's perfectionism and rationalism, and the businessman's approach of the latter.[3]

Even with more detailed information, it is difficult to justify any closer connection, of a causative kind, between Russell and the particular social and religious conditions existent at the time.[4] The revolutionist sects such as Christadelphians, Seventh Day Adventists and Russell's movement were not the only groups to emerge from the east coast flux of ideas. Many holiness and pentecostal sects also developed in the newly industrialised urban areas, while Mormonism, Christian Science and even Utopian sects arose at this time in the east of the United States.[5]

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1) Hofstadter,R: Anti-Intellectualism in America, pp.33,49.
2) Ibid pp.64,93.
3) For Finney, see McLoughlin,W.G: Modern Revivalism pp.11,105; May,H.F: Protestent Churches and Industrial America p23; Warburton,T.R: Ph.D., 1966, p37; Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism p.106. For Moody, see for example McLoughlin, W.G: op cit p.166. Moody was a former shoe salesman with little formal education (Hofstadter,R: op cit pp.111,106-7.
4) Kaufmann,R: Millenarisme et Acculturation p.33. For an example of the difficulties involved in relating specific geographic and social conditions to sectarianism, see Cross, W.R: The Burned-Over District and the criticism in De Pillis, M.S: The Social Sources of Mormonism CHURCH HISTORY 37.1. For examples of speculative causation see Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects pp.49,71,108-9,161.
5) For the holiness sects see Smith,T.L: Called Unto Holiness; For Utopian sects see the specialised study of Whitworth,J. McK: D.Phil. Oxford. 1971. For Christian Science see Wilson, B.R: The Origins of Christian Science THE HIBBERT.J. 225. (Jan. 1959).

Most accounts of Russell's early life are based on the brief biography in Zion's Watch Tower[1] published shortly after his death in 1916. In addition there are various resumés of events in the early Zion's Watch Towers, and from these meagre sources the following story can be pieced together.[2]

C.T.Russell was born on February 16, 1852 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Joseph L and Ann Eliza (nee Birney).[3] According to P.S.L.Johnson, Russell was 'consecrated before his birth',[4] and his parents gave him a religious upbringing in the Presbyterian Church.[5] Russell was the second son of the family and had at least one sister - Margaret M, who later married and had two daughters: Alice and Mary.[6] Russell's mother died when he was nine years old but his father lived until 1897 (dying at the age of eighty-four).[7] Russell's father and sister were baptized in 1874[8] and letters from his father in support of Russell were published occasionally in Zion's Watch Tower.[9] Russell left school at the age of fourteen, and shortly

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1) Zion's Watch Tower was Russell's own magazine; quotations from the reprints edition of this magazine will be abbreviated in this thesis to 'Z'.
2) Z.5997. See also The Laodicean Messenger; Rutherford,J.F: A Great Battle in the Ecclesiastical Heavens; What Pastor Russell Wrote For The Overland Monthly p435-; Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1,2; White,T: A People For His Name; Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Stduent Movement in the Days of C.T.Russell; Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society: Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, etc.
3) Z.4947,5997.
4) Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol 1. p.432. Z.3456.
5) Z.3820-1,6079.
6) Z.6000; Parkinson,J.B: op cit, section A1. She was alive in 1912 (Z.4228; Johnson,P.S.L: op cit Vol 1. p.358; The Laodicean Messenger p.179; What Pastor Russell Said p.345).
7) Z.2239. So far there exists no comparative study of the family backgrounds and personalities of sect leaders along psychological lines. For some general correlates of leadership, see Gibb,C.A: Leadership,Selected Readings.
8) The Laodicean Messenger p.182.
9) Z.1033,1110,1664.

afterwards began working in his father's draper store.[1] In later years it was claimed that he had been educated by private tutors[2] but as far as is known Russell himself did not make this claim and in court admitted to only seven years education in state schools.[3] According to stories he was an able youth, 'sharp as a briar', and looked like a man at fifteen.[4] He also appeared to have been interested and involved with religious matters. As one writer to Zion's Watch Tower put it:

> 'Our family has been acquainted with you since you were quite a young man, and were fully convinced long ago, by your walk and conversation, that from boyhood you have faithfully desired to serve the Lord.'[6]

When fifteen years old he consecrated himself to God.[5] At this time he was a believer in Calvinistic predestination[7] and as a child he was reputed to have chalked texts on walls warning of a hell of fiery torment.[8] In 1867 he was said to be a member of the Congregational Church and Y.M.C.A.,[9] but in the same year, according to a story he often told about himself, he was challenged by an infidel on the subject of hell and was defeated in argument; after which he fell into unbelief.[10] Two years later, aged seventeen, he resigned from the Congregational

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1) His father was a 'well to do merchant' - What Pastor Russell Wrote for the Overland Monthly, p.436; Laodicean Messenger, p.6; Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, p.17; Ross,J.J: Some Facts and More Facts about the Self-Styled 'Pastor' Charles T. Russell, p.18.
2) Z.5997; See Russell's comment in Studies in the Scriptures Vol.6, p.539; What Pastor Russell Wrote for the Overland Monthly, p.442.
3) Hamilton Spectator, March 17, 1913; Ross,J.J: op cit p.18.
4) Pittsburgh Press, Aug. 23, 1903, p.5.
5) Z.3775. This took place when he was twelve according to Z.2477, or thirteen at Z.2560. See also Z.4853.
6) Z.1667.
7) The Laodicean Messenger p.7. and Z.6079. This is a theological position often associated with revolutionist sects: Wilson,B.R: in Robertson,R: Sociology of Religion p.365.
8) Pastor Russell's Sermons p.166. Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1. p.432.
9) Z.3820.
10) Johnson,P.S.L: op cit p.433.

Church,[1] but some of Russell's statements suggest that in 1869 he was chalking up slogans on hell;[2] while in another place Russell says he was then about to give up religion and was searching the Bible to see if a fiery hell was taught there.[3]

It seems that Russell was brought up as a Presbyterian, entered and left the Congregational Church and Y.M.C.A., and at some point was challenged and defeated on the doctrine of hell. He is then said to have discarded Christianity and examined the Oriental religions.[4] There is no independent evidence for this story, but it seems likely that it is true in outline.[5] In addition to this version there is the story told in the Prefactory Note to the reprints of Zion's Watch Tower:

> 'In 1868 Russell, a lad of but sixteen years, fully consecrated to the Lord and a member of the Congregational Church and Y.M.C.A., began a careful investigation of the Scriptures. His previous training had led him practically into infidelity, because the theories advanced by the churches with reference to the torment of the masses of mankind seemed wholly inconsistent with the character of a God of love. In 1870 he was a member of a Bible class, organised solely for the careful and prayerful investigation of the Scriptures, and by 1876 this had grown into a congregation of Bible students, and he continued to occupy that relationship to Bible students until his death, in October, 1916.'[6]

This account minimizes his 'infidelity' and suggests that it came before 1868. It says that Russell was a member of a Bible class as early as 1870 and this is substantiated by Russell himself:

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1) The Laodicean Messenger p.180. The same account says that in 1870 he became an infidel.
2) Pastor Russell's Sermons p.517.
3) Z.4947.
4) Pastor Russell's Sermons p.168; Z.4947;
5) An interesting aspect is the emphasis on hell. One of Russell's most frequent and popular lectures in later life was 'To Hell and Back'. Pastor Russell's Sermons pp.168,517. And Pastor Russell Wrote for the Overland Monthly p.183.
6) Reprints Vol 1. published in 1919. This story appears to be slanted to harmonise with Russell's later self-image as an influential and independent preacher.

> 'Among other theories, I stumbled upon Adventism. Seemingly by accident, one evening I dropped into a dusty, dingy hall, where I had heard religious services were held, to see if the handful who met there had anything more sensible to offer than the creeds of the great churches. There, for the first time, I heard something of the views of Second Adventists, the preacher being Mr Jonas Wendell, long since deceased. Thus, I confess indebtedness to Adventists as well as to other denominations. ... What I heard sent me to my Bible to study with more zeal and care than ever before, and I shall ever thank the Lord for that leading; for though Adventism helped me to no single truth, it did help greatly in the unlearning of errors, and thus prepared me readily for the truth.'(1)

It is not clear from the context whether the above encounter with Jonas Wendell occurred in 1869, 1870 or sometime during the interim period.(2) Perhaps Russell meant that the encounter was in 1868 after which he re-examined the Scriptures and in 1870 began meeting with others.

We know very little about the Bible class Russell joined,(3) but the evidence suggests that they were 'second adventists' of some sort, and perhaps many of them had been at sometime influenced by Millerites.(4) As evidence for this there is firstly Russell's own admission that in 1871 'many of our company were what are known [as] Second Adventists'.(5) Secondly, Russell acknowledged the influence of George Storrs and G.W.Stetson: two former Millerites.(6) Thirdly, Russell believed that Miller's movement was part of the Divine plan. Fourthly, Russell's statement about Wendell suggests (although he avoids saying so) that he did in fact join Wendell's group,(7) or at least contacted

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1) Z.3821.
2) Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Historical Vol.I, p.436, claims that in 1869 he 'started out in quest of the Divine revelation'.
3) See Johnson,P.S.L: op.cit, p.436. Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student Movement in the U.S.A. of C.T.Russell, p.A.1, gives some details of members.
4) Z.130. It is unclear what Zygmunt means when he claims that Russell 'never joined the Adventist sect', Ph.D., 1967, p.200.
5) Z.3821.
6) Z.87,480.
7) This is implied by P.S.L.Johnson, op.cit., p.517.

it, for he later referred to Wendell as 'my friend'.[1] Lastly, from 1876 onwards, Russell became closely associated with N.H.Barbour, J.H.Paton, A.D.Jones, etc., who were 'adventists'.[2]

There are thus two interpretations of Russell's early development. One suggests that he was stimulated by some adventists to search the Scriptures himself, and with some business acquaintances formed a Bible study group who, under Russell's leadership, 'rediscovered' the Biblical doctrines. The other interpretation, however, is that Russell one day casually attended a meeting by Jonas Wendell whose enthusiasm revived Russell's religious interests. Russell then associated with adventists who converted him to their point of view. He attended this Bible class from 1870 to 1875, while continuing with his father's business, and was <u>taught</u> and accepted the beliefs that later he espoused as his own. Russell favoured the former version as it enhanced his own part in the so-called restoration of true doctrine at the beginning of the millennium.[3]

The evidence indicates that prior to 1874 Russell had much greater interaction with religious figures than his published biographies suggest, and the people who influenced him most were J.A.Seiss,D.D., who was Pastor of a Lutheran Church in Philadelphia,[4] G.W.Stetson, and George Storrs.[5]

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1) E.3822. For details of Wendell, see Wellcome,I.C: <u>History of the Second Advent</u>, pp.585-,6.
2) See for example, <u>Advent Christian Times</u>, July 18, 1877. (quoted on p.41)
3) See <u>Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose</u>, Chapter 2; Cole,M: <u>Faith on the March</u>. Both of these are modern-day apologetics for Russell. It is not uncommon, of course, for sects/cults to reinterpret their history to favour their founder. In the case of Russell he initiated and encouraged such reinterpretation.
4) Johnson,P.E.: <u>The Pittsburgh Messenger</u> Vol.1, p.525.
5) Neither Russell nor his followers gave an account of Russell's life prior to 1874. They liked to feel that correct doctrines began <u>de novo</u> with Pastor Joseph Smith was able to create his own Bible, whereas Russell saw himself as an unfolder or revealer of Bible truths.

According to P.S.L.Johnson, Russell was acquainted with Seiss and visited him in Philadelphia (taking with him, his pamphlet Object and Manner of Christ's Return) and 'won the heart' of Seiss.[1] Russell later quoted from Seiss's book, A Miracle in Stone[2] and there are at least three articles by Seiss printed in the early Zion's Watch Towers.[3] The influence of Seiss on Russell can only be conjectured from a comparison of their respective views. For example, in 1868 Seiss had published a book, The Last Times and the Great Consumation in which he speculates on the date of the second advent. Using Usher's chronolgy he calculated the end of the 6,000 years from the creation of Adam to be 1870. This date was not certain, he said, but the end should come before the close of the century.[4] Seiss, like Russell, thought that Jesus's second advent would be pre-millennial and would lead to world restoration during the millennium, not to a burning up of the planet.[5] Also the Jews were to be restored to Palestine; and Jerusalem was to be re-built.[6] Unlike Russell, he thought Jesus would make a physical appearance.[7] For the most part Seiss does not discuss dates but he does mention various types and antitypes that were later used by Russell.[8]

Secondly there was G.W.Stetson, whom Russell said had 'rendered assistance' during the period 1870-75.[9] Stetson was a local Pastor from Lainboro, Pennsylvania,[10] but unfortunately

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1) Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1, p.525.
2) Studies in the Scriptures Vol.3, p.37. This was a reference to the Great Pyramid at Gizeh, see Gardner,M: Fads and Fallacies in the Name of Science and the works of Adam Rutherford.
3) Z.3812,3841,3908, the last one in 1905 after Seiss's death.
4) Seiss,J.A: The Last Times and the Great Consumation, p.269. For Russell's view see Chapter 2 of this thesis.
5) Ibid., p.70.
6) Ibid., p.223.
7) Ibid., p.48,70.
8) Seiss,J.A: The Parable of the Ten Virgins, pp.1-16.
9) Z.3821.
10) Parkinson,J.F: The Bible Student Movement in the Days of C.T.Russell, p.A.1.

the extent of his influence on Russell is not known,[9] but when Stetson died on October 9, 1879, Russell preached at his funeral.[10]

The third and most important figure was the schismatic New England adventist, George Storrs (1796-1879), a one-time travelling Methodist minister.[1] Storrs had been a supporter of Miller in 1844 and had continued as an influential adventist after the failure of that date. Storrs edited The Bible Examiner[2] and his work Six Sermons was widely distributed and almost quarter of a million copies were sold.[3] In 1879 Russell wrote:

> 'Brother Geo. Storrs. Our brother, so long the editor of 'The Bible Examiner' is known to most of our readers;'[4]

- a further suggestion that Russell's readers were from an adventist background. Storrs, who was then living in Brooklyn, died soon afterwards on December 13, 1879, at the age of eighty-three and an article by Storrs was later printed in Zion's Watch Tower.[5] Russell himself acknowledged Storr's help,[6] and learnt from him that the Lord's return meant a restitution of all the earth to God's favour.[7] Storrs differed in one important respect from Miller's other supporters: he did not believe in a hell of eternal torment,[8] and this was also Russell's

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1) Froom,Le R.E: The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers / 4, p.804; for a brief biography see Goodrich,R.D: Brochure No.434:3 and Back to the Bible Way, Vol.18, Jan.-Apr.1969; also Cross,W.R: The Burned-Over District, p.310.
2) Z.3821.
3) Froom,Le R.E: op.cit., pp.624-5,807.
4) Z.71.
5) Z.623-4.
6) Z.3821.
7) Johnson,P.S.L: A Miscellany, p.108.
8) Froom,Le R.E: op.cit., p.807.
9) Johnson says Stetson was 'pouring out upon Russell knowledge by letters and magazines' - The Parousia Messenger Vol.1, p.517, and Vol.2, p.27.
10) Z.46.

position.[1] A comparison of Storr's Six Sermons with Russell's early writings on hell, reveals a similarity in phraseology and examples, as well as doctrine.[2]

Russell claimed that he arrived at the true doctrines of the ransom and restitution and baptism by total immersion of adults[4] between 1870 and 1875.[3] At 'about 1874' Russell claimed that he realised Jesus's second coming would be invisible[5] and it was in 1874 that Russell published Object and Manner of the Lord's Return which mentioned God's plan of salvation, in which Jesus will come as a spirit and will take away the elect.[6] In answer to the charge made in 1894 that the doctrines he promulgated were not new, he agreed, with the exception of five doctrines 'not taught anywhere else' - but there are grounds for believing these were also derived from others.[7]

Russell denied any connection with the Second Advent Church[8] and tended to contrast his own position with that of the 'second adventists', whom he felt were the 'virgins who slept'.[9] This, however, can be harmonised with the influence of adventists on Russell - for he characterised the adventists as

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1) Thus it seems unlikely (as Zygmunt claims, Ph.D., p.217) that 'hellfire' was one of Russell's 'own' views.
2) A detailed comparison is inappropriate here but for such a substantiation see the (biassed) account by Goodrich,R.D: Brochure No.434:3
3) Z.3821.
4) Z.182; Laodicean Messenger, p.18.
5) Z.513,3822; Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1, p.437. Later Witness sources claim Russell originated the doctrines, see Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, pp.15 et.seq., and Cole,M: Jehovah's Witnesses. The New World Society.
6) Z.513,3822; Johnson,P.S.L: op.cit., p.437; A later edition was published by The Herald of the Morning in 1877, and Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.7, p.386 states that Russell published 50,000 copies of Object and Manner of Christ's Return (Herald of the Morning, Vol.7, p.82).
7) A Conspiracy Exposed, p.69. This was an extra edition of Zion's Watch Tower in 1894.
8) Z.1070-1.
9) Z.188,469,719.
10) Matt. 25:5.

believing that Jesus would return physically, burn up the earth, and take away the saints to heaven. Russell, on the other hand, believed that Christ had returned invisibly and that while the saints would be taken to heaven, the earth would not be destroyed but would be restored to perfection.[1] Thus his criticisms of second adventism was primarily on this point of difference. In other respects, Russell himself might be described as a 'second adventist'.

Russell, however, was in no sense attached to the Seventh Day Adventists or the Christadelphians despite similarities in doctrine. Gruss suggests that there is a possible connection between Russell and Christadelphianism but does not offer any direct evidence[2] and it seems much more likely that both groups have their separate origins in the east coast flux of religious ideas, particularly those of William Miller and Alexander Campbell.[3] Although John Thomas, the founder of Christadelphianism was in Philadelphia in 1832, there is no evidence that he made contact with any of Russell's doctrinal teachers. Thomas, like Russell, saw himself as rediscovering the truth rather than forming a sect[4] and gained adherents amongst former Millerites. Russell's followers, like the Christadelphians, met in self-governing ecclesias and had no clerical body.[5] At the same time, however, the Christadelphians differed from the Bible students in other respects.[6] Burrell mentions that both the Christadelphian and Jehovah's Witness doctrines of the person and work of Christ stem from the late eighteenth century east coast American unitarianism, and the resemblances in

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1) Z.170,469.
2) Gruss,E.C: Apostles of Denial, pp.15-16.
3) For Campbell see Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects, pp.52-4.
4) Wilson,B.R, Ph.D., 1955, p.915; Roberts,R: Dr Thomas, His Life and Work, p.12.
5) Wilson,B.R, op.cit., pp.922,925,948,1034.
6) Ibid., pp.844-866.

doctrine can be accounted for on this basis.[1] Russell criticised both Alexander Campbell and the Christadelphians and did not regard them as close to him in doctrine.[2]

It is against this background that we should consider Russell's religious development, for it is clear from an examination of Millerite and post-Millerite literature that Russell was heir to this tradition. For example the advantists were much concerned with analysing Daniel and Revelation and the Biblical time periods of 1290, 1335, 2300 and 1260 days. They attributed prophetic significance to Napoleon and the French Revolution, and the dates 539 A.D., 1789, 1833 and 1844 as did Russell.[3] They were also involved with antityping Biblical figures, in particular the Whore of Babylon and the beasts of Revelation. Even the titles of Advent journals - Day Dawn, Day Star, Midnight Cry, Present Truth - are similar to those mentioned in Zion's Watch Tower.

It is perhaps surprising that Russell was so dependent on others for his ideas and was not an innovator as far as doctrines were concerned. His system of belief, which ultimately formed the ideology of the sect he founded, was one that strongly appealed to laymen. This fits the way it was constructed, as Russell, still a young man in search for a satisfactory system, selected doctrines from his various teachers and fitted them together in a way that appealed to him. It was this unique arrangement of doctrines that characterises Russell's ideology and not the originality of any of its parts. Russell's role was not that of prophet but of religious entrepeneur.

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1) Burrell,M: M.A. pp.91-2. For unitarianism see Sheldon,H.C: Unbelief in the Nineteenth Century pp.227-9.
2) Z.1950,1713.
3) Studies in the Scriptures Vol.3. pp.23,84,87,109,289. For adventist views see Froom,LeR.E: The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers Vol.2. p.749,Vol.3. p.269,330,Vol.4. p.294,846-7.

Chapter 2.

Sect Emergence: The Initial Phase

In January, 1876, Russell received and read a copy of The Herald of the Morning, a sixteen-page adventist publication edited by N.H.Barbour of Rochester, New York.[1] According to Barbour's own account, he had evolved his doctrines around 1843 and preached his views from 1868 onwards.[2] In 1871 he published Evidences for the Coming of the Lord in 1873, whose title is self explanatory. In 1873 Barbour began publishing a journal which in three months had gained 15,000 subscribers.[3] Barbour believed that the thousand years from Adam's creation had ended in 1873[4] and he expected that in October of that year Jesus would appear and the 'saints' would be taken to heaven. When this failed to occur, Barbour's journal dropped in circulation from 15,000 to 200. Not deterred, Barbour then expected the second coming in the Spring of 1874.[5] The subsequent failure of that date was explained by one of the readers of his magazine, B.W.Keith, who suggested that the key text from Matthew 24:27,35,37 had been mistranslated. The word 'coming' (parousia) could be translated presence and thus Jesus had been present since 1874, although invisible.[6] Barbour published this explanation in The Herald of the Morning, and this was the article that Russell read early in 1876.[7]

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1) Z.3822. Barbour said this occurred in 1875 (Barbour,N.H: The Midnight Cry p.368.)
2) The Herald of the Morning Vol.8.p.53 and Vol.9.p.28.
3) ibid Vol.9. p.27. Barbour implies that the title of this journal in 1873 was The Herald of the Morning, whereas Russell refers to it as The Midnight Cry, Z.88,189,289. Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student Movement in the Days of C.T.Russell pA2, says that the name was changed.
4) Wendell shared this belief, attributed to Mr.Bowen (probably Charles Bowen) of England. Z.289.3822. See The Bible Student Vol.2. No.4. p172; Elliot,E.B: Horae Apocalypticae p.228;
5) Z.39-40,88,3822.
6) Z.88,188,3822; Johnson,P.E.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1 p.28; Goodrich,R: Brochure 413.
7) Rutherford is incorrect in implying that Russell was expecting the second advent in 1874- What Pastor Russell Wrote For the Overland Monthly. p.445.

On April 30, 1876, Russell arranged to meet Barbour in Philadelphia.[1] Russell claimed that the Allegheny group had 'for some years' believed Christ's return to be invisible,[2] but it was during this summer of 1876 that Barbour convinced Russell that Jesus Christ's return had occurred invisibly in 1874.[3] According to Russell's later account repudiating Barbour: he (Russell) had paid Barbour's expenses to come to Philadelphia,[4] Barbour was then low in funds, and The Herald of the Morning had had to cease publication. Barbour, however, maintained that he had never lacked the means to publish his magazine.[5] The outcome of this meeting was that Russell agreed to finance the further printing and publication of The Herald of the Morning and in return was taken on as assistant editor.[6]

Thus from 1876 to 1879, Russell was associated with Barbour in financing and contributing to The Herald of the Morning.[7] In 1877, Russell 'assisted' Barbour in the publication of a book entitled Three Worlds and the Harvest of This World. The nature of this assistance is unclear. Russell says he gave Barbour money to write a book 'and as I was enabled to give some time and thought to its preparation it was issued by us both jointly ... although it was mainly written by Mr Barbour'.[8] The book itself, on the title page lists as its publishers:

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1) Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1, p.462.
2) Z.3822; Ibid., p.369.
3) Note that date setting and re-setting was a habitual occupation for some adventists. The 'disappointments' simply spurred them on to further investigation and fresh dates, with no noticeable loss of belief (although often a loss of following).
4) Z.3822.
5) The Herald of the Morning, Vol.9, p.28, (there are gaps, however, in its publication).
6) Ibid., Vol.7, No.6; Z.3822. Russell also financed the preaching tours undertaken by Barbour and Paton at this time. (Palmer,C.G: A Review, God's Wisdom versus Man's Wisdom, p.25).
7) Other contributors to the magazine were: S.H.Withington, B.W.Keith and J.H.Paton, who was also assistant editor with Russell, and was resident in Almont Michigan (Z.3).
8) Z.3822.

N.H.Barbour (in large print) and underneath (in smaller print), C.T.Russell. A preface, signed by N.H.Barbour refers to himself as 'the author'. This evidence suggests that Russell contributed little in writing (if anything) to the volume[1] although later witness accounts suggest otherwise.[2]

Having concluded that Jesus Christ's second advent began invisibly in 1874, Russell and Barbour's main interest was when the glorification of the saints would occur. According to one line of reasoning Jesus's first 'advent' had lasted three and a half years from his baptism to his crucifiction, so his second advent would also last three and a half years from October 1874 to the Spring of 1878.[3] The date 1878 was set out in the charts printed in The Herald of the Morning and Three Worlds ... and Russell, writing shortly after 1878, admitted he was one of those expectant ones. Russell and Paton spent some time travelling and preaching in New England, and it seems certain that the date 1878 was part of their message.[4] As the Advent Christian Times put it:

> 'One N.H.Barbour, called Dr Barbour, with his confreres, J.H.Paton and C.T.Russell, is traveling around the country, going everywhere that they can find Adventists, and preaching that Jesus has come secretly, and will soon be revealed, and mingling in their lectures a lot of "Age-to-come" trash, all to subvert their hearers.'(5)

It is known that Russell called a meeting of the Pittsburgh clergy in 1877 and told them of Jesus's second presence in 1974, but failed to arouse their interest.[6]

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1) Barbour asserted that Russell wrote nothing of Three Worlds (The Herald of the Morning, Feb.1881), see Faulner,C.G: A Review, God's Wisdom versus Man's Wisdom, p.11.
2) 'the first of Pastor Russell's books' (Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.7, p.327); 'Russell's first book, Three Worlds, was written in collaboration with Barbour' (Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, p.30).
3) Z.19. This was also the date at which the 'nominal church' was cast off. (Z.46,224).
4) See Goodrich,R: Brochure No.434:3, p.92; Z.189,3823; see also ... Faith on the March by A.H.MacMillan, p.27.
5) Op.Cit., July 18, 1877.
6) Studies in the Scriptures Vol.7 p.55; Laodicean Messenger p.4.

When the Spring of 1878 did not see the removal of the saints to heaven, the failure was accounted for in two ways. Firstly the establishment of the Kingdom was still believed to have taken place - but invisibly,[1] and the elect who had lain asleep in the grave until that time were thought to have been awakened to reign in heaven with Christ.[2] This relegated 1878 to the non-contingent status of 1874. Secondly there remained the problem of when the saints would be taken to heaven, and by an extension of the 'three and a half years argument' the date 1881 was introduced.[3] Russell claimed that Barbour was disappointed and disheartened by the 1878 failure[4] but there is no evidence for this in The Herald of the Morning, which put forward the date 1881 early in 1879.[5]

Whatever the effect of the 1878 disappointment, it appears that Russell (and possibly Paton) were already in disagreement with Barbour. Russell's story was that Barbour had published an article in The Herald of the Morning in the Spring of 1878, denying the Ransom doctrine, as previously understood.[6] Russell tried to counteract this by publishing articles supporting his own view of the doctrine[7] and eventually Russell and Paton decided to withdraw from Barbour and The Herald of the Morning and set up a publication of their own. The evidence from The Herald of the Morning, and from Barbour's version of the break-up, suggests a different story. Barbour was much older than Russell or Paton and he sometimes affected a condescending

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1) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.2, p.101.
2) Z.365.
3) See Z.102-3,115,180,191,etc.
4) Z.189,3823-4.
5) The Herald of the Morning Vol.8, Jan.1879, p.6. It is incorrect of Beckford to say 'those who followed Russell rather than Barbour set their sights on 1881' (Ph.D., 1972).
6) Z.3823. Barbour substantially agrees with this in The Herald of the Morning Vol.10, p.28 referring to an article in June, 1878.
7) For example, Ibid, Sept.1878; See Falkner,C.G: A Review, God's Wisdom versus Man's Wisdom.

tone towards his recently converted partners.[1] He had the habit of inserting comments 'correcting' articles by Russell or Paton,[2] and he also pointed out that he had been preaching for 35-36 years, Paton for 4-5 years, and Russell for only 2-3 years![3] It seems likely that friction had developed between the older Barbour and his younger associates; they were eager to come to conclusions which Barbour felt to be premature, and it may be that a personal animosity developed.[4]

Russell did not withdraw 'officially' from Barbour's journal, however, for he printed in the Herald of the Morning an offer to publish

> 'at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, another paper which would be an auxiliary of The Herald of the Morning published on the 15th ... I presume brothers Paton, Keith, Adams and others could do more writing.' [5]

The Bible Student claims that this notice was inserted while Barbour was away and without his knowledge.[6] The response was not enthusiastic, but the break came a few months later in August, 1879.[7] Russell and Paton were replaced by A.P.Adams and S.H.Withington as associate editors.[8] Russell accused Barbour of 'double dealing',[9] and claimed that Barbour had seized the office and print which he (Russell) had paid for.[10] According to Barbour, Russell had demanded control of The

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1) 'Mr.Barbour had a strong dogmatic way of putting things'Z.3823.
2) The Herald of the Morning Vol.8. pp.49,66.
3) ibid p.53. See Barbour,N.H: The Midnight Cry p.368.
4) Falkner claims that it was Russell who introduced changes by his 'substitution' doctrine(Falkner,C.G: A Review... pp.11,15). See The Herald of the Morning August,1878. Paton did not, at first, agree with either party in this dispute (Falkner,C.G: op cit p.48).
5) The Herald of the Morning Vol.8.p40.
6) The Bible Student Vol.8, No.3, p.126.
7) See Vol.9, p.2. The Herald of the Morning
8) A.P.Adams, a former Methodist minister, had been contacted by Russell on one of his preaching tours (Z.3822). He later left Barbour and started his own magazine (Herald of the Morning Vol.23.p6)and a book probably by him was critically reviewed in Z.1297. See Z.3824 and Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.2, p488.
9) The Herald of the Morning Vol.9, p27.
10) Z.3823.

Herald of the Morning on threat of setting up his own separate paper. Barbour claimed that 'money influence was the thumb-screw in this case'[1], but he denied Russell's claim that he, Barbour, was in financial straits. Barbour continued publishing The Herald of the Morning (at least up to 1889).[2] He boasted a win of twenty-five per cent of the Pittsburgh class away from Russell[3] and eventually printed an article identifying Russell's supporters as the 'foolish virgins'.[4] Russell and Paton withdrew from The Herald of the Morning and despite the luke-warm response of its readers to the prospect of a new journal, they began their own journal financed by Russell.

In this way Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence was started by Russell in July 1879 with a first printing of six thousand. In 1886 a circulation of more than seven thousand was claimed and this increased year by year. For some time the readers of the Herald of the Morning and Zion's Watch Tower were the same people and there was a 'battle' for their allegiance.[5] It is clear that the role of Barbour in the establishing of Russell's movement was important. It was he and his magazine and subscribers that gave Russell the opportunity and the audience to launch his own magazine as a 'schism' from Barbour and his group. There is no evidence of how many of Barbour's subscribers were won over to Zion's Watch Tower. Some geographical information is provided by the itinerary of Russell's tours which indicated that there were 'classes of the consecrated' in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusets, New York, Michigan and Ohio[6]; but little else is known about his readers.

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1) The Herald of the Morning, No.2, p.27.
2) See Falkner, C.G: Review, God's Wisdom versus Man's Wisdom, p.25; Ibid., May 1879, p.37.
3) Ibid., Vol.10, No.2, p.32.
4) Ibid., No.3, p.47.
5) Z.3324.
6) See Zion's Watch Tower, May, June, Aug., Nov. 1880, etc.

Just prior to the publication of Zion's Watch Tower, Russell met Maria Frances Ackley and after three months acquaintance they were married.(1)

Russell was the editor of the new journal and its financer and publisher. Five 'regular contributors' were listed: A.D.Jones, J.H.Paton, H.B.Rice, W.I.Mann and B.W.Keith. H.B.Rice lived in Oakland, California,(2) and a new paper of his (The Last Trump) had recently collapsed.(3) Russell sent copies of Zion's Watch Tower to The Last Trump subscribers, but no articles by Rice were ever printed in Zion's Watch Tower.(4) A.D.Jones was for some time, an employee in Russell's store in Pittsburgh.(5) W.I.Mann was from Allegheny and wrote several articles for Zion's Watch Tower.(6) He was the first Vice-President of Russell's corporation in 1884.(7) He 'severed his connection with the society' on April 11, 1892, and his last article for Zion's Watch Tower was in 1888.(8) B.W.Keith from Dansville, New York, was an adventist who had been studying Biblical chronolgy since 1867(9) and his articles were published in Zion's Watch Tower at first, but not after 1882.(10)

The early issues of Zion's Watch Tower contained contributions by these five, and Paton in particular took the lead in the number and quality of articles he wrote for the journal. Thus of the larger articles (omitting small notes, letters,etc.)

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1) Zion's Watch Tower, 1906, p.213.
2) Z.3.
3) The Herald of the Morning, Vol.8, p.42.
4) Z.3,121.
5) Z.3822.
6) Z.3; Goodrich,R: Brochure 434, p.54.
7) Z.707.
8) Z.6163. The only other mention of Mann was at his death in 1921 when he was reported to have been attending Bible student meetings at Rochester,N.Y. The Herald of Christ's Kingdom Vol.14. No.3. p.38.
9) Z.223.
10) Z.188. Here and above this means that his name no longer appears. His(unsigned) articles may have continued.

in the reprints for the year 1879, out of a total of 54, 26 articles were by Paton, 6 by Mann, 3 by Russell and 11 unsigned. Thus Russell could have written only 14 at most compared with 26 by Paton. Of the articles for 1880, out of a total of 107, Paton wrote 31, other contributors accounted for 25, and there were 51 unsigned.(1)

In 1879 J.H.Paton was therefore the most prolific writer for the magazine and Russell essentially its publisher and editor. It can be argued that Paton's presentation of some of Russell's (later) ideas in Russell's magazine, with no acknowledgement, implies that Russell had not originated them. In 1881, however, Russell claimed that 'since 1878...the Lord has given us to see the deep things of God'(2) and he lists thirteen examples, mainly interpretations of specific texts. Even if these were original, the foundation on which Russell rested his whole system was undoubtedly put forward first by Paton. On This point Barbour's comments, biassed as they are, are illuminating. After hearing in 1879 that Russell was attempting to counter his own interpretation of the Hebrew Tabernacle ceremonies, he said: 'What! That shirt seller explaining the tabernacle'.(3)

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1) There is always a degree of uncertainty about the authorship of these 'unsigned' articles. (see Z.312). For details of other contributors see Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student Movement in the Days of C.T.Russell C1-2.
2) Z.513.
3) For detailed evidence see The Bible Student Vol.1, No.3, p.95; Vol.8,No.1; Vol.8, No.2, pp.107-8. As has already been pointed out, these ideas were not necessarily originated by Paton. All we wish to establish here is that Russell was not responsible for them. See Black.J: New Forms of the Old Faith p.180; Parkinson,J.B: op cit, p.D1. Falkner,C.G: A Review,God's Wisdom versus Man's Wisdom p.52, claims that the substitution theory (of Jesus for Adam) was Russell's own idea although it was almost certainly learnt from Storrs. Parkinson,J.B. (op cit pp. D2-3) agrees that Russell derived most of his ideas from previous writers. Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1. p.369. The Herald of the Morning Vol.9, p.28 and Vol.10, p.29.

In fact Russell had been engaged in the clothing business from the age of fourteen until at least 1874, when he was 22 years old. It is also clear that he did not entirely give up this work then for in 1874 he said:

> 'I determined to curtail my business cares and give my time as well as my means to the great harvest work... I closed my Philadelphia business preparatory to engaging in the work, as I afterwards did, travelling and preaching.' (1)

Russell's store in Philadelphia, however, was only there for the duration of the Centennial Exposition and he had two other permanent stores in Pittsburgh.(2) The evidence suggests that Russell did not give up his business before 1879, for (according to P.S.L.Johnson)(3) he was still working at the store in 1879. Russell himself said he was in mercantile business from 1871-9,(4) while he admitted to possessing four stores in 1881.(5)

After the establishment of Zion's Watch Tower Paton wrote a book called Day Dawn which was published by A.D.Jones and advertised in Zion's Watch Tower.(6) The book was written partly to combat Barbour's views and Russell claimed that he 'contributed to Mr. Paton's personal expenses in connection with the publishing, as well as paid for part of the printer's bill'.(7) By June 1880 and edition of 4,000 was printed and ready for distribution.(8) Next year, in the Summer of 1881, Russell conceived a symbolic interpretation of the Hebrew Tabernacle (Leviticus 16) to correct a view that Barbour was then propagating amongst their mutual audience.(9) Russell later published this as Tabernacle Shadows. According to Russell, Paton was jealous of, and disagreed with this interpretation and:

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1) Z.3822.
2) Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1, p.462.
3) ibid p.370.
4) Z.3809. Russell never gave up his business interests. See p.132
5) A Conspiracy Exposed p.20.
6) Z.94, 3824. Russell proposed to Paton that he (Russell) should rewrite 'Three Worlds..' The Bible Student 8.3. p.122
7) Z.3824
8) Z.111.
9) Z.3825. Goodrich,R: Back to the Bible Way Vol 18.(135) pp.240-5.

> 'it became the occasion of another sifting or testing of the Watch Tower readers; this time a much larger number (because Mr. Paton had been a respectable brother and co-worker with us, and because as a travelling representative of the Tower and its doctrines, his expenses being met in part by Tower subscriptions and renewals, as well as by money from me, he was personally known to a larger number of the readers than was the Editor of the Tower.'(1)

Paton published a revised edition of Day Dawn in 1882, which disagreed with Russell on some points.(2) In the same year A.D.Jones moved to New York City and there published his own magazine Zion's Day Star which was recommended in Zion's Watch Tower to 'its nearly 10,000' readers'.(3) Russell soon disagreed with Jones' 'new' doctrines, however, and engaged in a dispute with him which led to another separation.(4)

Thus, after 1882, Rusell was the main contributor to Zion's Watch Tower and (with the exception of his wife) was the only major contributor thereafter. Russell had succeeded in transforming his role of financier in 1879 to that of chief contributor in 1882. It is impossible to know all the factors that led to the rapid break-up of Russell, Paton and Jones; we have only Russell's version of the story. It may have been that Russell and Paton were rivals, at least after Russell began challenging Paton's role as doctrinal leader of the group, and it may have been Russell who forced some sort of confrontation and instigated the division. In any case, Russell's public rejection of his former associates on doctrinal or ideological grounds was typically sectarian.(5)

There is very little information on the activities and organisation of the Bible student classes whose loyalty Russell and the others were competing for. Prior to the publication of

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1) Z.382
2) ibid . He intended to set up a magazine of his own and did not reunite with Barbour. Z.291 and Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student Movement in the Days of C.T.Russell, p.82.
3) Z.297,3826,313.
4) Z.3826. also Z.397,423,432.
5) Greenslade,S.L: Schism in the Early Church p.20. Whatever the motives for the rejection, it is the shared concept of exclusitivity that is important here.

Zion's Watch Tower in July 1879 there existed classes[1] of adventists in and around Pittsburgh and in other parts of New England. They had an 'interdenominational' outlook and there were a number of circulating journals as well as Zion's Watch Tower. The organisation of the 'classes' visited by Russell was apparently locally controlled.[2] From Russell's itineries of his tours we know he visited at least twenty-five classes, in the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Michigan and Indiana.[3] It was also claimed that fifty new classes started during 1879-80,[4] again in the eastern or mid-western states. The Bible students in these classes were heirs to a rational Protestant tradition that frowned on emotional or ritual displays as a form of worship. In keeping with the exegetical method of Russell and other adventists, they favoured meetings that were sober and uplifting. Devotional meetings were not considered enough[5] and Bible study with concordances and a range of commentaries was a vital part of the ecclesia life. The arrangement at Pittsburgh in 1895 was offered by Russell as a model.

> 'We have preaching, prayer and praise in the German language from 1.30 to 2.30 o'clock p.m. and in English at 3p.m. every Lord's day, and in general Bible study in the evening, beginning at 7.30 and preceded by a half hour's praise service. ... we have seven cottage meetings, in different parts of the two cities, on Wednesday evenings; and several 'Dawn Circles' are being started on Friday evenings'. (6)

The 'praise service' or 'prayer, praise and testimony meetings' were a succession of extemporaneous prayers, hymns and personal testimonies under the guidance of a chairman. The meetings

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1) These were also called ecclesias or churches.
2) Z.112,124,141; Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose p.24.
3) Z.97,112,124,141,163.
4) Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, P.23.
5) Z.597; A point of resemblance with the Christadelphians, for example.
6) Z.1894; see also Z.184. For Dawn Circles see p.115.

were not intended to be emotional but undoubtedly they sometimes were and served as an outlet for such feelings. Russell later claimed that he was responsible for introducing these as regular mid-week meetings[1] - 'devotional and social in character, not doctrinal'.[2] In fact poems, hymns, prayers and testimonies formed an important and emphasised part of their worship and when gathered together, Bible students felt it was appropriate that they should warmly embrace. Their 'rational' outlook to faith did not exclude emotions, it merely clearly defined their proper place; and it is important not to minimize the pietist strain in the Bible student outlook at the expense of the 'rational'.[3]

There were only two formalised rituals in the Bible student community - the annual commemoration of the death of Jesus Christ, called the 'Passover' (later 'Memorial'), and baptism by total immersion. The former had been a custom in Pittsburgh for several years, in which the consecrated partook of unleavened bread and wine as a kind of yearly communion.[4] The origin of this yearly celebration is not known, but it was considered an important ceremony at which only those who were consecrated could participate.[5] Russell used the Jewish reckoning to calculate the date for the 'Passover' but in later years there was a debate about the exact timing of the ceremony.[6] Baptisms by total immersion were recommended by Zion' s Watch Tower from the beginning, and they were usually held in conjunction with the 'Passover' or a convention.[7] Russell realised that the

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1) What Pastor Russell Said p.474; A Conspiracy Exposed, p.8.
2) Z.1894. There is a strong element of the confessional about them and they serve a similar function to group therapy sessions.
3) Z.1914. The affective aspect of the Bible student community was in keeping with their perfectionist ideals and the doctrine of character development.
4) Z.94.
5) Z.325,3635.
6) Z.211,1100.
7) Z.65,851,5194.

true method of baptism was by total immersion in 1874 when he, his father, his sister and others were baptised in this way.[1]

From Zion's Watch Tower alone there is no evidence that the Bible students participated in evangelisation regularly or in an organised way prior to 1881. The emphasis in the magazine articles was firmly on the doctrinal and devotional aspect of Bible student life. It appears that Paton and Jones and other contributors to Zion's Watch Tower preferred this emphasis, and their articles showed more of an inward-looking concern with the group itself. Paton's book was designed for an adventist audience and there is little indication of a strong desire on his part (or on Barbour's before him) to propagate their message, or evangelise for converts - the initiative for their preaching tours appears to have come from Russell.[2] This 'inactivity' was consistent with their deterministic world-view and their elitist conception of the 'little flock'.[3] Russell did tentatively suggest that his readers might distribute tracts,[4] but it was only in 1881 that Russell's emphasis on selling came to the fore.

There are two separate reference groups that should be distinguished now and throughout Russell's subsequent career: the subscribers to Zion's Watch Tower and the Bible student followers in the ecclesias. Although Russell said that the Zion's Watch Tower subscription list was 'the surest index of the number deeply interested'[5] such remarks were made in the annual report and were contrasting the list with the other indices of evangelisation, such as the number of letters received, tracts distributed and so on (not with the memorial figures[6] for

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1) According to The Laodicean Messenger p.182.
2) Z.37.
3) Z.69,97,112,124,163.
4) Z.173,178,184
5) Z.1905.
6) A point overlooked by Zygmunt,J.F.(Ph.D. p.673) who ignores the memorial figures.

example). The partial information available suggests that the subscription list always greatly exceeded the number of Bible students in the ecclesias, a fact commented on by Russell.[1] In January, 1891, Russell estimated that only 4,000 of the 10,000 subscribers were consecrated.[2] Russell also disclosed that some of the subscribers were actually opposed to him and about 800 of them were ministers. In contrast to the subscription list, the totals for the Memorial do represent a sound lower bound for the number of consecrated Bible students (i.e. those associated together in the ecclesias).[3] Those Bible students in the ecclesias are, for our purposes, the significant reference group and in the subsequent discussion of Russell's followers, these will usually be the ones referred to.

The picture one can draw of Russell at this time is an eager, able, single-minded person with a strong sense of his own importance, making a success of a magazine and advancing himself to the position of spiritual leader of its subscribers. He used his money and commercial expertise to help him become a religious leader, for there is no sign that Russell displaced Barbour and Paton by popular accord. On the contrary, Russell acknowledged that Paton was 'better known' and presumably better liked by many of the Bible students.[4] Russell was not a contemplative scholar nor a profoundly religious person.[5] The evidence suggests that Russell, successful in the haberdashery business,[6] was primarily motivated by a 'business ethic'.

When all this is said, it is also clear that Russell was not lacking in personal charm and undoubtedly attracted a number of

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1) See Z.1230.
2) Z.1227
3) Z.1242
4) Z.1224
5) The emphasis is on 'profoundly'. Russell was certainly a 'religious', even 'pious' man, particularly in later life.
6) Studies in the Scriptures Vol 7 p.16. The Laodicean Messenger p5.

followers during his preaching tours in 1876-1879. The majority of Russell's original following was undoubtedly gained from the subscription lists of the Herald of the Morning, but it was Russell himself and his new magazine that retained these followers. Russell used his money to help gain a following but this was not the main inducement for them to remain.(1)

The origins of Russell's movement are thus to be sought in the years just before the setting up of Zion's Watch Tower. Although Russell was associated with a number of ecclesias prior to meeting Barbour, he only emerged as a leader of a definite group of classes with a distinctive ideology as a result of his collaboration and subsequent break with Barbour.

Bryan Wilson lists five possible ways in which a sect may emerge: (1) Charismatic leader, (2) Internal schism in existing sects, (3) Spontaneous group of seekers, (4) Attempts to revitalise beliefs and practices within major religions, and (5) Revivalism.(2) It is interesting that Russell himself preferred version (3) but it is clear that it was by an internal schism in existing groups that Russell emerged with his small number of supporters in 1879.(3) Neither Russell nor his followers conceived of themselves as a sect and their association was not completely exclusive; but despite this their sectarian outlook was confirmed by their adventist rejection of the world, their belief in a test of merit to determine an elite and the voluntary nature of their association.(4)

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1) Thus to say that Russell's technique of recruitment was through a commercial 'sales organisation' does not conflict with the question of whether or not he exercised charismatic authority over his followers. By followers one means those who joined ecclesias or were consecrated, not just subscribers.
2) Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism, p.17. These are not meant to be exclusive.
3) A point overlooked by Beckford who confuses methods of recruitment with sect emergence. (Ph.d., p.15; see also his article in Hill,M: A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain / 5).
4) Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects, Chapter 2.

Russell in a sense 'inherited' the classes, along with their organisation and adventist background. Much of the subsequent sect development concerns the resolving of the tension between Russell's personal ambitions vis a vis his supporters and the established patterns of organisation and thought in the Bible student ecclesias. It is suggested here that Russell's supporters were more 'self-recruited seekers after truth' in 'sturdy independent self-governing meeting houses'[1] and Russell's relationship with them was that of spokesman and spiritual mouthpiece, primus inter pares perhaps, but not at this stage a charismatic leader, in as much as his authority over the Bible students was negligible although no doubt his personal influence was high.[2]

At the time there were many similar small groups associated about an individual and his magazine, and the reasons for Bible students following Russell rather than Barbour, Eaton or Jones were undoubtedly particular and personal. It is not, therefore, considered appropriate to explain the emergence of this sect in general terms without assuming it in a discussion of adventism as a whole.

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1) Wilson, B.R. The Pentecostalist Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions, p.495. AM.J.OF SOC. 64.5, March 1959.
2) Hollenweger, W.J.: God's People. West Indian Pentecostal Sects in England, p.50.

Chapter 3.

A Summary of the Doctrines

Unlike the church and denominations, sects are concerned with the explicit promotion of an ideology.[1] Sect members are themselves acutely aware of their doctrinal and ideological position and consider it a matter of paramount importance. It is therefore necessary to give due weight to the function of ideology in a sociological analysis of sect history. Previous studies of Jehovah's Witnesses have, however, often erred too much one way or another. Theological accounts usually discuss only doctrines, while both Cohn and Sprague[2] restricted their discussion to the Witness ideology in an essentially static and non-historical way. The other extreme was taken by Beckford[3] who claimed that the organisational or structural aspect needed more emphasis, but in effect ignored Russell's theology. A more balanced historical analysis was attempted by Zygmunt[4] who gave correct weight to both the symbolic and structural elements but unfortunately did not succeed in interrelating them in a historical account.

No historical account of the Jehovah's Witnesses can ignore the ideological aspect, for it occupied more than ninety-five per cent of all Witness literature and is a vital factor in analysing the sect's development. This is not to say that the organisational or structural facet should be ignored; on the contrary, it is in the interrelating of these symbolic and structural elements in a dynamic historical context that one

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1) Wilson,B.R: A Typology of Sects, p.42.
2) Cohn,W: M.A., Sprague,T.W: Doctoral thesis,1942.
3) Beckford,J.A: Ph.D., 1972. pp.75 et seq
4) Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D., 1967.

can best explain sect development.[1]

In this chapter it is intended to outline Russell's doctrines and in particular to examine the possible sources of tension within the system as a whole. It is not intended to compare his doctrines with those of the adventists or of orthodox Christian theology. Nor indeed is any attempt made to harmonise the varying statements made by Russell himself or to draw out any implications from his doctrinal statements. The best account of Russell's (and later Witness) theology is an intelligent and genuinely objective study by Baron[2] which stands in a class of its own.

Russell believed in a God whose personal name was Jehovah, who was unchangeable, immortal, and omnipotent.[3] He possessed the four attributes of love, wisdom, justice and power.[4] God is revealed to us in the Bible of which he is the author.[5] Russell denied the doctrine of the Trinity on the grounds that it was 'unreasonable and unscriptural', 'absurd', and of heathen origin.[6] The third member of the Trinity, the holy spirit, is not a person but a power or influence.[7]

Jesus had a pre-human existence,[8] and was the first to be created by God and through him Jehovah created all others, including hosts of angels and Satan.[9] Jesus was not, however,

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1) See Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism for some interesting analyses, e.g., The Exclusive Brethren: A Case Study in the Evolution of a Sectarian Ideology, p.287 et.seq.
2) Baron,M: Doctorate of Theology, 1956. See also Burrell,M, M.A., 1962 and Gruss,E.C: Apostles of Denial, for a critical but intelligent refutation in Chap. 8-11.
3) Z.379,6138,1879,5210.
4) Z.439,529.
5) Z.3656,71.
6) Z.405,505,4164,5749.
7) Z.373,6352,1917.
8) Here Russell differs from the Unitarians and Christadelphians (Z.505). For details of Russell's Christology see Burrell,M: op.cit.
9) Z.505; Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.5, p.87, Vol.6, p.612; Z.2839.

immortal, for only God possessed immorality.[1] Russell accepted the Genesis account of creation of the earth and its inhabitants, except that the 'days' of creation were not twenty-four hours long.[2]

Man was created a perfect human in the image of God and was a free moral agent.[3] Man was not created with an immortal soul, but <u>was</u> destined to live forever on earth if he remained obedient to God.[4] Satan led astray first Eve and, through her, Adam, and the penalty for this was death for them and all their offspring.[5] This death meant complete unconciousness in the grave, although God could later resurrect (or re-create) the individual.[6] Russell, therefore, denied the existence of a 'hell of torment' to which went the immortal souls of dead humans.[7]

Russell believed that as Adam had forfeited his perfect human life by sinning, it was impossible for mankind to attain any state of perfection, or to escape from sin and death until this balance was redressed.[8] To satisfy God's justice a perfect human life would have to be offered to him as a 'ransom' price for Adam's life.[9] Thus Jesus was born and lived a perfect man, and by his death was able to offer up his perfect human life as a ransom for Adam's, hence redeeming all mankind.[10] This doctrine Russell considered the foundation of his beliefs. Jesus Christ, as a 'second Adam', had saved mankind from eternal Adamic death,[11]

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1) Z.280.
2) Z.299; the creation days were 1,000 years according to Paton (Z.92), but Russell later suggested they were 7,000 years long (Z.5139).
3) Z.104,871,163,650.
4) Z.205,545,252,417.
5) Z.417.
6) Z.47,689,258.
7) Z.356,552.
8) Z.[illegible],1516.
9) Z.251-2, this substitutive doctrine was the cause of Russell's disagreement with Barbour and numerous clergymen since. It appealed to Russell's commercial sense of value.
10) Z.5073,4780.
11) Z.252.

and mankind could now be resurrected and given the opportunity of eternal life. The resurrection was to take place at some future time and was to be for all, including 'the vile and brutal', but with the exception of Judas and those few who fell into the 'second death'.[1] God had provided a divinely inspired revelation of these facts - the Bible,[2] which also reveals the hope of heavenly existence to a limited number of human beings. These are the 144,000, the 'little flock' who constitute the 'bride of Christ' whom Jesus, since his crucifiction, has been selecting from faithful Christians.[3] In order to be eligible for the 'little flock', human beings must consecrate their lives to God and give up all earthly rights, and by an effort of will and self-control, become a 'new creature' embodying the human virtues and abandoning the vices.[4] Russell believed it was literally possible for these aspirants to transform their minds from the 'earthly' to the 'spiritual' nature in preparation for their glorification to heaven although 'this transforming of the mind from human to spiritual is a gradual work'.[5] This process was called 'character development'.[6] It was also probable that members of the 'little flock' would, before being taken to

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1) Z.3725,1529,1962,140,253.
2) Z.727,1390. In this respect Russell may be described as a fundamentalist; for fundamentalism as a value orientation see DeJong,G.F & Ford,T.R: Religious Fundamentalism and Denominational Preference in the Southern Appalachian Region, J.FOR THE SC.STUDY OF REL., 5. (Fall 1965), 1, pp.24-33. Ford,T.R: Status, Residence and Fundamentalist Religious Beliefs in the Southern Apalachians, SOCIAL FORCES, 39, 1, (Oct.1960), pp.41-49; and Sandeen,E.R: Toward a Historical Interpretation of the Origins of Fundamentalism, CHURCH HISTORY, 36. (March 1967), pp.66-83.
3) Rev.14:1, Luke 12:32; Z.56,1210,1768.
4) Z.819,2207,772; Studies in the Scriptures Vol.1, p.197, Vol.6, p.78.
5) Studies in the Scriptures Vol.1, p.200; Vol.5, p.253; Vol.6, p.80. This perfectionism was well known in the United States and Russell's form of it probably derived from Methodism. Ford,J: Ph.D. London 1967, pp.1,2,31,41.
6) Beckford neglects this vital concept in Bible student life (Ph.D. 1972). See Smith,T.L: Called Unto Holiness pp.23,261 Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid Nineteenth Century America pp.114-134.

heaven, have to suffer to prove their absolute devotion.[1] Those who aspired to the little flock and wilfully sinned would enter the 'second death' from which there was no resurrection.[2] There was, however, a larger class[3] of faithful Christians who had consecrated and aspired to be of the little flock, but fell short of attaining that position.[4] These will be taken up to heaven and become the 'great company' mentioned in Revelation 7:9.[5]

One of the central ideas of Russell's system was the 'divine plan of the ages', an explanation for world history and a prediction of things to come. He believed that this was specially revealed to some Christians at that time, and was a secret to others.[6] This plan was featured in Barbour's Three Worlds and similar plans were developed earlier by other adventists.[7] Without discussing the plan in detail, it is helpful to illustrate it and point out the important features. In many ways this chart summarised Russell's distinctive beliefs, and in later years a copy of the divine plan chart usually adorned the Bible student meeting places. (See the chart overleaf).

During the first dispensation,[8] the world was (unsuccessfully) under the charge of the angels,[9] and ended with the flood.

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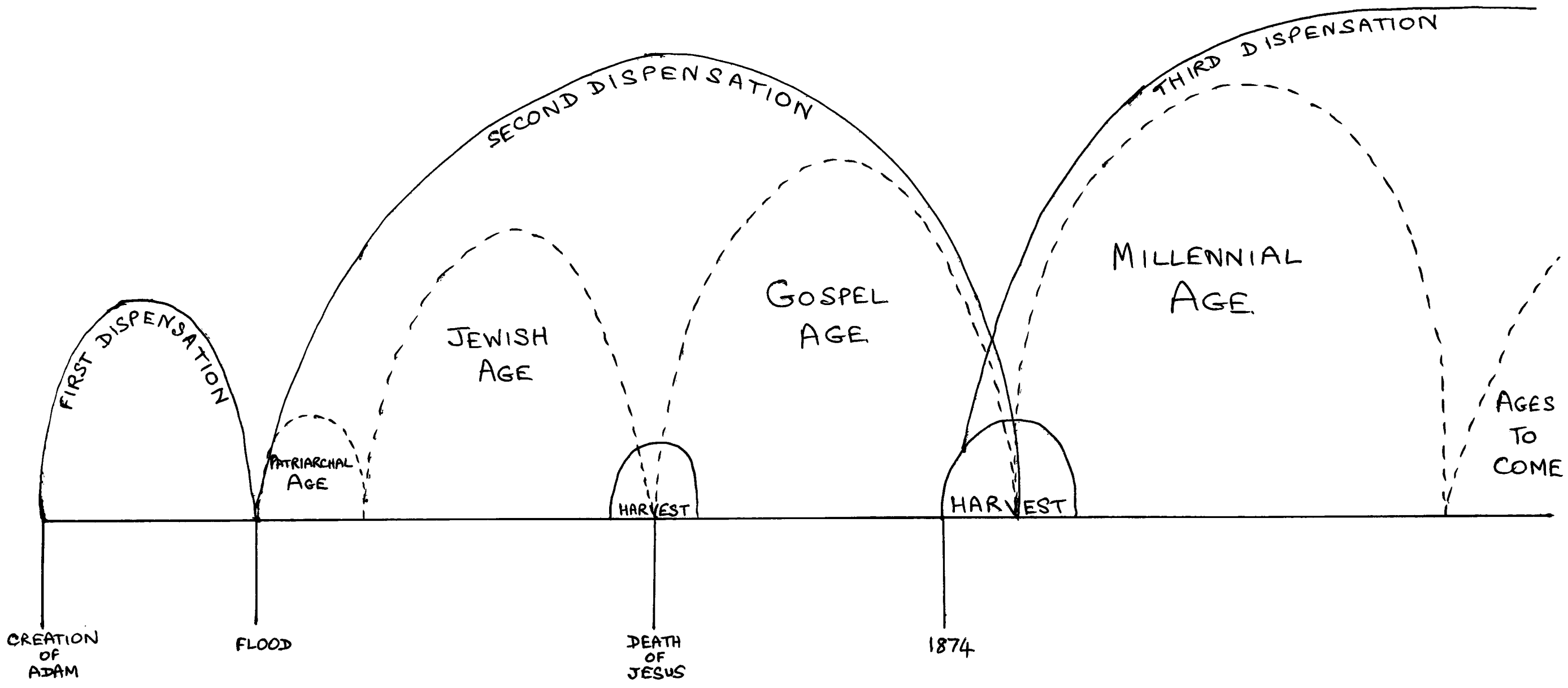
1) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.3, p.207; Z.724,1698.
2) Tabernacle Shadows, pp.40,41,65; Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, pp.145,214; Vol.6, p.168.
3) Z.2942.
4) Z.1669,5055.
5) Z.458. On the basis that Russell said there was only one call, Zygmunt fails to distinguish clearly between these groups, and he appears to ignore the possibility of Bible students being in the 'great company'. (Ph.D., 1967, pp. 225 et.seq., 643).
6) Z.414,658,2208.
7) Barbour,N.H: op cit, and Froom,LeR.E: The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers/4. p720 et seq. See The Herald of the Morning covers for 1878-9, Falkner,C.G: A Review... p.9 and Ehlert, A.D: A Bibliographic Histroy of Dispensationalism.
8) For a general background see Ehlert,A.D: op cit.
9) Studies in the Scriptures Vol.1. p.220.

THE PLAN OF THE AGES



The second dispensation was when man was permitted to govern himself (again unsuccessfully). The third dispensation was to begin with the millennium: the thousand year reign of Christ over the earth.(1)

Russell took from the adventists the idea that the world was then entering the millennium during which mankind, and the world in general, was to be restored to perfection.(2) He implied at one time that the millennium was due to begin in the Spring of 1875, but later speaks of the date 1881 in this way.(3) When questioned in 1900, he said that precisely when the thousand year period began was an 'open question'.(4) Despite this, from 1879 onwards he frequently referred to the signs of the 'dawning of the millennial day' although such a 'Millennial dawn will be amid "clouds of thick darkness" '.(5) As signs of the imminent millennial blessings, Russell pointed to faith cures, spirit manifestations and healing,(6) the notorious Miracle Wheat, and Millennial Bean,(7) and the restoration of the Jews;(8) while at the same time he warned his followers that the forepart of the millennium would be a 'time of trouble'.(9)

In addition to the three dispensations were the 'ages' in each of which God showed favour to a special group. First were the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob...) until the death of Jacob after which he favoured the Jewish nation for 1,845 years,(10) until the death of Jesus. The Gospel age was the period when the 'bride of Christ' (the little flock) were called out of the world. The exact timing of all these periods was given in the

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1) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, pp.221-2
2) Ibid., pp.73,149.
3) Z.513,2676; Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.3, p.217.
4) Z.2739.
5) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, p.10; Z.1072.
6) Z.226,103,170,227. This potentially compromising position was quickly modified by Russell: Z.2901,3120.
7) Z.4152.4960 etc.
8) Studies in the Scriptures Vol.1. p.241.
9) Ibid Vol.2. p.33. Thus allowing him to verify his plan by both good and bad news.
10) Ibid Vol.1, p.221; Vol.2. p.214.

second volume of Studies in the Scriptures. Each of the harvest periods, for example, was to last for forty years: from A.D.29 to A.D.70, and A.D.1874 to A.D.1915, repectively.

'The harvest' was an important concept[1] based on interpretations of texts such as Matt.13:39:

> 'The enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels.'

There was some discussion in the early Zion's Watch Towers as to the length of the harvest. Paton at first favoured a three and a half year harvest, from the Fall of 1874 to Spring 1878,[2] but then agreed that a forty year harvest, from 1874 to 1914, was marked in the Scriptures.[3] The purpose of the harvest was the separating out of the wheat ('the little flock') and the tares ('nominal' Christians).[4]

It is important to understand Russell's conception of the Christian Churches - 'nominal' Christianity[5] - as it related to his 'plan of the ages'. He believed that since the time of the Apostles there had been little or no Bible study, particularly from A.D.325-1260.[6] Although the individual reformers such as Luther, Calvin, Wycliff, etc., were good men,[7] Protestantism itself was not the result of a true reformation but was a further decline in understanding.[8] God, in keeping with his divine plan, had placed stumbling blocks to prevent Bible truth from being known before its time.[9] According to this plan there

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1) Again derived from adventist sources.
2) Z.98.
3) Z.115; for detailed discussions of Russell's chronology see Redeker,C.F: The Jehovah's Witnesses and Prophetic Speculation, and a critical discussion in Gruss,E.C: Apostles of Denial.
4) Z.109.
5) Z.176-7.
6) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, p.(ii).
7) Ibid., p.23; Vol.3, p.112.
8) Ibid., Vol.4, p.28.
9) Z.1595,2895; Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.3, p.24.

was an opening up of the truth, 'a dawning of the millennial day', of which Russell considered his own work a part. One reader described him in 1892 as an 'instrument in the dear Lord's hands'.(1) The metaphor is a good one. Russell consistently denied 'inspiration', 'special revelation' or any 'personal genius'. He was simply used by God to reveal what was plainly in the Bible. This did not necessarily diminish his charismatic authority - if anything it strengthened it, since the Bible still had to be interpreted and Russell was the chosen interpreter.

This opening up of the truth was primarily for the benefit of the elect - the 'little flock. Many of those who would make up the 'bride of Christ' (including, for example, Paul and other apostles) were already dead in 1874.(2) In the harvest period, at the close of the Gospel age, the remainder of the class were to be selected by God.(3) These elect were few and scattered throughout Christendom; they were known only to God; their names were written in heaven.(4) Throughout his life, Russell stressed that the affairs of the world were therefore irrelevant to the true Christian - God was soon to intervene and put things right, and until he did any attempts to reform or correct the world were premature and pointless.(5) The fact that the world had not been converted, Russell argued somewhat illogically, was the fault of the 'nominal' churches.(6)

Russell therefore divided the whole of mankind into three

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1) Zion's Watch Tower, 1892, p.271.
2) Z.1521,2942.
3) Z.2363.
4) Z.2942,6285, What Pastor Russell Said, p.348. It is important to note that there was, strictly speaking, no way of knowing for certain if an individual was one of the elect - although there were ways of knowing that someone was not.
5) Z.127,1561,2413.
6) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, p.34; Vol.4, p.172; Vol.5, p.159.

classes - which he saw pictured in the Hebrew Tabernacle division of the camp, court and tabernacle itself.[1] His three divisions were: the World, which was made up of the heathendom and any one who did not accept Jesus Christ, the Justified: 'nominal' Christians who knew of and accepted Jesus's ransom, and the Consecrated: all who aspired to be of the 'little flock' (although some of whom were destined to be of the 'great company'[2]) Russell saw the primary mission of the elect as 'towards herself'.[3] In fact the elect had a separate mission to the World, the Justified and the Consecrated; and these missions differed in kind and importance. Most important for a 'new creature' was the development of his own character and the upbuilding of other members of the elect.[4] Their work toward the 'nominal' church - the Justified - was to seek out the elect as wheat from the chaff, and to 'witness' to the nominal church.[5] Their mission to the World was to leave it to God who would convert it during the millennium.[6]

Russell's eschatology, his timetable for the future, followed in outline that of other adventists.[7] He took a premillennialist position: Jesus Christ comes before the conversion of the world (which takes place during the millennium).[8] As stated Russell believed Jesus's (invisible) return was in 1874 and he expected that soon after that date the sequence of events prophesied by Elijah would occur.[9]

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1) See Tabernacle Shadows, pp.18,19,117.
2) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, p.225.
3) Z.2414.
4) Z.3655.
5) Z.284.
6) Z.1940.
7) For an excellent and scholarly summary of Russell's views in this context see Ehlert,A.D: A Bibliographic History of Dispensationalism, p.27.
8) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, pp.90,92. For premillennialism see Kromminga,D.H: The Millennium in the Church, p.242 et.seq., and Case,S.J: The Millennial Hope, p.209.
9) Z.3414.

> 'And behold, the Lord passed by, and a great strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake; And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire:' (1)

Wind, earthquake and fire he interpreted to mean war, revolution and anarchy, in that order.(2) Russell often wrote of the 'time of trouble' that would usher in the millennium and include a period of persecution of the Jews (called Jacob's trouble), one sign of which was the persecution of the Jews in Russia at this time.(3) Russell also believed that the Jews would be restored to Palestine during the millennium and hence any moves in this direction were evidence of the imminent millennium.(4) Russell thought that the taking of the 'little flock' to heaven would occur before the 'time of trouble',(5) and this would constitute the 'first' resurrection.(6) Once the millennium began, however, there was to take place the general resurrection to the earth of virtually all of mankind who would be restored to perfection.(7) During this time they would learn of God's plan and would be free to choose to obey him.(8) At the end of the millennium there would be the loosing of Satan and the final testing.(9)

Of special interest in the millennium would be the resurrection of the 'ancient worthies' - those who had died faithful to God before Jesus and were therefore unable to benefit from his ransom sacrifice (men such as Enoch, Abraham and David).(10)

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1) 1 Kings 19:11,12.
2) Z.2334.
3) Z.153,166,247,264,379.
4) For example Zionism (Z.58,84,327). Thus both the persecution and the favourable treatment of the Jews confirmed Russell's beliefs.
5) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, p.239; a point apparently overlooked by Bygaunt, Ph.D., 1957, p.271.
6) Z.277; Rev.20:5 and Heb.11:35.
7) Z.183,1260,1510.
8) Z.299,1343; What Pastor Russell Said, p.43-4.
9) Z.333,1233-4.
10) Z.5294,5074,5659.

Russell believed these 'ancient worthies' would live as Princes during the millennium[1] and be taken up to heaven at the end.[2]

Russell's eschatology was fundamentally optimistic in as much as he saw God reforming the whole world - virtually the whole of mankind, dead and alive. There was, therefore, always a tendency for his followers to slip into universalist beliefs despite Russell's warnings against it.[3] In fact Russell's ideology was consonant with typically Protestant middle class values and norms, with its belief in progress and national enlightenment and its strong emphasis on moral and ethical standards. In one sense Russell was apparently accommodative[4] to society - it was doing its best, its goals were laudable - but the difference was that Russell believed that only God (in the millennium) could achieve those goals. Hence (for the saints) the world was irrelevant - as Zygmunt put it: they were superworldly rather than anti-worldly.[5]

The body of doctrines of a religious sect constitutes the core of their ideology and in the case of a revolutionist sect the doctrinal emphasis is usually on eschatology and Biblical exegesis. In Russell's case, however, this was not entirely true for in his system he also gave prominence to the ransom doctrine, character development for the little flock, and his extra-Biblical desire to evangelise. The strength of the perfectionist doctrine of character development led Zygmunt to

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1) Tabernacle Shadows, p.109; Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, p.29.
2) Z.5182; Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.6, p.129. This was Russell's belief after 1908 (What Pastor Russell Said p.11).
3) Z.1107,403,413,890. As B.R.Wilson pointed out a similar Universalism pervades Mormonism(Ph.D., 1955, p.716). Cross,W.R: The Burned-Over District, on p.322, points out that Universalism, neglected by historians, flourished in the United States in the first half of the 19th century.
4) Not to the same extent as Seventh Day Adventists, see Schwartz,H: Sect Ideologies and Social Status, p.221 (much of his book is unfortunately incoherent).
5) Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D., 1967, .

describe the group in the 1870's as 'gnostic',[1] and while sympathising with this allocation, it ignores the explicit adventist orientation which ipso facto designates the group as revolutionist. Wilson's description of the revolutionist ideology fits Russell's doctrinal pattern remarkably well.[2] Beckford's suggestion that the Witnesses do not fit the category is not supported by the facts and his assertion that the theology was not Calvinistic is mistaken[3] - his only justification appears to be that a Calvinistic ethic is not (logically) consistent with a desire to prosdytise. Sect ideologies are rarely logically consistent, however, and it is rash to project on them our own criteria of consistency. Russell certainly evangelised and Witnesses proseletyse, but at the same time they believe that God is omniscient and knows beforehand who will be saved.[4] This is not a contradiction if evangelisation or prosdytisation is seen as a mark of being saved.[5]

Wholesale conversion was not expected or desired in Russell's system (this is not to say, of course, that he would have rejected an influx of new believers).[6] The evidence suggests, however, that Russell was reluctant to take on the responsibility for organising the classes of Bible students, and despite the existence of a body of supporters he continued to speak of the 'true church' known only to God - believing, however, that the majority were assembled amongst his followers.

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1) Zygmunt,J.F, Ph.D., 1967, p.931.
2) Not surprisingly perhaps since the Jehovah's Witnesses are cited as an example (Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development, AM.SOC.REV., 24. (Feb.1959), p.6.
3) Beckford,J.A, Ph.D., 1972, pp.453-455.
4) This determinism has been neglected by researchers, but Russell believed that God was responsible for even the most trivial events
5) A similar 'inconsistency' lies behind the capitalistic-Calvinistic connection, see Weber,M. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism and Tawney,R.H: Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.
6) Z.4342.

Thus in the **ideological** sense his 'movement' was, as he often described it, [illegible].[1]

The problem of the maintenance or modification of this priestly belief in a non-sectarian elite is one common to other sects, particularly revolutionist sects after an early chronological disappointment. The individualistic perfectionist doctrines combined with Russell's (virtual) universalist hopes were perfectly compatible with a non-sectarian spiritual elite. The subsequent tension between a non-sectarian self-concept and ideology, and the increasingly obvious sectarian characteristics is well illustrated in Russell's movement.

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1) This was Russell's position in the early years but it was modified (in fact but not in theory) from 1900 onwards. Thus it is quite incorrect of Zygmunt to say of Russell's early following that 'As an earthly organisation, the movement itself claimed to be the "one true church".' For the fact remains that Russell recognised 'saints' in other denominations (Zygmunt,J.F, Ph.D., 1967, p.297, see also p296) This is not an uncommon sectarian self-concept, see A.W.Eister Drawing from Conversion, pp.7,34, and Cole,J: The History of Fundamentalism, p.95.

Chapter 4.

Consolidation and Recruitment to the Sect: 1881-1894

Once a sect has emerged, the early years of its existence are usually years of adjustment. Patterns of organisation (and institutionalisation) appear and if the sect recruits new members then these may have their own effect on the development of the sect. It is unusual for sect ideology to be altered drastically but it is in these early years, more than at any other time, that some modification of the ideology is possible. In Russell's case the early period is particularly important as a time of adjustment because he had, in a sense, inherited his following and had not yet imposed on them his personal qualities of leadership. From 1881 to 1894 he made a number of structural changes and some corresponding ideological adjustments. The resulting tensions arising from these changes and sect recruitment, and Russell's attempts to resolve them, are analysed in this chapter.

Soon after 1878 had passed, Zion's Watch Tower began discussing the date 1881 as being the probable year for the glorification of the saints.(1) An article, almost certainly by Russell, said that the change of the saints was due in 1881, 'possibly near the Autumn'.(2) It was expected that after 1881 the nominal church would fall to pieces and the forty-year 'harvest' would continue, but now calling the whole world to millennial blessings.(3) In May 1881, however, Russell struck a more cautious note and carefully stressed that things could be expected to happen soon after October 1881, and not necessarily at that time.(4)

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1) Paton argued against anything significant happening in 1881 although he accepted that perhaps the date was marked by 'parallels'. On the other hand A.F.Jones supported the date (Z.102-3,180).
2) Z.191,170.
3) Z.224,102-3,108,112,115.
4) Z.223-5.

As they were, therefore, 'at the close of the Gospel day', Russell, in April 1881, suggested the formation of a body of colporteurs to search out 'earnest Christians' in 'large or small cities'.[1] Those volunteering for the work would devote a half or more of their time distributing free tracts, selling the Day Dawn and taking subscriptions for Zion's Watch Tower. Money obtained from the latter (which was supplied free) could be used to defray expenses, the surplus being returned to Russell.[2] Four colporteurs were reported for June 1881[3] and few took up this work at first. In addition, during the Autumn of 1881 Russell spent an estimated $40,000 to distribute nearly one and a half million copies of his persuasive booklet Food for Thinking Christians as a special September edition of Zion's Watch Tower.[4] Half a million copies were distributed in the states of Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio. Newspapers in New York, Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia were commissioned to help distribute 400,000 more, while Russell actually hired three hundred boys in New York and five hundred boys in London to distribute copies there. Two of his representatives went to London to arrange the distribution in Great Britain.[5]

Food for Thinking Christians contained a discussion of fourteen topics such as 'Why Evil was Permitted' and 'When will Christ Come Again', together with articles on 'Spiritualism', 'The Plan of the Ages', etc. It offered definite answers to many religious questions and was written in an optimistic and confident style. Why did Russell go to this trouble and expense

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1) Z.214. It may be that the subsequent predominance of Bible students in urban areas stems directly from this. Similar 'colporteurs' were already active in the Seventh Day Adventist Church. (B.R.Wilson, private correspondence, 1972)
2) Z.214.
3) Z.238.
4) The Laodicean Messenger, p.5; $35,336 was spent in 1881 (Z.313).
5) Z.291

since there was no precedent for action on this scale? Russell had said that he expected the change of the saints in (or soon after) 1881 and Food for Thinking Christians was , he claimed, an attempt to pick out the 'little flock'.(1) Russell also gave two reasons for the colporteur evangelising work: firstly that it informed Christians of the establishment of the Kingdom of God and the opportunity to join the 'high calling' (which would close at the end of 1881). Secondly the knowledge of the plan of God,

> 'Would be of incalculable value and aid to many who so soon will find themselves assaulted with the errors of Infidelity, Spiritualism, etc.'(2)

It seems more likely, however, that this was a (sincere) rationalisation and that the stimulus for Russell's actions was personal rather than ideological. The method of distributing Food for Thinking Christians bears all the marks of a saturation advertising campaign and was no doubt inspired by Russell's commercial experience.

Zygmunt suggests that the distribution was primarily aimed at increasing Russell's following.(3) While this may have been a latent function, it is doubtful if this was in Russell's mind and there was no ideological justification for the conversion of a large number of followers. Zygmunt also places much emphasis on the 'failure' of 1881 and the subsequent 'disappointment' felt by Bible students:

> 'disappointment mixed with consternation settled over the movement for a time... as the leaders groped to restore their own orientation'.(4)

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1) Z.291
2) Z.214. Russell later claimed that the revival work of Moody, Sankey, Whittle and Bliss was instrumental in gathering in the consecrated (Z.4303). He even suggested that Moody had faith in things written in Millenial Dawn (his own book) What Pastor Russell Said p.146.
3) Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D. 1967 pp.241,368,729,730. By 'membership' in this context, Zygmunt appears to mean 'readership (op cit p.260). See Studies in the Scriptures Vol 6. p.78.
4) Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D. pp.229,289. See also his M.A. thesis p.53 and Prophet Failure and Chiliastic Identity AM.J.OF.SOC 75:6 . (May 1970) also by Zygmunt.

He does not give any evidence for this assertion and having looked closely at the issues of Zion's Watch Tower subsequent to October, 1881, I can find neither there nor anywhere else any support for these statements.(1) There is certainly nothing in Russell's writings that even hints at a 'disappointment', nor do any readers letters or contributed articles mention it. On the contrary, Russell's reports throughout 1882 are particularly optimistic and forward-looking. There were more workers, new meetings, many letters, requests for preaching, signs of the imminent millenium and so on.(2)

When the date 1881 passed, Russell adopted an attitude of continual expectation of the end, without specifying a date for the glorification of the saints.(3) He believed it likely that by 1914 God would have intervened in world affairs, but as the saints were to be glorified before the 'time of trouble' this glorification was always imminent.(4) It is significant that as soon as Russell became the dominant contributor to Zion's Watch Tower he ceased speculating about dates and discouraged others from doing so.(5) Unlike Barbour, Paton and Jones who wrote long articles on chronology bringing forth new dates.(6) Later in life Russell was careful to separate chronology from the other doctrines and to stress that a belief in dates was not essential and was not to be taken too seriously.(7) He was willing to use 1914 as a definite date only as long as it was far enough in the

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1) Parkinson concurs in this opinion (conversation.Aug.1972)
2) Z.335,345,367. Zygmunt's statement that the evangelistic work declined after 1881 effectively refers only to a drop in contributions. Half a million tracts were distributed in 1882 by a larger number of workers than in 1881. The 1881 campaign was particularly costly because of the hiring of boys. Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D. 1967. p229. See Z.311,325,346,367.
3) See Z.340,356.
4) A point overlooked by Zygmunt (Ph.D. p.251).
5) What Pastor Russell Said p.78.
6) Studies in the Scriptures Vol.2. is about already established dates. As pointed out by Gruss, Russell's chronological system is almost identical with that of Bowan (Gruss,EC: The Jehovah's Witnesses and Prophetic Speculation).
7) Z.4067-8,4736,4751,4833,5142,5249,5310,5367,5449,5496. What Pastor Russell Said pp.89,91,114.

future. Instead of chronology, Russell was motivated by a desire to advertise his beliefs and evangelise, and this is why there was no disappointment or further date setting after 1881. Russell was content to press ahead with what he construed as his Divine mission. While all this is evident from Zion's Watch Tower it does not follow that the Bible students were similarly motivated and Russell's promotion of evangelisation, combined with the recruitment of more impressionable members, produced a distinct change in the sect in the 1880's.

The response to Food for Thinking Christians was good and led to an increase in subscribers to Russell's magazine.(1) There was an initial reply of a thousand letters - at a rate of forty to fifty a day increasing to fifty to a hundred a day.(2) Many of these letters were highly complimentary:

> 'I have learned what I never knew before, and it has brought to me such a flood of light ... What a substantial meal of "strong meat". ... My heart is overflowing with thankfulness to our Father and Saviour that I have been thought worthy to receive the "good news". ... Eternity alone will reveal the good these books are doing, ... a flood of light has been pouring in on me.'(3)

This flood of fulsome praise may well have confirmed in Russell's own mind the belief that he was destined to be a religious leader. For in 1882 Russell explained that (as in the primitive church) human teachers were necessary but the qualification was not whether one was a Doctor of Divinity, but rather one's 'entire consecration to His will and service '(4) - a qualification possessed by Russell himself.

Russell gradually introduced his own personality into the magazine as he became its main contributor. His occasional reviews of past events in Zion's Watch Tower showed an unmistakeable tendency to minimise or neglect altogether the

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1) Z.224.
2) Z.298,300,906.
3) Z.312,496,771.
4) Z.364.

contribution of others to the corpus of beliefs. He talked only of his own development in such a way that people assumed he was the originator of the doctrines. In 1894 he was accused of claiming to have originated doctrines derived from others, but replied that he had 'often said' that the doctrines in his works were not new, but this is not the impression given in Zion's Watch Tower.(1) This enhancement of Russell's reputation was possible because those new subscribers to Zion's Watch Tower had not known Russell in the earlier years when he associated with Barbour and Paton. Throughout 1883-4 there is more mention in Zion's Watch Tower of these praising 'correspondents' than the already established Bible students, and there is some evidence that Russell lost the support of many of the older Bible student ecclesias after 1882. How far this was due to the several recent schisms and how far a result of his personal 'elevation', it is impossible to say. Prior to April 1882 twenty-five towns and cities are mentioned where Bible students met and of these only four including Pittsburgh itself, are mentioned again in the Memorial reports up to and including 1899 (a particularly full report). Although three of these twenty-five are mentioned in reports after 1903, these were probably new classes rather than the old classes persisting. In any case, at least eighteen of the twenty-five classes are never heard of again.(2)

From 1881 onwards Russell vigorously expanded his publishing activities. Special editions of Zion's Watch Tower were printed and distributed, and the circulation increased year by year. In October 1882, for instance, Russell sent out copies to ninety thousand Sunday-school superintendants of all denominations.(3)

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1) A Conspiracy Exposed, p.68.
2) Z.112,124,141,163,226,333,345,2457-8.
3) Z.399,413,71,336,450,469,31.

In 1883 as a result of Brother Seagrin's six-month trip amongst the Swedish people in the United States, Russell decided to publish a sample issue of Zion's Watch Tower in that language, and started a Swedish (and German) fund for that purpose. Later in the year he published one edition of the magazine in Swedish and at the same time encouraged the Bible students to contribute to the German fund. Two years later a German edition of Zion's Watch Tower was published, and Russell's book Millennial Dawn was also translated into German,(1) The German work was aimed at immigrants in the United States and was mainly the work of Otto von Zech, a former German Evangelical Lutheran minister in Allegheny, who joined Russell in 1885 and devoted much of his time to translating Russell's literature into German and holding meetings in German for his countrymen.(2)

As early as 1881 Russell set up a 'Zion's Watch Tower Tract Society' to which donations were made totalling $35,391.18 up to January 1882. At this stage there was no purpose to the Society other than to serve as a holding fund to finance the distribution of tracts.(3) In January 1885 Russell announced that the Society had been granted a charter on December 13, 1884. He justified the incorporation as helping to carry on the work in the imminent 'time of trouble', and also to enable money to be bequested to the work. All those who contributed $10 or more were to receive voting shares - one for each $10 contributed. The incorporated Society had six directors:(4) Russell was President, M.F.Russell (his wife) was Secretary/Treasurer, W.I.Mann was Vice-President, W.C.McMillan,(5) J.B.Adamson and

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1) Z.487-8,547-8,808,853,1003.
2) Z.606-7,832,851. Also Zion's Watch Tower 1892, pp.162,128.
3) Z.513
4) Z.707,671. See Goodrich,R: Brochure 56: p.8.
5) Z.707. Little more is heard of W.C.McMillan from Latrobe,Pa, and J.F.Smith from Pittsburgh. They remained as directors until 1898 and 1892 respectively (Z.6163). Z.1430.

J.F.Smith. A copy of the original charter, however, was published in a later Zion's Watch Tower in which a seventh director was said to be C.O. Blunden.(1) Why his name was omitted from the early list is unclear. The charter allowed that the board of directors should:

> 'Hold their respective offices for life, unless removed by a two-thirds vote of the Shareholders; and vacancies in the Board occasioned by death, resignation or removal, shall be filled by vote of a majority of the remaining members of the Board'. (2)

According to evidence submitted in court, however, Russell had personally contributed substantial sums to the society making him the major shareholder.(3) Until December 1st, 1893, for instance, Russell and his wife owned 3,705 of the 6,383 shares issued, and he held a majority of the shares even until 1908.(4) Thus the Zion's Watch Tower Society was under the control of Russell, a control which he apparently used:

> 'Sister Russell and myself of course elect the officers and thus control the Society'.(5)

The formation of Zion's Watch Tower Tract Society probably represented little change, in as much as Russell retained control of the Society, just as he had been in charge of affairs before. There are no grounds for Zygmunt's assertion that there was a contradiction between the creation of voting shares for Zion's Watch Tower Tract Society and the peerage of all believers unless and until Russell identified the corporation members with the little flock.(6)

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1) He lived in New York City and was associated with the Society until Jan.6.1908. In 1886 he was described as a commercial traveller and at one time was jailed for distributing Russell's tracts. Z.1012,869,6163.
2) Z.6162
3) C.T.Russell v. Brooklyn Daily Eagle (see Bibliography). A Conspiracy Exposed p.61.
4) A Conspiracy Exposed p.59; The Present Truth Vol.4. No.22. Z.6163.
5) A Conspiracy Exposed p59; Johnson,P.S.L: Elijah & Elisha p.164, Mererism p.112; Zion's Watch Tower 1891, p.16.
6) Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D. p.248. This did not happen until at least 1910.

The first financial report of the Society was published in 1881 and gave the total receipts ($35,391) and total expenditure ($35,336), without unfortunately itemising either total.[1] This money was used for distributing and printing tracts and was obtained entirely by voluntary contributions. The fund was in debt in 1881 and this debt increased to about $2,500 in 1882, and it was not cleared until 1891.[2] After the spectacular campaign involving Food for Thinking Christians both voluntary contributions and expenditure decreased in 1882 to around $2,400 and never exceeded this figure until 1891.

Russell was also publishing Zion's Watch Tower using his own money, supplemented by receipts from paying subscribers. He claimed that the fifty cents yearly subscription prior to 1881 paid only two-thirds of the total cost of printing and publishing the magazine.[3] In that issue of July/August 1881, he announced that Zion's Watch Tower would be free in future, but as this brought the magazine into the post office category of an advertisement and raised the postal rate, Russell reverted to the original subscription cost - but he still promised to send the magazine free to the 'Lord's poor' and anyone who could not afford it.[4] In 1892 the subscription price was raised to a dollar by which Russell hoped to 'clear the cost of the publication'.[5] Any surplus would go into the tract fund.

Zion's Watch Tower magazine and other literature was published under the name Tower Publishing Co., a company controlled by Russell and used to effect business for the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.[6] The Tower Tract Society itself was 'merely

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1) Z.345.
2) Z.1350,313,426,707-8,818.
3) Z.259.
4) Z.286.
5) Z.1339.
6) Z.2402; see also Z.967,989,1338, and Johnson,P.S.L: Merarism, p.129.

a business convenience in disseminating the truth'.[1] Some Bible students gave money to be used until their deaths on the understanding it would be returned if needed.[2] In addition Russell eventually provided special forms on which followers could 'promise' donations for the year ahead so that Russell could plan the Society's expenditure.[3] Russell claimed not to receive any personal profit from his religious undertakings and was sensitive about the financial affairs of his organisation.[4]

From 1884 onwards Russell was devoting considerably more time to religious activities. He was editor and publisher of Zion's Watch Tower and probably the author of most of its articles.[5] In April 1889, Russell began a well-known series called Old Theology Tracts.[6] Sixty thousand copies of the first tract were printed and it was intended that Bible students should send them by post to interest their friends. Russell continued to increase the number of Bible aids published or distributed by Zion's Watch Tower, and in 1892, for instance, there were ten different translations and concordances offered. Sundry items such as motto cards and calendars were also sold.[7]

The most important publication other than Zion's Watch Tower was Russell's Millennial Dawn - a 351-page discussion of his doctrines costing a dollar and first published in July 1886.[8] This edition of 4,500 was soon sold and with the voluntary help of Bible students the sales kept increasing , from twenty-five

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1) Z.1238.
2) Z.2403. This amount totalled $7,000 in 1893, see Z.2404,1172; The Laodicean Messenger, p.156; What Pastor Russell Said p.143.
3) Z.1361. These were called 'Good Hopes'.
4) Z.1172,2524.
5) From 1884 occasional articles are credited to other writers including Mrs Russell, but the majority were unsigned (Z.71).
6) Issued quarterly, these were called Old Theology Quarterlies
7) Zion's Watch Tower, 1892, p.96; eleven types of motto cards were advertised as 'Christian Home Embellishments', (Zion's Watch Tower, October 1891).
8) Various rates were offered. The Millennial Dawn was printed in Zion's Watch Tower (Nov.1886 to Jan.1887).

thousand to seventy thousand and so on, until the sale reached several millions and it is still being distributed.[1] Further volumes in the series were planned and Volume two, The Time is at Hand, dealing with chronology was published in 1888 in a first edition of ten thousand; Volume three, Thy Kingdom Come, was ready for distribution by colporteurs and evangelisers in 1891.[2]

In addition to writing, publishing and distributing his magazine, tracts and books, Russell had a growing correspondence and other activities such as conventions to organise. He had several helpers for this administrative load and in January 1890, he announced that:

> 'the increase of the work makes necessary a removal of our office to more commodious and better lighted quarters at the address given above.'[3]

This was the four-storey Bible House, Arch Street, Pittsburgh. It was built by Russell and held in title deed to a company privately owned by him.[4]

After 1884 the Annual Passover or Memorial celebration at Pittsburgh was extended to provide a conference for Bible students to attend. Thus in 1886, Bible students from Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, West Virginia, Iowa, Tennessee, Missouri and Nevada met at Pittsburgh for the Passover. Eight states were represented in 1888 and 1891 one hundred and forty Bible students attended from outside Pittsburgh, drawn from seventeen states.[5] Conventions were later held in towns and cities other than Pittsburgh as a regular feature of Bible student life. Patterns of organisation were thus beginning to emerge as a result of Russell's increasing involvement in what could be

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1) Z.946,958,979,1012,1039.
2) Z.961,1068,1304,1350.
3) Z.1174,217.
4) Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, p.27; Z.2402.
5) Z.851,1020,1301.

described as a religious mail order firm. This is only one facet of Russell's activities, however, and through conventions, preaching tours and correspondence a genuine social interrelationship was emerging between Russell and his followers. There were now increasing signs of institutionalisation of his movement as patterns of behaviour and organisation were formalised and sacralised as part of the sect's self-concept. There was also evidence of an informal status differentiation and the emergence of elites - in particular the colporteurs.

By January 1886, there were about three hundred active colporteurs and as soon as Russell had published his Millennial Dawn it was distributed by them. Russell suggested they visit towns with a population of greater than a thousand, and he planned out special routes for them to follow.(1) He devised all sorts of schemes to increase the selling of the literature and in May 1887 printed specific advice to the colporteurs:(2)

Millennial Dawn Vol.1 was to occupy the central selling position and colporteurs were advised to sell Millennial Dawn or Zion's Watch Tower subscriptions to the public with as little 'waste' of time as possible. Russell now required 'cash in advance' for orders as opposed to giving the subscriptions free to colporteurs as before.(3) Russell explained that selling was more efficient than 'preaching', for buyers would read the book and the 'Millennial Dawn Vol.1 is the ablest Bible teacher and preacher we know of'.(4) Preaching alone would not be financially self-sustaining, although the colporteur might re-visit the town to sell further copies of Millennial Dawn and Zion's Watch Tower subscriptions and he might then hold public or private

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1) Z.813,907,928,1152.
2) Z.824,907,927-8.
3) Z.214.
4) Z.927.

meetings amongst those interested.[1] Colporteurs were also asked to estimate how many consecrated they had contacted.[2]

Thus from 1881 onwards there existed a group of colporteurs giving the majority of their time travelling around, usually in pairs, staying a few days in each town or city, and either self-supporting or living off the ten cents a copy[3] commission they received on each paperbound copy of Millennial Dawn they sold to the public for twenty-five cents. Thus most of these colporteurs were directly dependent on Russell.[4] They were committed to distributing Russell's writings, he was their financial source, and despite Russell's insistence that their work was primarily to spread the truth some, if not the majority, of the colporteurs were concerned about the number of books they sold - an attitude that Russell seemed to encourage.

> 'One Sister here went forth filled with zeal and encouraged by Bro.Adamson's success, and her first day's labor was very successful: She took thirty-one orders for the paper bound Dawn. Others in various quarters, have varying success, proportionate generally to their strictness in following the plans suggested in the May View'.[5]

Although Russell would have denied it, success was equated with the number of books sold:

> 'I write of my success in the Master's vineyard. During ten month's work I have placed nearly fifteen hundred Dawns to the Master's glory.'[6]

Special sessions at the convention were devoted to techniques of colporteuring and Russell further suggested that child-colporteurs could be used to distribute Old Theology Tracts.[7]

There is little information on the type or class of people

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1) Z.2403
2) A Conspiracy Exposed p.14.
3) Z.2740. This was increased to 12½ ¢ for full-time colporteurs who were Zion's Watch Tower subscribers (Z.1037).
4) Z.950. Russell did not advise Bible students with families to join.
5) Z.939. See also Z.967.
6) Z.1089.
7) Z.1111,1133

who became colporteurs. They were sufficiently independent to engage in the work, but not all were financially independent- Russell had to raise their commission on at least two occasions.[1] Russell wrote in 1894 that 'a number of school teachers, ministers and business men' had taken up the colporteur work.[2] In the early years of the sect, the colporteurs were held up by Russell as examples to the Bible student community at large. They were invariably described as using their 'talents', time and so on, wisely, 'entirely consecrated to the Lord and his work... Co-workers together with God'.[3] Thus there developed a select self-conscious elite in the sect, with a distinct 'ethic' different from that of the other Bible students. An example of the colporteurs' life was given in Zion's Watch Tower of May 1, 1898: four colporteurs worked through a town in Alaska, selling more than two thousand copies of Millenial Dawn 'and circulating other brief literature. They talk their religion every chance, and preach on Sunday'. Their method was to rent a room, sleep on 'their own cheap cots, and cook their own victuals'. Their meals averaged 3.7 cents each.[4]

Russell encouraged all his followers, not just the colporteurs, to engage in active evangelisation.[5] After 1881 there is an increased emphasis on the importance of the harvest work.[6] In 1885 Russell initiated a new work, taken up initially by 300 Bible students, which consisted of distributing tracts and sample Zion's Watch Tower issues from house to house, obtaining magazine subscriptions and also holding public meetings.[7] Workers were allowed to keep half of their receipts on new subscriptions

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1) Z.1037,1404
2) Z.1745. He devised a special method for them.
3) Z.239,818 etc.
4) Z.2305
5) Z.682,438,442,413,795.
6) Z775,795,824
7) Z.824-5

to defray expenses although Russell attempted to minimise the financial aspect.[1] He advanced a specifically ideological justification for the evangelisation, claiming that it was a blessing, worthwhile and appropriate at that time:

> 'Some incline to think that all of the truly consecrated ones in the various sects have been reached by these harvest truths; but this is not the case. We have fresh evidence of this daily as one and another receives the light with rejoicing'.[2]

In this context, Russell's treatment of the problem of the 'close of the high calling'is an important example of the modification of ideology to suit structural changes. A question that concerned the readers of Zion's Watch Tower in 1882 was the significance of the 1881 failure for the little flock. They had believed that the door to the 'high calling' would close in 1881. This meant that anyone consecrating after that year would be too late for the 144,000, whose membership was presumably complete. Russell confirmed after 1881 that the door was now shut and pointed out that any new followers who consecrated should be content with places in the great company.[3] This explanation was, however, later modified, for in April 1883 Russell wrote:

> 'There seems to be so many consecrated ones coming into greater knowledge of the truth, and prepared, seemingly, for crowns, we have wondered if any others were in danger of losing theirs through the wiles of the adversary.'[4]

In August 1887 Russell suggested that those of the consecrated not willing to 'crucify' their wills might be in danger of losing their crowns.[5] He was referring to these who put their own

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1) Z.824-5.
2) Z.306,385.
3) Z.170,289.
4) Z.476; see also Z.344
5) Z.961 The crowns were for those making up the 144,000 and reigning with Christ in heaven. Russell's reference to 'crucifying' their wills refers to their character development to make themselves more like Christ who allowed his body to be crucified. They had to share his afflictions to be eligible to share his glory.

affairs before God's (that is, before Russell's suggestions for evangelisation):

> 'Some we are sure can do no more than they are doing, though some others we fear are 'slothful servants' '.(1)

Finally Russell formally announced that there were crowns to be gained for those who consecrated after 1881:

> 'Run on dear brothers and sisters, your case is not so dark as it seems to you. Remember that if all who had accepted the call when it closed should prove faithful to their covenant, there would be none too many, but just enough... of the 'many' who accept the call 'few' will be chosen'.(2)

Thus leaving vacant places for others to fill. This opportunity to join the high calling was, Russell explained, only for those active in the Lord's work: 'Remember that the reward is paid only to such as render service'.(3) He later suggested that of the estimated 40,000 consecrated in 1881, at least 30,000 had lost their crowns.(4) This provision of 'lost crowns' for any newly joined member after 1881 essentially robbed that date of any significance. It no longer meant the 'close of the high calling' in an empirical sense, and shared the fate of 1874 and 1878 in becoming a 'paper date'.

Russell's deliberate modification of the doctrinal system to help effect structural changes was prompted by the recruitment of a large number of 'consecrated' followers. This influx also had an important effect on the organisation of Russell's movement at the local level. Although the number of subscribers to Zion's Watch Tower had increased from around 7,000 in 1881 to 10,000 in 1883,(5) it is difficult to estimate how many of these were associated together in ecclesias. No formal record was kept of 'membership' in the ecclesias and the only source of statistics available is the voluntary reporting of attendance

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1) .979; see also Z.962,965,977,989.
2) Z.1113.
3) Ibid.
4) Z.4304.
5) Z.290,313,522.

at the annual Memorial. Prior to 1894, however, these records were not printed in Zion's Watch Tower.

Russell's attitude to the local organisation of Bible students in the early years was shaped by his theory of the spiritual elite little flock which suggests that the test of merit for an individual was a purely internal one, quite independent of institutional attachments. Thus it was possible for some members of the little flock to be members of the Methodist, Presbyterian or Baptist faiths.(1) Russell laid great stress on the individual,(2) the church he attended was a minor factor in determining his rank before God.(3) A subtle point here is that this 'tolerance' also gave support to Russell's interest in evangelising all nominal Christians and not just adventists. If the little flock were scattered here and there in all denominations then they would all have to be canvassed. It also seems likely that many of those recruited from 1881 on were not adventists but from other Protestant denominations, thus confirming Russell's beliefs.

He believed, however, that all religious institutions, qua institutions, were harmful, sectarian and creed-ridden.(4) For this reason a person was probably better out of them than in. Thus in 1883 a letter of enquiry was published in Zion's Watch Tower(5) asking if it was better or not to stay in the churches, for to stay in was to serve as a witness, to leave on

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1) It was unlikely that any of the little flock were Catholics, but any Christian Protestant Church was acceptable. Of these Russell appeared to prefer the Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians and disapproved of 'sects' such as Christian Science, Seventh Day Adventism and evangelical Holy Rollers (What Pastor Russell Said pp.510,352; What Pastor Russell Wrote for the Overland Monthly p.371 et.seq.; The Bible Student Monthly Vol.7, No.5,8; Z.607.
2) Studies in the Scriptures Vol.6, pp.78,242 et.seq.
3) Despite being sure in their own minds, it is often difficult for sectarians to admit to outsiders that they are the elite. Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism p20 et seq.
4) Z.594.
5) Z.456-7.

the other hand, was to keep oneself untainted. Mrs Russell replied that, 'many letters of similar import to the above have come to us recently' and her answer was that of Revelation 18:

> 'And I heard another voice from heaven saying Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.' 'It is not enough that we come out in spirit ... it would be useless indeed to attempt to prop an institution which God has doomed to destruction.' (1)

But if they were to come out of the churches, where should they go? In answer Mrs Russell claimed that it was a time for 'calling out and testing' rather than organising the true church and Russell asserted that Jesus did not organise congregations, and as the present situation was similar 'no earthly organisation is attempted, yet we are as one'.(2)

In a key article entitled The Ekklesia, first printed in October 1881, Russell had said:

> 'But says one: Must I not join some organisation on earth, assent to some creed and have my name written on the earth? No.' (3)

Russell was quite vague as to the organisational arrangements that should prevail in the true church:

> 'If, under the organisation of our head, we heed his commands, which we will do if we love him, how few will be the misunderstandings and difficulties among the brethren. This organisation has its evangelists, pastors, and teachers appointed and directed by the Lord.' (4)

Thus Russell's concept of a spiritual elite was complemented by an equally spiritual 'organisation'. He believed that the Lord was directly controlling both the central and local organisation. What this meant in practice was that the Bible students met in local groups presided over by a 'natural leader'

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1) Revelation 18:4; Z.457, see also Z.944.
2) Z.1574-5; In the same issue Russell admitted that they were a 'sect', in as far as his followers had a distinct set of beliefs separating them from others (Z.537).
3) Z.295; Russell's opposition to all 'creeds' was well-known (What Pastor Russell Wrote for the Overland Monthly, pp.234,298.
4) Z.296.

whose rôle and responsibilities were not clearly defined. In 1883 Russell specifically supported this arrangement in preference to the formal democratic election of Elders and Deacons.(1)

Russell's position was based on his expectation of an imminent ending of world affairs, and these chiliastic hopes were consistent with his opposition to local organisation. As time passed, however, and new members were recruited to his movement pressure built up on Russell to modify his attitude towards local organisation. He suggested that there be two meetings a week lasting from one-and-a-half to two hours each, in which to study the Divine plan, as the 'Dawns and Towers are divinely provided helps' for Bible study, although 'knowledge of doctrine is not our ultimate object in meeting but the building up of characters'.(2) Other meetings were started that consisted of a systematic study of Russell's Millennial Dawn by question and answer under a chairman. Called 'Dawn Circles', these meetings were originated by Bro.Rahn of Baltimore and were mentioned in Zion's Watch Tower and recommended there.(3)

Also in 1895 Russell reversed his earlier position of supporting 'natural leaders' of the ecclesias and recommended instead that Elders and Deacons be democratically elected by voting. He admitted that some organisation was needed and that an appropriate number of Elders be elected 'say yearly'.(4) Russell stressed that the Elders would be 'servants' of the ecclesias and were to have the desirable qualities listed at 1 Tim.3:1-7. Some years later Russell explained why he came to make these changes:

> 'Our error in judgement was in expecting too much of the dear brethren who, coming early into the truth, became the natural leaders of these little companies. ... Our mistake gradually dawned upon us as we beheld amongst dear brethren to some extent the spirit of rivalry, and on the part of many a desire to hold the leadership of meetings as an office instead of as a service.' (5)

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1) Z.536-7
2) Z.1868,1866-9
3) Z.1868,1900
4) Z.1890,1891. A unanimous vote was desirable. Studies in the Scriptures Vol.6. p.282.
5) Z.3745. Calley,M.J.C: God's People... p.50.

It was evidently pressure from the Bible students themselves that prompted Russell to clarify his views on ecclesia organisation. His favouring of the democratic system had an integrative effect on the movement although he was later to become dissatisfied with the elective elder system too.(1)

The period from 1881 to 1894 provides a good example of the modification of sectarian ideology and organisation under the pressures of recruitment and evangelisation. In some respects these were the formative years of Russell's movement, and the induction of a proportionately large number of come-outers(2) from the nominal churches led to changes in ecclesia organisation and an enhancement of Russell's status in the Bible student community. This recruitment, combined with Russell's promotion of more intensive evangelisation, may have contributed to the loss of some of his early supporters and led to a new composition in membership. Russell's lack of interest in chronological speculation and other adventist ideas coincided with an increasing membership of lapsed church-members rather than dyed-in-the-wool adventists. Russell was, in effect, modifying the goals of the Bible students, adding to their contemplative character development the desire for active evangelisation.

The change in the Bible student movement from 1879 to 1884 is fundamentally one of increasing formalisation of beliefs, behaviour and organisation and, under the pressures of evangelisation and recruitment, the establishing of an extensive central publishing house and democratically governed ecclesias. The ideology of the movement, particularly the initial self-concept

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1) Russell's views on Elders and ecclesia organisation were formalised in Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.6, p.272 et seq. It was published in 1904 and, despite later doubts, this remained his position until his death in 1916.

2) Wilson,B.R: The Pentecostalist Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions AM.J.OF.SOC. 64.5. p.495.

of a spiritually identified and organised elite, was modified to accommodate these structural changes. Thus Russell in explicitly identifying the new recruits as possible-elect sacrificed the 1881 closing of the high calling and the 'known only to God' aspect of the little flock in order to promote his methods of evangelisation.

Chapter 5.

Leadership and Authority Patterns in the Sect

The changes analysed in the last chapter were **functional** for the sect as a whole in as much as they resolved tensions arising out of recruitment and strains in the ideology. In promoting evangelisation and enhancing his own status within the sect, Russell was not responding entirely to group or ideological strains, and given the rigidity and resistance to change of sect ideologies[1] (even in the formative years) it is not surprising that he actually created tensions which resulted eventually in dissension and schism. While dissatisfaction amongst ordinary Bible students led to a number of personal defections, it was through the creation and existence of informal elites in Russell's movement that such dissention took on a more serious and disruptive form. Russell's sect had grown and developed in a somewhat haphazard way up to 1894 but the serious internal crisis that occurred at that time prompted him to reorganise his movement in a more systematic way.

The first Bible student convention held outside Pittsburgh was in Chicago in 1893.[2] Much of the convention programme was occupied with the colporteurs and their work. Russell's support and encouragement of the colporteurs projected into prominence those who were particularly successful in selling large numbers of Russell's books. Foremost among these was J.B.Adamson who met Russell in 1880 and a year later gave up a business 'paying about £1,500 a year' to engage in full-time colporteur work.[3] He was chosen as one of the six directors of the Watch Tower Society when it was incorporated in 1884 and was mentioned frequently in Zion's Watch Tower afterwards as the

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1) Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development AM.SOC.REV. 24. (Feb 1959) p.4.
2) Z.1580.
3) Z.238-9,291,298.

most successful seller of Millenial Dawn: 'Bro, Adamson still continues to lead all others'.[1] In 1887 he reported sales of 1,500 copies in less than three months and his methods were used as an example for other Bible students to follow. Other prominent colporteurs included S.D.Rogers who worked in Canada in 1889 and 1891 (later moving to New York) and E.Bryan (first mentioned in 1886).[2]

These leading colporteurs were also called upon to speak at meetings and conventions and they advised others about the best selling techniques to use.[3] They knew Russell personally and it is likely that they had a part in the running of his organisation. It is clear from subsequent accounts that Russell's relationship with the Bible students who were his closest associates was not entirely harmonious and Adamson, Rogers and Bryan, with Otto von Zech, united to challenge Russell in 1894. Von Zech, a former Lutheran Pastor, had been associated with Russell since 1885 spending much of his time translating Russell's writings into German and preaching in German in Allegheny.[4]

According to P.S.L.Johnson, there were indications of dissention within the sect as early as 1891[5] and this grew until the crisis of 1894[6] when Russell spoke of 'their former method of administering slow poison by confidential 'whisperings' and insinuations'.[7] Another Bible student wrote of[8] rumours that some of the colporteurs thought Russell was lording it over the Bible

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1) Z.940,928,950. Adamson also contributed to Zion's Watch Tower.
2) Z.851,1088,1111,1134,1294,1370-1.
3) Z.1294,1393,1556,1580.
4) Z.806-7,832,1003. The German edition of Zion's Watch Tower (which had been published for four years) was discontinued in 1892 and was replaced by Die Ernte-Sichel a larger paper controlled by von Zech alone. Z.1431.
5) Unfortunately we have only Russell's version of the dispute, but he does quote some of the opposers' arguments which helps to reconstruct the course of the 1894 schism.
6) The Parousia Messenger Vol.1. (by P.S.L.Johnson) p.396.
7) Z.1660
8) Z.1664.

students.[1] There are few indications of this in Zion's Watch Tower, however, until the whole affair was publicised in April 1894.[2]

In the April 1st issue Russell discussed the case of S.D.Rogers who had visited Britain and instead of colporteuring, had preached in a conventional way and relied on donations to support himself. The response was not good (Rogers by his own admission lacked 'the talent of a public speaker') and Russell recalled him to the United States (Rogers having abandoned 2,000 lb. of books at the docks).[3] Russell claimed that Rogers was convinced that his own way was correct and returned to try to set Russell right. He stayed with Russell in Allegheny,

> 'But Brother Rogers was so infatuated with the delusion that God had given him the message for us that he declared that we were resisting God in the matter,'[4]

and he left Russell with the intention of winning away the colporteurs.[5]

Von Zech's defection was unconnected with the Rogers affair, and preceded it. Without repeating all the detailed arguments related, it appears that von Zech had personal differences with Russell, believing that the latter had not paid him enough for typesetting work and had given him bad advice on investments.[6]

The motive for Adamson and Bryan's opposition to Russell is less clear. Adamson claimed that Russell had never called a board meeting of the Society,[7] and it may be that both he and Bryan disliked Russell's absolute control of the Society and

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1) Z.1664.
2) Z.1548-56,1565,1570-9,1660;
3) Z.1638,1666.
4) Z.1638.
5) Z.1650
6) But according to Russell's account Mrs von Zech was instrumental in breeding resentment in her husband (A Conspiracy Exposed, pp.22-9).
7) A Conspiracy Exposed Here and afterwards 'the Society' refers to the Watch Tower Society.

their necessary submission to this. According to Russell, one of the main motives for Adamson's opposition was that he wished to publish a tract of his own embodying 'misleading views on the parables' and it is clear that Russell made an attempt to prevent the publication of this work. It may be, however, that in both Adamson's and von Zech's case their wives contributed to and exacerbated the situation. The former's wife was reputed to have said to him shortly after marriage that she 'was not going to race over the country after him like a mad dog'.(1) There was further marital friction when Adamson desired to leave most of his effects to Zion's Watch Tower Society, which his wife did not approve of. Mr. and Mrs. Adamson were later to describe Mrs. Russell as 'haughty and proud' and to claim that the Allegheny church was'rotten' which may have represented genuine grievances on their part.(2)

Bryan's differences with Russell were purely personal. He had worked at the Bible House but his 'very violent temper, vindictive disposition and a penchant for minding other people's affairs'made him unpopular there.(3) Bryan accused Russell of dishonesty in evading the United States postal regulations.

In general the conspirators criticised Russell's business-like methods and accused him of egotism, dishonesty, cruelty towards his wife, and even immorality.(4) Unknown to Russell these three, von Zech, Adamson and Bryan (later joined by Rogers), had intended to 'expose' Russell at the large Passover gathering in 1893 and thus discredit him.(5) The meeting at Pittsburgh was postponed, however, and it was a year later, in April 1894, that they called an Allegheny acclesia meeting at which they

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1) A Conspiracy Exposed p.16 and Z.1370.
2) Z.1662-3.
3) According to Russell. in A Conspiracy Exposed pp.30,35,39,42.
4) A Conspiracy Exposed p.2,42-3,45,168-9. Z.1662-3.
5) A Conspiracy Exposed pp.1-4.

presented their case. In reply Russell arranged a hearing before some of the Allegheny elders at which a sycophantic 'jury' heard his replies to the charges and cleared him.(1) Despite this, Rogers wrote to the Bible students in New York, London and other ecclesias attacking Russell and the conspirators toured about putting their case to the various classes.(2)

To counteract Rogers' tour in which he 'represented Brother Russell as in a 'deplorably sinful state' - dishonest, traitorous, a liar, etc.' Mrs Russell (rallying to her husband's defence) spent the period of May 13-31, travelling two thousand miles speaking at nine major cities to defend her husband before the Bible students. Her report of the trip was published in Zion's Watch Tower where she claimed that Rogers had 'advocated no-ransom views' and at Rochester, New York, had even supported N.H.Barbour.(3) The June 11, 1894 Zion's Watch Tower was devoted to reviewing the crisis and printing letters of support that had reached Russell after his special edition of April 25th. Russell maintained that,

> 'The effect upon the church is the very reverse of what the Enemy designed: It is, as they express it, drawing nearer than ever to their hearts the Watch Tower publications and the general interests of the harvest work.' (4)

and illustrated this by saying that of the hundreds of subscriptions obtained for the conspirator's proposed journal, 'many' of these were now cancelled.(5) Similarly von Zech's paper was being dropped by up to two hundred of its six hundred subscribers (the remainder were not Zion's Watch Tower subscribers).(6)

It is not possible to estimate how many Bible students

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1) For example, A Conspiracy Exposed, p.46.
2) Z.1661-2,1660.
3) Z.1661-4.
4) Z.1659.
5) Z.1660.
6) Ibid.

defected. In June 1895 Russell referred to the 'sifting' as still continuing. The only statistics available, the Memorial figures, indicate that while the total number of ecclesias reporting decreased from 99 in 1894 to 70 in 1895, the number of Bible students in Allegheny increased from 160 to 200 and in New York from 85 to 250 (the only two that can be justifiably compared).(1)

A common factor in the case of all four ringleaders was that Russell attempted to impose his will on them, and the schism was primarily concerned with the question of authority. Russell's reputation and status in the Bible student community had been growing steadily since 1881 and Russell's self-concept had correspondingly altered. This was evidently not acceptable to some of his followers, nor was it completely sanctioned in the ideology. In fact the lack of any established patterns of authority was a contributing factor to the schism. When the opposition revealed itself the conflict was primarily a power struggle and not fought on ideological grounds. The ensuing attempt to win the allegience of Bible students revealed the existence of elites in the sect, and the defection of high status groups such as the Pittsburgh ecclesia, other large ecclesias in the major cities and the colporteurs, would have seriously harmed Russell's cause. Fortunately for Russell, the four defectors failed to gain control of any of these groups; but it is significant that Russell was questioned before a committee of Pittsburgh Elders and 'judged correct' by them - a clear indication that his authority was limited even in the class of which he was Pastor.

Having survived the schism of 1894, Russell made a number

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1) Z.1650,1803. Parkinson believes the figure of 250 to be a misprint (Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student Movement in the Days of C.T.Russell, p.L.2.).

of changes designed to prevent such a thing occurring again. Firstly he tightened his control over the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society

> 'by electing all directors and officers and appointing all collaborers and initiating and directing all polices, etc. ... having previously expressly stipulated with his fellow incorporators that he should control all its business and affairs done in or without its name until his death. This controllership stipulation was renewed, from time to time, with new directors'. (1)

According to P.S.L.Johnson, Russell required of all directors

> 'immediately after their election that they write out their resignations in full, except the date, over their signatures, upon the express stipulation that, if he considered it the Lord's will, he would fill in the date, and thus terminate their directorship.' (2)

This ensured that Russell's legal and financial control over the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society was absolute, but he was well aware that his lack of formal authority over his representatives, who travelled about visiting classes, was a further source of danger.

In September 1894 Russell, therefore, started 'another branch of the work', which became known as the Pilgim service.

> 'we have arranged lately to have several brethren travel, some giving a part, and some all of their time in visiting you for the purpose of building you up in the truth and in its spirit'. (3)

Pilgrims visited places where at least five Zion's Watch Tower subscribers met. They were not to solicit contributions and were chosen for their spirituality, meekness and ability.(4) Four Bible students were engaged in the Pilgrim work in 1894 and more were recruited to it in 1895. At first these Pilgrims were those whose business interests allowed them to travel, and they devoted Sundays and evenings to this work. Russell did not

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1) Elijah and Elisha by P.S.L.Johnson, p.164; Johnson,P.S.L: Merarism, p.112.
2) Johnson,P.S.L: Merarism, p.112.
3) Z.1702.
4) Z.2192,2234.

pay their expenses but expected 'voluntary service'.[1] Later, however, Pilgrims trips were sponsored and expenditure on Pilgrims in 1899, for example, totalled $2,612.[2] In December 1894 Russell reported that the most active Pilgrim Bro.McPhail had visited fifty-three cities, holding 115 meetings in eleven states, while another twenty Pilrims were also reported for that year.[3] These travelling representatives were undoubtedly instrumental in helping the Bible student community to re-adjust after the rebellion of 1894.

The 1894 schism brought to the fore the question of Russell's rôle and status in the Bible student community and in particular what authority did he have? Mrs Russell suggested that perhaps Russell was pictured by 'that Servant' of Matthew 24. Russell at first denied this, but later published an article admitting that he found difficulty in disagreeing with the arguments that the passage pointed to an individual, and he left it to the reader to judge who that individual was.[4] In a later statement he indirectly hinted that Zion's Watch Tower might be 'that Servant' but it seems that many Bible students nevertheless believed that Russell was pictured in Matthew 24.[5] From his statements in 1894, quoted later in 1906,[6] it is clear that Russell was the recipient of such praise:

> 'Many are the inquiries relative to the truths presented in Millennial Dawn and Zion's Watch Tower, as to whence they came and how they developed to their present symmetrical and beautiful proportions - Were they the results of visions? Did God in any supernatural way grant the solution of these hitherto mysteries of his plan? Are the writers more than ordinary beings? Do they claim any supernatural wisdom or power? or how comes this revelation of God's truth?

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1) Z.2403.
2) Z.2549.
3) Z.1746; McPhail had all his expenses paid (Z.1745).
4) Z.1946.
5) Z.1994, 3811, 3998; What Pastor Russell wrote for the Overland Monthly, p.447; the pamphlet, Transcontinental Tour of Russell, 1907 Convention Report, p.74, etc.
6) Zion's Watch Tower, 1906, p.229.

> No, dear friends, I claim nothing of superiority, nor supernatural power, dignity or authority;' (1)

Russell's pronouncements in Zion's Watch Tower now took on a more definite tone absent from the early issues - his image in the pages of the magazine was changing from that of an earnest truth seeker, with new revelations to unfold, to that of an established leader who was not expected to make mistakes.(2) Whether or not this attitude stemmed directly from Russell, or was nurtured by the Bible students is not known.

Russell showed sensitivity over changes he made in new editions of Millennial Dawn,(3) and this increasing dogmatism may be explained by his belief that he was merely unfolding God's plan which was (of necessity) free from error.

> 'Some seem to feel that this is Brother Russell's plan, and that they should originate their own. But this is a great mistake. It is not our plan, but God's. If not God's plan, it is of no value. We do not want any human plans.'(4)

Russell himself suggested in 1902 that the Millennial Dawn volumes might be part of the fulfillment of Revelation 11:15, and later references make it clear that these volumes are implicitly assumed to contain God's revelations.

> 'the Lord's hand seems very markedly manifest in connection with this great sale (of Millennial Dawns)'.(5)

In 1904 Russell approved the title 'Millennial Dawn Meet' for the Bible student meetings, and some Bible students referred to their beliefs as 'Dawn truth' - that is, derived from the Divinely inspired Millennial Dawn Volumes.(6) Russell discouraged other Bible students from expressing their own ideas independently of Zion's Watch Tower(7) - a prohibition Russell justified

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1) Z.3821.
2) Z.2115,2009; Z.2653 - 'all readers must read Millennial Dawns'; Z.2687 - his picture, 'yes, Brother Russell will attend'.
3) Z.2131.
4) Z.1867.
5) Z.3235.
6) Z.3038,3039.
7) They were free to contribute articles which Russell could sanction before publishing.

on the grounds of unity.

> 'It is noticible too, what a beautiful unity of spirit and of faith, and what steedy co-operation, there was among the apostles and elders of the early church. ... One was not endeavouring to eclipse another by getting some brand new patented theories of his own.' (1)

And despite his apparent support of the personal liberty of each Bible student, such liberty excluded doctrinal innovation.(2) Russell had set himself up as God's mouthpiece and arbiter of truth, in his own eyes.

Amongst the Bible students it is clear there existed a continual debate as to Russell's status. There was a spectrum of opinion that varied from seeing him as the infallible Laodicean Messenger, to regarding him as no more than a prominent student of the Bible primus inter pares. The very fact that the Bible students could debate and decide this issue indicated that his authority was low even if his status was high. Thus Russell's absolute control of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society has misled researchers into deducing his absolute control of the ecclesias, which was not the case. This point was brought home to Russell over the initial introduction of the Pilgrims.

At first they were provided with a 'printed and signed certificate from the Watch Tower Society (renewed yearly)'.(3) Russell explained that the bearer of the certificate 'has full authority to teach and preach publicly' and was 'authorised to administer to others ... the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper'.(4) This form of words, in as much as it merely confirmed that the bearer was consecrated, was unexceptional. But the use of 'authority' and 'authorised' may have contradicted the Bible students' belief in the equality of all believers,

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1) Z.1895.
2) Z.1896, 4194.
3) Z.1706.
4) Z.1707.

and Russell soon removed the reference to authority saying, 'These letters are not authorizations to preach. That cannot be given by man'.(1) The amended certificate was little more than a letter of recommendation but it was still issued by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society and signed by the President and the Secretary.(2) In August 1895 Russell withdrew even the letters, explaining that the Society was a business organisation and it was not appropriate or necessary that it should recommend Bible students.(3)

Although it is true that the Pilgrims functioned to aid and encourage Bible students in their evangelising work this was by no means their major function. This was pastoral, in the eyes of the ecclesias they were spiritual guides, respected for their preaching and teaching. It is not correct to see the Pilgrims as one stage in a hierarchy,(4) for no such hierarchical system existed in the Russell movement at this stage. The Pittsburgh ecclesia, the colporteurs, the elders of large ecclesias and the Pilgrims were all independent status groups. The Pilgrims were representatives of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, but their control over local ecclesias was minimal, although their influence was no doubt strong. This situation arose as a result of the autonomy of the local ecclesias and Russell's ambiguous role vis a vis his followers. Russell's whole movement lacked a formal authority structure, and it was this state of affairs which continued to foster disruptions and schisms.

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1) Z.1720.
2) Z.1720-1.
3) Z.1847. Despite these changes Russell insisted that no mistake had been made in the first place (Z.1886).
4) As Beckford claims (Ph.D. 1972, p.50 et seq). He ignores the pastoral role of the Pilgrims, the autonomy of the ecclesias and the status of the elders in those ecclesias. (His point of view is essentially the same as that set out in Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose).

While the schism of 1894 helped to elucidate Russell's self-concept and status in the sect - it did not elucidate his authority as Zygmunt suggests.[1] Russell's authority over the Watch Tower Society, Pilgrims and colporteurs was well defined, but his relationship with the Bible students as a whole was not, and Russell's rôle as leader is equally unclear. For some Bible students (and Russell himself) his leadership was defined within, and always dependent on, the ideology. Other Bible students undoubtedly treated Russell as nothing less than a charismatic leader, a tendency that increased as Russell grew older and more venerable.

Weber used the concept of charisma as an ideal type contrasted with bureaucracy. In his terms a charismatic leader was 'recognised' and not elected, was believed to possess some power needing no validation from experience or knowledge, often had to 'prove' himself, was responsible for those he led, and his leadership was legitimated by his personal power alone.[2] While Russell possessed some of these qualities (he was not elected and was responsible for those he led,for example) it cannot be said that his followers believed he possessed some power which alone legitimated his leadership.[3] Revolutionist sects are usually not accommodative to charisma and Russell's rôle as leader of the sect was always subject to ideological and normative constraints.

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1) Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D. pp.337-9. Neither did it crystallise 'doctrine into dogma' as he puts it.
2) Gerth,H.H. & Mills,C.W: From Max Weber pp.52,80,245-6,253. See also the introduction to Worsley,P: The Trumpet Shall Sound.
3) The nature of leadership itself appears to be a complex problem for which the concept of 'charisma' is too blunt an analytical instrument. See Worsley,P: op cit; Roucek,J.S: The changing Concepts of Charismatic Leadership INT.YEARBOOK. FOR.THE.SOC.OF.REL. 3. pp.87-99; and Gibb,C.A.(ed): Leadership,Selected Readings.

Chapter 6.

Organisational Expansion and Institutionalisation 1895-1908

Once a sect has emerged with its distinctive ideology and group of believers its subsequent development may take one of several directions. Some sects, particularly revolutionist sects looking to a particular date, are short-lived and disintegrate after the date has failed them.(1) Other sects may disband on the death of their charismatic leader or disintegrate after repeated schisms. If the sect persists, however, then it undergoes a process of change which usually involves some degree of institutionalisation.(2) For example if the sect is ideologically committed to evangelisation or proselytisation then agencies will be developed to fulfill these goals more effectively, and even the local meeting together of the faithful requires some minimum organisation and communication. Thus a process of formal or informal organisation comes into existence and the routinisation of these activities results in institutionalisation, although sects may resist such changes or even refuse to recognise them when they have occurred. Such institutionalisation usually gives rise to ideological tensions(3) and as a result the sect may develop into a denomination or may modify its ideology less drastically and develop into an 'established'(4) or 'institutionalised'(5) sect.

According to B.R.Wilson's work it is in general conversionist sects that are more likely to develop into denominations

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1) For examples see Cohn,N: The Pursuit of the Millenium.
2) Wilson,B.R: in Robertson,R(ed): Sociology of Religion p.371. Introversionist and utopian sects are perhaps least likely to change.
3) For example with the sectarian concept of the equality of all believers or, in the case of conversionist sects, its indifference to any kind of formal organisation. See Wilson, B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development AM.SOC.REV. 24(Feb 1959).
4) Yinger,J.M: Religion,Society and the Individual p.148 et seq.
5) For the application of this term to the Seventh Day Adventists see Lorhek,J.T: Role Orientations & Organisational Stability HUMAN.ORGANISATION. 24.4.

while revolutionist sects are often short-lived, and if they do survive may become 'introversionist' sects after the initial prophetic disappointment.(1) In Russell's case the postponed chiliastic hopes were kept alive alongside an increasing involvement in evangelism and character development which functioned as secondary goals during the long wait for 1914. This postponement of the crucial date allowed the sect to create agencies for recruitment and evangelisation and develop an extensive central and local organisation. The structural and ideological changes consequent on this growing institutionalisation in the sect are analysed in this chapter.

There appears to be some support for Russell's claim that despite the schism of 1894 and the financial depression of 1893-6, his work was expanding and the size of his following was increasing. The Memorial attendance figures were published regularly in Zion's Watch Tower and although not every ecclesia reported every year, a definite growth pattern is evident even from the partial statistics available. The number of churches reporting actually dropped in 1895 but otherwise increased up to 1899 from 99 in 1894 to 339 in that year.(2) In 1900 approximately 2,500 Bible students reported for the Memorial while in 1908 there were 8,500. In 1900 there were only 6 ecclesias of more than 50 members (totalling 628 Bible students) while in 1908 this had increased to 23 (totalling 3,328 Bible students) and from 1903 to 1908 a steady increase is evident.(3)

Russell advanced an ideological justification for this influx of new members and at the same time suggested that there were many more to be recruited. He estimated that approximately

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1) See Wilson,B.R: in Robertson,R: Sociology of Religion p373.
2) Z.1650,1799,1805,1966 etc.
3) A decrease occurred in 1907.

112,500 people had been chosen by 1881 to fill the 144,000 places in heaven, leaving 31,500 crowns still to be won, and hence:

> 'If we are correct in supposing that a knowledge and confession of present truth are essential to overcoming, now, we may Give a fair guess at the number thus far faithful from the Watch Tower lists and our general knowledge of the friends. A liberal estimate would be 10,000, walking in the light of the present truth, and sanctified thereby. This would leave 21,500 yet in darkness; and probably most of them in "Babylon".' (3)

There was therefore, a large class of people in (or just leaving) the nominal church who were waiting to hear of the truths possessed by the Bible students:

> 'We may reasonably expect that the coming year will be one of still greater activities and still greater successes in the dispensing of the truth and the bringing of brethren out of darkness into the marvelous light.' (1)

Russell explicitly used numerical increase as a justification for the evangelisation:

> 'let us see what we each can do to increase those large figures for the year now commencing. The way to accomplish large results is not to hope that someone else may do and bear and get a blessing in this service; but for each to resolve to do what he can. Ask yourself, - What more can I do to increase the circulation of the Watch Tower and the Dawns? How many more Dawns can I put into circulation than I did last year? How many more Watch Tower subscriptions can I influence than last year? Remember, however, that our desire for the list is that it shall represent the interested, whether free or paid subscriptions; - especially are we desirous of having the Lord's saints on this list.' (2)

While from 1904 onwards Russell explicitly connected activity with salvation:

> 'we see that our only security as sons of God and joint-heirs with Christ is in activity in the service of the truth. Well, says one, I see very few doing that. Very true: only a few will do it. But that precious few are the Lord's jewels. Are you one of them? ... It is indeed

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1) Z.2752.
2) Z.3296. It still seems that Russell was personally more concerned with the number of readers.
3) Z.2942. See also Z.4304 and Studies in the Scriptures Vol.6. p.95. Needless to say these figures are all hypothetical & Russell appeared to be assuming here that it was necessary for the elect to be called out of their churches by the Bible students.

> a notable fact that in no single case have we seen one drift away from the truth into the snares of these perilous times who was very active and fully enlisted in the Lord's work.' (1)

Yet despite Russell's efforts not all (in fact only a minority) of the Bible students were as active as he wished.

The full scope of Russell's work was outlined each year after 1895 in the annual reports of the Watch Tower Society. In 1896 the central office had 'eight men and women and two lads' (in addition to Mr. and Mrs. Russell) working in the various departments.(2) The main branches of the work in 1900 and onwards were as follows: (1) The publishing of Zion's Watch Tower, (2) The colporteur department, (3) Volunteer work, (4) Pilgrim work, (5) Conventions, (6) Foreign work, (7) Financial department, (8) Publishing, (9) Newspaper work. Each of these will be considered separately below:

(1) The publishing of Zion's Watch Tower

Russell had always placed emphasis on the magazine's subscription list as a barometer of the 'progress of the truth' and from 1900 onwards he made particular efforts to increase it. The number of subscribers increased from 13,500 in 1902 up to 30,000 in 1906 and continued rising after that. The success in this field was undoubtedly due to the efforts of the colporteurs in particular.(3)

(2) The colporteur department

The number of colporteurs also increased steadily after the turn of the century from 69 in 1901 to 600 in 1907. Russell printed explicit instructions to the colporteurs on how to sell books, describing four possible 'presentations'(4) that might be

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(1) Z.3967. See also Z.4106.
2) See Z.2077. There were five workers in 1894. A Conspiracy Exposed p.77.
3) Z.2921,3014,3141,3287,3767. Approximately half of the subscribers at one time were 'the Lord's poor'. Z.3680.
4) Z.2921,3412,3471,4103.

successful. Their work was organised more rigidly by Russell who recognised as 'active colporteurs' only those who had a definite territory, ordered no less than twenty-five volumes of Studies in the Scriptures per order[1] and reported regularly on the first and fifteenth day of every month on report forms provided for this purpose. Those not meeting these requirements, but anxious to do the work Russell designated 'sharp-shooters'.[2] Later in 1908 colporteur bags and wheeled attachments could be purchased to help in the work.[3]

(3) Volunteer work

In April, 1899 Russell introduced this new branch in which men and women 'of good personal appearance' regularly devoted two hours every Sunday distributing free copies of Russell's literature outside Protestant churches:

> 'All volunteers in each city should come together at once and lay out the work of their city methodically. Then select one of your number as scribe on this business to write to us stating the number of volunteers, the number of churches in your city and your estimate of the adult attendance' (4)

The volunteer work was extended in 1900 to include the distribution of special editions of Zion's Watch Tower, in 1903 Russell recommended that the work be done from house to house on Sunday mornings:

> 'There may be people who would thus be reached who have not been reached by the church distributions of the past. We find that there are today quite a number of thinking people who rarely go to church... the walking will be no more than would be ordinarily done in going to church, and the labor would be considerably less than in the preaching of a sermon, while the printed sermon thus delivered will, in the judgement of the distributors, be superior, of course, to what would generally be obtained' (5)

Russell estimated that virtually all the houses in Allegheny, Pittsburgh and the suburbs were reached by this method in 1903

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1) These were made on special order forms.
2) That is, part-time colporteurs. Z.3931.
3) Z.4126,4194.
4) Z.2456,3359,2523,2457. Russell did not encourage the work amongst Roman Catholics or Negroes. Z.2618-9,2897.
5) Z.2560,2661,2741,3295,3196.

'112,000 tracts were placed in as many houses'. Russell further suggested that Captains be chosen from each ecclesia to co-ordinate the work locally. The Captain would be in direct communication with Russell about the quantity of literature required and so on.(1) The ecclesias at Washington D.C., Toronto and Boston reported that 70% of their Bible students were active in the volunteer work but this was exceptional for in 1904 Russell wrote that of the 20,000 Zion's Watch Tower subscribers, only a thousand were volunteer workers.(2)

(4) Pilgrim work

With the exception of 1905, the number of Pilgrims sent out each year increased from 14 in 1900 to 47 in 1908. Ecclesias were urged to write and invite Pilgrims to visit them and Pilgrim routes were advertised in Zion's Watch Tower from 1901 onwards.(3)

(5) Conventions

An increasing number of conventions were held year by year after 1895 and in addition to the General Conventions, local conventions were also held beginning in 1898. In 1900 for example three General Conventions were held and thirteen local conventions, all attended by Russell who, after some initial hesitation, encouraged the holding of conventions:

> 'Once we considered them too expensive: now we consider that they pay well in increased zeal and love'.(4)

Convention details were printed on the back page of Zion's Watch Tower and there was a sharp upswing in their number after 1900: in 1903 the number of general conventions was half that in 1906 and the number of local conventions increased by 38.(5)

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1) Z.2769,2995,3366
2) Z.2994,3295.
3) Z.2829,3124.
4) Z.2641,2656,2642,2697,2742,2368,2769,3121. Notice Russell's automatic use of a financial metaphor.
5) Z.3249. See Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student... sectionL.

(6) Foreign work

Russell's expectation and preparation for an influx of newly consecrated followers inevitably raised the question of the missionary work. Russell had shown little interest in this area before and had suggested that as the United States was a 'gathering place for people of every nation' it was a special field for the harvest work. Later, however, he admitted that:

> 'If the sowing has been a general one with a view to the gathering of the Lord's flock from every nation, people, kindred and tongue, we must expect the harvest work to be similarly broad, widely extended' (1)

and as early as 1896 there had been letters from interested readers all over the world and the translation of some of Russell's works into German, Swedish, French and Polish.(2) Following the distribution of Food For Thinking Christians in London in 1881 a number of British and other foreign subscribers were reported in 1885. Russell's tour abroad in 1891 also stimulated interest in Great Britain, Denmark and Poland in particular. Early centres of interest in Britain were London, where a book depot was set up, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Liverpool. The Watch Tower Society's annual report for 1889 mentioned representatives in France, Denmark, Sweden, Germany and England. The numbers of active supporters abroad appeared to be very low, however. In the 1899 Memorial report the only foreign reports (excluding Canada) were Jamaica 20, Switzerland 14, Glasgow 16, London 21, Sheffield 4, Copenhagen 15, Odder, Denmark 12.(3)

In 1900 Russell sent one of his Pilgrims, E.C.Henninges, to London to establish a British branch there, for which four tons of reading matter was dispatched.(4) The branch office was in

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1) Z.4000,4105,4042. Russell's 'broad harvest work' was only announced when a substantial number of foreign supporters already existed. Prior to that, he thought missionary activity to be futile.
2) Z.1995,2103,2055,1955,2399,2410.
3) Z.783,1332,1825,1884,1334,1964,etc.
4) Z.2628

Forest Gate and the first British (and German) report appeared in 1900.[1] After establishing the British branch, Henninges and his wife travelled to Barmen-Elberfield, Germany to establish a European branch there, after which they set up an Australian branch in Melbourne. Af further centre for France and Italy was established at Yverdon, Switzerland.[2] A coloured Pilgrim, J.A.Browne, was sent to Jamaica and Russell himself went on a second European tour in 1903 when he spoke to interested audiences in London, Glasgow, Leeds, Dundee, Liverpool, Salford, Dublin, Belfast, Copenhagen and Stockholm.[3] After 1904 yearly reports were received from the branches in Britain, Germany and Austalia and in addition reports were received from Jamaica and Costa Rica in 1906 and for Africa and Sweden in 1907.[4] The number of foreign Bible students in 1908 was not high and there were only 13 foreign ecclesias reporting more than 15 participants at the Memorial. Of these ecclesias, 7 were in Britain (a total of 827 Bible students), 2 in Germany and one each in Denmark, Sweden, Costa Rica and Jamaica.

(7) Financial Reports

The total receipts from voluntary contributions and 'other sources' including money obtained from selling Russell's literature increased fairly steadily from $13,219 in 1895 to $93,994 in 1908. The total expenditure kept pace with this figure, being sometimes more or less than it.[5] After 1900 the money spent on Pilgrims each year was approximately one-fifth of the total expenditure, while from 1904 onwards money spent on the foreign branches accounted for between one-third and one-fifth of the total outlay. In 1907 for example

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1) Z.2628,2632. See Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student... pJ.
2) Z.3214,3255,3342,3288.
3) Z.3198,3206-7,3213.
4) Z.3919,3942,3999,4178,4105.
5) Z.1904,2077,2233,2402,2548,2740, etc.

just less than half of the money was spent on publishing, more than a quarter on foreign branches and the rest on Pilgrims and conventions.

(8) Publishing

Volume three and five of Russell's Millennial Dawn series were published before 1900 and volume six, The New Creation, was published in 1904. Most of this latter work discussed the organisation, beliefs, conduct and morals of the Bible students themselves, their family life and so on. It is significant that after 1900 Russell's only two book-length publications were volume six, which dealt with the principles and codes of conduct and the realationship of his followers with the world, and Daily Heavenly Manna,[1] a devotional study book containing texts and comments for each day of the year.[2] In January 1907, Russell commented on the successful response to Daily Heavenly Manna and the devotional aspect was enhanced in the second edition which contained alternative blank pages for 'use as an Autograph or Birthday Record'.[3]

(9) Newspaper Work

In 1903 Russell announced in Zion's Watch Tower that he was to engage in six debates with a 'prominent Methodist Minister of Allegheny city', E.L.Eaton, D.D.[4] The question arises as to why Russell did this since he had previously made it clear that he did not favour debates.[5] In the announcement of the debate, Russell mentioned that he had already come to an arrangement

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1) Z.3498.
2) It was intended that Bible students discuss the text and afterwards read Russell's comment and summing up. It is significant that the book is recommended solely on the grounds of its being used in the Bible House.
3) Z.3967.
4) Eaton was not, however, a particularly 'prominent' minister; and it may have been Russell who instigated this debate rather than Eaton.
5) Z.1501,2952.

with the Pittsburgh Gazette that they would publish full reports on the understanding that many Bible students would wish to purchase these issues for themselves and extra copies for distribution.[1] Russell later admitted that he had guarranteed the sale of a number of issues to the Gazette. He also revealed that therafter his sermons would be printed weekly in the Gazette and he offered a clubbing arrangement for Zion's Watch Tower subscribers for a daily copy of the Gazette (for $3.25 a year). The debates merely served to stimulate interest in Russell and also introduce the Gazette to Zion's Watch Tower readers who, it was hoped, would then take the paper daily, even though Russell's sermons appeared only weekly.[2] Russell's standing in the Allegheny community should not be exaggerated. An examination of contemporary Pittsburgh papers indicates that much of their daily columns were given up to long verbatim reports of sermons by (and news about) prominent local clergymen and Russell himself often quoted from such accounts.[3] Russell was not important enough, even in his own community, to be reckoned in this company and it may be that he (or his followers) chafed under this exclusion and took steps to enter the newspaper columns by the only means at their disposal: the buying power of the Bible student followers was used to win a weekly report in the Pittsburgh Gazette.

> 'We are bound to consult the wishes of the Gazette publishers, because only upon condition of their securing a good list of regular subscribers do they propose to continue the publication of these discourses.'[4]

Russell admitted. This suggests that Russell was primarily concerned about his own personal advancement here, rationalised as the spreading of his (that is, God's) message.

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1) Z.3258.
2) Russell admits this (Z.5685).
3) See the leading articles to Zion's Watch Tower for any year.
4) Z.3311.

According to press reports, the Eaton debates held in the Carnegie Hall, Pittsburgh were very popular and thousands were turned away.(1) As to the actual debates, neither side scored a victory although according to the Pittsburgh Gazette:

> 'Pastor Russell spoke extemporaneously from the start and at once assailed the arguments of his opponent. He rarely quoted the Bible and spoke along lines which became immensely popular with many of the lay members of the audience.' (2)

The Pittsburgh Post, however, mentioned that Eaton kept more to Bible texts and Russell was more 'self-opinionated'.(3) Although the Pittsburgh Gazette reports appear to be impartial there may be some truth in Eaton's claim that they did not fairly represent his case.(4)

The result, nevertheless, was that thousands took up subscriptions to the Pittsburgh Gazette and special provisions were made for their purachasing extra copies of the issue containing Russell's sermons.(5) This led some Bible students, encouraged by Russell, to ask their local papers to publish his sermons;(6) in December 1904 three newspapers were publishing them and in 1906 five newspapers (with a combined circulation of 119,000) were regularly featuring his sermons. Russell called this the 'Newspaper Harvest Work':

> 'We estimate therefore that this is a very valuable feature of the harvest work. Indeed, we all know that many will read a newspaper article who will decline to read a tract. We are looking to the Lord for possible further openings of doors in this direction, and if we learn of any way in which you can assist we will be pleased to comunicate with you. Postal cards to the editors of journals publishing the discourses serve to show interest and encourage publishers'.(7)

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1) Pittsburgh Post, November 2, 1903, p.5.
2) Pittsburgh Gazette, 1903; Oct.19, p.8, Oct.21, p.10.
3) Pittsburgh Post, Nov.2, 1903, p.5.
4) Eaton,E.L: Millennial Dawn Heresy, pp.(iii),(iv); Pittsburgh Gazette 1903: Oct.19, p.8; Oct.21, p.10; Oct.23, p.10; Oct.28, p.10; Oct.30, pp.10,11; Nov.2, p.10.
5) Z.3311,3321.
6) Z.3450-1.
7) Z.3909,4134,4104,4153.

By 1907, eight or nine newspapers were involved.

A similar pattern was evident in Russell's second debate in 1908, with Elder L.S. White of the 'Christian Denomination (radical branch)' in Cincinnati, Ohio.[1] The debate was held in the Music Hall, with a seating capacity of 3,600.[2] Russell organised an eight-day Bible student convention to be held at the same time and at the same hall,[3] ensuring a large proportion of supporters.[4] Russell said White objected to the convention and that he 'boasted and misrepresented' during the debate.[5] White wanted the debate to be held according to the rules in Hedge's Logic and he wished to have moderators,[6] but Russell seems to have sidetracked him over these issues.[7] The speaking styles of the two men were quite different. White was incisive and particular, he cited and quoted a great number of texts and, on the whole, kept closely to the subject - only once or twice referring to Russell personally.[8] Russell, on the other hand, was discursive, told stories, advertised his conventions and the Millennial Dawns, etc., and often strayed from the subject. Also as White pointed out, he did not modify his speeches to answer or counter White's points.[9]

It is difficult to estimate who got the better of the debates.

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1) Z.4115,4118. A proposed debate with Wm.Dillon, D.D., of Elkart, Indiana was called off earlier that year (Z.4115, 4119). Russell did not debate with Dillon or Moorhead as Beckford claims (Ph.D., 1972, p.155, note 25).
2) Z.4134.
3) Six hundred attended (Z.4145).
4) There exist two accounts of the debate: one in Zion's Watch Tower and another by F.L.Rowe: Russell-White Debate which includes the full text of all the speeches. According to Rowe, Russell wrote to him in 1907 saying he would meet anyone in debate and asking him to arrange an opponent.
5) Z.4145-6. It was Russell who misrepresented White in saying that 'real arguments were scarce with him'.
6) White said this was customary. As an evangelist for 15 years he had engaged in 17 debates. Rowe,F.L: op cit, p.ix,xii.
7) Z.4119.
8) Rowe,F.L: op cit, pp.20,46.
9) Ibid. pp.17,20,79-80,146.

Both men drew applause from the audience, but to an educated, unbiassed observer White probably appeared the more intelligent and successful. To ordinary members of the audience, however, Russell's style may have had more appeal - although it was hardly an 'easy victory' for Russell.(1) Rowe claimed that the account in the Enquirer was inaccurate, and White himself protested during the debate, pointing out that the stenographic records were made by Russell's supporters and the selections from the debate in the Enquirer favoured Russell.(2) But it should be emphasised that no matter how able White was, he was repudiated by the established churches in Cincinnati; and the debate was not considered important in the Cincinnati community.(3)

Russell made arrangements with the Cincinnati Enquirer to publish reports of the debate (and also a special edition of the newspaper containing two of Russell's sermons). The Bible students were encouraged to purchase copies of this edition as Russell suggested that:

> 'some people will read these Debates which present both sides of these important questions who would not read our side alone'.(4)

At least 200,000 copies were sold and a new edition of 300,000 was prepared in 1908, and there followed a clubbing arrangement with the Cincinnati Weekly Enquirer whereby Bible students could purchase the paper for $1.50 per year and Russell's sermons would be printed regularly.(5)

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1) Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, p.44.
2) Rowe, F.L: Russell-White Debate, pp.(xiv),46,72,
3) Ibid., p.178; Z.4145; White and Eaton were not 'most prominent churchmen' as Timothy White claims in A People for His Name, p.62.
4) Z.4146.
5) Z.4249,4153.

These nine branches of Russell's work were instrumental in promoting evangelisation and the selling of his literature in the United States and abroad. Russell also developed agencies for socialisation and social control, first through the Pilgrims and conventions and then by providing instructional texts to standerdise the group activities of study and worship.

In 1901 Russell had recommended to the Bible students a convenient Bible marking system to help study and locate relevant texts. He also suggested that Bible students should refer in their Bibles to explanations given in his Millennial Dawn and Zion's Watch Tower, using appropriate codes. To help this procedure he published a wide-margin Bible, which also contained a topical index with references to his works.(1) Soon afterwards he recommended that meetings be held to study his Millennial Dawns by a question and answer method. These were said to have been originated in Los Angeles by people who found Bible study unsatisfactory:

> 'We were continually "running up against" verses which had not been explained in Dawns or Towers, and whose proper interpretation we could only guess at, and the result was that some combative spirits in the meeting would insist upon their private and personal exposition being accepted by the congregation, to the ultimate disruption of the meeting.' (2)

Later in March 1905, Russell formally proposed that such meetings, called Berean Bible Studies, be held on Sundays and he prepared 'outline lessons' for this.(3) These were selected questions to which scripture references and references to Zion's Watch Tower and Millennial Dawns were appended to provide the answer.

> 'One peculiarity about these lessons is that they do not teach, but merely question, and refer the student to the Scriptures and the Watch Tower publications bearing thereon'. (4)

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1) Z.2828,2877,4852.
2) Z.4589.
3) Z.4562.
4) Z.3513.

'Outline lessons' were printed in Zion's Watch Tower every month from March 1905, for use at Sunday meetings. As a further aid to study, a new Bible edition was prepared containing a number of appendices giving exhaustive references to scriptural expositions in the Dawns and Towers.(1)

In the early years it might be said that Russell and his Bible students were a loosely organised, ill-defined group, whose self-concept of a spiritual elite was non-sectarian and interdenominational. This point of view harmonised with their expectation of imminent glorification, but as the years went by the gradual habituation of association, the sacralising and legitimating of their activities and life style, the developing opposition from outside agencies (particularly the clergy) combined to weld the Bible students into a conciously separated community with its distinctive beliefs, practices and commitments.

The period from 1895 to 1908 saw a considerable elaboration of sect organisation and a clarification of group norms, values and commitments within the sect. Russell took a personal pleasure and interest in the expansion of his central office which managed his diversifying activities. His literature, conventions, official forms and representatives were part of an institutionalised organisation devoted to recruiting and socialising new converts. A division of labour led to rôle differentiation and concommitant status differences. It was not just for descriptive reasons that Bible students now signed themselves as 'colporteur' or 'Pilgrim' in Zion's Watch Tower from 1905 onwards.

Despite these changes Russell continued to think of his

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1) These were prepared by C.J.Woodworth and G.W.Seibert - Woodworth spent seven hours a day for at least six months doing this work (Z.4072,4096).

movement as non-sectarian, even interdenominational, and to some extent this remained true of the ideology. Right to the end he was able to claim to his Bible students and to the public that:

> 'We preach not ourself but Christ. We substantiate nothing except by his Word. We make no laws, formulate no creed, deprive no sheep of his full liberty in Christ; but merely on every question quote the Word of the Lord, through the apostles and prophets. We boast nothing, claim nothing of ourself. We are content to serve the Lord, and his flock to the best of our ability - exacting no tithes, no 'honour of men', no confession of authority, no compensation; hoping merely for the love of the Lord and of those who are his children and have his Spirit.
>
> So far from forming or desiring to form a new sect, we ignore all sectarian systems and their claimed authority; we recognise only the 'one Lord, one Faith and one Baptism' of the Bible and fellowship as a 'brother' every person of decent morals who confesses faith ... We accept all as brothers who trust in the precious blood as their redemption price and who profess and evidence a full consecration to the Lord's service. We bar no one from Christian fellowship along these lines, whatever may be his theories on outside and less essential subjects.' (1)

Russell was correct in saying that, formally, there were no membership rolls, nor creeds, nor clergy/laity distinctions, but this was in name only for they existed informally. What this meant was that the gap was widening between Russell's conception of the group and the situation in reality.(2) For one certain effect of the institutional changes effected was the intensification of sect characteristics. Thus Russell's group became more exclusive - group commitments increased and group norms and values were established leading to a clearer self identification; a specific test of merit was established (evangelisation) and the little flock was more closely identified with the Bible students themselves.(3) When Russell was asked whether ordinary 'sincere' Christians should be regarded as brethren, his answer was that they were 'justified' only, and hence fellowship was only appropriate in the Bible student

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1) Z.3706,3746.
2) This conceptual gap was to be a contributing factor to the confusion and schism following Russell's death.
3) Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects chapter 2.

ecclesias thus emphasising the division between his followers and other Christians.

Of particular interest during this period was the creation of a network of local Watch Tower Society representatives for the volunteer work. In addition to the formal authority pattern in the ecclesias of democratically elected elders and deacons, Russell began to create an alternative structure dependent on him personally. Such an extension of the Watch Tower Society into the local ecclesias was tentative and strictly informal during Russell's lifetime but it was to take on a different aspect after his death.

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1) Z.3219. Russell remained willing to use the churches of other denominations for preaching and baptisms etc. but it is his restriction of the little flock to his own following that is referred to here. See Z.3644.

Chapter 7.

The Sect and its Interaction with the World

In as much as a sect sees itself as a group ideologically set apart from society and wishes to preserve the pristine purity of its beliefs, one of the most important aspects of sect development is the way in which the sect maintains its separation from the external society.[1] In general this is a complex problem with a variety of solutions depending both on the type of sect and the society involved. At one extreme the sect may withdraw physically from society, like the utopian sects and some communitarian introversionist sects.[2] Even in these cases, however, total dissociation from the rest of society is usually impossible and the Shakers, the Doukhobors and the Amish Mennonites[3] are all examples of sects whose attempted vicinal separation has not prevented some sort of interaction with the outside world.[4] For most sects, however, it is by ideological insulation rather than isolation that they maintain their separation.[5] This usually involves intensive and continual socialisation and possibly some social control of the sect members.[6] For revolutionist sects the group nature of salvation

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1) See Wilson,B.R: Apparition et Persistance des Sectes ARCHIVES DES.SOC.DES.REL. for a broad discussion of this theme, also his Patterns of Sectarianism for a number of case studies.
2) Wilson,B.R: A Typology of Sects and Religious Sects chapters 3,7 and 9, clarify and discuss these categories.
3) The nature of the interaction varies widely of course. For the Shakers see Andrews,E.D: The Shakers; Whitworth,J.McK: D.Phil. 1971. For the Doukhobors, see Hawthorn,H.B.(ed): The Doukhobors of British Columbia and for the Amish see Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects p.131 et seq.
4) If total separation should occur then there arises the interesting situation of a sect being transformed into a 'universal church'. See Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects p.200 and O'Dea,T.F: Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation AM.J.OF.SOC. 60.3.
5) Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development AM.SOC.REV. 24. (Feb.1959) p.10.
6) This is least likely to succeed with conversionist sects because their commitment to evangelisation impels their members into the world, and this contact combined with the individualism of the sect may lead to the sect becoming a denomination.

and the antagonism to the world help to preserve sect values and norms even if evangelisation is a required group activity.

The precise development of a sect depends also on the society in which the sect exists, and it is significant and paradoxical that a hostile totalitarian society in as much as it reinforces the group's exclusiveness and separation by persecution, often functions to strengthen the sect's ideology.(1) In the case of Russell's movement in a democratic society, the sect conceived of itself as a gathered elect from the Protestant churches in the United States which they therefore 'transcended' rather than opposed. Hence the relation between the sect and society as a whole was, in the early years, cordial and there was no sign of any serious conflict between sect and society at either the ideological or institutional level.(2) As their ideological separation became clearer and more emphasis was placed on evangelisation Russell's sect interacted with society to a greater extent. His expanding newspaper work led to a wider recognition of Russell and his group although this recognition was often of a hostile nature, and a growing number of clergymen began to attack him in print.

Russell's personal desire for good publicity led to his involvement in libel suits in the law courts - a policy which rebounded on him when his formerly undisclosed secular commercial interests were revealed, and his self-concept (nurtured by the sect) was found to be incompatible with the judgements of the law courts. The subsequent pressure on the sect undoubtedly caused some defections and a partial loss of faith-in-Russell(3)

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1) Assuming the sect survives such persecution, the statement is perhaps more of a truism than a paradox.
2) Without the adventist hopes, Russell's movement would fit neatly into the introversionist sect category (in the early years that is). Hence Zygmunt's 'Gnostic' description. See A66
3) Russell's compromise with the secular order was not compatible with charismatic leadership in the eyes of some of his followers. See Gerth,H.H. & Mills,C.W: From Max Weber p.247.

on the part of some members. In other respects it was the other religious institutions, not society as a whole, which exerted normative and ideological pressures on the sect.

The first mention of opposition and hostility to Zion's Watch Tower and the Millennial Dawn occurs towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1895 Russell said his literature was 'unpopular' and that:(1)

> 'each year has seemed to bring intenser trials, testings and siftings, and to inspire opponents to more bitter and yet more unscrupulous envy, hatred and slanderings'.(2)

And it was this hostility that prompted Russell to change the title Millennial Dawn to Studies in the Scriptures:

> 'It is not our thought to abandon the now so well-known title Millennial Dawn. But since many of its enemies have misrepresented it in public and in private the new title is proposed to save colporteurs (in some quarters) the time and trouble of explaining away the lies'.(3)

Russell said that such trials were to be expected as part of the purifying process to join the little flock,(4) but he also laid the blame on the clergy of Christendom:

> 'It is remarkable what an antagonism the truth awakens among the preachers and church officials of Babylon.'(5)

And from 1894 onwards, a new critical attitude emerged toward other religious institutions and the clergy.

In 1906 there occurred a serious crisis in Russell's personal life which threatened his role as leader of the Bible students and also his growing reputation in the outside society. Russell's previous efforts to put himself in the public eye were a causative factor in the ensuing crisis since he admitted that it was 'the publication of malicious falsehoods'(6) in the secular press that prompted him to reveal the matter to the

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1) Z.1905.
2) Z.2402, see also Z.4042.
3) Z.3420.
4) Z.2753,2769.
5) Z.2710.
6) Z.3775.

Bible students. Russell's attempts to become known in the outside society were now reacting against him and his position as leader of the sect; and the subsequent development of the sect was affected by these external pressures.

This personal crisis concerned his wife. Russell had met his wife to be , Maria Frances Ackley, at one of the Allegheny meetings in 1879 and they were married three months later.(1) It is clear from later accounts that Mrs Russell was a religious person, who shared her husband's beliefs and supported his work. According to Russell they agreed not to consummate the marriage as both aspired to the high calling and felt such a relationship to be unnecessary.(2) Russell described the first thirteen years of marriage as 'blissful', and certainly from most references in Zion's Watch Tower it appears that Mrs Russell was actively co-operating with her husband.

The 1894 sifters made efforts to win over Mrs Russell but they failed and she supported and defended her husband at this time. It may be significant, however, that Mrs Russell was discontinued as associate editor in November 1896, apparently at her own request so that she could sign her articles in the magazine.(3) Russell's explanation, in Zion's Watch Tower,(4) was that she had begun to dispute with him about what should be published in Zion's Watch Tower, eventually reaching the conclusion that she would replace Russell as 'that servant' of Matthew 24:48-51.(5)

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1) Zion's Watch Tower, July 15, 1906.
2) Z.3815,6015. We know very little about Mrs Russell; but from her frequent articles in Zion's Watch Tower she seems to be an intelligent and pious person. According to Ross,J.J: Some Facts about the Self-Styled 'Pastor' Charles T Russell, p.15, Mrs Russell was 'a modest, intelligent, charming, devoted Christian woman' superior in intellect to Russell. It is doubtful, however, whether Ross ever met Mrs Russell and his statement was undoubtedly motivated by a desire to denigrate Russell.
3) Z.2077.
4) Zion's Watch Tower, July 15, 1906.
5) Zion's Watch Tower, 1906, p.216.

Russell thought she was led away by her relatives, which resulted in her fomenting trouble amongst the sisters of the Allegheny ecclesia. Russell reacted to this by instigating an ecclesia 'trial' of two of the sisters, accusing them of slander.[1] Further trouble arose in 1897 when Mrs Russell attempted to influence the Bible students in Chicago against Russell and, failing this, she 'began a campaign of villification of every kind'.[2] Russell subsequently provided her with a ten-room house in which she lived apart from him. This peaceful separation continued until 1903 when she published a tract attacking Russell

> 'These were sent to all the Watch Tower addresses she could secure, and bundles of them were sent to ministers in different towns where Pilgrim services were announced in the Watch Tower columns'.[3]

Russell retaliated by trying to take back the house but this failed.

In 1903 Mrs Russell filed a suit for 'divorce from bed and board', that is a separation, on the grounds that Russell 'offered indignities to (herself) as to render her condition intolerable and life a burden, compelling her to withdraw'.[4] Three years later in 1906, the case was finally decided before a jury who granted the divorce allowing Mrs Russell $40 a month alimony.[5] The verdict was that:

> 'His course of conduct toward his wife evidenced such insistent egotism and self-praise that it would manifest be to the jury that his conduct towards her was one of continual arrogant domination'.[6]

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1) We then sent legal notices to his wife's sister, Emma H. Russell, and her sister's husband,(C.T.Russell's father); and also to Mrs L.J.Raynor (this was probably Maria F Russell's other sister, but this is not stated explicitely). This was an attempt by Russell to stop them influencing his wife.
2) Zion's Watch Tower, 1906, p.220.
3) Ibid., p.221. I have been unable to trace this tract. There is no mention of Russell in her two works: The Twain One, A Bible Study of a vital Study of a Vital Subject. This Gospel of the Kingdom. A Cup of Cold Water for a Thirsty Soul and This Gospel of the Kingdom. A Cup of Cold Water for a Thirsty Soul
4) Maria F Russell vs. C.T.Russell: No. 459. June Term, 1903.
5) Maria F Russell vs. C.T.Russell. Photocopy of documents filed. Pittsburgh, Pa. Henceforth abbreviated to Pittsburgh Documents.
6) M.F.Russell vs. C.T.Russell: 37, Pa.Sup.Ct., (1908), p.352.

Russell applied for a re-trial but was refused.[1] After the judgement was announced in 1906, he published a special edition of Zion's Watch Tower in an attempt to combat unfavourable publicity.[2]

Russell hotly denied treating his wife in any but an ideal fashion: 'no wife in the world could have been better treated'. Although the evidence indicates not just incompatability, but as the Appeal Judge put it in 1908:

> It is 'quite difficult to understand the view of the respondent in regard to his duty as husband to his wife'. [3]

Russell was alleged to have said:

> 'I can show you a thousand women that would be glad to be in your place and that would know my wishes and do them. ... One of two things is certain, either my wife has become mentally unbalanced, or else she has become possessed of a most wicked spirit'. [4]

And it is clear, even from Russell's own account, that he never doubted his own correctness and several of his actions did not give his wife the benefit of a fair hearing[5] - Russell believed he knew what was best for her and the Bible students as a whole.[6]

It was damaging enough to be divorced, but there was 'suggestive' evidence in the trial that Russell's conduct toward other women had been improper. The cases quoted were open to an innocent interpretation, but there is no doubt that Mrs Russell believed that her husband had compromised himself. The most damaging case, which has been used by Russell's opponents ever

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1) Pittsburgh Documents
2) Much has since been written about this court case although the primary sources available are few: Zion's Watch Tower July 15, 1906; Pittsburgh Documents; the synopsis in Pennsylvania Supreme Court Records and newspaper accounts.
3) Zion's Watch Tower, 1906, p.223.
4) M.F.Russell vs. C.T.Russell: 37, Pa.Sup.Ct., (1908), p.351.
5) Ibid., p.352.
6) Much of the above account is Russell's version and may be suspect. For example, in A Conspiracy Exposed, p.29, he admitted being sarcastic to his wife.

since, was that of Rose Ball who in 1888 came to join her brother Charles at the Bible House in Allegheny, as office assistants.(1) In court Mrs Russell said Rose came 'in about 1884' and stayed 'about twelve years'.(2) After her brother's death Rose was treated as an 'adopted daughter' by the Russells. Mrs Russell maintained that her husband had admitted kissing and caressing Rose and had in 1894 remarked to her that he was 'like a

> jellyfish. I float around here and there, I touch this one and that one and if she responds, I take her to me, and if not I float on to others'.(3)

This hearsay evidence was in fact struck from the record; Russell denied all knowledge of the remark, and Mrs Russell admitted that she had not intended to accuse him of adultery, but of misconduct.(4) Nevertheless the story and its salacious aspect was used by newspapers and Russell's enemies.

The account in Zion's Watch Tower relied heavily on Russell's assertion that the Judge advised the jury to acquit him:

> 'The Judge in the case as well as the auditors in court, attorneys, etc., perceived clearly that Mrs Russell's charges were trumped up, that she had suffered no indignities at my hands; and the charge of the judge was about as strong as it could have been made in my favour'.(5)

But it seems more likely that Russell misunderstood the purpose of the Judge's summing up - that it was a clarification of the law in which the Judge advised the jury that, before granting

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1) Charles died shortly afterwards; see also A Conspiracy Exposed, pp.34 et seq.
2) Mrs Russell said Rose was eighteen when she entered the Bethel, but Russell said she wore short dresses and 'looked thirteen' (Brooklyn Eagle Oct.29, 1911, pp.1,6),(Zion's Watch Tower, 1906, p.221). J.F.Rutherford somehow muddles the facts in A Great Battle in the Ecclesiastical Heavens and contradicts all sources by saying that Rose Ball arrived in 1889 and was then 10 years old! (p.18).
3) Z.3815, Ross,J.J: Some Facts ...
4) He admitted kissing her to comfort her for she had 'just lost her mother (sic) by death'. (Hamilton Spectator, March 18, 1913). One of Russell's supporters offered $1,000 to anyone who could prove Russell guilty of immorality (What Pastor Russell Wrote for the Overland Monthly, p.440).
5) Zion's Watch Tower, 1906, p.224.

the separation, the;

> 'evidence should be strong and convincing, course of ill-treatment long continued and of a serious character'.(1)

Russell, believing the evidence was insufficient, may have concluded that the Judge was advising the jury to acquit him! Hence he claimed to be suprised by the jury's decision. In the Bible Students Monthly, however, he was quoted as saying that 'a sympathetic jury concluded that we both would be happier legally separated'.(2)

The divorce case was obviously detrimental to Russell's cause and an analysis of the Memorial figures for this period suggests that there was a decline in his following from 1906 to 1907. The table below illustrates this.

DATE	MINIMUM SIZE OF CLASSES LISTED (3)	No. OF CLASSES LISTED	TOTAL BIBLE STUDENTS	No. OF CLASSES OF 50 OR MORE	No. OF BIBLE STUDENTS IN THESE CLASSES
1905	20	32	2,661	16	2,114
1906	20	62	4,073	20	2,858
1907	15	61	2,994	17	1,873
1908	15	100	5,726	23	3,328

A more searching analysis of the Memorial figures confirms the above trends. For example, a class-by-class comparison of the Memorial reports for 1905 and 1906 can be made and all the classes that reported in both years are listed. If this (selection) of comparable classes is analysed as in the table below, it is possible to say what proportion of these eclasses showed a decrease in attendance. By totalling the number of Bible students in these classes reporting for 1905 and for 1906 the percentage increase (or decrease) between these two years can

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1) M.F.Russell v. C.T.Russell 37, Pa.Sup.Ct., p.348 (1908).
2) Bible Students Monthly 3.13. p.1.
3) Russell printed the name and attendance figure for all classes reporting more than a certain number each year, sometimes this was 20,15,50 or 0, which makes comparison of the Reports difficult(hence the statistics for classes of 50 or more).

be calculated. These figures show a significant decrease for the years 1906-7.[1]

YEARS[2]	COMPARABLE CLASSES SHOWING INCREASE	SHOWING DECREASE	APPROX. %AGE CHANGE OF TOTAL BIBLE STUDENTS IN COMPARABLE CLASSES
1905-6	24	4	+24
1906-7	21	11	-7
1907-8	40	8	+15

As a result of the original court case in 1903, Mrs. Russell was granted $40 a month alimony by the court. Russell did not always honour these payments, however, and Mrs. Russell brought another suit in 1908. The court decreed that Russell should pay the $1,000 counsel fees, and $100 a month from March, 1908.[3] In December, however, Mrs. Russell alleged that Russell had paid only $360 and she took legal action to attach the property of the Watch Tower Society to obtain payment. Russell claimed in court that he had no money to pay the alimony, for he had transferred all the assets of the Tower Publishing Company to Zion's Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society in 1898 and (according to him) all his other stock and share holdings were also transferred to that society prior to 1908.[4] As Russell was in control of this Society[5] this move was obviously an attempt to prevent his wife getting any alimony. In addition Russell had moved from the

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1) It is significant that Russell did not state the total number of churches reporting in 1907 (over and above the ones listed) nor the total number of Bible students reporting- as he did in 1906.
2) In this and the following table, ecclesias that neither increase nor decrease are included in the first column.
3) Pittsburgh Documents; Brooklyn Eagle May 4,1909,p.2; Z.4424. It is unclear when the alimony was first granted although it was before 1906. Hamilton Spectator Mar.18,1913.
4) A Great Battle in the Ecclesiastical Heavens (by J.F. Rutherford) p.24. The annual report in Zion's Watch Tower for 1898 confirms Russell's transference of office,plant,books etc. whose net value was $164,033. (Z.2404)
5) In 1908, of the 62,044 voting shares issued, Russell possessed 35,577.(Z.2404,5999). See Ross,J.J: Some Facts & More Facts... p.23.

state of Pennsylvania in 1908 and was now resident in New York. The Bible House staff and all the Watch Tower Society's equipment were moved with him. In order to transact business in New York State Russell had set up a new corporation in 1909 called 'The People's Pulpit Association'. This was controlled by the Watch Tower Society and had a membership of between 30 and 50. It's purpose was to act for the Watch Tower Society in New York state.(1)

Russell was reported to have said in 1909 that he was 'not frightened' by the court case brought by his wife:

> 'If I were to die tomorrow I think my former wife would soon follow me, for she could not live unless she had me to nag'.(2)

In May, 1909, however, the court ordered Russell to pay on threat of confiscation of the Watch Tower Society's property.(3) Russell was in Europe at this time and his wife claimed he was trying to flee the United States to avoid arrest. He remained adamant that he had no money, nor any intention of paying, so his legal advisor, J.F.Rutherford, (motivated either by necessity or diplomacy) took the unusual step of collecting the money as 'volunteer' contributions from eight other Bible students who contributed in total $5,000 in June, 1909.(4)

External attacks on Russell increased from 1906 onwards as he and his beliefs became better known. In the Washington Post, May 4, 1906, there appeared a published account of Russell's divorce citing the 'jelly-fish' incident and Russell sued the newspaper for libel. The case was decided in Russell's favour

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1) Z.4294,5998,4593. Russell also used the name International Bible Students Association and set up a British corporation of that name. See Parkinson, J.B: The Bible Student... section E; Johnson,P.S.L: Seraphemism p.148; Z.4593,5998.
2) Brooklyn Eagle May 4, 1909, p.2.
3) Rutherford,J.F: A Great Battle... p.35. Russell denied this at Z.4424.
4) See Pittsburgh Documents and Z.4424. The six contributors were: J.T.D.Pyles, C.H.Anderson, J.V.Casser, C.W.Zeigler, W.F.Williams and W.B.Shill

but he received only nominal damages.[1] He then appealed the case and received an out-of-court settlement of $15,000.[2] Polemical tracts, booklets and books were written 'exposing' him, and although most of these were doctrinal refutations of Russell's theology, some also attacked him personally - often citing incorrect evidence from the divorce case.[3] The best known tract was by J.J.Ross[4] entitled Some Facts about the Self-Styled 'Pastor' Charles T. Russell, published in 1911. It was a virulent attack on Russell describing him as a 'religious fakir', 'crank preacher' and 'false teacher and shepherd';[5] the attack was well substantiated, however, and evidently worried some Bible students.[6] Russell sued Ross for libel; issuing summons on December 2, 1912, and after some delays the case came to trial in March 1913.

The most sensational part of the testimony was Russell's answer of 'Oh, yes' to the question: 'Do you know the Greek?' He was then unable to read the Greek letters as requested by the defending attorney.[7] Russell meant he was familiar with looking up Greek words in a diaglott New Testament and, although it is an exaggeration to say he perjured himself, he was certainly foolishly self-confident. He also claimed to be ordained, in his sense of the word, but not in the ordinary way.[8] The Judge

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1) Brooklyn Eagle, February 28, 1912, p.26.
2) Hamilton Spectator, March 17, 1913.
3) For example, Hyman,A: Astounding Errors; Haldeman,I.M: A Great Counterfeit; Forrest,J.F: Errors of Russellism; and Cooksey,Rev.N.B: Russellism Under the Searchlight
4) Rev.J.J.Ross of James Street Baptist Church, Hamilton, Ontario, described as a 'big man' in A Centenary History of the James Street Baptist Church, pp.60-1.
5) Op.cit.; and Hamilton Spectator, Dec.9, 1912.
6) Z.5543.
7) See Ross,J.J: Op.cit; Brooklyn Eagle, March 18, 1913; Rutherford,J.F: A Great Battle...
8) Z.5939,5807-8,6159,etc., Ross,J.J: Op.cit., pp.18-20.

decided that Ross was guilty of libel but that there was no case to answer because the libel was not likely to lead to a breach of the peace.[1]

Further bad publicity resulted from the Miracle Wheat story.[2] Russell mentioned in Zion's Watch Tower, 1908, a new strain of 'Miracle Wheat' which allegedly bore 142 heads, and was found on a farm in Virginia. Russell commented:

> 'Our thought is that in this natural way God is preparing for the Millennium, when "the earth shall yield her increase"![3]

Several Bible students obtained and planted this wheat and one of them, J.A.Bohnet, reported the success of the crop in the Watch Tower.[4] In July, 1911, Russell announced that Bohnet would sell the wheat at $1 per pound and give the proceeds to the Society. No further mention of the wheat was made until February 1913, when Russell, in a highly distorted account, mentioned that he had sued the Brooklyn Eagle for libel concerning the sale of Miracle Wheat and just lost the case.[5] The full text of the Russell vs. Brooklyn Eagle trial is available in Brooklyn. From the copious evidence given, a number of important and otherwise unknown facts were brought to light.

The Brooklyn Eagle mentioned Russell's advertisement for Miracle Wheat in their September 22 issue,[6] and on the following day they published a cartoon on the front page, implying that Russell was fraudulently obtaining money by means of Miracle Wheat. Before publishing the cartoon they had taken the precaution of

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1) Z.5543,5782-3. Rutherford,J.F: A Great Battle..., p.31.
2) It is significant that Russell hardly ever referred in the Watch Tower to these external controversies and legal actions except to give an occasional brief and distorted version.
3) Z.4250. See also Z.4152-3,4205-6.
4) Z.4689. Beginning with the January 1st, 1909 issue, Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence was retitled The Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence hereafter referred to as the Watch Tower.
5) Z.4844,4866,5189-90.
6) Brooklyn Eagle Sep. 22, 1911, p.1.

buying some Miracle Wheat from Russell. When the cartoon appeared, Russell sued the Brooklyn Eagle for libel. At the same time he refused to sell any more Miracle Wheat; and according to the Brooklyn Eagle, he tried to buy back what they had already bought![1]

The case was heard from January 22-28, 1912. It was obvious that the Brooklyn Eagle had thoroughly investigated Russell's background and this put the Bible student witnesses on the defensive to such an extent, that their testimony can only be described as evasive and obstructive. While Miracle Wheat was the precipitating factor for the trial, it actually occupied only a part of the testimony. Russell's lawyers brought many witnesses to testify to the merits of Miracle Wheat but the defence produced a Goverment expert in agriculture to test the wheat under experimental conditions, and his objective report vindicated the Brooklyn Eagle.[2] It was also shown in the trial that J.A.Bohnet was not, as Russell implied, an independent Bible student who happened to grow the wheat, but he was in charge of a farm owned by the United Cemetries Co. It was then established that the United Cemetries Co. was controlled by Bible students - who in turn were probably acting for Russell.[3]

Thus the important issue in the trial was the extent and nature of Russell's involvement in financial and commercial speculation. In the 1908 court case it had been found that Russell had held stocks and shares in six companies, all of which donated to the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society from 1900 onwards, although he made no mention of these in the Watch Tower.[4]

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1) Brooklyn Eagle, Sept.23, 1911.
2) Ibid., p.1, Sept.29, 1911; Russell did later recommend a miraculous Millennial Bean and a 'wonderful cotton seed' but not surprisingly these were offered free (Z.4960,4987,5382).
3) Russell v Brooklyn Eagle:No.12462,Sup.Ct.,App.Div.,2D,1911. Court proceedings pp.64,179.
4) Total assets estimated at $134,000. The companies were: Pitts. Asphaltum Co., U.S.Investment Co., Brazilian Turps., U.S.Coal & Coke, Iron City & Hammondville Improvement Co., Rosemount Mt.Hope & Evergreen United Cemetries Co.

There was, for example, the United States Investment Co. of which Russell was the 'Manager' and held $990 of the $1,000 stock. This company was organized in 1896, owned five stores and also bought and sold cemetry lots (for no profit, according to the Bible student W.B.Van Amburgh)[1]. Russell was sensitive about his connection with the company and described it as follows:

> 'I know all about it. It is a little Holding Company. All business people will understand. I was one of the incorporators in the interest of the Bible and Tract Society. I have not one dollar invested in it ... nor have I been even nominally connected with it for many years'.[2]

The most controversial company, however, was the Rosemount Mount Hope and Evergreen United Cemetries Company (incorporated April 18,1905). This company was allegedly controlled by the United States Investment Company and was engaged in buying and selling cemetry lots for profit. In the Brooklyn Eagle trial there was a great deal of evasion on the part of the Bible student witnesses as to Russell's connection with the company. They were motivated by an evident desire to defend Russell and their movement from all stain, but the result was comic, as each testified to know nothing personally about various companies, but that 'some other Brother' did. In the Bible Student Monthly, however, Russell admitted to being a director of the Rosemount Mount Hope and Evergreen United Cemetries Company.[3]

The testimony was enough to justify the Brooklyn Eagle, and it became clear that Russell, through intermediatories, had continued widespread commercial activities - some of a dubious

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1) Brooklyn Eagle, Jan.19, 1917, p.3; Oct.28, 1911, p.1; Z.6000; Ross,J.J: Some facts about the Self-styled 'Pastor' Charles T Russell, pp.34-5; Johnson,P.S.L: Gershonism, p.147; Russell vs. Brooklyn Eagle: No.12462, Sup.Ct., App.Div., 2nd.Dept., 1911, court proceedings.
2) Bible Student Monthly 3. 13, p.2.
3) Ibid., Brooklyn Eagle, Nov.5, 1911, p.1; Jan.23, 1912, p.3. Russell's commercial activities continued until his death in 1916 (Johnson,P.S.L: The Epiphany Messenger, p.38.) See also Hamilton Spectator, March 17, 1912; Russell vs. Brooklyn Eagle: Op.cit., p.178,66.

nature. It may be that he genuinely did not intend to mislead the Bible students, but the fact was established that he had misled them. Russell lost the Brooklyn Eagle case and also his appeal in 1915.(1) The Brooklyn Eagle was not a scurrilous newspaper and appeared to be a normal 'respectable' paper. It treated Russell with courtesy both before and during the trial,(2) and the dispute with Russell was, from the Brooklyn Eagle viewpoint, a minor matter relegated to the inside pages (and small reports).(3)

Another criticism levelled at Russell was his use of pseudonyms and his promotion of various publications in other people's names. He admitted doing this as early as 1894 in connection with advertising his books,(4) but after 1909 the Bible Students Monthly (edited by C.W.Hek and W.F.Hudgings), the People's Pulpit (edited by P.E.Thomson), and Die Stimme (edited by R.H.Hirsh), all contained laudatory articles on Russell although all were undoubtedly under his control.(5)

As a further example of Russell's commerciality, there is the case of the Solon Journal, 'a secular journal of good tone' issued quarterly, which he offered free in 1905 to Zion's Watch Tower subscribers. He explained that the purpose of the Solon Association was to provide goods at wholesale rates and that its managers were 'well known to us as in every way honourable and reliable'.(6) Russell did not mention who controlled the

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1) Russell vs. Brooklyn Daily Eagle: New York State Reporter Vol.187, New York Supplement, p.153, 1915.
2) Brooklyn Eagle, Aug.14,.1909, p.2, describes him as 'distinguished'.
3) The Bible Student Monthly, Vol.3, No.13, p.1, however, claimed that the Brooklyn Eagle 'attack' was inspired by 'preachers' who opposed Russell.
4) A Conspiracy Exposed, p.45.
5) See Z.5189,5273,5365,4743, and Ross,J.J: Some Facts and More Facts... p.41; Johnson,P.S.L: Gershonism p.172; Cook,C.C: All About One Russell pp.35-6. Zygmunt, for example, was evidently misled into thinking 'die Stimme' was an independent Jewish paper (Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D. pp.669-10).
6) Z.3465.

Association, but implied that it was not himself. In the next issue of Zion's Watch Tower he stated that a yearly subscription to the Solon Journal would now cost 50¢ but shortly after he announced the collapse of the Journal, admitting that it was controlled by 'brethren' but had to be discontinued because 'its motive was misunderstood or not appreciated'.[1] Mrs. Russell claimed in the divorce case that Russell had a controlling interest in the Solon Association and if this was true then it meant that Russell was using the Zion's Watch Tower readers to further his commercial schemes without telling them this.[2]

Russell was too well established as leader of the group to be displaced by any of these trials but the divorce certainly caused a number of his followers to desert him; and the subsequent libel cases damaged the public image he was so eager to nurture. The increasing hostility of the clergy and the unsatisfactory outcome of the legal cases were interpreted by Russell and his followers as external persecution motivated by Satan himself. Thus the sect's former superiority or indifference toward other religious institutions was now replaced by hostility and the sect's ideology moved towards a more definite anti-worldly stance.

Balanced against this reaction to societal pressure was Russell's systematic and successful attempts to win a wide public audience for his message. The newspaper work had grown beyond all expectation and Russell's sermons were now being widely syndicated - 400 newspapers in 1909 had increased to 1,400 by 1912.[3] The climax of this newspaper work was the publication of the Watch Tower, January 1, 1912, devoted entirely to Russell and containing the text of a pamphlet distributed to newspaper editors encouraging them to publish Russell's sermons. He even

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1) He gave a Pittsburgh P.O.Box as its address.
2) Russell denied this (Pittsburgh Documents).
3) Z.4944,4952,4532,4470,4363.

suggested that his newspaper sermons be used at Bible student meetings,[1] The pamphlet included a brief biography of Russell and projected his image as an independent and influencial preacher.

> 'Independents now constitute the big congregation and can be influenced by, and will pay sincere respect to, only an independent'.[2]

Russell allowed himself to be described as 'The people's favourite preacher', 'the world's ubiquitous preacher', Rev. Charles Taze Russell', 'the American Spurgeon', etc.[3] Emphasis was placed on the high status possessed by some of Russell's followers who were described as 'Prof.', 'Rev.', or 'Dr.' and prominence was given to 'General W.P.Hall, U.S.A.'

> 'Pastor Russell, who for a number of years has been a frequent visitor to our shores, is about to become more permanently located in Great Britain. He has accepted the pastorate of the London Tabernacle, which is shown in the accompanying picture.
> The advent of Pastor Russell brings to this city and country a man of international reputation, who is known almost as well in Great Britain as he is in America, He has addresses immense audiences in the Royal Albert Hall, London, and in the most prominent provincial cities and towns, and is well known upon the Continent, where he has travelled and lectured extensively'.[4]

This publicity was seen in its most extreme form in the Bible Students Monthly, Everybody's Paper and People's Pulpit, ostensibly edited by Bible students but undoubtedly controlled by Russell; and it is not surprising that some of the clergy opposed Russell publicly and declared him and his message to be a sham.[5] He provoked opposition by referring to "D.D.'s" as "dumb dogs",[6]

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1) Z.4770.
2) Z.4945.
3) Always a third person description of Russell.
4) Z.4952. The only external appointment Russell received, one he publicised in the Watch Tower, was to represent New York state at a Purity Conference in 1913 (Z.5360, What Pastor Russell Wrote for the Overland Monthly, pp.62,218,298,etc.).
5) For Example, Cook,C.C: All About One Russell, and Dixon,A.C: Russellism Under the Searchlight.
6) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.6, p.287, etc.

and Russell's advertising, by leaflets and billboards, was genuinely offensive to clergymen:

> 'He also admitted that the society of which he was head published a placard, which they had placed in conspicuous places, showing a number of ministers standing, and the Lord in a hammock above them, with a sentence on the bottom which read: 'Ye have taken the key of the gospel from the people'.'(1)

There was no doubt, however, that Russell achieved a certain popularity with the public: his style was readable, his message optimistic and he provided a protest against orthodox theology. Russell now made it a habit to hire the largest and most famous meeting halls and to give talks to large public audiences - advertised beforehand by the well-organised efforts of the local Bible students. The most striking example of this was his talk at the New York Hippodrome held on his return from Palestine in 1910. Four thousand attended and heard Russell praise and encourage the Jewish nation, telling them of his expectation of their imminent restoration in the millennium. The Watch Tower report emphasised this new public image of Russell:

> 'Some of these /prominent figures of the Hebrew literary world/ escorted Pastor Russell to the Hippodrome in a motor car and then took places in the auditorium. The literary man recognised the pastor as a writer and investigator of international fame on the subject of Judaism and Zionism'(2)

Despite Russell's claims to the contrary, his attitude towards the Bible students themselves had also altered and Russell's behaviour within the sect changed. There was a growing emphasis on public display exemplified in the longer and larger conventions widely advertised in the press, the 'luxury' of Russell's private quarters in the Bible House and the 'extravagance' of his speaking tours and his apparel . Russell was now more aloof at conventions and would stage his entrances and exist . At the Chautauqua convention, for example,

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1) Hamilton Spectator Mar.18,1913,p.3; What Pastor Russell Said p.291
2) Z.4853. For modern appraisals of Russell's support of the Jews see United Israel Bulletin 28.1.(1971) pp.1,4 of March and July issues. Also Malachy,Y: Jehovah's Witnesses and their attitude towards Judaism... Herzl Year Book. Vol 5. New York. 1963.

Russell and his staff lodged separately from the main convention and he appeared briefly to deliver talks:

> 'In view of the impossibility of personal contact with any but a very few at the Auditorium, we arranged for six receptions at the Mayville Inn, with admission only with cards. We had 3,600 of these cards printed, and additional permits were granted for the last Reception on Saturday evening, Aug 6.'(1)

The Annual Western convention tour was now made by Russell and a large party of Bible students in a specially chartered train:

> 'two Tourist Sleeping Cars, the party numbering about fifty. One of the sleepers had a kitchen served by a proficient culinary chef'.

Excursion rates were offered for this trip costing $138.50 or (special) $173.50.(2) Russell was accompanied on his trip to Europe in 1910 by seventeen Bible students who paid their own way, he himself took along two stenographers and Brother Driscoll as 'representative of the Press Association', from Europe the party travelled on to Palestine before returning to the United States.(3)

Some Bible students were critical of Russell's new life style and Russell defended himself on several occasions in the Watch Tower:

> 'This raised from a few the query, Is Brother Russell becoming a Babylonian - preaching in a church edifice and wearing a robe?...Some of the dear friends who have chided us for permitting the newspapers to print our likeness and, as they would say, for using worldly means in the propagation of the Gospel message...As a matter of fact dear friends we are confident that there is no lowering of the divine standards in our public utterances - oral and printed... Personally to be brought prominently before the public attention is distasteful to us... What the Newspaper Syndicate now handling Brother Russell's sermons may sometimes say of him in laudatory terms, by no means represents Brother Russell's humble estimate of his own talents. Publishers must be allowed to use their own ideas of what they publish and how they introduce it... In a word, let us leave to God the supervision work... While he [Russell] retains the fullest liberty in respect to the subject matter of his discourses, he yields other points considerably to the Syndicate's wishes. This will account for his greater care in his clothing, his more frequent use of cabs and parlor cars'.(4)

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1) Z.4673. Compare this with Macmillan,A.H: Faith on the March p.42
2) Z.4391,4395,4455,4788,4815,5279. See the brochure: Transcontinental tour of C.T.Russell (L.W.Jones,1911).
3) Z.4621
4) Z.4816,4376,4351,4960. See also Z.5208,5145,5282-3,5434.

In a further article entitled The Tabernacle and the Gown he explained why he was preaching regularly in a building called the Tabernacle wearing a gown of plain black ('simplicity itself') - that this was not a compromise with the sect standards.(1)

The 'newspaper syndicate' that advised Russell consisted of four members of the Bible House family,(2) one of whom was almost certainly Bro. Driscoll, Russell's press agent.(3) Russell was able to use, as both an excuse and a barrier, the newspaper syndicates' wishes to mollify offended Bible students.

Russell's actions in relation to the newspaper work(4) are best explained as the culmination of his desire to be well known. He was unable to resist the temptation to play the rôle of independent Pastor using his Bible students to do the hard work of establishing his sermons in local papers and widely advertsiing his talks. He used the resulting publicity as encouragement for them to redouble their efforts - in an interesting example of accumulative feedback. Both he and his group paid the cost for this ideological compromise, not only in the external difficulties described in this chapter but in the further internal schisms that occurred.

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1) Z.4817,4824.
2) Z.4294,4621,4586,5208,4597,4721. Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose p.50.
3) Z.4954. Another was R.R.Hollister, who travelled extensively in Britain and the Far East advertsing and selling Russell's literature, and his sermons to the newspapers. See his Meet our British Brethren.
4) In their biassed and distorted work 'Jehovah of the Watchtower' Martin, and Klann claim that Russell's sermons were paid advertisements inserted in newspapers. While this was true for some of the insertions in the major newspapers of London and New York, the great majority of Russell's sermons were published free of charge in the provincial papers: Martin,W.R and Klann,N.H: Jehovah of the Watchtower p.80.; Brooklyn Eagle May 10,1915, p.16. ; Z.5593; Hollister,R.R: Meet our British Brethren.

Chapter 8.

Sect Structure and the Importance of Elites

One of the most important factors in the analysis of sect development is that of the internal structure of the sect; in particular the type of central and local organisation, the existence of leader(s), trained specialists and elites.[1] Previous studies of Russell's movement have usually equated the development of the sect with that of the Watch Tower Society itself, the only extensive documentary source being used was Russell's own version of events in Zion's Watch Tower. This is, however, a very one-sided account and fails to provide us with any insight into the views held by the Pilgrims, colporteurs, elders and ordinary Bible students who, after all, constituted the membership of the sect. The Bible students themselves, however, produced an extensive literature,[2] some prior to Russell's death but most of it afterwards. From this source it is possible to form a more complete and balanced picture of the various groups and elites within the sect itself. It is clear from this that Russell's Watch Tower Society was only one of several factors affecting sect development.[3]

The sect structure in 1879 had been relatively simple: a central publishing organisation existed headed by Russell around whom a few Bible students formed a central elite while the remainder were either scattered subscribers or associated in ecclesias locally governed by 'natural' leaders. In addition to the colporteurs and Pilgrims, Russell's expansion of the

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1) Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development AM.SOC.REV. 24 (Feb,1959) p.10; The Pentecostalist Minister... AM.J.OF.SOC. 64.5. p.494.
2) Most of this literature is of a fragmentary nature. See the bibliography.
3) Russell's magazine Zion's Watch Tower was carefully edited and controlled by Russell and accurately reflected his views. Even the 'readers letters' were carefully selected, and some were obviously written at his request. It was therefore in no sense a magazine for a variety of contributors.

Watch Tower Society created one other important group, these were the workers in his central office who lived with Russell in the Bible House. As well as these functionaries of the Watch Tower Society, the elders and deacons in local ecclesias soon acquired a higher status in their locality and later in the community at large and constituted, collectively speaking, an elite. The increasing interrelation of these groups revealed their conflicting interests and the resulting haphazard internal structure was never fully rationalised in Russell's lifetime. Since status differences were not 'recognised' in the sect, they were not catered for in the ideology and the status 'vacuum' that existed at first was eventually filled by these separate groups. In this chapter it is intended to discuss each group separately and then examine the schisms in Russell's movement from 1908-11 in the light of our analysis of the sect structure.

The Bible House family was an important and influential group because of its continual contact with Russell himself. Some of the more humble office workers had little influence, but others such as A.H.Macmillan, R.J.Martin, W.E.Van Amburgh, and R.H.Hirsch certainly did.(1) The Bible House family were expected to devote all their time to the Society and were paid a small sum to cover their necessary expenses in addition to full board.(2) The size of the family, including office workers, factory workers, resident Pilgrims etc., grew year by year and numbered 250 in 1914. In 1913 there were 150 Bible students working in the office alone.(3) It is likely that if any small 'central elite' existed then it was a subset of the Bible House

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1) See chapter 11. of this thesis. Also Z.4481,4643,4673,4469.
2) Most of them were single but some married couples lived there too.
3) Z.5367; Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1. p.324, The Epiphany Messenger p.290 ; Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student... section G for details of those Bible students who lived in the Bible House. Johnson says the average size of the New York Bible House was about 175. Russell said there were only 100 there in 1913. See Hamilton Spectator Mar 18 1913.

family.

The Pilgrims were generally regarded as the most 'spiritual' Bible students.[1] They not only visited and preached at the Bible student ecclesias, staying in private homes, but they were also expected to investigate and advise the ecclesia about its affairs.[2] Their contact with Russell, their prestigious role in visiting classes and their appointment as convention speakers all served to enhance their status. Russell was aware that their influence over the ecclesias was a potential danger and he instructed the Bible students to report directly to him any irregularities by the Pilgrims, doctrinal or otherwise.[3] The number of active Pilgrims increased year by year from from 27 in 1904 to 47 in 1908 and reached a peak of 80 in 1913.

The elders and deacons[4] exerted considerable influence on their ecclesias after 1900, and those of the large or important ecclesias such as Chicago, Boston or New York were also important in the Bible student community as a whole. There was no limit to the number of elders a class might have, and the larger ecclesias had ten or more. There were often disputes in the ecclesias about the election of particular elders, and while recognising their informal authority Russell reminded them that the ultimate authority resided in the ecclesia itself.[5]

The colporteurs continued to remain important to Russell(as they distributed so many of his books) but their status in the sect was inferior to that of the Pilgrims and elders.[6] It was by way of the colporteur work, however, that some of the Bible students moved on to Pilgrim or Bible House positions. The

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1) Z.4263,5040. See Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student... Kl etc.
2) Z.5868,5914; What Pastor Russell Said p.535. Also Z.5145,5255
3) Z.2593,5667,4821,4437. What Pastor Russell Said pp.57,77-8.
4) Parkinson,J.B: op cit, section H.
5) Z.5347,5368,5350,5336, 3745; Studies in the Scriptures Vol.6. p.289; What Pastor Russell Said p.233,240. See also the Convention Reports for 1909 (by L.T.Jones) p.288-91.
6) Parkinson,J.B: op cit, section F. Z.1910,4673. Their work was not thought of as overly enjoyable: Convention Reports 1913, p.51. At the 1910 General Convention they acted as waiters

number of active colporteurs was about 600 a year after 1904.

The qualities needed for success in the above four roles were quite different. The Bible House staff were chosen primarily for their administrative or technical skills, whereas the colporteurs were successful if their book-selling technique was good - despite Russell's assertions to the contrary.(1) The Pilgims needed to be financially independent and were chosen for their qualities of spirituality, a certain competence in dealing with people, and the ability to lead a peripatetic life - qualities not possessed to a large degree by either the Bible House staff or the colporteurs.(2) Unlike the Bible House staff, Pilgrims and colporteurs, the elders did not devote their whole time to the Watch Tower Society or to sect interests. Instead of the complete abandonment of the world, the majority of the elders were probably well established in their local (secular) communities. Many of them developed, however, an intense spirituality with much emphasis on contemplative Bible study and character development. Many of the elders (like the Pilgrims) were undoubtedly middle-class substantial men with a deep piety not found in the other two groups, and it is not surprising that rivalries existed as the elders and Pilgrims, in particular, saw themselves in competing roles.

> 'Some of the dear friends naturally and properly are very jealous of the truth and the influence and reputation of those who represent it - especially the "Pilgrims", all of whom should be noble characters, and, we believe, are such - of far higher than average standing amongst Christians and ministers. We may add here that we exercise a great deal of care in the selection of these representatives of the Society serving the Lord's work - that they shall be moral men, consecrated saints, humble, clear in the truth, and of some ability in its presentation'.(3)

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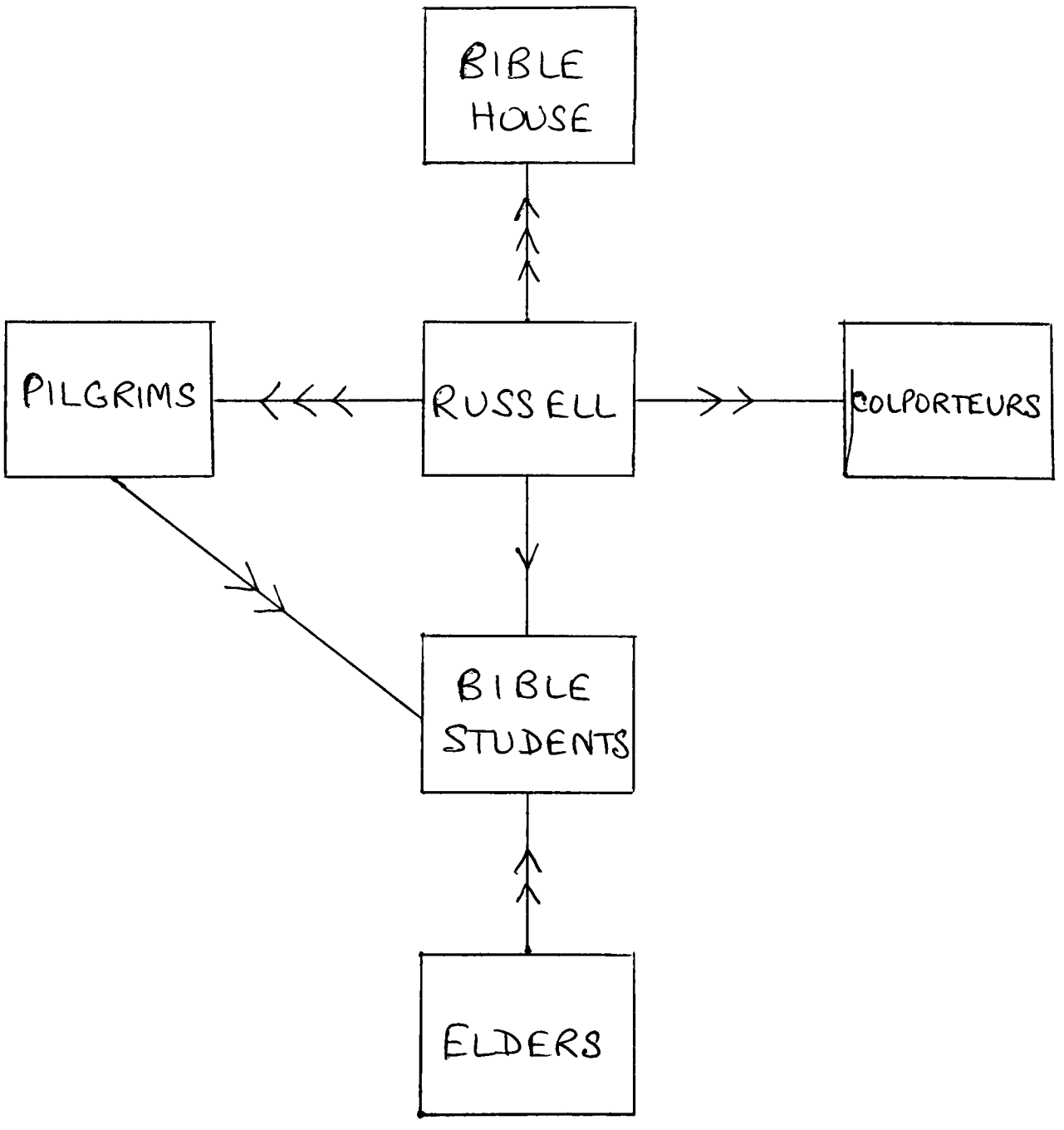
1) Z.5200; What Pastor Russell Said, p.130.
2) 'So marked was their uncleanness that Bro.Russell between Oct.1914, and June 1917, said to the Bethel family: 'If 10% of you gain the Kingdom, I will be surprised'." (Johnson,P: The Parousia Messenger, Vol.2, p.431).
3) Z.4263.

The elders, however, were a group much maligned to Russell: Bible students in ecclesias, Pilgrims and sometimes colporteurs complained about them. In addition, the elders were an obstacle, at the local level, to Russell's attempted promotion of the evangelisation using organised selling techniques. This explains why Russell began to create a new, if tenuous, category of Watch Tower Society representatives <u>within</u> the ecclesia (the Captains and volunteer workers) in order to by-pass the elders.

The informal authority pattern existing in the sect is illustrated in the diagram below. (Lines with arrows indicate a recognised authority linkage - the number of arrows corresponds to the strength of authority).



It is clear that Russell's central position was significant for his maintaining control, but the absence of any formal or informally recognised authority pattern between the separate interest groups was likely to lead to some dissension and possible schism in the movement.(1)

The existence of strong internal tensions was revealed in 1908, after Russell's introduction of a vow and his attempt to impose it on the Bible students. This matter arose in connection with the Pilgrims, some of whom had apparently succumbed to temptation and been over-familiar with sisters while visiting ecclesias. Russell believed that this improper conduct was due to Satan tempting the faithful and he circulated a letter to Pilgrims and those in the Bible House 'proposing that they make a vow to the Lord, promising to conduct themselves "toward those of the opposite sex in private exactly as I would do with them in public".'(2) In Zion's Watch Tower, June 1908, he suggested that Bible students might also take the vow, and he subsequently printed lists of those who had done so. This list soon totalled 6,000 but at the same time it aroused considerable opposition.(3)

Despite Russell's claim that the vow was optional, and was 'the fastening on of the armour which the Lord has been providing for us',(4) some Bible students saw it as a sign of sectarianism, and others objected to it on Scriptural grounds. Russell claimed that only a 'few' opposed the vow:

> 'the said few appear to be awfully distressed by the vow and protest vociferously against it, against those who take it, and against the Editor for advising it'.(5)

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1) There was of course no hierarchy - not even in the Watch Tower Society could it be said that a colporteur ranked higher or lower than an office worker. Russell's control of the Society was absolute and despotic and he favoured or disfavoured Bible students as it pleased him.
2) Z.4191-2.
3) Z.4338 (10,000 at Z.4935).
4) Z.4227.
5) Z.4263.

These few, however, had 'ability and influence'[1] and were led by Russell's own private secretary and former Pilgrim, A.E.Williamson. At Pittsburgh in 1908, he had, according to P.S.L.Johnson, called a meeting of the Bible House and accused Russell of 'caressing sisters'.[2] He was supported in this rebellion by C.J.Woodworth, Bro.Read, A.H.MacMillan, W.E.Van-Amburgh and J.H.Giesey - four of whom were Pittsburgh elders.[3] In addition J.Hemery, the most prominent British Bible student, called the vow 'a horrible concoction' but submitted to it.[4]

An air of crisis now pervaded the pages of Zion's Watch Tower as issue after issue discussed the vow. The articles from July 1908 onwards, frequently spoke of the 'tests of the Royal Priesthood' predicted by the Bible for that time, and concluded that 'a storm is coming':

> 'The lesson to the new creation is that we should be specially on our guard against jealousy, envy, hatred and strife. We cannot doubt that much of the final testing of the 'very elect' will be along these lines. ... all the adversaries must be resisted unto blood, unto death, if need be'.[5]

The controversy over the vow, and criticism of Russell, was compounded by a new source of dissension in 1909. This concerned a doctrinal issue - The New Covenant.[6] In 1880 Russell had formulated an interpretation of the New Covenant which restricted its application to the millennial age, but

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1) Z.4266.
2) Johnson,P.S.L.: The Parousia Messenger, Vol.2, p.208. Russell allegedly asked the Pittsburgh sisters one by one if he had, and they denied it.
3) Some of those who had signed a resolution of support at the time of Mrs. Russell's 'defection' were now sifters. See Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.2. pp.45,202,208; The Parousia Messenger Vol.1. p.389; McPhail,M.L: The Covenants. Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student... mentions that Russell's sister also defected (p.P4).
4) The Bible Student, 8. 4, p.189. (Hemery denied this). B.M.Barton also objected to Russell's treatment of A.E.Williamson (Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1, p.298, and Z.4450).
5) Z.4212,4215. See also Z.4207,4208,4217,4251,4252,4259,4281.
6) See White,T: A People for His Name, pp.104-112.

inexplicably he later reverted to the view that the New Covenant was also applicable to the present age. In 1905, P.S.L.Johnson pointed out this discrepancy and in Zion's Watch Tower 1907, Russell published an article returning to his 1880 view of a future New Covenant.(1) Unfortunately those ideas were new to most of his followers and there resulted a long series of articles in Zion's Watch Tower defending and explaining this apparent change. Russell was also questioned and opposed at ecclesias and conventions wherever he went.(2) His arguments were more than matched by those of his opposers and the real issue appeared to be whether the Bible students would accept his authority, for Russell insisted that he had not in fact changed his interpretation of the New Covenant!(3)

> 'We have been astonished at the peculiar statements made by some who should have known better - respecting our recent presentations regarding the covenants. They declare that we are now contradicting our former presentations, etc.' (4)

This indicates how tenuous the 'rational' basis for Russell's beliefs was, because when forced to justify them in detail to opposing Bible students he experienced great difficulty - and in the case of the New Covenant had to twist and turn over meanings of the words 'mediator', 'ransomer', 'redeemer', etc. - eventually making several changes in the text of Studies in the Scriptures.(5)

The New Covenant schism, like that precipitated by the vow, involved Bible students who occupied high status positions in Russell's movement, the most prominent of these being E.C.Henninges and M.L.McPhail.(6) The former had worked with

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1) Z.3914.
2) Pastor Russell's Sermons, p.322; also Z.4015,4309-10, Z. 3[illegible]2,4330-2,4334-5.
3) These arguments are too detailed and extensive to discuss here, for an excellent discussion see White,T: A People for His Name. Chap.8.
4) Z.4370.
5) Z.4354,4477,4491.
6) A British defector, James Hay, wrote Rays of Light From the Cross and was attacked by Russell at Z.4415 (Beckford confuses him with W.Hay-Hay, one of the sect's benefactors, see Beckford,J.A: Ph.D. p.[illegible] and Z.4415,4661 etc.).

Russell at the Bible House and had been Secretary/Treasurer of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society after Mrs Russell's departure.[1] He then became a Pilgrim and set up the British, German and Australian Branches.[2] Henninges wrote from Australia in 1909 disputing Russell's New Covenant views, printed a pamphlet opposing Russell and finally published his own journal: New Covenant Advocate. He and his wife Rose Ball Henninges founded a new group - The New Covenant Fellowship - published several books and tracts, and gained the support of many Australian Bible students including most of the Melbourne class (eighty in all).[3]

M.L.McPhail was the most respected and loved Bible student in the movement, second only to Russell. In 1894 he had been one of Russell's foremost supporters and the most active and popular Pilgrim.[4] He was particularly interested in music and in addition to his being in charge of music at conventions he composed hymns and with Russell's approval published the hymn book Zion's Glad Songs.[5] In 1909 McPhail, one of the Chicago elders, published a booklet called The Covenants, opposing Russell on the vow and the New Covenants.[6] His popularity in the movement attracted a number of defectors and he later toured Britain and addressed audiences in London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, etc.[7]

The sifting continued until 1911[8] and articles in the

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1) Z.1664,2404.
2) Z.2916,3214,3255.
3) Z.4434,4472,4680,4564; The Bible Student, 8. 3, p.124. Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1, p.389; White,T: A People For His Name, p.401; E.C.& R.B.Henninges: Bible Talks for Heart and Mind, (see Bibliography for their other publications).
4) Z.1384,1627,1665.
5) Z.2523; First edition of 6,000 (Z.2697). McPhail (against Russell's wishes) prepared and published further parts to the hymn book as Zion's Glad Songs Complete in 1908. (Johnson, P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.2, p.193).
6) Z.4488. On April 19, 1909, P.S.L.Johnson (supporting Russell) debated with McPhail at Chicago (Z.4524).
7) The Bible Student Vol.1, No.1, March 1914, p.6.
8) Z.4302; What Pastor Russell Said, pp.131-2.

Watch Tower continued to discuss the New Covenent, the vow and the threat to the brethren. Divisions occurred in Germany as well as Australia, although Great Britain remained relatively untroubled.(1) Nevertheless the vow and New Coveneant were not the only sources of contention - many of Russell's other suggestions were attacked and opposition also centred on the Berean Bible studies as they involved the use of Russell's Studies in the Scriptures in preference to the Bible.(2)

Probably as a result of these internal disruptions as well as the recent divorce trial, Russell decided to move the Watch Tower Society headquarters from Pittsburgh to New York at the end of 1908. He claimed in Zion's Watch Tower that the move was made to increase the number of newspapers taking his sermons - as New York was a news centre and Allegheny was practically unknown - but a more likely reason was Russell's loss of face in both the Pittsburgh community and the Pittsburgh Bible student ecclesia. Mainly as a result of the divorce, his attempts to avoid alimony, and the revelations made in the trial testimony, Russell's reputation amongst the general public in Pittsburgh was tainted and it is interesting that Russell did try to make a 'clean start' in New York. His magazine was renamed the Watch Tower, the Old Theology Quarterly tracts were replaced by People's Pulpit:

> 'The present form of Old Theology Quarterly has become widely known, and may have gained some enemies as well as friends'.(3)

and Russell explicitely asked Bible students to use the new names when contacting newspapers, rather than his own name.(4)

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1) Z.4565,4590; Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1. and Vol.2.
2) Z.4562,4885.
3) Z.4294-5. Also the People's Pulpit and Bible Students Monthly were ostensibly published independently of Russell from 1909 onwards - using the names of other Bible students. See Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Stduant... section F.
4) Z.4302; What Pastor Russell Said pp.131-2. It is ironic that soon after Russell's establishment in New York the very large expansion of the newspaper work made him popular and the measures he took unnecessary. Z.5593.

There was also some trouble within the Pittsburgh Bible student ecclesia and possibly Russell had been discredited there. Several of the prominent Pittsburgh elders and Pilgrims defected and it is significant that J.F.Rutherford was brought in as chairman to stage-manage (in effect) the re-electing of Russell as Pastor in 1908 shortly before his move to New York.(1)

It is difficult even to estimate how many Bible students left Russell at this time, for despite the internal troubles the evangelising activities continued unabated and the Watch Tower subscriptions, tracts distributed, number of Pilgrims and receipts and expenditure all increased from 1908 to 1911. While it is true that the colporteur figure stayed much the same the number of Studies in the Scriptures decreased (but not alarmingly) from 728,000 in 1908 to 538,000 in 1911. Parkinson concludes that this schism 'occasioned a greater division than all that preceded... many hundred left'.(2) A detailed analysis of the Memorial attendance figures confirms that there was a substantial slackening in increase at this time while from 1909 to 1910 there was no increase at all. These statistics do not enable us to make firm conclusions,but all the evidence suggests that the schism was instrumental in causing the defection of those Bible students, who failed to report at the Memorial. The loss might have been as high as about 600 (10%) from 1908 to 1911.

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1) Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.2. p.202. See the account in Z.4312-3.
2) Z.4293. Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student ... pp.3,4. Most studies of the Russell period have ignored or underplayed this schism, just as Russell did. Zygmunt claims that only a 'few' members defected and 'opposition had never really been very extensive', but produces no evidence for these claims. (Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D. p.408).

Memorial Attendance

DATE	MINIMUM SIZE OF CLASSES LISTED	No. OF CLASSES LISTED	TOTAL BIBLE STUDENTS	No. OF CLASSES OF 50 OR MORE	No. OF BIBLE STUDENTS IN THESE CLASSES
1903	22	23	1,200	8	726
1904	34	12	1,288	9	1,179
1905	20	32	2,661	16	2,114
1906	20	62	4,073	20	2,858
1907	15	61	2,994	17	1,873
1908	15	100	5,726	23	3,328
1909	20	80	5,190	25	3,451
1910	20	89	5,198	28	3,287
1911	50	--	---	44	5,245

This table shows a steady increase in the total number of Bible students in the larger classes up to 1906, then a decrease in 1907. The revival in 1908 is not followed by any substantial increase for the next two years, but by 1911 the figures begin to increase again. A more detailed analysis of the comparable ecclesias over the crucial period gives a slightly different picture:

YEARS	COMPARABLE CLASSES SHOWING INCREASE	SHOWING DECREASE	APPROX. %AGE CHANGE OF TOTAL BIBLE STUDENTS IN COMPARABLE CLASSES
1905-6	24	4	+24
1906-7	21	11	-7
1907-8	40	8	+15
1908-9	33	20	+12
1909-10	28	21	+0.2
1910-11	26	2	+12
1911-12	19	5	+33

From this table a decline is evident for the 1908-11 period, particularly from 1909-1910. It still seems that the divorce

in 1906 had a greater effect on the sect than the internal crises.

It seems likely that there was considerable unrest amongst some prominent Bible students before 1908 in view of the immediate and vehement opposition aroused by Russell's announcement of both the vow and New Covenant doctrine.' This is not surprising given the internal structure of the sect, in which the high-status groups lacked a corresponding authority, and individuals were not secure since Russell could always replace them with more favoured Bible students. The resulting anxiety and unrest led to hostility towards Russell and this rapidly crystallised into open opposition around the vow and New Covenant issues. The course of schism was similar to that in 1894, Russell retained secure control of the Watch Tower Society and the allegiance of the majority of the Bible students, while the defectors visited the ecclesias distributing their publications in an attempt to justify their position, ultimately leaving the movement with a small number of supporters.(1)

The central issue which this division helped to elucidate was Russell's authority. The dilemma facing the Bible students over the vow was that of ideology versus charisma - should they oppose the vow because it was unnecessary and sectarian or should they follow Russell because he knew better? There was no middle ground after Russell declared that 'all not for the vow are apparently against'.(2) And even though the New Covenant dispute was fought on doctrinal grounds, the underlying issue was whether or not the Bible students were prepared to

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1) 'Leaving the movement' means less than it seems here. They usually formed separate ecclesias but maintained many former links with the Bible student community. They were usually dissociated from the Watch Tower Society but remained subscribers to the Watch Tower. Some (C.J.Woodworth, W.E.Van-Amburgh, B.F.Barton) later repented and rejoined Russell; others returned to the Watch Tower Society after Russell's death.
2) Z.4484,4445.

accept Russell's authority as legitimation for a doctrinal change that appeared to contradict their former beliefs. Russell himself suggested that a struggle for power was involved in the dispute:

> 'We cannot share the sentiments of our opponents that the Lord has allowed the harvest work to progress thirty-four years along wrong lines, and now wishes three or four self-appointed brethren to take direction of affairs and say what should and what should not appear in the columns of this journal, etc.'(1)

He, therefore appealed to the habituated faith of the Bible students in Zion's Watch Tower (and indirectly himself).(2) Those Bible students who refused to accept Russell's authority on these (and other issues) were excluded after 1908. The so-called 'channel doctrine' was published in Zion's Watch Tower and was explicitly incorporated in the sect's ideology. This asserted that the marvellous harmony and truth of the Watch Tower Society's doctrines proved that the Society was being used by God to transmit his divine plan under 'divine supervision'.(3)

From 1910, Russell used the title International Bible Student Association to identify his movement, in which there was an increasing formalisation of belief and worship. Russell set out statements of belief that in any other context might be called creeds, and in 1916 he introduced the V.D.M. questions.(4) These were originally sent to the Pilgrims to test their understanding of 'the divine plan of the ages'. They were also offered to the other Bible students:

> 'We believe that the suggestion is especially good in respect to those who are occupying any position of influence or serving amongst the brethren'.(5)

It is clear that Russell hoped that the V.D.M. would be used as

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1) Z.4293.
2) Notice the very important reference to determinism here - if God had chosen Zion's Watch Tower, then it was infallible as a channel.
3) Z.4482,4447-8,5155.
4) Verbi Dei Minister (Minister of the Divine Word) - Z.6051.
5) Z.5905.

a test of Eldership in the ecclesias, and he admitted that the title V.D.M. was being formally conferred by the Society on those persons it thought 'worthy of being called a minister of the divine Word'.[1] Eventually these V.D.M. questions were printed in the Watch Tower and included:

'(19) Have you taken the I.B.S.A. Vow of holiness of life?
(20) Have you read thoroughly and carefully the six volumes of Studies in the Scriptures?
(21) Have you derived much enlightenment and benefit therefrom?'[2]

The developing sectarian nature of the I.B.S.A is further illustrated in the 'Class Extension Work' which Russell introduced in 1911 - to help in the formation of new Bible student classes. He suggested that those elders who had the time should advertise in a locality where there was no Bible student class, and present three weekly lectures in a school room or lecture hall, to interested members of the public. They would hope to attract enough interested ones to start a regular Bible student class using the Berean Studies of Russell's works.[3] Russell published a special Everybody's Paper for use in this work, and also special handbills for distribution, and leaflets setting out instructions for elders on how to conduct the extension work - expenses were to be met by the local ecclesia.[4]

By the close of 1911, more than three thousand such meetings had been held with a total attendance of about 10,000, 3,595 meetings were held in 1912 and 3,050 in 1913.[5] Russell chided those classes not taking part in the class extension work, and

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1) Z.5940. Although he still reassured the Bible students that 'let it be bourne in mind that the Society exercises no authority, makes no criticism, but merely gives advice; and that in the interest of the Lord's cause and the Lord's people' (Z.5941).
2) Z.5983, see also Z.6020.
3) Z.4821-2,4869.
4) Z.5366,4821-2. An I.B.S.A. pamphlet of sixteen pages published in 1911, on class extension, recommended six talks and 'newsy write ups' of them for local papers (p.5). Russell coined the title: Laymen's Home Missionary Movement (Z.5365).
5) Z.4935, see Annual Reports for these years.

appealed to able Bible students, who were not elders, to take up the work. This was another indication of a desire to by-pass the elders,[1] justified on the grounds that the harvest work was more important than ecclesia autonomy.[2] This extension work was a definite step away from the original concept of a spiritual elite since Russell now wanted to train immature, unconsecrated and possibly 'unjustified' members of the public, instead of informing and gathering out the 'wheat class' - the already mature and consecrated Christians. Finally an unthinking loyalty to Russell was advocated by some of his followers. Thus when Rutherford visited Glasgow in 1910 and was asked at a question meeting 'What was the difference between the Pope and Russell in relation to their followers?' he replied that he had always admired the loyalty of the Roman Catholics to the Pope and there was no difference in their followers except that the Pope was wrong and Russell was right! Not all the Bible students felt this way about Russell, of course, the majority probably did not and some of them left the sect and accused Russell of setting up 'the last of the Protestant Denominations' - that is the International Bible Students Association.[3]

Thus the conclusions of this and the last chapter are that as a result of both internal and external strains, Russell re-adjusted the sect's structure and ideology and reached the paradoxical position of intensifying sectarian characteristics internally while relaxing or compromising them externally. For he still publically maintained that the I.B.S.A. was interdenominational despite its obvious sectarian characteristics.[4]

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1) Z.5131. Russell also suggested that each ecclesia have a literature stock keeper (Z.5338) and in 1910 said that the central office and not the ecclesias should handle local conventions and Pilgrim visits. What Pastor Russell Said p.8.
2) It is unclear what Beckford (Ph.D. p.59) means by the 'fiction of autonomy at local company level' at this time, as later (p.141) he admits that a considerable amount of local control existed under Russell.
3) The Bible Student Vol.8, No.4. p.188
4) See Convention Reports 1915 pp.177-8, 1915 Supplement p.166; Z.1181; Studeis in the Scriptures Vol 4.vii, Vol.3. p.138

Russell was also able to convince a large number of Bible students that his position was not only tenable but consistent. Nevertheless, whatever pose he adopted many Bible students were still free to think as they pleased in the ecclesias, silence here did not necessarily signify assent. All Russell had therefore accomplished was the freedom to express his conception of the sect in Zion's Watch Tower without arousing a further rebellion in the Bible student ranks. Even though the internal disruptions and schisms led to a clarification of both sect boundaries and the extent of Russell's authority[1] it will become clearer later just what proportion of the Bible students chose to ignore the changes Russell was making just as they had ignored his suggestions for evangelisation.

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1) There is the interesting possibility that Russell came under the influence of Rutherford (his powerful legal advisor) and his supporters at this time and the changes made were partly as a result of this. It is not yet possible to test this hypothesis, but there is some indirect evidence for it and it would not be incompatible with what we know did happen.

Chapter 9.

Sect Ideology and the Failure of 1914

Sect ideologies are always total world views which to sectarians are complete and consistent systems, never vague or contradictory.(1) Sect members identify themselves as closely as possible with their ideological roles and hence any threat to the ideology is a threat to their very existence - their raison d'etre. For this reason the most serious crisis for a sect is always an ideological one and sect ideologies possess extensive inbuilt mechanisms to avoid disconfirmation.(2) Sect ideologies are usually non-contingent conceptual systems, which are easy to verify but impossible to falsify.(3)

Revolutionist sects are therefore unusual in that some incorporate an apparently contingent, and therefore falsifiable statement as the central tenet of their ideology. This is the belief that God will (in some way) intervene in the world on, or before, a specified date. In many cases the subsequent empirical disconfirmation does bring about the disintegration of the sect, but this is not always the case. The sect may persist and may even prosper after the disconfirmation depending on the strategy it adopts to deal with the 'failure'. As Wilson points out, the sect may react to the failure by discarding its adventist hopes and revolutionist perspective to become an introversionist sect, or it may reinterpret the failure and carry on as before - possibly with a new date.(4)

A study by Festinger et al examined a particular case of

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1) Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development, AM. SOC. REV., 24. (Feb.1959), p.4.
2) This is now well known, and the resemblances between sects and other totalitarian systems is well established. For more examples of such total systems see: Hoffer,E: The True Believer...
3) For an extended discussion of this theme see Popper,K.R: The Poverty of Historicism where verification and falsification are defined in the sense used here. Compare the discussion in Ayer,A.J: Language,Truth and Logic on verification.
4) Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects p.239.

disconfirmation and its effect on the proselytisation activity of sect members, and also the relevance of social support in surviving this failure.[1]

Russell's sect suffered a major disconfirmation in 1914, when the hopes and expectations held for almost forty years were dashed. In this chapter the events surrounding this date are outlined and the effect of the subsequent ideological crisis in the sect is analysed.

In 1909 Russell had moved his headquarters to New York, where he purchased the Brooklyn Tabernacle - formerly used by Henry Ward Beecher - and also Beecher's former residence to use as living quarters for himself and those working at the Tabernacle. This residence was called <u>the Bethel</u>.[2] The Tabernacle basement was used for stock and shipping, the ground floor contained the office and office staff, and above this was an auditorium (seating eight hundred). The Bethel was arranged with a dining room in the basement and Russell's study on the ground floor (he slept there on a couch).[3] The three congregations of New York city, Brooklyn and Jersey city united to form a new congregation for the Brooklyn Tabernacle under Russell, who had wasted no time in saturating New York with copies of his pamphlet: <u>Peoples' Pulpit</u>.[4]

Despite the internal dissention in the Bible student movement, the annual reports for the years 1908-13 show a steady increase in most departments. The receipts and expenditure increased every year up to 1912, although the number of

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1) Festinger,L. <u>et al</u>: <u>When Prophecy Fails</u>. His study is, however, felt to be defective in several ways. The conceptual analysis developed itself becomes a non-falsifiable system while his interpretation of the specific events is open to question. The small size of the group investigated and the proportionately large number of investigators renders the study as a whole suspect.
2) This was his new name for the Bible House (Z.4342). He also bought the George Whitfield Tabernacle in London and preached there (Z.4638,4646).
3) Z.4566. The first floor was for unmarried women, the second for married couples and the top floor for single men.
4) Z.4566.

Studies in the Scriptures sold per year, decreased during the first three years and was still below the 1908 figure (728,474) in 1914. Russell's newspaper work increased rapidly after 1909, reaching a peak of about 1,500 newspapers in 1913 but falling again to about 1,000 in 1914. It is interesting that practically all branches of the work increased up to 1914, and then, in the year of expectation, the figures dropped.(1)

During this period there was much expansion in his work abroad. Money spent on foreign branches increased from $23,110 in 1908 to $65,875 in 1912. The translating of Russell's works continued and in 1911 he was able to offer his literature in twenty-three different languages.(2) The number of foreign Bible students reporting for the Memorial increased from 1,000 in 1908 to 3,500 in 1914 (2,500 of whom were in Great Britain and 500 in Barmen-Elberfeld, Germany).(3) By 1914 Russell was receiving reports from branches or representatives in Great Britain, Australia, Germany, Sweden, South Africa, Finland and Switzerland.

At this time Russell was also Pastor of the 'London Tabernacle' and he usually journeyed to Europe twice a year. Russell's most spectacular foreign venture, however, was the world tour he undertook in 1912, accompanied by six others including Gen. W.P.Hall.(4) This committee of seven had been appointed by the I.B.S.A. convention to 'investigate the subject of Foreign

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1) It is incorrect of Zygmunt,J.F, to say that the 'colporteur work thus underwent a general decline during the decade prior to 1914' (Ph.D., 1967, p.628), for the number of colporteurs was 300 (in 1904), 600 (in 1907), 625 (in 1909) & 600 (in 1911). The number of Studies in the Scriptures sold per year increased from 1905 to 1908, and also in 1912 and in 1913. In 1914 there were three times the 1904 figure sold!
2) Z.4898. This increased to 30 languages two years later (Z.5353
3) Z.5616-20. For Africa see Assimeng,J.M, D.Phil., 1968, p.13 et seq.
4) Z.5008. According to the Watch Tower these six paid their own expenses and defrayed those of Russell. Certainly one of them, J.T.D.Pyles, was a rich man.

Mission Work'. As Russell was in control of this association, this was evidently sanctioned by him.(1) Russell certainly attempted to achieve as much publicity as possible for the trip:

> 'We beg leave to venture the one assertion that this "Round-the-World Tour" will be instrumental in bringing from Pastor Russell's Pen the most remarkable and valuable writings of the age on past and present "Christian Endeavor" in the Foreign Missionary Field'.(2)

Russell claimed that the purpose of the trip was to see if there were 'saints in those distant lands', but according to the printed itinery much of the four month trip was spent at sea and Russell made only a few brief calls at a few selected places.(3)

The report of the committee occupied one edition of the Watch Tower, and on his return Russell spoke to a large meeting of Bible students and members of the general public in the New York Hippodrome.(4) This speech was also published in more than a thousand newspapers. The tour and the committee's report were criticised as publicity stunts, to which Russell replied:

> 'My visit to foreign lands was not a pleasure jaunt, but strictly in the interest of the true Gospel... I have heard reports which led me to believe that there were sincere people in heathendom who were feeling after the true God, if haply they might find Him. I believe that God wishes us to carry the Message to these.'(5)

The committee's report contained mostly general comments, expressing a low opinion of the efforts being made by the various missionary societies; it concluded that there was no hope of world conversion in the near future by man's efforts alone. Russell, however, claimed after the tour that:

> 'Considerable fresh interest in Christianity has been aroused. Peoples in those lands who had begun to doubt everything religious have begun to take courage, and to think and study their Bible. If the missionaries could but catch the same spirit, what a blessed opportunity would be theirs'.(6)

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1) This may again have been prompted by the newspaper syndicate.
2) Z.4944. See also Z.4943-54.
3) Z.5008,4932.
4) Z.5016.
5) Cook,C.C: All About One Russell p.23. is a typical criticism. Russell's reply is from Pastor Russell's Sermons p.447.
6) Z.5014-5; Pastor Russell's Sermons p.448.

As a result of this tour Russell instructed R.R.Hollister to finance the printing and distribution of tracts in far eastern countries.[1]

Another new development was the expansion of the general conventions which were attended by more and more Bible students and were extended from 2-3 days to a week or more.[2] From 1904 Russell also began regular convention tours arranged to link up with the one-day conventions[3] and each year the general conventions seemed to be designed to exceed those of the year before. In August, 1908, at the beginning of the troubles over the vow (and the culmination of his divorce case) Russell staged a ten-day convention at Put-In-Bay Island, Lake Erie:

> 'We have arranged for the exclusive use of the Hotel Victory, which is located about two miles from the steamboat landing and reached by an electric car line'.

The whole of the September 15th Zion's Watch Tower was devoted to this convention which was chaired by J.F.Rutherford and concluded by a spectacular river trip down the Hudson. As early as 1906 the cost of attending a general convention was about $25 per person and Russell reckoned that the minimum cost at Put-In-Bay was $15 for food and board only.[4]

At the 1913 Hot Springs, Arkansas convention, Russell announced that he had for three years been collecting hundreds of pictures for use in the 'Photo Drama of Creation' - a combination of moving pictures and stills with synchronised gramaphone records presenting the Bible story. A large building in New York was used for the work[5] and Bible students were recruited to construct sets of the Photo Drama for showing to

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1) Hollister,R.R: Meet Our British Brethren p.11.
2) In 1904 around 1000 attended and twice this number in 1907. Z.3249-50,3856,4066.
3) Z.3631,4039,4220,4455,etc.
4) Z.4221-2.
5) Z.5270-1.

the public. The Photo Drama was presented to audiences in four parts, shown on successive weeks.(1) At the close of the final session, the local I.B.S.A. meetings were announced and addresses taken of those persons in the audience.(2) The number of sets available for distribution was small at first, but Russell reported successful showings firstly in large cities and then in smaller communities.(3) No admission charges were made and the local Bible students had to pay for the hiring of the halls in which the Photo Drama was shown.(4)

The motivation for the Photo Drama is not obvious and several of Russell's associates, including J.F.Rutherford and W.E.Van-Amburgh, were opposed to it on financial grounds. While it was an expensive extravaganza, in keeping with Russell's publicity tours and conventions, this is not in itself an explanation for it. The interesting thing about the Photo Drama work is its similarity to Russell's campaign involving Food for Thinking Christians in 1881. Both were unprecedented and novel ventures involving a wide public audience in a spectacular and expensive way. And it may have been the imminence of the year 1914 that inspired Russell, as it did in 1881, to produce a dramatic evangelisation campaign in the climatic year of Biblical chronology.

As the date 1914 approached, Russell devoted more and more space in the Watch Tower to the expectations for that year.

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1) Weekly at first and then sometime daily (Z.5514).
2) Z.5514, books were also available for sale.
3) Z.5434,5451,5515,5420,5433. Russell found it necessary to segregate his audience in New York, putting the Negroes in the gallery.
4) For details of the Photo Drama work, see Z.5592-4, 5513-4, 5523,5553. $200,000 was spent by local Bible students on this work and $315,000 by Russell. In 1914 the Drama was being shown in 60 cities a day in the United States and from July, 1914 onwards it was being shown in Great Britain, Europe, Austalia and New Zealand. Russell estimated that 8 million people in the United States saw the Drama in 1914. Complete Drama sets were later offered for sale to Bible students and a shortened version of the Drama was produced for showings in country areas.

It is clear that Russell was preparing his followers for the possible' failure' of the date: that the saints would not be glorified, the Kingdom of God would not be set up on earth, and the Ancient Worthies would not return. He may well have been regretting his firm statements in Studies in the Scriptures,[1] Vol.2, but he had been consistent, however, in distinguishing chronological beliefs from his other doctrines - he made this point as early as 1907 in an article entitled: Knowledge and Faith Regarding Chronology:

> 'But let us suppose a case far from our expectations: suppose that A.D.1915 should pass with the world's affairs all serene and with evidence that the "very elect" had not all been "changed" and without the restoration of natural Israel to favor under the New Covenant. (Rom.11: 12,15). What then? Would not that prove our chronology to be wrong? Yes surely. And would not that prove a keen disappointment? Indeed it would! ... What a blow that would be! One of the strings of our "harp" would be quite broken!
> However, dear friends, our harp would still have all the other strings in tune and that is what no other aggregation of God's people on earth could boast'.[2]

Russell continued to assert that chronology was not knowledge but based on faith and the calculations were not infallible.[3] Yet at other times, particularly when speaking at conventions, he would in a vague way confirm the expectations for 1914.[4]

Expectation indeed mounted as the year approached but, in late 1913, Russell confessed doubt to the Bethel family[5] and also to the Watch Tower readers:

> 'We urge The Watch Tower readers to exercise moderation in respect to their faith and conduct in all matters - including their chronological forecasts of the future'.[6]

and in the same year, in answer to questions from Bible students, he suggested that unencumbered Bible students might give up all

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1) Z.5649,5794. For in later editions, after 1914, of Studies in the Scriptures, he changed the text to leave room for doubt.
2) Z.4067.
3) Z.4736,5367,5502;5141-2; What Pastor Russell Said, pp.71, 79,89,91,313.
4) Z.4891,5018; What Pastor Russell Said, p.97; see also the poem Two Years More (Z.5136).
5) Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger, Vol.1, p.142.
6) Z.5249.

their time to colporteur work in 1914, but that those with dependents would be better advised not to do so.[1] In the Watch Tower, January 1, 1914, Russell said:

> 'As already pointed out, we are by no means confident that this year, 1914, will witness as radical and swift changes of dispensation as we have expected'.[2]

Despite this, an air of hysteria gripped some Bible students: they postponed marriages, were unsure about insurance policies, gave up all their time and money, printed calendars ending on September 30th.[3] Several prominent Bible students made public statements of their faith as, according to A.H.MacMillan,[4] 'a few of us seriously thought we were going to heaven during the first week of that October'.[5] Russell finally commented on this in July:

> 'Only one thing did the Editor fear in respect to the influences mentioned and the able addresses of the speakers. He fears that the dear friends in several instances were over stimulated by too positive assurance that the present year will witness the 'change' of the church, establishment of the kingdom, etc. With all due respect for the opinions of the brethren, we believe that at the present is a time for great soberness of mind, avoidance of speculation and waiting for whatever the Lord may be pleased to bring to pass'.[6]

The outbreak of war in Europe was seen as a fulfillment of prophecy and harbinger of the end. A poem Almost Home by Gertrude W Seibert summed up their expectations as activity decreased.[7] In the October Watch Tower, Russell tried to soften the blow:

> 'The consummation of the Gospel age is now upon us. We are expecting wonderful things, glorious things. The thing especially looked for now is the ending of Gentile

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1) Z.5348.
2) Z.5373, a thought repeated throughout the year (Z.5450,5502).
3) Z.4960,5486,5669; What Pastor Russell Said, p.344; West Wickam, Private Circulation sheets, p.3; The Present Truth Vol.32, p.12.
4) MacMillan,A.H: Faith on the March, p.47, although the 'few' may be incorrect as MacMillan's book is very misleading in parts.
5) A Pilgrim leaving the Bethel said he was taking a ticket to the Pleides and not a return one, see also C.J.Woodworth's position - Z.5629. (The Present Truth Vol.32, p.12).
6) Z.5502.
7) Z.5477,5471.

> domination. The dissolution of the nations is at hand, and that dis-integration precedes the establishment of Messiah's kingdom.
>
> At what time the Lord's people will be taken beyond the veil the Lord has not fully indicated'.(0)

The first reaction to the failure of October 1914 was the printing of several long articles in the Watch Tower discussing the reasons for the 'failure' and his expectations for the future. Russell believed that the chronology was correct, that the Gentile Times had ended, but it would take some time for the transfer of power from worldly governments to God.(1) Russell pointed to signs of the Jewish restoration and advised the Bible students to have patient endurance for just a little longer - after all they had so much truth compared to this one apparent 'disappointment'.(2) This rationale was repeated many times in the Watch Towers of late-1914 and 1915. At first Russell suggested that the end would be 'soon', within a year. He believed that the door to the high calling had closed (at last) in 1914, and only the gleaning work of the harvest remained to be done.(3) As October 1915 approached, however, and the Bible students were recruiting more followers, Russell abandoned his year's deferment, suggesting that perhaps the door was not closed and the full harvest work was continuing.(4) Although the year 1925 was rumoured amongst the Bible students, Russell suggested April 1918 as the date for the culmination of their hopes.(5)

After 1914 there was also a re-searching of the Biblical prophecies, especially those relating to Elijah and Elisha in an attempt to predict the future course of events. Russell re-affirmed his belief in a coming time of trouble,(6) in which the then World War would be followed by revolution and anarchy.

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0) Z.5555.
1) Z.5563,5566.
2) Z.5568,5650,5595-6.
3) Z.5569,5590.
4) Johnson,P.E.L: Merariism, p.175; Z.5731,5950.
5) Z.5724,4779,5950-1.
6) Z.5572,5695.

Most significant, however, was Russell's interpretation of the separation of Elijah and Elisha as a separation of the Bible student community itself - 'We think it signifies a division between the little flock and the great company'. Certainly a variety of difficulties arose in the Bible student community after 1914,[1] although it is difficult to estimate the number of disappointed members who left. An analysis of the Memorial figures for the years 1914-16 reveal that there was little falling away up to the Spring of 1915 but a year later a considerable number of Bible students are no longer reporting at the Memorial. Russell did not print the usual large list of Memorial reports in 1916 but only the reports of more than 50 attending, and this may have meant a decrease was apparent from the full report. Even the list he did print indicates a decrease of approximately 20%.

The Watch Tower Society was in severe financial difficulties in 1915 due to the drop in voluntary contributions. A large sum of money had to be borrowed[2] and Russell economised on expenditure for the Photo Drama, tract work, foreign branches and so on. Seventy Bible students had to leave the Bethel as a financial economy and the number of Pilgrims and colporteurs also decreased.[3] A further internal difficulty was the growing uncertainty and hostility of some Bible students, who persistently questioned Russell about the future. Russell was, on the whole, vague and non-commital in his answers perhaps due to his age and ill health, but there was a loss of faith in him and a splitting of the classes at the local level.[4]

The Watch Tower also reported a concerted clergy attack on Russell to which both he and Rutherford published defences. The most serious external problem arose from the conscription laws and their enforcement in Europe and Canada. In Britain for

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1) See the 1915 Convention Reports for many of these details.
2) $100,000 according to Johnson: Gershonism p.38. See Z.5669, 5682,5758,6184,5914.
3) Elijah & Elisha by P.S.L.Johnson,p.76. See Z.5728-32 and What Pastor Russell Said p.664.
4) Z.5654-5,5685,5695,5970,5909.

example, elders of the ecclesias were exempt from conscription, but of the other Bible students, 58 were imprisoned in 1916 and 123 given alternative work.[1] Russell's attitude was that killing was wrong but that each Bible student should decide his own case according to his conscience.

Despite these problems Russell continued to encourage the evengelisation work, although there was little ideological justification for it now.[2] He attempted to increase the number of colporteurs and to convince all the Bible students that the 'harvest work' was still important. He suggested the introduction of the 'follow-up'[3] work and the important Pastoral work in which sisters in an ecclesia elected a Lieutenant to organise the visiting of interested members of the public in their homes:

> 'the culmination of the project is to interest as many as possible to the extent of gathering them into classes- first to hear Chart Talks, and later to become regular Berean classes. When the matter is worked up sufficiently, the Lieutenant will call upon the elders of the I.B.S.A. class to appoint thoroughly competent brethren to give the Chart Talks'.[4]

Although Russell continued to work hard throughout 1916 the signs were clear that his death was imminent. He had been intermittently ill from sick headaches for 50 years, cistitis for 40 years, haemorrhoids for 25 years and had been in continuous pain for a year prior to his death[5] which occurred on October 31, 1916 while on a speaking tour. Many Bible students believed that Russell would not die 'until his work was done' - which included writing Volume 7 of his Studies in the Scriptures[6] -

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1) Sibley,M.Q. and Jacob,P.E: Conscription of Conscience p.2. Z.2332,5659,5754-5,5860,5893 etc.
2) Z.5575
3) Z.5602,5665,5633,5819.
4) Z.5145,5984,5988,6095
5) Z.6015. In 1913 he had collapsed on his European tour. The Laodicean Messenger pp.81,243.
6) Johnson,P.S.L: A Miscellany p.155, The Parousia Messenger Vol.1. p.112; What Pastor Russell Said p.730. Z.3207, 3825,4753,6170.

and the Bethel family at first doubted the news of his death. Russell's personal secretary, Menta Sturgeon, described the last days and hours in a Memorial issue of the Watch Tower for December 1st, 1916. Russell was buried in Pittsburgh, a special train brought the mourners and 101 automobiles drove in the funeral procession.(1)

It is not possible with such a large and complex sect to test hypotheses concerning the psychological effect of cognitive dissonance on individuals, as Festinger et al did with their small group.(2) It is interesting, however, that there was a substantial drop in the evangelising activities in 1915 (for example the number of Studies in the Scriptures sold was half the total for 1914). This can partly be explained by the fact that many Bible students had exhausted their money and efforts during the 'last campaign' of 1914, and the resulting drop in voluntary contributions led to a reduction in all of Russell's activities. It may also be conjectured that the 'fellowship' or social support amongst the Bible students helped them to overcome the disappointment and it would be interesting to know if the larger ecclesias fared better in this respect than the smaller. It is not intended to test this hypothesis here but a comparative statistical study of the classes in 1914 and 1915 (if enough data were available) would shed some light on this question.

Despite the apparent failure of their ideology and the subsequent ridicule from outsiders and confusion within the sect, the disconfirmation in 1914 did not lead to the sect disintegrating. Russell had prepared them for a chronological failure and by isolating and minimising this aspect had helped the Bible students to overcome the crisis. Another important

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1) The Laodicean Messenger p.255. Z.6061.
2) Festinger,L. et al: When Prophecy Fails.

factor in the relatively small effect of the 1914 failure was the preceding forty years establishment of a highly organised sect structure - which had become an end in itself for the sectarians.(1) The sect ideology defined not only the beliefs, but the sectarians life-style in toto: values and norms, patterns of worship and evangelisation, social relationships, group commitments and relation to the outside world.(2) Many years of habituation in this total context led to the Bible students being unwilling, and in some cases unable, to leave the sect. Although the failure of 1914 was a disappointment and an ideological blow, it was one which could be survived and ultimately explained in terms of the sect ideology itself. This is not to minimise the genuine difficulties that now beset the sect as a result of the disconfirmation - it precipitated a crisis of leadership and a re-examination of other aspects of sect life in an attempt to discover faults. This searching and critical re-appraisal was an important factor in the re-structuring of the sect after Russell's death in 1916.

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1) Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development AM.SOC.REV. 24 (Feb. 1959) p.4.;
2) There is a large body of literature dealing with the nature of 'total' or mass movements in this respect. Some of it relates rather particularly to either the Nazi or Communist parties. See Hoffer,E: The True Believer, Rokeach,M: The Open and Closed Mind and Arendt,H: The Origins of Totalitarianism. For a more detailed comparison of the Witnesses in the 1920's and 1930's and such movements, see Cohn,N: M.A.

Chapter 10.

An Analysis of Sect Membership

One of the most important questions in an analysis of sect development is the type of person a sect recruits, information on the personality type, social class, occupation and geographical location of sect members is therefore an aid in this analysis.(1) Niebuhr recognised the importance of sects as social movements, distinct from ideological protest groups, and he suggested that a purely theological analysis of a sect was a limited explanatory model: much more could be understood about sects if the social class, ethnic structure, or even demographic distribution of their members was known.(2) Niebuhr's suggestions have been implemented by a number of research workers, and studies of particular sects, from a sociological viewpoint, have provided more effective explanatory models of sect development.(3)

Thus in Liston Pope's classic study Millhands and Preachers, he was able to demonstrate the connection between social class and the type of religions in the community of Gastonia. A number of other studies have examined the class composition, personality type, geographical location, ethnic origin and the particular social milieu of sect members.(4) The generalisation that sects recruit only lower class members has been disproved in a number of cases, and as B.R.Wilson points out, it is

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1) Before a sect can be related to a broad theory involving social groups, this basic information is needed. In the case of sects it is not easy to obtain. See for example Wilson,B.R: Ph.D. 1955 and Patterns of Sectarianism (ed).
2) Niebuhr,R: The Social Sources of Denominationalism in particular pages 12-13,136 et seq.
3) For example Clasen,Claus-Peter: The Sociology of Swabian Anabaptism CHURCH.HISTORY. 32; Goldschmidt,W.R: Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches AM.J.OF.SOC. 49; Tilinson,H: The Implications of Pentecostal Religion for Intellectualism, Politics and Race Relations AM.J.OF.SOC. 70.4; Johnson,B: Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values? SOCIAL.FORCES. 39.4.
4) Cross,W.R: The Burned-Over District; Bender,H.S. & Smith,H.C: Mennonites and their Heritage; Cantril,H: The Psychology of Social Movements; Chaffee,G.E: The Isolated Religious Sects As an Object for Social Research.AM.J.OF.SOC. 35.4.

conversionist sects, in particular, that tend to recruit from the lowest social classes, whereas other categories, such as manipulationist sects, recruit predominantly lower-middle or middle class members.(1)

In the case of Russell's movement there is a dearth of information on the social, occupational or educational level of members and virually all the relevent evidence on the subject is indirect. Although any conclusions reached here will be tentative, nevertheless an attempt is made to investigate these questions and also to discuss Russell himself in some detail, since it was his personality and his distinctively written books that attracted most of the sect members. It may be that the converts model themselves on the leader or at the very least admire him or what he has to say.

There is no doubt that Russell had considerable personal influence over his followers: his appearance was impressive (he was 5ft.11in. tall and weighed around 185 lb.), his movements were graceful, his look commanding and his speeches compelling. He also possessed administrative and commercial skills and an ability in dealing with people.(2) Russell was not, however, an intellectual or academic although he worked very hard, reading a great deal and studying extensively the Bible and Bible aids.(3) Much of Russell's writings consisted of social comment, and the discussion of business and political issues from a religious point of view, displaying fluency, rhetoric

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1) Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects chapters 2 and 3; An Analysis of Sect Deveopment AM.SOC.REV. 24. (Feb 1959). Thus Scientology and Christian Science both have largely middle class membership. See Wilson,B.R: Ph.D. 1955; Religious Sects chapter 8.
2) The Laodicean Messenger, pp.37,39,45.
3) See Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger, Vol.1, 320-324. His reading tended to be mainly standard reference works, mainstream Protestant histories and contemporary newspapers e.g., Gibbon, Fox, Mosheim, Macaulay, verious universal histories, etc.

and argumentative skill but little originality or objectivity.[1] More surprisingly, his writings give little evidence of deep spirituality (either emotional or intellectual),[2] and Russell took a 'clear, commonsense viewpoint', indisputable to his followers, persuasive to the uncommitted laymen, but unconvincing to opposers and intelligent critics. Essentially Russell argued only one side of a case and would hardly ever put himself in an opposers position.[3] It is significant that, of the many contemporary Bible students interviewed during my research, they all tended to display these very qualities and evidently admired them in Russell. The suggestion is that many of his followers (like Russell) had had a religious upbringing which had lapsed and they needed a more forceful, rational and total ideology to restore their religious beliefs.

Russell's personality is difficult to analyse and it is not clear how he reconciled, in his own mind, the dual standards he appeared to live by - for example, his commercial and religious involvements. The desire to elevate himself in the eyes of the world appears to have been present throughout his life, but it was only in his later years that he was actually able to fulfill this desire. Thus the large printing of Object and Manner of the Lord's Return and Food For Thinking Christians, and the Photo Drama illustrate the same tendency for display. Also in the case of his newspaper syndicate there are clear indications of personal aggrandisement[4] taking priority over even the religious ideology to which he and the Bible students

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1) Johnson,P.S.L: The Epiphany's Elect, p.550.
2) This quality, for example, was more evident in his wife's articles.
3) Hence his dismissive attitude towards the beliefs of other sects such as the Doukhobors, Christian Science, Christadelphians, etc. (Z.3097,3185,3724).
4) And yet he thought himself to be modest; like Buchman he combined an 'unblushing flair for self-advertisement' with 'an apparent passion for self-effacement': Eister,A.W: Drawing Room Conversion p.34. See Z.4376,4824; What Pastor Russell Said p.159; The Russell White Debates p.73.

were committed. Russell was particularly aware of and sensitive to the outsideworld's judgement of himself and his followers, and it may be argued that much of Russell's motivation for his continual emphasis on evangelisation was not to control the Bible students, but to have a wider public audience for himself.(1) He was described as a great rationaliser, and his conduct during court cases provides another illustration of a man who had created his own world-view and was coming into conflict with another that did not harmonise.(2)

In general Russell's attitude towards society as a whole was neither consistent nor unchanging. He believed that the Bible students should be spiritual aliens in the world, but they were allowed to participate in activities that did not clash with their religious principles. Russell's adventist ideology entailed the conclusion that the present social system was a failure; even though the police, governments and social workers were doing their best,Bible students were not to engage in politics or social work but should instead wait for God to change the world.(3) His solution to the problem of deciding where religious interests should end and the secular begin (and how far the latter encroached on time that should be devoted to the former) was haphazard. Thus he preferred democracy to empire rule, The United States to other countries; he was against corporations and was doubtful about banks and trade unions.(4) Even

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1) Z.2403. This acceptance of praise from an apparently valueless society is noticeable in other sects, see Elinson,H: The Implications of Pentecostal Religion for Intellectualism, Politics and Race Relations, AM.J.OF SOC., 70. (Jan.1965) 4, pp.409-10.
2) What Pastor Russell Said, p.132.
3) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, p.264; Vol.4, pp.97,172; Vol;6, p.539; Z.5357,1564. This applied even th the extent of voting. It is incorrect to say that Russell advocated social reform (Black,J: New Forms of the Old Faith, p.200).
4) Z.4105,1285,2630; The Laodicean Messenger, p.155; Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.1, p.48,217; Vol.4, pp.145-7.

though he stated that 'the Lord is on the side of the people', Russell said that Socialism was bound to fail.[1] Secular education up to the age of fourteen was approved, but further education was viewed with suspicion and regarded as dangerous and time-wasting. Yet at the same time Russell was proud of well-educated converts and was not opposed to the idea of education as such.[2] Russell's detailed advice for the every-day conduct of Bible students, in personal and family life, was published in volume six of Studies in the Scriptures, where he tended to recommend Protestant, middle class standards; and his attitude towards women - though often criticised - was typical of his class and times.[3] These views did not stop Russell from using secular means at his disposal in attempting to obtain favourable Post Office rates for sending Millennial Dawn - he even asked Bible students to pray for a successful outcome. He also attempted to reduce the tax payable on his property, and used the law courts whenever he deemed it appropriate.[4]

It is argued in this thesis that Russell's early commercial success and training influenced him to a significant extent, and he continued to apply these commercial methods in the religious sphere. Throughout his life he made an end in itself of printing, publishing and selling religious commodities using as many channels and techniques of advertising as he could.[5] Bound up with this was a 'Protestant ethic' which made a virtue[6]

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1) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.4, pp.xvi,xvii,500; What Pastor Russell Said, p.161; Z.2799.
2) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.6, pp.538,539; What Pastor Russell Said, pp.56,58-9; Pastor Russell's Sermons, pp.543,454; Z.3357,2619,2921.
3) Studies in the Scriptures, Vol.6, pp.265-272,491; Convention Reports, 1916, p.10; Z.1891,1075,3827.
4) Z.1943,1955,1962,2916,2957; Brooklyn Eagle, March 3, 1913.
5) For example: Z.967,1133,2234,3412,2548-9,etc.
Also Zion's Watch Tower, April 1, 1892.
6) The Laodicean Messenger, pp.46,80,81; Z.4751,5187,3215; Convention Reports, 1916, p.228.

of punctuality, duty, and careful reckoning in all things. Russell believed in efficiency and was against any kind of laziness and inactivity; and he opposed alcohol, playing cards, theatre going, novel reading, tobacco and pleasure seeking[1] mainly on the grounds that they were a waste of time. In later life he made a point of stressing 'respectability', even advising Bible students as to their mode of dress.[2]

> 'Let none think of the 'Volunteers' as illiterate 'Hand-bill-distributors'. Quite to the contrary, these '<u>ministers of the truth</u>' who are reaching larger numbers and exerting a greater influence than if they occupied the chief pulpits of the land are far above the average of those whom they serve - both in secular and in Biblical intelligence. One is a stove-manufacturer and dealer; several are storekeepers, one owning and successfully managing five stores; some are college graduates, architects and civil engineers; some are clerks holding remunerative positions of trust - one of the latter, besides doing diligent 'Volunteer' work, economised rigidly his living expenses and accumulated five hundred dollars during last year, which he sent to our Society to assist in publishing more 'good-tidings-ammunition'. Several are stenographers (male and female); and at least two are artists, one of these of distinction as a portrait painter; others are housewives; others are mechanics, who, after a week of toil, find recreation and heart-refreshment by spending part of each Sunday as messengers (angels) of the Lord to carry to their 'brethren' yet in Babylon the true Gospel message'.[3]

Russell's above estimate of his followers is undoubtedly biassed to suit his ideals of respectability and prestige, and his views in general are not necessarily a certain guide to the attitude and behaviour of his followers. From the Bible student literature[4] available, however, it does seem that broadly speaking they shared his values and beliefs and fitted his descriptions of them.

It is not clear from the evidence available how many sect members there were at the time of Russell's death. The number of <u>Zion's Watch Tower</u> subscribers were said to be

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1) <u>Convention Reports</u> 1915(supplement)pp.37-8; Z.977; Johnson, P.S.L: <u>Merarism</u> pp.540-1; See also Z.3055,5098,4919,957 and <u>What Pastor Russell Said</u> p.384.
2) <u>Convention Reports</u> 1915(supplement) p.149.
3) Z.2554.
4) For example there is the fascinating <u>St. Paul Enterprise</u> (edited by Mrs. W.L.Abbott) which served as a sort of secular newspaper for the Bible students. The advertisements and articles in this indicate a wider range of thought and opinion than the articles in <u>Zion's Watch Tower</u>.

45,000 in 1916, while the number of 'adherents' was estimated from the subscriber list to be 75,000.(1) Russell himself confused the issue by claiming to have 100,000 followers in 1913 although he was almost certainly referring to the attendance at the I.B.S.A classes.(2) A more realistic estimate was that of Johnson who said that 75,000 had consecrated themselves between 1874 and 1914, 65,000 had engaged in the volunteer work and 10,000 had been colporteurs or sharpshooters.(3) The best estimate of Russell's following at his death is provided by the Memorial attendance figures. In 1915 there were 15,000 Bible students in the classes whose reported attendance was greater than 25 which suggests that the total number of Bible students reporting for that year was approximately double: 30,000.(4) This is based on the figures in previous years when Russell gave the total number of Bible students reporting in addition to listing those with attendance greater than 25.

Of those Bible students in classes of more than 25, the majority were from the major cities in the United States, and a third of the 15,000 were from Pittsburgh, New York, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Toronto, Clevelend, Seattle, Detroit, St.Paul-Minneapolis and Vancouver. If the estimate of 30,000 is taken to be the approximate size of the Bible student community then at least half of this total were in classes of less than 25 members, and their location may have been in rural areas. It is impossible to know definitely whether more than half the Bible student community was urban although, of course, the indirect evidence available suggest that they were. For

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1) Z.5998,6181.
2) The Hamilton Spectator Mar 18,1913. What Pastor Russell Said p.347.
3) Johnson, P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1. p.57. Z.6181.
4) Z.6181. In 1915 a total of 174 classes reported. There were approximately 1000 Bible student classes (Z.5242,6160 and The Parousia Messenger Vol.1.p.322) hence about 800 classes in 1915 had less than 25 members. Thus an upper bound on the number reporting would be: 15,000+800x25 = 35,000.

example most of the Bible student ecclesias in previous full reports were found in the urbanised areas of the United States and mostly in the Eastern or mid-Western states. Thus of the larger classes in 1915, of the 174, 20 were in Ohio, 17 in Pennsylvania, 12 in New York, 11 in Illinois, 9 in Massachusetts, 8 in Michigan, 7 in Indiana, 6 in California, 5 in Texas and 5 in New Jersey (every other state having 4 or less).

Religious sects, as separatist deviant minority groups, often attract and retain a membership whose composition in terms of nationality, class, occupation or education does not reflect that of the surrounding society from which it emerges- for example a sect may have an almost uniformly working-class membership. In the case of Russell's movement, the Watch Tower occasionally mentioned the profession of a Bible student or interested person, as cab-driver, commercial traveller, insurance agent, school teacher and so on.(1) Russell's general statements on this subject are contradictory, however. In 1883 he said that the 'very large majority' of the subscribers to Zion's Watch Tower were 'the poor of this world'(In 1896 there were in fact 3,000 on the poor list - about a quarter of all the subscribers).(2) He also quite often mentioned that there were 'not many rich' amongst the Bible students, who were from the 'lower strata, not upper crust' of society.(3) At the same time, however, Russell claimed that the Bible students were 'genteel and refined' some of them being 'people of refinement and education and business standing'.(4) On the few occasions that occupations were mentioned, these were usually classifiable as 'non-manual, clerical or minor professional'.(5)

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1) Z.222,869,1020,1432.
2) Z.426,1172,1954,1480
3) Z.4239,2549,4221. Studies in the Scriptures Vol.6. p.75.
4) Z.4221,4039
5) Z.2554.

It is evident from the profusely illustrated convention reports and the details of convention expenses in the Watch Tower that a substahtial number of Bible students were 'middle class' in dress and appearance.(1) During the later years of Russell's life at least three to four thousand were financially able to attend two-week-long conventions at considerable expense. Others were able to accomodate Bible students, particularly Pilgrims, in their homes, while a few were wealthy enough to accompany Russell in his special train for the convention tours costing up to $237 per person.(2)

Thus it is concluded that there were a considerable number of poor subscribers to the Watch Tower but a large proportion of the Bible students themsel=ves were middle class in their appearance, financial standing and behaviour. While the remainder of the Bible students may have been poor, it seems likely that they were at least literate lower middle class, for their consecration now implied a systematic study of Russell's Studies in the Scriptures and the Bible. Hence it seems unlikely that there were many working class Bible students - that is, uneducated manual labourers, and there is certainly no positive evidence for their existence.(3)

Previous research work on the class structure of Russell's sect is almost non-existent. Zygmunt came to the general conclusion that the bulk of the membership was lower-class: 'persons of low socio-economic status'. He implies that Russell had a 'working class following' which constituted the 'bulk of the membership'.(4) He offers no substantiation for these statements

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1) Z.4238,3250,2884,2641,3077,3838,4788,4455. Convention Reports 1915(supplement) p.7.
2) Z.4156,4415,4788,4660,3897; The Laodicean Messenger p.163.
3) Beckford,J.A: Ph.D. p.531 assumes that these on the poor list were 'working class'. It is not clear what he means by 'working class', and the poor list could have referred to the impoverished lower middle or even middle class. They were unwilling, as opposed to unable, to pay for the magazine.
4) Zygmunt,J.F: Ph.D. pp.263,586,674

apart from a selection of Russell's own vague comments and never clarifies the exact social grouping he had in mind (if any).(1) In view of the total lack of evidence for these statements, they must be regarded as highly suspect.(2)

There is virtually no data on the sex or age distribution of the Bible student group. At the Chicago convention of 1893, the proportion of men and women were about equal, with an average age of thirty five, ranging from seventeen to seventy years.(3) Despite Russell's insistence on the subversience of women to men, there was no noticeable preponderance of men amongst the Bible students - although no accurate estimate has yet been made of the proportions of men and women. The age distribution is similarly unclear, but it seems likely that the majority of Russell's followers were over twenty-one. At one convention in 1900, A.H.MacMillan (twenty-three years old) speaks of himself as the only 'young' one present.(4) The impression gained from reading convention reports, interviews with older Bible students and examining photographs from this period, is that the Bible students were nearly all twenty-five or over, mostly middle-aged, with perhaps slightly more women than men.

The broad conclusions of this chapter are that the majority of Russell's followers were probably middle aged, white, urban lower-middle or middle class people in the Eastern and Mid-Western United States. The best guide to the outlook and life-style of the Bible students is Russell's own recommendations in Zion's Watch Tower and especially volume six of Studies in the

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1) Zygmunt,J.F. Ph.D. pp.263,351,360-1,585,674; Beckford,J.A. Ph.D. pp.520-1 has a tenuous argument that the British Bible students were probably middle class, and resembled the U.S.A. Bible students who were therefore probably middle-class. There are, in fact, significant differences between both Bible students and Jehovah's Witnesses in Britain and the U.S.A. which render such arguments untenable.
2) Cook,C.C: All About One Russell p.41, speaks of 'mechanics, farmers and small tradesmen' which fits the above analysis. See also Sprague,T.W. Ph.D.,p.29 and Cumberland,W. Ph.D., p.69.
3) Z.1580.
4) MacMillan,A.H: Faith on the March, p.42.

Scriptures, which set out in detail the suitable patterns of behaviour for young and old people, married couples, and so on. It is not intended to discuss this in detail for it did, by and large, reflect Protestant middle class values and norms with a strong Protestant ethic.(1) Many sect members undoubtedly shared Russell's attitude, but it is clear that a variety of people were also attracted into the movement for different reasons.

Russell's personal achievement was considerable for he had, in effect, converted his £250,000 in 1879 into a well organised sect of 30,000 followers in 1916. His publications reached astounding circulation figures, for example approximately ten million copies of his Studies in the Scriptures were sold. For all this, little trace of Russell's ideas or influence now remains outside the Bible student or Jehovah's Witness groups. This may be partly explained by the fact that Russell's works and his sermons were pressed on the public rather than bought on popular demand; furthermore, Russell probably did not attract the tradition-preserving members of the public and hence his message may have died with his audience. It seems unlikely, therefore, that Russell or his sect had made much impact on the United States society as a whole, and the failure of his message in 1914 followed shortly by his death in 1916 would almost certainly have led to a decline had it not been for the change in direction the movement took after Russell's death.

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1) Weber, M: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism p.p. 48-50, 71.

Chapter 11.

Schism and Conflict:1916-1919

Unlike ideological disconfirmation, the death of a sect leader is an undeniably contingent event with which a sect must come to terms.(1) How a sect reacts to this situation depends on the role and function of the leader. If accepted mechanisms for succession exist then there may be little effect, but if the leader has exercised charismatic authority then his death inevitably causes structural and sometimes ideological changes. In the latter case, sect members are usually unprepared for this situation and stunned by the death - not because they believed their leader was immortal (although some do) but because they had never imagined the world without him.

In the case of Russell's movement his death lead to widespread uncertainty and anxiety in the sect. Since Russell had failed to provide a well-articulated authority structure his death naturally precipitated a crisis of authority, which was compounded by the still unresolved failure of 1914. These structural and ideological strains caused a number of central and local schisms and revealed the widely differing viewpoints of the opposing factions, who had been held together by Russell, but now split apart in the three years after his death.

The immediate response to Russell's death was a sense of loss and puzzlement and some Bible students left the sect. Of the 52 ecclesias reporting their Memorial attendance in 1916 and in 1917, half of them had decreased in that period. Nevertheless the Watch Tower strongly encouraged its readers to hold fast to the memory of Russell and to his beliefs, to close ranks as an army and march forward to their imminent glorification. Activity

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1) Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development AM.SOC.REV. 24 (Feb,1959) p.10. See Wilson,J: D.Phil. While the charismatic leaders death may not lead to the routinisation of charisma, some change is inevitable. Gerth,H.H. & Mills,C.W: From Max Weber pp.54,253; Warburton,T.R: Organisation & Change in a British Holiness Movement in Wilson,B.R.(ed) Patterns of Sectarianism p.129.

in the harvest work was firmly emphasised in the 1916 annual report and it was affirmed that Russell's death did not mean the close of the harvest work - as many Bible students believed.[1]

After Russell's death the overall control of the Watch Tower Society rested with the board of seven directors: A.I.Ritchie (vice-president), W.E.Van Amburgh (Secretary-treasurer), J.D. Wright, I.F.Hoskins, J.F.Rutherford, A.N.Pierson (elected to replace Russell), H.C.Rockwell (who resigned and was later replaced by R.H.Hirsch).[2] An executive committee consisting of Ritchie, Van Amburgh and Rutherford was set up to control the Society until the election in January, 1917[3] and one of their first decisions was to send P.S.L.Johnson, a prominent Pilgrim, to England to check on the British branch.[4]

There were several possible candidates for the Presidency at the forthcoming election - P.S.L.Johnson claimed that he was asked to stand by Rockwell but refused while Ritchie was another possibility. From varied sources, however, it is clear that Rutherford seemed to many to be the obvious choice.[5] He was the legal adviser to the Society and knew more about its workings than anyone else. He had great personal presence and was well known inside the movement. He lacked Russell's deep spirituality and his association was not as long standing as that of some others, but the crucial factor in his elecetion was the support of a number of influential Bible students including A.H.Macmillan, Van Amburgh, R.J.Martin and C.J.Woodworth.[6]

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1) Z.6021
2) Just prior to Russell's death Rutherford had asked his supporters in New York to inform him immediately Russell died. When this happened he cabled 'Hold everything until I come'. The Parousia Messenger Vol.2. (P.S.L.Johnson) p.438. United Israel Bulletin Feb.1972, p.2. Z.6023-4,6161-5.
3) Z.6024. Johnson,P.S.L: Meraiism has full details of this.
4) Z.5905,6006; Herald of Christ's Epiphany Jan 15. 1951
5) Macmillan,A.H: Faith on the March p54 et seq; Johnson,P.S.L: Meraiism p.416, The Epiphany Messenger p.41.
6) Martin was in charge of the Tabernacle office. See Harvest Siftings p.11 for full details.

One of Rutherford's first actions (possibly a significant one to ensure his election) had been to declare invalid Russell's appointment of five trustees to vote his shares in the Watch Tower Society after his death.(1) Then with Macmillan and Van Amburgh and Martin, Rutherford planned and effected a method of closing the nominations for president at the annual meeting so that only Rutherford would be [illegible] nominated and thus 'unanimously' elected.(2) On January 7th, 1917, Rutherford was duly elected president, A.N.Pierson was vice-president and Van Amburgh secretary-treasurer. Before the election Rutherford, Macmillan and Van Amburgh had planned to change the bye-laws to increase the leagal power of the president and this was accomplished at the annual meeting.(3) Rutherford promised that he would continue Russell's work, particularly the evangelisation:

> 'Brother Russell was deeply convinced that there is a great work yet to be done; that the Jordan must first be smitten; that the people must know of the kingdom message, and that the Lord will use his people to give much of this knowledge to the world before the kingdom is fully established'.(4)

It is characteristic that the successor to a charismatic leader will promise to continue the dead leader's work, legitimating his own actions in this way. Rutherford's justification for the continuation of the harvest work is nevertheless tenuous .

Only the barest details of Rutherford's earlier life are known. His parents farmed land in Missouri for fifty years. They were Baptists and his father was a strict disciplinarian. In addition to J.F.Rutherford there were two sons and five daughters in the family.(5) Rutherford was educated in the public schools and then served as a part-time court recorder to help pay his way through Law Academy. The best source of information

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1) Z.5999; Harvest Siftings p.19. Five sisters held 45,000 votes, a quarter of the votes (150,000) cast in 1917. Light After Darkness p.3.
2) Johnson,P.S.L: Maraiism pp.83-4. Z.6033. Light After Darkness p.4. Facts for Shareholders p.11.
3) Z.6033; Johnson,P.S.L: op cit p.834. Light After Darkness pp.3-6.
4) Z.6034.
5) His parents were James Colvin and Lenora. Macmillan,A.H: Faith on the March p.72; Felix,R: Rutherford Uncovered pp.20-1. Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose pp.65-6.

on Rutherford's life, however, claimed that he had no professional law training and after working in the office of Judge Edwards Jefferson City Missouri, he applied to and was accepted at the Bar there on May 5, 1892. Rutherford was never a permanent judge, but was elected a 'special judge' for a day on four occasions.(1) He was also once fined for contempt of court; and at another time he was evidently guilty of sharp practice and lying.(2) He also engaged in politics to the extent of supporting a Presidential candidate.(3) His wife Mary and son Malcolm G. were also believers although little is known of either.(4) According to private information, his wife was wealthy and neglected by Rutherford.(5)

Rutherford and his wife were first contacted and converted by two female Bible students in 1894, while he was working as a lawyer in Missouri.(6) In 1907 he became a Pilgrim and during 1908 he was chairman of the spectacular Put-in-Bay convention and one of the Russell-White debates.(7) It was probably in connection with the divorce, however, that Rutherford became prominent amongst the Bible students. Although most important, perhaps, was the help he gave Russell in arranging the transfer of the headquarters from Pittsburgh to New York; and he presumably arranged the legal establishment of the People's Pulpit association.(8) It is clear that by 1909 Rutherford was familiar with the financial and legal intricacies of Russell's corporations.(9)

Much has been written about Rutherford's character, from

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1) Hence his later title of 'Judge Rutherford'.
2) Felix,R: Rhtherford Uncovered, pp.19-25. All sources agree on his working under Judge Edwards.
3) San Diego Tribune, March 25, 1930, p.1,2; San Diego Sun, March 15, 1930, p.1, etc.
4) Stroup,H.H: The Jehovah's Witnesses, p.16; Z.4800.
5) Private conversation with a Bible student in Chicago (1972).
6) Z.1646.
7) Rowe,F.L: Russell-Rice Debates, p.1; Z.4239.
8) Z.4342,5591.
9) Hamilton Spectator, March 18, 1913.

which it is clear he was an opportunist and 'a man of good spirit, aggressive disposition, fond of debate, imbued with the thought that there was a smiting work to be done'.[1] He demanded complete obedience from his supporters, and people were usually strongly attracted or repelled by him. His opponents described him as being haughty and self-pushing, but P.S.L.Johnson summed him up well by saying 'there are two Rutherfords - Bro. Rutherford and Lawyer Rutherford'.[2] Rutherford certainly had two sides.

After the election Rutherford continued to run the Society much as Russell had done.[3] Although board meetings were called, it is clear that Rutherford saw himself as the sole legitimate leader of the Society and made changes without consulting the board,[4] which did not meet with the approval of four of the directors: I.F.Hoskins, J.D. Wright, R.H.Hirsh and A.I.Ritchie.[5] There were already clear signs of dissension before the P.S.L.Johnson Affair erupted and polarised the opposing parties.[6] Johnson had been sent to Great Britain in November 1916 to investigate the situation and report back to the committee. In order to pass through war-time customs he was given plenipotentiary powers on behalf of the Watch Tower Society.[7] He travelled

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1) Nain,C.F: The Unfinished Mystery, p.7.
2) Johnson,P.S.L: Merarism, p.86. I am also convinced, from private sources of information, that he was fond of drink and also immoral.
3) Macmillan and Van Amburgh were unofficial aides to the president and these three together ran the society, bypassing the board of directors. Macmillan had been appointed a special representative of Russell's to oversee the New York headquarters when Russell was absent. Macmillan,A.H: Faith on the March pp.68-70; Z.3644,4888; Harvest Siftings p.11 et seq
4) Harvest Siftings, p.11. He made changes in the Angelophone work (Z.6041,6050,6078,6064,6069,6091; Light after Darkness p.12) and in the Pastoral work (Z.6027,6050, see also Harvest Siftings, pp.10,11.
5) R.H.Hirsh was elected after Rockwell resigned in Spring 1917 (Z.6164 and Harvest Siftings, p.12). A.I.Ritchie, for example, had cause to be disgruntled: he had been replaced as manager by R.J.Martin, shorn of his Vice-Presidency, and seen his critic A.H.MacMillan established as special assistant to the President (Johnson,P.S.L: The Epiphany's Elect, p.182 and Harvest Siftings, p.10).
6) Z.6060-1.
7) MacMillan,A.H: Faith on the March, p.76; Harvest Siftings p.1;

about Britain on Pilgrim trips, but was mainly resident in London where the branch office and Tabernacle were under the supervision of three managers: J.H.Hemery, H.J.Shearn and W.Crawford.[1] From his reading of the previous correspondence and his investigations in Great Britain, Johnson became convinced that some of the British Bible students were planning to rebel and set up the British I.B.S.A. as an independent corporation. To forestall this he used his plenipotentiary powers to dismiss Shearn and Crawford as managers of the branch office and elders of the London ecclesia and (supported by Hemery) he took over control of the British branch. The ejected managers wrote and cabled to Rutherford to query P.S.L.Johnson's powers and a succession of letters and cables were sent. Rutherford, disturbed by Johnson's changes, recalled him to America; but by now Johnson was convinced of the correctness of his course and remained in Britain. He was deserted by Hemery, who rallied the London Bible students to 'recapture' the London headquarters and restrain Johnson. He 'escaped' from them and soon afterwards returned to the United States - leaving behind him a chaotic situation in Britain.[2] Undoubtedly Johnson exaggerated the extent of the British rebellion, and his measures were too disruptive to remedy the situation.[3] On the other hand he did have plenipotentiary powers and Rutherford's behaviour, such as cabling to London that Johnson 'was insane', aggravated the situation.[4]

On Johnson's return to the New York Bethel in April 1917,[5]

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1) The following summary of his visit is based on the detailed day by day (and sometimes hour by hour) account given by Johnson himself in his book Merariism.
2) For above details see Harvest Siftings and Johnson,P.S.L: Merariism, for his reply.
3) By this time Johnson was convinced that he was Russell's spiritual successor (Harvest Siftings, p.7).
4) Johnson,P.S.L: Merariism, p.33.
5) Harvest Siftings, pp.8,12,13; MacMillan,A.H: Faith on the March, p.76 et seq.; Light after Darkness, p.6.

recriminations continued and he obtained the sympathy of four of the directors, who then began to question Rutherford's methods of running the Society. They were aware that they constituted a majority (but not a quorum) of the board of directors; and after a series of confrontations they decided to force a board meeting to rescind the bye-laws giving Rutherford managerial and executive powers. Rutherford, however, obtained a legal opinion that the four were not directors, and in the summer of 1917, he ousted the four as well as Johnson and their supporters from the New York Bethel.(1)

During August 1917, Rutherford prepared and extensively distributed his work Harvest Siftings to the Bible students, giving his account of the dissention. Johnson and the four directors published several replies to Rutherford's work and distributed them as widely as they could.(2) Harvest Siftings itself contains a variety of letters from Britain as well as comments on Johnson's 'failure' there, and this was linked up with the 'rebellion' of the four directors. Finally as evidence of Rutherford's popularity, there were pledges of loyalty from some of the Bethel workers.(3) Within a few days of July 27th, about twenty-five Bible students were removed from the Bethel and this had increased to fifty by November.(4)

To add to the controversy Rutherford had released, on June 17, copies of the hoped-for volume seven of Studies in the Scriptures called The Finished Mystery. It was written by two Bible students, G.H.Fisher and C.J.Woodworth; ostensibly

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1) Harvest Siftings, pp.15 et seq.; Johnson,P.S.L: Merarism pp.61-2.
2) To only 17,000 out of 55,000 Watch Tower addresses (Johnson,P.S.L: The Epiphany Messenger, p.465).
3) It is highly probable that these oaths were obtained by A.H.MacMillan and W. .Van-Amburgh under threat of expulsion from the Bethel.
4) Light after Darkness, pp.2,7,15 (see testimony of F.G.Mason); and Facts for Shareholders, p.8

based on Russell's notes and published comments on Revelation and Ezekiel, it deviated in many respects from the spirit and letter of Russell's interpretations.(1) Rutherford had decided to sponsor this version as the 'official' Society version to out-flank any other versions,(2) but although it was accepted by many, it was a hastily produced book, contradictory and inconsistent in parts and its bold interpretations offended some Bible students. It was, after all, mainly the private views of C.J.Woodworth and G.H.Fisher and they were not the only Bible students who had their own interpretations of Revelation.(3) Woodworth had allegedly been a spirit medium before becoming a Bible student, and at one time had 'by his own admission' been unbalanced for two years. He had also opposed Russell on the vow.(4)

In the struggle over these issues, Rutherford's main asset was the Watch Tower magazine itself, which was assumed by many Bible students to contain the truth and led to some Bible students staying with 'the channel' (that is, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society), even though they disagreed with Rutherford.(5) In view of the rival claims for the directorships, Rutherford

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1) Not only was The Finished Mystery written and published without the four directors knowing about it, but it was published by the People's Pulpit Association not the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania. Rutherford claimed it was financed from private sources but there is conflicting evidence on this (Rutherford et al. vs. United States, Federal Reporter, Vol.258; MacMillan,A.H: Faith on the March, p.96; Harvest Siftings, pp.19,20.
2) Main,C.F: The Unfinished Mystery, p.7;
3) For example, see Towell,H: The Book of Revelation, and Streeter,R.E: The Revelation of Jesus Christ, Vol.1. C.J.Woodworth had originally written a commentary on the Song of Solomon and given it to Russell who 'put it away'. This was reclaimed after Russell's death and incorporated in The Finished Mystery (Facts for Shareholders, p.9, and Main,C.F: The Unfinished Mystery, p.475.
4) See Convention Report, 1913, p.274. Main,C.F: Op.cit., The Bible Student 8. 3, p.130; Convention Reports, 1916, p.308; Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger, Vol.1, p.112; Z.6149.
5) Light after Darkness, p.5; q.v., the Israelites following Saul.

proposed that the Bible students in the various ecclesias should write in and say which of the directors they would prefer to have The advantage of this unofficial 'straw vote' was that it would strengthen his case for the coming Watch Tower Society election, when wavering shareholders might be won over. This ecclesia vote was taken on November 21st and the results published in the Watch Tower - not surprisingly they showed a clear victory for Rutherford and his nominees.(1)

Meanwhile the four ousted directors and Johnson had decided that their best plan for the 1918 Annual General Meeting was to nominate another seven directors to replace Rutherford and his supporters. By now, Menta Sturgeon, who was still much revered by the Bible students had joined them as their prospective president.(2) At 10 a.m. on Saturday, January 5th, 1918, the meeting was held and the voting produced an overwhelming victory for Rutherford.(3) One surprising feature of the results was the election as director of C.H.Anderson (who had not been nominated) instead of Pierson, whom Rutherford was presumably squeezing out.(4) Rutherford chose this moment of victory to deliver a conciliatory speech, admitting that he had made some mistakes, but asking the dissenting parties to 'make up'.(5) There was, of course, no possibility of this, and the schism at headquarters was a prelude to a wider division that would ultimately affect every ecclesia in the Bible student movement.

It is important, however, to realise what schism represented at this stage. The dispute between Rutherford and the four

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1) Z.6165,6185.
2) It seems likely that they could have fought a successful legal action and they knew it. They did not wish to alienate the Bible students by such an action, however, and preferred to let the shareholders decide. Light After Darkness pp.7,8,11
3) Z.6164,6201. ; Facts for Shareholders p.3.
4) For purely 'prophetic' reasons, Johnson withdrew both his votes and nomination at this stage. Z.6202. Rutherford's board was: Macmillan,Van Amburgh,Pierson,W.E.Spill,J.A.Bohnet and G.H.Fisher; the opposers were Ritchie,Hirsch,Rockwell, Wright and Johnson.
5) Z.6202. Harvest Siftings Part 2,p.25. Light After Darkness pp.3,8,9.

directors was for control of the Watch Tower Society and its headquarters. Independent of this, each of the four directors and Rutherford were elders of local ecclesias and although the opposition party had lost their struggle for administrative control this did not interfere in any way with their membership or eldership of their ecclesias. They were, after all, democratically elected as elders by the local Bible students and responsible to them only. Thus Rutherford had not in any sense ejected them from the sect, although he could and did forbid them to be official Pilgrims of the Watch Tower Society.(1) The exact status of the ecclesia vis a vis the Watch Tower Society is well illustrated in the 'Open Letter' from 156 members of the New York ecclesia who, in all sincerity, complained that:

> 'We have seen this controversy grow until it now seriously threatens the harmony of the New York City ecclesia'.(2)

From the elders' viewpoint the position of director of the Society was not as important as that of elder, for the letter continued: 'The Directors and Officers of the Society surely occupy as responsible a position in the Church as an Elder in a local congregation'. Not only was Rutherford unable to eject the opposing Bible students as elders, but it was also impossible for him to be elected as elder against the wishes of the ecclesia Thus it was alleged that he used a majority vote to postpone the election of the New York ecclesia elders from October 1917 to January 1918, because he could not at that time, achieve a 75% vote for eldership of the ecclesia.(3)

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1) Rutherford had denied general service as elders to A.I.Ritchie I.F.Hoskins, J.D.Wright, R.H.Hirsh, Menta Sturgeon, W.J. Hollister, J.L.Cooke, M.J.Newman and J.G.Kuehn, who were all elders of the Brooklyn ecclesia (Facts for Shareholders p.7).
2) A Petition to Bro.Rutherford and the four deposed directors., p.1; Zygmunt,J.F. Ph.D. p.724 speaks of 'nominal congregational autonomy' which is misleading.
3) Facts for Shareholders, p.12. Rutherford suggested that the Watch Tower Society Pilgrims should automatically be elders of all churches; but he was unable to implement this suggestion immediately.

After the election results on January 5, 1918, the disappointed party appointed a seven-man committee to see whether a journal, Pilgrims, or a corporation was desired by the Bible students in addition, or to replace, those of the Watch Tower Society. The committee consisted of A.I.Ritchie, R.H.Hirsh, I.F.Hoskins, J.D.Wright, P.S.L.Johnson, M.Sturgeon and F.H.McGhee.[1] Five of these seven placed more emphasis on the practical arrangements, but Johnson and Sturgeon were pre-occupied with the Biblical principles and prophecies applying to their situation. The committee met on January 20th but soon began to disagree amongst themselves - there was a dispute as to whether they should form a corporation.[2] Johnson, Jolly and Hirsh opposed this idea on the grounds that Russell's will forbade it, and in any case it was unnecessary.[3] The other four wanted a corporation to control the proposed journal, the Pilgrims and conventions and to put their affairs on a sound legal basis. This, they also argued, had been Russell's way.[4]

It was not surprising that the majority of the committee (two former Watch Tower Society directors and McGhee a lawyer) should favour an institutionalised structure but this was not Johnson's conception of the situation. To him the Bible students were a spiritual community of 'saints' and he had thought of Russell not as the president of the Watch Tower Society but as 'that servant', the chief spiritual guide. Therefore the important question for Johnson was: who were Russell's spiritual

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1) Committee Bulletin August, 1918. pp.3,4; Johnson,P.S.L: The Epiphany Messenger p.62; The Herald of Christ's Kingdom 1.1. p.3 (published by the Estoral Bible Institute and henceforth abbreviated to Herald).
2) Committee Bulletin Aug. p.4; Johnson,P.S.L: The Epiphany Messenger p.65.
3) Johnson,P.S.L: op cit p.266. Jolly and Margeson replaced Ritchie and Sturgeon on the committee when they resigned.
4) See Committee Bulletin Aug. p.6, Sep. p.5. Johnson,P.S.L: Another Harvest Siftings Reviewed for the two sides of this dispute.

successors? His answer was: those who had been Russell's spiritual deputies during his lifetime, not the board of directors but the Pilgrims, whom Johnson called the secondary prophets.[1] Thus he wanted the committee to be guided not by an organised business corporation, but by an elite of secondary prophets & Pilgrims, of which he saw himself as chief.[2] Johnson did recognise the Watch Tower Society as a corporation - it was the 'channel' for the inferior great company members.[3] The little flock, on the other hand, who had separated from the great company (Rutherford and his followers) needed no such corporation and should instead be preparing for their imminent glorification.[4]

It was this irresolvable difference of conception that led to dissension in the Port Pitt committee. Finally a new committee, excluding Johnson, was set up based in New York.[5] Johnson and his two supporters, R.H.Hirsh and R.G.Jolly, retreated to Philadelphia. The new committee now formed a new corporation called the Pastoral Bible Institute[6] and the first issue of their journal called The Herald of Christ's Kingdom was published on December 1, 1918.[7] Its initial subscription list was 800, rising to 2,500 in 1919.[8] It was to become a most important and well known Bible student magazine, second only to the Watch Tower. The largest ecclesias supporting the Pastoral Bible Institute at this time were at New York (150-180 Bible students), Boston (80) and Providence (109).[9]

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1) The Present Truth, 1. 1, pp.18-19.
2) A point of view denied by the new committee (Committee Bulletin, Aug.)
3) The Present Truth, 1. 1, p.17; 1. 2, p.29.
4) Ibid., 1. 2, p.25.
5) At a General convention, Asbury Park, New Jersey, on July 26-29, 1918. For the new committee point of view see the Committee Bulletin, Aug.; for Johnson's view see his book, The Epiphany Messenger.
6) The committee of seven were: J.D.Wright, F.H.McGhee, I.F.Hoskins, H.C.Rockwell, P.L.Greiner and I.L.Margeson.
7) Following several issues of the Committee Bulletin in Aug., September and October 1918.
8) Herald 1. 1, p.10; 2. 13, p.198.
9) Ibid., 1. 1, p.10; 1. 2;

The charter for The Pastoral Bible Institute granted membership and one vote to anyone contributing more than $5, and these members annually elected a committee of seven to control the affairs of the Institute.[1] There appeared to be a number of wealthy Bible students supporting the Institute and voluntary contributions for the first year totalled $10,505.[2] In February 1919, the Angelophone work (disbanded by the Watch Tower Society) was revived, conventions were held, Pilgrims were sent out,[3] and the Pastoral Bible Institute set out to fulfill Russell's wishes, as a substitute fo the 'failed' Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.[4]

Meanwhile Johnson, through his Laymen's Home Missionary Movement, was holding conventions, sending out Pilgrims, and from the very beginning he used his journal The Present Truth to engage in controversy with the Pastoral Bible Institute and the Watch Tower Society.[5] The Present Truth was made a regular monthly journal in June 1919 and the subscription list, which started at around 500, rose to 1,500 by 1920, afterwards increasing at a steady rate of about fifty per year. The number of ecclesias reporting their Memorial attendance to Johnson increased from thirty in 1919 to a hundred in 1926, although half of the latter were in Poland.[6] The number of Bible students supporting Johnson was approximately two thousand in 1919 and probably never exceeded three thousand in the early years.

In July 1920 Johnson started another smaller journal called The Herald of the Epiphany which was intended mainly for distribution to the public and often contained anti-Catholic material.[7]

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1) Herald 1. 1, p.2; 2.1, p.11.
2) And in subsequent years the Pastoral Bible Institute was always able to finance its activities from such voluntary aid.
3) Herald, 2.1, p.2; 2.4.
4) Ibid. 2.10, p.146; 2.23, p.328; 3.17, p.259.
5) The Present Truth, 1.7, p.112.
6) Ibid. 1.7, p.119.
7) The Herald of the Epiphany, 3.4, p.29.

Literature was printed in French, Polish, German, Italian and English. Although Johnson claimed to be following Russell, he soon built up a forbiddingly large number of types and antitypes of his own.(1) Johnson believed that Russell had been the 'Parousia Messenger' for the forty-year parousia, or presence, of Jesus Christ from 1874 to 1914-16. This forty-year parousia was to be followed by a forty-year Epiphany period from 1914-16 to 1954-56, of which he Johnson was to be the Epiphany messenger.(2) Johnson predicted that by 1956 all the little flock would have died and gone to heaven except for himself, the last priest, who would be glorified on October 31, 1956 - after which the kingdom of God would be set up on earth.(3) Johnson distinguished various spiritual groups in the church in addition to the little flock and great company, for he conceived of the 'youthful worthies' who would live on earth during the millennium and would be glorified to heaven at the end.(4) These classes were strictly differentiated - members of the little flock were not allowed to marry youthful worthies, for example.(5)

Johnson followed Russell in thinking that God did not wish the world to be converted, or the nominal church to be cleansed.(6) While he developed his own personal extension of Russell's beliefs, at the same time keeping all of Russell's detailed exegesis in sharp relief, the Pastoral Bible Institute took a different line. The purpose of the Institute was to provide a structural and not ideological service to the Bible students and hence its main function was to organise conventions, Pilgrim routes and its journal. It did not wish to dictate to the ecclesias what they should believe and as there was a range of

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1) See Johnson,P.S.L: Epiphany Studies in the Scriptures, Vols.1-17.
2) See Johnson,P.S.L: The Epiphany's Elect for a full discussion.
3) The Present Truth, 29.1, p.14; 30.3, p.45; Johnson,P.S.L: Ibid., p.51.
4) Johnson,P.S.L: The Epiphany's Elect, p.317; The Present Truth 20.10, p.168.
5) The Present Truth, 5.10.
6) Ibid., 1.2, p.25; 2.7, p.107.

opinion amongst the Bible students, the Institute's Herald took a 'middle of the road' position. It develpped very little new doctrine, nor did it deviate much from the central doctrines taught by Russell. In fact the journal admirably suited the bulk of its readership who were primarily concerned with staying close to Russell's beliefs and methods in the confident expectation of their imminent glorification. They felt no strong desire to engage in frenetic evangelisation (as Rutherford was doing) or equally frenetic doctrinal speculation (as Johnson was doing). The only exception to this quietism was an article in an early Herald by R.E.Streeter suggesting that Russell's calculation of the 'Times of the Gentiles' had been out by 20 years, and the probable date for this and their glorification was therefore October of 1934.(1) How many of the Herald readers accepted this is not known, and there is no sign of further chronological speculation disturbing their somewhat introverted perspective.

The seeds sown in the 1917 schism at the headquarters were now coming to fruition: in less than two years after the ejection of the four directors, two new Bible student groups had 'defected', each developing its own central organisation. In addition, there were an unrecorded number of local schisms, as the ecclesias now had to choose between the Watch Tower Society, The Pastoral Bible Institute, and Laymen's Home Missionary Movement, or alternatively to remain 'independent' of all three.

Rutherford's main problem in 1918 was not the internal crises, however, but the Watch Tower Society's increasing involvement with the military and civil authorities in the United States - an involvement for which The Finished Mystery was again responsible. In February 1916, forms requesting exemption

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1) Herald, 4. 8, p.118.

from military service prepared by Rutherford, had been printed in the Watch Tower for the benefit of Canadian Bible students. In an article entitled Militerism - Conscience, the Watch Tower said:

> 'It is not for us to set up standards for others. Conscience is an individual matter. It would be as wrong for Bible students to antagonise earthly governments, and to oppose enlistments ... as it would be wrong for others to force their opinions on Bible students'.(1)

When The Finished Mystery was hastily published in the summer of 1917, Rutherford failed to anticipate the effect of certain inflamatory passages on the subject of war, contained in the book:

> 'The clergy are the ones directly responsible for the war in Europe. ... The clergy act as decoys for recruiting volunteers to the army'.(2)

It may be these and other unpatriotic remarks would have gone unnoticed, buried as they were in its dense exegesis, had they not been explicit=ly quoted in the Society's Bible Students Monthly - ten million of which were distributed in late December 1917.

In February 1918 copies of The Finished Mystery and Bible Students Monthly were confiscated in Canada and the Watch Tower Society banned there.(3) On March 3rd, the United States Government forbade any further publication of The Finished Mystery, even though Rutherford had previously advised the removal of the objectionable pages (pp.247-253). Rutherford continued in his attempts to mollify the government and he issued a statement to the press in an effort to placate the patriots:

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1) Z.5929.
2) The Finished Mystery, pp.228,253.
3) C.J.Woodworth, J.L.Herr and others were arrested on conspiracy charges in March. The Watch Tower commented: 'Without a doubt, the prosecution of these brethren has been instigated by some nominal ecclesiastical adherents' (Z.6221).

> 'Our attitude on the war, Red Cross, Liberty Bonds, etc., has been misunderstood by many people. ... The people of our Association are not against the Government, nor against the Liberty Loan'.(1)

By the time this was published in the Watch Tower of May 15th, however, Rutherford had been arrested. On May 7th, warrants had been issued for the arrest of Rutherford, Van-Amburgh, MacMillan, Martin, with four others; and on the following day they were arrested and charged.(2)

The trial of Rutherford et al. began on June 3rd and lasted seventeen days.(3) The Government called three Bible student witnesses - stenographers at the Watch Tower office. One of them, Mrs Mabel Campbell, refused to swear that a carbon copy of a letter had been written by her and dictated by Van-Amburgh. Another, Mrs Agnes Hudgings, refused to identify a rubber stamp as 'similar' to one used by Rutherford. The third, William F. Hudgings, maintained that he had never seen Van-Amburgh or MacMillan write letters, although he had worked with them for nine years and his desk was only ten feet away from MacMillan's and in the same room as Van-Amburgh's.(4)

Once the prosecution had decided that the eight defendants were responsible for The Finished Mystery then the decision of the

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1) Z.6257.
2) R.H.Hirsh had also been charged but was released when it was revealed he was not responsible for The Finished Mystery. Compare the account in the Watch Tower (Z.6270) with the later witness version in Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, p.79.
3) Rutherford et al. vs. United States, Photocopy of Documents filed at Federal Records Centre, 641 Washington St., N.Y. See also Federal Reporter 258.
4) Not surprisingly Hudgings was committed for contempt of court on June 11, 1918 and remained in jail for almost a year. (Ibid. Vol.258, pp.856 et seq.; MacMillan,A.H: Faith on the March, p.97). The most bizarre example of this 'loyalty was MacMillan's case: early on in the case the Prosecutor was willing to have MacMillan released, but then additional evidence was provided to link MacMillan with the others. It is said that MacMillan wished to stick by the others and made sure that they would all stand or fall together. (Eagle, June 8, 1918, p.7; MacMillan,A.H: Op.cit., p.96).

the court hinged on whether or not the work was seditious. On June 20th the jury decided that the defendants were guilty and at midday the following day they were sentenced to twenty years each on the four counts, the sentences to run concurrently. Justice H.B.Howe was quoted as saying:

> 'In the opinion of the court the religious propaganda which these defendants have vigorously advocated and spread throughout the nation, as well as among our allies, is a greater danger than a division of the German army'.(1)

Rutherford and the other six wore pink carnations in their buttonholes as they stood in court to be sentenced, and Rutherford was quoted as saying:

> 'This is the happiest day of my life, to serve earthly punishment for the sake of one's religious belief is one of the greatest priviledges a man could have'.(2)

They were then taken to Raymond Street Jail and afterwards to Atlanta Federal Penitentiary to serve their sentences.(3)

In an article in the Watch Tower entitled Zion's Triumph Near it was explained how the imprisonment and persecution of the leaders was to be expected, letters from Bible students in jail were printed and Revelation 7:2-3 was quoted to show that demons had been loosed on the earth and were taking control of the minds and bodies of the clergy and others.(4) Hence the significance of Rutherford's widely publicised talk at this time: The World Has Ended - Millions Now Living Will Never Die.

Despite this brave face, the Watch Tower Society was entering a difficult period: its leaders imprisoned, other Bible students jailed throughout the country, its work curtailed in the United States and banned elsewhere.(5) There began a period

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1) Z.6297; See Golden Age, September 6, 1939, p.6.
2) Z.6297.
3) Macmillan, A.H: Faith on the March, pp.97 et seq.
4) Watch Tower, May 1, 1918; Z.6243.
5) See Golden Age, Sept.29, 1920; July 20, 1921.

of relative inactivity due to external persecution and further internal dissention. Following Rutherford's lead in trying to placate the authorities, those left in charge advised the Watch Tower readers to join the nation in a day of prayer and supplication on May 30th. The article was fulsome in its praise of the United States and for many Bible students this represented an unacceptable compromise with worldly authorities.

The accumulation of 'compromises' made in the Watch Tower[1] in the early part of 1918 was the precipitating factor in another major schism that occurred. A large group of Bible students in the northwestern states of the continent (Oregon, Washington and British Columbia) split away from the Watch Tower Society at the end of 1918 and called themselves the Standfasts.[2] They believed that everything the Society had done up to the 1918 Memorial was correct, but after THAT the 'separation of Elijah and Elisha' had begun. The Watch Tower Society, in compromising on the war, Liberty Bonds and other issues had manifested itself as unfaithful whereas the Standfasts stood fast on Pastor Russell (and also on The Finished Mystery) and were therefore the little flock, the 'Elijah' class, who they believed were to be glorified in 1920. They also believed that the harvest had ended, the Gospel age closed, the wheat garnered, the saints sealed and the door (to the high calling) closed.[3]

The Standfasts organised themselves at a convention attended by about 200 (representing 24 ecclesias) at Portland, Oregon in December, 1918. A committee of seven[4] was set up and they

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1) op cit June 1, 1918.
2) These Bible students had been suffering for following Rutherford's early 'no-compromise' line and were naturally offended when he reversed his position. See Heard,C.E: The Ship for a clear statement of their position.
3) Z.6438,6451. See Heard,C.E: op cit; Old Corn Gems 1.7.also Stand Fast Bible Student Assn. letter Dec.7.1918.
4) Consisting of I.C.Edwards,F.G.Heard, C.F.Larkin,F.Ride,J.O. Jeffrey,H.J.Brown,F.McKercher. Old Corn Gems 1.p.8.

arranged for more conventions, Pilgrim visits and a new journal called 'Old Corn Gems' consisting mainly of extracts from Russell's works. In 1919 a total of 22 Standfast classes reported a total Memorial attendance of 1,200 Bible students, nearly all of them in the Northwest.(1) The theme of the Standfast beliefs - that everything was over and the saints were merely to wait - is an example of a feeling common to many of the Bible students at that time. Even before the failure of the 1920 date, however, splits were evident in the Standfast movement. Three of the original committee left and at the Seattle convention at the end of 1919 there was a further split in the leadership.(2) Eventually about 300 of the group formed the Elijah Voice Movement under Bro. Hardeston in 1923.(3) Unlike the Standfasts the Elijah Voice Movement believed in gathering the little flock and they looked to the date 1925, otherwise they accepted the Standfast position on other issues.(4)

To summarise: the Watch Tower Society split in the summer of 1917 between Rutherford's faction and the 'opposition'. The latter were deserted in 1918 by Menta Sturgeon who led away his supporters,(5) the remainder dividing in the Winter of 1918 when Johnson, Jolly and Hirsh left to form their own movement. Also at this time the Standfasts split from the Watch Tower Society and in 1923 the Elijah Voice Society split from them.

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1) So strong was their belief that they encouraged Bible students in the East to sell up their homes and travel West in order to be saved. See Old Corn Gems May.1. 1919. Johnson, P.S.L: Meraiism p.73 et seq.
2) W.N.Wisdom, the reputed compiler of The Laodicean Messenger was associated with the Standfasts but he and R.O.Hadley left, leaving Heard and Jeffrey in charge. See Old Corn Gems Feb.1. 1920.
3) The Present Truth 6.4. p.70; Johnson, P.S.L: Meraiism p.743. The most bizarre offshoot of the Standfast movement was an attempted communistic community of about 300 Bible students near Vancouver (See Johnson, P.S.L: Meraiism pp.739-40)
4) The American Civil Liberties Union defended a case for the Elijah Voice Society in 1926. Manwaring, D.R: Render Unto Caesar p.13. See Johnson, P.S.L: Meraiism p.743.
5) The Present Truth 3.9. p.139; 9.5. p.74; Johnson, P.S.L: The Epiphany Messenger p.59, The Epiphany's Elect p.21.

The nature and circumstances of the various schisms differed considerably. The division between Rutherford and the four directors was restricted to the Bethel headquarters at first, and concerned authority and organisation in the sect. Sturgeons defection, similar to Johnson's, was on ideological grounds as both had complicated Biblical analyses of the situtation. Both of them ignored the legal-national aspect of the sect and reverted to Russell's early concept of a spiritual elite (which they and many other Bible students still adhered to). The Standfasts split on a major point of principle, and an apparently justified one; whether or not the Pilgrims concerned were determined to defect in any case is possible but unlikely. They legitimated their position by claiming to be following Russell more closely than the Watch Tower Society. All these defections increased the tendency for schism at the local level, and there had been an accelerating tendency for Bible students to become inactive or deviate from the Watch Tower Society and win a local following since Russell's death.(1)

Although the majority of Bible students were concerned about the schism at headquarters, it did not directly affect them. A Bible student might leave an ecclesia because he disagreed with an elder, but not because he disagreed with Rutherford. Ecclesias became involved in the central schism only when the Bible students or elders took a definite stand, most of the ecclesias at first maintained an atmosphere of tolerant discussion while inclining towards the Watch Tower Society. It is true that Rutherford had the nominal allegiance of the majority of the ecclesias but this did not usurp their free will or interfere

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1) There were in addition defections and schisms in other countries, but the numbers concerned were small. A number of British ecclesias left the Society and formed the Bible Students Committee which ran for many years. The most important foreign schism was that of R.L.A.Freytag in Switzerland. He wrote a number of books adopting an introversionist 'universalism' which attracted many adherents in France and Switzerland in particular, where they now outnumber the French and Swiss Jehovah's Witnesses. See the bibliography for his works and also Lavaud,M.B: Sectes Modernes et foi Catholique

with the independence of the acclesias. It is difficult even to estimate how many of the Bible students left the Watch Tower Society in this period.

Some of the schismatic groups published the attendance figures at the Memorial and from these sources a rough estimate can be made. In 1919 the Standfast group consisted of 29 classes (1,240 Bible students), the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement of a reported 9 classes (partial total of 339 Bible students) and the Pastoral Bible Institute of 16 classes (partial total of 596 Bible students). Therefore at least 2,000 (and probably 3,000) Bible students were associated with these three schismatic groups. On the other hand the Watch Tower Society Memorial figures were not published for 1918 but from a comparison of the 1917 and 1919 totals it appears that there was no overall decrease in following. A more detailed comparison resolves this paradox, and it is evident that those leaving the Watch Tower Society at this time were replaced by a greater number of new converts. For of the 130 ecclesias reporting in both 1917 and 1919, 92 of them increased by a total of 2,179 while the other 38 decreased, losing 1,396 members. This suggests that at least 1,400 are known to have left, but this is only from the ecclesias whose recruitment did not match their defection rate, for many more Bible students may have left from these and the other ecclesias. In addition there are the other ecclesias that cannot be compared between 1917-1919. Hence 1,400 is probably a low estimate even after transference from one class to another, illness and war-time conditions are taken into account.

Any attempt to explain the period 1916-1919 must take into account the situation before Russell's death when various separate interest groups and cliques existed.[1] For example

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1) A fairly common system under a charismatic or despotic leader. See Cantril,H: The Psychology of Social Movements p.130.

Macmillan, Van Amburgh and C.J. Woodworth were companions of Rutherford for several years prior to 1916 and these four were probably drawn together by their similarity of outlook and their mutual admiration.(1) Rutherford, Macmillan and Van Amburgh were more interested in, and involved with, the administrative side of Russell's movement and it is clear from a study of their discourses that they differed in outlook from other prominent Bible students. They (and to a lesser extent C.J. Woodworth) were more down to earth and placed more emphasis on 'organisation, 'unity' and 'efficiency' in their talks.(2) There were also suggestions that they resembled each other in social class and social background. By contrast Mitendi, Sturgeon, and Johnson were more polished speakers and middle-class in outlook and style, they emphasised scriptural exegesis and personal character development.(3) It may also be significant that Woodworth, Macmillan and Van Amburgh were all, at some time, highly critical of Russell and estranged from him.(4) Rutherford and his immediate supporters give the impression of clinging to the Watch Tower Society as a source of strength and unity, and as a possible substitute for their own deficiencies, whereas their opposers appear to have followed Russell because they accepted his doctrines and chose to live their lives accordingly. They chose him, as opposed to needing him.

The crucial problem attending Russell's death was therefore the problem of succession. It is an interesting comment on Russell's 'egotism' that at the time of his death there was no individual who embodied all his qualities to a sufficient extent to be his successor: Rutherford lacked spirituality, Johnson and Sturgeon lacked business expertise, Ritchie and Hoskins

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1) Convention Reports 1915, p.180. Z.3838. Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger p.303.
2) Convention Reports 1915(supplement)pp.33,38,50; 1915,p.104.
3) For class predjudice see: The Present Truth 1.3.pp.9,12,15. Light for Darkness pp.2,8.; Desolations of the Sanctuary pp.224,230; (By O.&E. Sadlack). Macmillan,A.H: Faith on the March p.74.
4) Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol.1. p.145, The Epiphany's Elect p.178.

lacked charisma, and so on.[1] The only Bible students whom one can imagine as adequate successors to Russell(E.C.Henninges, A.E.Williamson or H.L.McPhail) had already deserted him and founded schismatic groups. It seems likely that Russell was partly responsible for this in an attempt to suppress or eliminate possible rivals to himself.

As to the leadership after his death, Russell's intention is clear from his Will: he did not forsee a successor to himself and believed that his death would shortly be followed by the establishment of the millennium on earth.[2] Thus he envisaged a caretaker management consisting of the board of directors, the five Bible students on the editorial committee of the Watch Tower and the five sisters to whom he had entrusted his voting shares.[3] His purpose in proposing such an extended body was to minimise the risk of an individual gaining control and perverting the doctrines.[4] These arrangements did not appeal to Rutherford who rationalised them to his own advantage. The trustees voting rights were declared invalid, members of the Editorial committee were required to live in or near the headquarters[5] and the executive committee ostensibly set up to manage day-to-day affairs, soon usurped the function of the board of directors in whom the legal power still resided.

As the movement lacked a clear pattern of authority and the leader's rôle was not clearly enunciated, it was easy for Rutherford to accumulate power at first. In particular it was

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1) The difference in outlook of these people is well illustrated in their speeches given at Russell's graveside. See Z.6000-13.
2) Z.6000, Light After Darkness p.3.
3) Z.5999, Light After Darkness p.3.
4) It is not generally realised that Russell was surprisingly critical of even his nearest supporters. He once said to the Bethel family: 'If 10% of you gain the kingdom, I will be surprised' Johnson,P.S.L: The Parousia Messenger Vol 2.
5) Z.5997,5999,6017. A criterion conveniently forgotten for A.N.Pierson as Vice-president, and three of Rutherford's new directors. Light After Darkness p.7.

possible to make changes on the grounds that Russell had been about to make them.[1] When the four directors opposed him, however, stronger measures were needed but in as much as Rutherford controlled the Watch Tower, the sacralised source of truth, he could continue to convince the Bible students at large that he was correct.[2]

The schism highlighted the differing sources of legitimation claimed by each of the opposing parties. Rutherford followed Russell's lead in suggesting that the Watch Tower Society was the chennel for the truth, even after the death of Russell, hence transfering Russell's charisma[3] not to himself, but to the Watch Tower Society of which he was president.[4] Johnson legitimated his position by doctrinal argument based on the assumption that Russell's authority had been charismatic and some of it shared with the Pilgrims, who were therefore the only legitimate leaders after Russell's death. The Standfasts legitimated their defection on ideological grounds only, their leaders and their organisation were considered unimportant. Of course all the groups claimed to be following Russell's wishes exactly but the Standfasts claimed nothing else - one reason why they were the first schismatic group to disintegrate.

The formation of separate interest groups during Russell's presidency is now seen as an important factor in the analysis of the schisms that occurred . A crucial factor in Rutherford's

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1) Z.6050,6168; Macmillan,A.H: Faith on the March, p.129. It was even suggested that Russell was guiding the Society from 'beyond the vail'. Z.6182; Macmillan,A.H: op cit p.144.
2) Z.6152,6172; The whole episode is a striking example of the single-minded and ruthless pursuit of power by Rutherford. Johnson,P.E.L: Meraiism p.84
3) Z.6064,6031,6049,6094. Rutherford later argued that Russell had had no charismatic authority at all, and it had all stemmed from the Watch Tower Society. The Watch Tower 1926, p.294. Macmillan,A.H: op cit pp.144-5.
4) The four ousted directors argued that the Watch Tower Society was merely an organisational tool used by Russell. Light After Darkness p.4.

struggle with the opposing four directors was the loyalty of the Bethel family, the majority of whom were controlled by Martin, Macmillan and Van Amburgh who supported Rutherford. It is significant that the 4 directors (excluding Pierson who was confused and undecided) were usurped by only 2 directors with the support of the Bethel family.[1] In addition to this central elite, the 'old-time' Pilgrims who had served under Russell were universally regarded as a source of legitimation and the success of conventions, for example, was often measured by how many of Russell's pilgrims attended. Thus it was important for the Watch Tower Society and the other groups to gain the support of as many Pilgrims as possible. It became clear, however, that the Pilgrims had been attached more to Russell than the Watch Tower Society, and on Russell's death they were 'cast adrift' as 'secondary prophets' - a situation bound to end in schism. The Standfasts and the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement were led by prominent pilgrims and within three years of Russell's death many other Pilgrims defected from the Watch Tower Society taking with them a number of supporters. Rutherford was well aware of the danger from this group,[2] and it is no coincidence that a flood of new Watch Tower Society Pilgrims were sent out in 1917 in an attempt to control or at least dilute this diffuse elite.

The colporteurs tended to support the Watch Tower Society itself (whoever was in charge) as their main interest was in selling books. It is significant that Rutherford now chose to 'favour' this loyal élite in preference to the Pilgrims. In general there is a strong emphasis in the Watch Tower of 1917 and 1918 on 'unity', 'central control' and 'loyalty' and the colporteurs come to the fore as a favoured group. Rutherford

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1) There was a rule forbidding even the directors from interfering with the work and decisions of the Managers of the office and Bethel home.
2) Z.6049-50.

went as far as disbanding Russell's network of Pastoral-work Lieutenants in order that the colporteurs could control this work instead of the ecclesias. His rationale for this was that:

> 'When a general dies, the members of his personal staff cease to be officers in that capacity; so when Brother Russell died those who had been selceted as lieutenants under his direction, technically speaking, were no longer officers'.[1]

Most of the elders, on the other hand, were not involved in the schisms - some of them with their classes publically sided with a defecting group, but the majority remained indepenedent observers of the crisis. It was this independence and critical attitude combined with their lack of complete loyalty to the Society that contributed to Rutherford's intention to take over control of the ecclesias from the elders.

The death of a sect leader is often a prelude to subsequent schism, particularly when the leader exercised some charismatic authority. Thus Mormonism suffered a split after the death of Joseph Smith despite the sect's mechanisms for succession and leadership.[2] The fact that schisms appear to be prevalent in religious sects[3] is a result of the rigidity of their ideology and organisation which are regarded as sacred and cannot easily be changed to adapt to changes in membership, external pressures or particular events such as the death of the leader.

Thus at an analytic level the causes of schism are those things which produce ideological or structural strains. In the case of Russell's sect both types of strain are evident in the subsequent schisms - structural strains in the case of the headquarters schism and ideological strain in the case of the Standfasts. At a more empirical level, however, schism is often attributed to personal differences, either emotive or intellectual. It appears that both emotional and intellectual factors contributed to the personal clashes between Rutherford,

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1) Z.6050
2) O'Dea,T: The Mormons p.70, Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation AM.J.OF.SOC. 60.3. p.285.
3) Smith,T.L: Called Unto Holiness pp.74,272; Talmon,Y: Millenarian Movements EUROPEAN.J.OF.SOC. 7.2. p.171. Yinger,J.M: Religion,Society & The Individual 136-48.

the four directors and Johnson, and it is extremely difficult to know which, if either factor was more important.

The 1916-19 schisms illustrate the general point that schisms usually direct the attention of the sect members inwards, and in this case backwards to their dead leader.[1] A schism is essentially a battle for the allegiance of sect members in which outsiders are irrelevant. Wilson's point that it is the more totally disinherited that reassert the original values of the group may be a misunderstanding.[2] It is often that the case that the totally disinherited group in a schism has nothing else to do but reassert the group's original values but it is clear in the case of the differing parties in the schisms considered in this chapter, that all of them appeared to be reasserting the original values as they saw them. Given that of two parties in a schism, one of them does assert the original values and the other does not appear to, then there is again no reason to say that it will be the more disinherited that will re-assert the original values. The case of the split between Johnson and Pastoral Bible Institute (to be) illustrates the case where Johnson (the disinherited) was more innovatory than the Institute who were simply interesting in preserving the original valyes of the group.

Schisms may produce new sects with beliefs and practices that are different from the original group[3]. The interesting aspect of the 1916-19 schisms was that the democratic ecclesia structure was left undisturbed. Each group saw itself as the elite of the elite, the most enlightened part - but still a part of the Bible student community. The sect members conception of themselves was not that of the Watch Tower Society but of

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1) Wilson, .R: Religion in Secular Society, p.195.
2) Wilson,B.R: Ph.D., p.3.
3) Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism p.17

a 'conglomeration of truth people' in locally governed ecclesias. The schism at the headquarters followed by the creation of alternative corporations, did not therefore produce 'sectarian' divisions within the sect. While this applies to the period 1916-1919, the signs are clear that Rutherford was intent on setting up a centrally controlled sect structure and also separating out his supporters from the other Bible students, and after 1919 he set about achieving these aims.

Chapter 12

The Creation of Jehovah's Witnesses : 1919-1932

The fact that the majority of Bible students instinctively felt that Russell's charisma had been transferred to the Watch Tower Society is an illustration of the theme of the routinisation of charisma. Weber pointed out the tendency for charisma of the leader to be transferred to his rôle, office or ideology which then served as the legitimating agents after his death.[1] It was therefore wholly appropriate that Rutherford (a lawyer) and Macmillan and Van Amburgh (administrators) should, as the functionaries of the organisation set up by Russell, take over afterwards. Assuming that there is no procedure for the transfer of charisma to another individual, then it is not unusual for a charismatic leader to be succeeded by such administrative specialists who rationalise the sect structure and ideology. This rationalisation, if continued, may ultimately change the sect into a denomination especially if those who succeed the leader are middle-class and professional people, less alienated from society than their leader was. In this respect the case of the Watch Tower Society is slightly unusual. Russell's charisma was certainly routinised but Rutherford, Macmillan and Van Amburgh were not 'conservative' elements in the sect - this applied more to the elders. In fact Rutherford et al were probably from lower-class origins and radical in their outlook. They were, however, opportunists and took over the Watch Tower Society from a desire for power. Hence despite the routinisation the future direction of Russell's sect was unlikely to be towards denominationalism. On the

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1) See Weber,M: The Sociology of Religion pp.2,207; Gerth,H.H. & Mills,C.W: From Max Weber pp.54,297 etc. See also Worsley, P: The Trumpet Shall Sound for a critical discussion of the concept of charisma, in particular the nature of its 'routinisation'.

contrary, Rutherford was interested primarily in strengthening the sectarian characteristics by radically altering the ideology and structure which, as it transpired, also produced a change in membership. This chapter discusses the main events and the process of change from 1919-1932.

A period of relative inactivity followed the imprisonment of the leaders. The Finished Mystery and other publications were suspended and the New York Bethel and office were closed down and the headquarters moved to Pittsburgh.(1) The Watch Tower attempted to rationalise events by suggesting that the Lord was in charge of the situation, and recommended that the Bible students work at developing their characters.(2) After some confusion the annual election of directors was held on January 4th, 1919, when Rutherford was re-elected as president in absentia.(3) In March, 1919, Rutherford and the others were released from prison for retrial and all charges were subsequently dropped.(4)

Rutherford was critical of the passive role played by many Bible students during the war, and in an important Watch Tower article in 1919: The Harvest Ended - What Shall Follow? he attempted to redefine the eschatology of the group and justify the continued propagation of their beliefs.(5) He claimed that the 'wheat harvest' from 1878-1918 was now over, but the 'gleaning' work was still to be done.(6) The article stressed the suffering and persecution still to be expected by the saints and emphasised that 'loyalty' to the Lord was essential.(7) This was similar to Rutherford's attitude prior to his imprisonment, except for a

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1) Z.6332
2) Z.6349 but see also Z.6359.
3) Z.6379.
4) Z.6421. For an account of prison life see: Macmillan,A.H: Faith on the March pp.92-110 and Z.6418-9.
5) Z.6426-8; The Watchtower 1919, p.283.
6) The Watch Tower 1919, p.200, 1922, p.325.
7) See also the Watch Tower 1919, p.198; 1920, p.99; 1923, pp.67-8.

more pronounced antagonism to the world.[1]

Rutherford continued to believe that the 'old world' had 'legally' ended in 1914[2] and following the failure of 1918, he announced the date 1925[3] for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. It is not clear why Rutherford chose to support any date at all in view of the failure of 1918 and the later neglect of dates after 1925; perhaps he was influenced by C.J. Woodworth and the current debate on chronology amongst Bible students and wished to use it as a spur to activity. At the 1920 Watch Tower Society annual meeting Rutherford was re-elected president, C.A.Wise vice-president and Van Amburgh secretary-treasurer.[4] The bye laws were amended to require only a triennial election of directors and from 1920 onwards there was apparently no further drama attending these elections. Rutherford remained president of all three corporations until his death in 1942 and presumably his nominees were chosen as directors at each election. The editorial committee whose precise function was unclear in Russell's time, was disbanded by Rutherford in 1931.

After his release Rutherford began reviving all aspects of the Watch Tower Society evangelising work. Conventions were held beginning with one at Cedar Point, Ohio, in 1919 attended by seven thousand.[5] Thirty-six general conventions were held in

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1) Z.6078,6094-5,6158. See also Rutherford,J.F: Millions Now Living Will Never Die p.80.
2) Hence the slogan: 'Millions Now Living...' preceded by 'The World Has Ended'. The Watch Tower 1920, p.372, 1922, p.324, 1923, p.243 etc.
3) The date 1925 had been mentioned in The Finished Mystery and was arrived at by anti-typing the Israelite Jubilee period of fity years. See The Finished Mystery p.128. The Watch Tower 1920, p.127, 1923, p.106 and Rutherford,J.F: Millions Now Living Will Never Die pp.87 et seq.
4) Watch Tower 1920, p.30.
5) Watch Tower 1919, pp.269,292. These were members of the public, not all Bible students as J.A.Beckford assumes. (Ph.D. 1972).

the following year although due to unemployment or other causes the yearly total of conventions declined up to 1924.[1] Those that were held were usually large, however, and one at Columbus, Ohio in 1924 attracted an attendance of twenty thousand.[2] Such conventions were widely advertised and 'staged' similar to those in the closing years of Russell's presidency. High sounding resolutions were presented and unanimously passed by those attending.[3] Rutherford surpassed Russell in gaining publicity by his provocative statements, catchy slogans and use of the publicity media.[4]

More foreign branch offices were opened or re-opened after the war although statistical increase was slow. New branches were opened in Czechoslovakia, British West Africa and South America in 1923 and the number of branch offices was ten in 1928.[5] Rutherford regularly toured Europe to visit the branches and in his tour in 1922, for example, he emulated Russell by speaking to large audiences at the Royal Albert Hall in London.[6] Rutherford was a compelling speaker and attracted large audiences whereever he went.[7] In 1919 he began publication of a new semi-monthly magazine, The Golden Age, with an initial subscription list of 15,000. Unlike the Watch Tower which continued to be the doctrinal mouthpiece of the Watch Tower Society, the Golden Age[8] was intended as a topical semi-educational journal. Its editor was C.J.Woodworth and many of its articles were written by other Bible students on a variety of subjects. The magazine soon became

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1) Watch Tower 1919, pp. 269,292, 1920 p 372
2) ibid 1924, p.259; 1922, p.323.
3) ibid 1923, p.358; 1924, p.262-3.
4) ibid 1926, p.357; Whalen, W.J: Armageddon Around The Corner pp.158,176. Not all this publicity was favourable of course. It is surprising of Beckford to say (Ph.D. p.110) 'he never attempted to emulate the panache of Russell's world wide tours and dramatic public appearances', when Rutherford not only attempted but succeeded!
5) Z.6264. The Watch Tower 1919, p.373, 1921, p.371 etc.
6) Watch Tower 1920, pp.307,340,355; 1921, p.24, 1922, pp.105,276.
7) Convention Reports 1915, p.181.
8) Watch Tower 1919, p.318. See bibliography for later changes in its name.

the vehicle for some bizarre theories and prejucices, the most well-known being the magazine's repeated attacks on aluminium cooking utensils and vaccination.(1) It also featured scurrilous attacks on the Roman Catholic Church of the basest kind, and in the 1930's combined these with attacks on Nazi Germany.(2)

There was no significant increase in the yearly totals of the Watch Tower Society literature printed up to 1925 except for the 'books and booklets' total which doubled from 1922 to 1925.(3) There was in these years, however, a growing emphasis on 'book selling' and a stronger directive from the Society that Bible students should be active in this work. From the incomplete reports in the Year Books for 1927 onwards, it is interesting to note, however, that from 1926 to 1931 the printing totals did not all increase. The Golden Age figure of about two million per year was constant, the Watch Tower figure decreased steadily from 1,600,000 in 1928 to 1,200,000 in 1931. The books printed per year, however, increased from 1,500,000 to 3,500,000 while the pioneer total for each year also increased from 791 in 1928 to 1,997 in 1932.

On February 24, 1924, Rutherford began broadcasting on a local New York radio station (W.B.[illegible].) owned by the Watch Tower Society. Eventually the Society owned and used six such stations to broadcast talks (in several languages), dialogues, light music, etc. In addition Rutherford pioneered the use of massive country-wide and even world-wide radio link-ups for convention talks. From 1928 to 1930 the Society used a regular weekly

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1) The Golden Age, Oct.12, 1921; Sept.21, 1938.
2) Ibid., Jan. & Feb. 1922; May 2, 1928, p.497; Oct.3, 1928,p.21
3) Annual Reports. From 1920 onwards the Watch Tower Society did some of its own printing and extra printing equipment was bought and installed in 1922 to expand the Society's contribution (Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, pp.97,98). The number of workers in Bethel declined from 130 in 1920 to 107 in the next year, but increased to 170 in 1924 (Watch Tower 1920, p.373; 1922, p.118; 1921, p.371 1924, p.327).

network of thirty stations in the United States and Canada to broadcast an hour long programme. This network was extended until a peak of 408 stations were being used to broadcast fifteen-minute lectures by Rutherford.(1) Not surprisingly Rutherford's virulent anti-Catholic talks aroused considerable opposition in the United States and a concerted campaign eventually led to his radio talks being run down by the Society.(2) While the radio work aroused much controversy and led to the Watch Tower Society's deeper involvement with United States legislation, it was not something that concerned the rank and file Bible student and was peripheral to the main issue of individual participation in the service work.

Bible students reported attending the Memorial increased at a steady rate from 17,591 in 1919 to 58,116 in 1925 - a year which proved to be an embarrassment to Rutherford.(3) He had promised that the saints should expect to be glorified in that year and also that 'we may confidently expect that 1925 will mark the return of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob'.(4) As early as 1923 doubts were expressed in the Watch Tower as to what could be expected in 1925; and in the crucial year such doubts were repeated.(5) Instead of the promised physical changes there were an unusual number of doctrinal and chronological revelations of 'new light' in the pages of the Watch Tower in 1925, an

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1) Golden Age 1928 (Dec.26, p.209; Oct.3; March 7); Jan. 1930. Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, Chapter 18.
2) Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, pp.129-137. In 1933, for example, Rutherford was described as a 'foreign anti-social agitator' and Canadian radio stations were instructed not to broadcast his lectures (Watch Tower 1923, p.106; 1925, p.57). (Golden Age, XIV, p.323)
3) The 1925 figures are for the number of congregations of greater than twenty participants. The Watch Tower claimed 90,434 in total who reported for that year (Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, p.110).
4) Rutherford, J.F: Millions Now Living Will Never Die, pp.88,67, 99-100, 108. This was a reference to the ancient worthies.
5) Watch Tower 1923, p.106; 1925, p.57.

obvious attempt to distract attention from the failed prophecies.[1] Typically, Rutherford did not waste time apologising for the failure or attempting to explain it, but simply pressed ahead with a renewed call for loyalty to the Watch Tower Society through increased service work.[2] Despite this, there was a fall in the Memorial figures for 1926 and disillusionment amongst the Bible students may have caused some of the losses after 1926.[3]

Throughout the 1920's a battle was being fought by Rutherford to impose on the Bible students the evangelisation work. His rationalisation of this was similar to that of Russell: the people were ignorant of the truth and should be informed of it and time was short.[4] Rutherford was not willing for the Bible students to chose in this matter. He believed that the Watch Tower Society was God's organisation and hence there was only one correct course of action - obeying it.[5] Despite these arguments, frequently put in the Watch Tower, the number of 'class workers' registered with the Society was only 8,052 in 1920 and was less than 10,000 in 1923. Rutherford used the Watch Tower magazine, the Pilgrims and the conventions in an attempt to force or persuade the Bible students to obey him, but he was baulked by two major obstacles. Firstly the autonomy of the ecclesias, and secondly the opposition of an indefinite but large number of Bible student elders.[6]

It seems likely that Rutherford's growing hostility to the

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1) Watch Tower 1925, pp.67-70,136,211,213,215. An interpretation J.B.Parkinson agrees with (conversation 1972).
2) But see Watch Tower 1926, p.196. Sept.7-13, was declared 'International Bible Student Association Service Week' during which as many Bible students as possible were encouraged to sell books from door to door (Ibid. 1925, p.358).
3) Ibid. 1925 (July 1, Aug.15); 1926, July 15. Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, p.110.
4) See for example: Watch Tower 1920, p.310; 1921, p.311.
5) Ibid. 1923, p.70; 1925, p.41.
6) A.H.MacMillan, who is unreliable in this respect, claims that 'a few of the elders' opposed the witness work and 'the majority did not' (Faith on the March p.153).

elders was due to this controversy but, in addition, many of the elders were middle class, educated, respectable, even pious people in contrast to Rutherford and his immediate supporters, and the tone and content of much of the abuse hurled at the elders in the pages of the Watch Tower has a distinctive class and social bias.(1) By 1925 the Watch Tower was openly criticising the elders and their habits, they were accused of criticising the Watch Tower and the service work,(2) and unfavourably compared to the 'raincoat saints' who went on the service work 'rain or shine'.(3)

A distinction was now being made in the Watch Tower between the elders opposing Rutherford, who still believed in Russell's character development, and the growing number of Rutherford's supporters in the ecclesias who thought loyalty to the Watch Tower Society through 'book selling' was all-important.(4) Rutherford was able to offer a positive inducement to his supporters in the ecclesias by advising them to seek election as a 'class chairman' or 'class secretary' in addition to and independent of the elders. Similarly a service department was recommended to supervise the service work and an executive committee of five to arrange meetings, etc.(5) The purpose of all these offices,

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1) A.H.MacMillan says that the 'democratic' election of elders was often due to promotion by sisters in the congregation, but this cannot be seriously accepted as a motive for the changes wrought by Rutherford (Faith on the Marchpp.155,153, 158). See Czatt,J.S, Ph.D., 1929, pp.264-5.
2) Watch Tower 1925, pp.309,333; 1928, pp.90,172.
3) Whatever his motives, as early as 1920 Rutherford began to attack the elders' authority by advising that 'bright young brethren' be selected, instead of the older elders whom he accused of being proud and ambitious, and opposed to activity Watch Tower 1920, p.310; 1921, pp.120,267; 1922, p.248; 1928, pp.126,183,189,325.
4) Watch Tower 1923, p.70; 1924, p.249; 1930, p.324. A series of articles throughout the 1920's emphasised this distinction: Is Character Sacrificed? (1924, p.242), Character or Covenant Which? (1926, p.131), Sacrifice and Service? (1926, p.163), see also 1938, p.301, and so on.
5) Ibid. 1923, pp.136;164; 1927, pp.302-3.

which were independent of the elders and usurped some of their functions, was well described by W.J.Schnell:

> 'At the same time an organizational change was being effected. Service Directors were being appointed by the Society. For a while they were merely helpers of the presiding Elder of the congregation. But soon the Service Director gained the greater influence, as the Society would address all mail and company matter to him rather than to the presiding Elder. This was done on the premise that the Service Director was the servant of the Society, whereas the presiding Elder was the servant of the congregation. In this manner the Service Director became established and recognised as the official representative of the Watch Tower Society. Finally in 1927 most Elders were pushed into a corner or out of the congregation entirely, and the Service Directors took over completely'.(1)

Finally in 1932, the election of the elders and deacons was questioned and it was suggested that their offices be abolished. The Watch Tower for August 15th, of that year declared that 'there appears to be no Scriptural authority for' the election of elders, and in any case all consecrated Bible students were elders according to the Bible.(2)

Thus the elders were declared administratively redundant. Rutherford also argued that as the remnant(3) (through the Watch Tower Society) were now Jehovah's representatives, no holy spirit was dispensed to the elders as spiritual guides. Hence the pastoral and spiritual function of the elders was also denied. Issue after issue of the 1933 Watch Tower abused the elders and encouraged their complete withdrawal from the Watch Tower Society: 'they should not be encouraged to repent but should be left alone'.(4) Instead of elders it was recommended that each ecclesia should have a service committee of up to ten

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1) Schnell,W.J: Thirty Years a Watchtower Slave, p.55.
2) Watch Tower 1932, pp.127,175,243-6. By now the Bible students following Rutherford had been renamed 'Jehovah's witnesses'.
3) The remnant are those of the little flock who remain (as supporters of Rutherford) after the unfaithful Bible students deserted the Watch Tower Society in the 1920's and 1930's.
4) Watch Tower 1932, pp.47,246-62; 1933, pp.217,363; see also 1935, pp.215,255,363,377,35; 1938, pp.54-5.

members, led by a service director. The committee would be responsible to, and chosen by, the Watch Tower Society from those nominated by an ecclesia vote. Only those active in the service work were eligible to be on the committee and also to vote for those nominated.(1) Although the voting rights of ecclesias members were apparently preserved, it was only a short step for this privilege to be removed, when in 1938 the Watch Tower declared that God's organisation was not democratic but theocratic and henceforth all 'congregation servants' were to be chosen by the Society.(2) As a result of the down-grading of the elders and the bringing of the ecclesias under central control, a substantial number of individuals and ecclesias defected in the 1920's and early 1930's. The Watch Tower of 1933 devoted three and a half pages to an attack on the powerful and independent Chicago class, but otherwise it was not specific about the 'size' and location of opposition to Rutherford.(3)

The Memorial attendance figures were not published after 1927, and the partial statistics in the early Yearbooks make it impossible to make any detailed comparisons. According to Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose the Memorial attendance in 1928 was 17,380, which was considerably less than the 90,434 in 1925 and the 89,278 reporting in 1926.(4) It was not until 1940 that the Memorial figures again reached the level of those in 1925.(5)

Another major contributing cause to the defection of Bible students was the steady erosion of Russell's beliefs and

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1) Watch Tower 1932, pp.264,319; May 1, 1933.
2) Ibid. 1938, pp.163,182.
3) Ibid. 1933, pp.155,334.
4) Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, p.110. This is in keeping with the low figures of witnesses reporting field service at this time (Ibid. p.121).
5) A British Bible student's estimate of 10,000 defectors in the U.S.A. is obviously a conservative one (letter to M...aughton, Oct.15, 1969).

interpretations from 1916 onwards,[1] of which the Finished Mystery was but one dramatic example.[2] The list of changes is almost endless, but does not concern us here. These changes were carefully and exhaustively documented by Bible students faithful to Russell. Many of these changes concerned detailed anti-typing of Bible characters and events, but there were also a number of more fundamental doctrinal changes that shocked and offended many Bible students.[3] It was soon clear that Rutherford's knowledge of Russell's beliefs, and of the Bible itself, was partial and haphazard, as Bible students faithful to Russell carefully documented and exposed his alterations and inconsistent interpretations. One Bible student described Rutherford's method as follows:

> 'Usually another Scripture is put on the rack and 'worked over" for the purpose, but sometimes when no Scripture can be found which would even distantly support the error,[4] then the "assertion" of the "channel" is given out as truth'.

Rutherford's only reply was a demand for absolute loyalty to the Watch Tower Society, regardless of the consistency in its

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1) From 1926 on Russell's beliefs were openly attacked in the Watch Tower and were said to be out of date and contaminated by ecclesiasticalism. (op cit 1926, pp.277-9,294; 1930, p.324). According to A.H.Macmillan, Rutherford was determined in 1918 to eradicate Russell-worship, and a detailed examination of Rutherford's writings at that time confirm this.
2) For detailed analyses of these changes see the following excellent accounts: White,T: A People for his Name; Johnson, P.S.L: Meraiism and the other volumes of his Epiphany Studies in the Scriptures; Main,C.F: The Unfinished Mystery and the devastating work of Otto and Emil Sadlack: The Desolations of the Sanctuary translated and published by the Pastoral Bible Institute.
3) For example Rutherford deviated from Russell over the Covenants, Justification and even the Ransom. Some of the other points of difference were Rutherford s rejection of the Great Pyramid theory in 1928 which resulted from his quarreling with Morton Edgar concerning the publication of his latest book on the Pyramid.(See Gardner,M: Fads and Fallacies; the Golden Age Jan 23,1929, p.269 and the works of Adam Rutherford.) also Rutherford's reinterpretation of the 'higher powers' of Romans 13 in 1929 (The Watch Tower 1929, pp.163,179), and his rejection of Russell's support of the physical restoration of the Jews to Palestine (See Malachy,Y: Jehovah's Witnesses and their attitude... Herzl Yearbook Vol.5. 1963.).
4) Sadlack,O & E: Desolations of the Sanctuary p.97.

pronouncements.

Amongst the new truths put forward by Rutherford, was that the setting up of God's kingdom on earth would now be preceded by a gory battle of Armageddon in which Jehovah would destroy the whole of Christendom (which was under Satan's influence),[1] and the heathen nations. Until that happened the remnant of faithful Bible students from 1918 collectively constituted God's witnesses on earth - Jehovah's witnesses.[2] In addition there were millions of 'goodwill' people who by joining, following and obeying the remnant would be saved at Armageddon.[3]

Thus Rutherford made a distinction between those of his followers who were Bible students in 1918 (the remnant) and those more recently converted. Only the remnant were to call themselves Jehovah's witnesses and only they should expect to go to heaven. The other class of goodwill were renamed 'Jonadabs' in 1932 and explicitely differentiated from Jehovah's witnesses. Different conventions were held for each group and Rutherford wrote several books specifically for Jonadabs.[4] The Jonadabs were encouraged and expected to marry and reproduce to fill the depleted earth after Armageddon.[5] Any children born to them prior to Armageddon were considered 'saved'.[6]

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1) Watch Tower 1931, p.248.
2) In keeping with this structural and ideological separating out of his supporters, Rutherford announced a new name for his followers: Jehovah's Witnesses - to distinguish them from other Bible students and from the rest of the world. (Watch Tower 1931, p.280).
3) Ibid. 1931, pp.276-80,311; see also 1923, p.326; 1928, p.291. This belief was in sharp contrast to Russell's, who believed that virtually all of mankind would survive Armageddon to live on earth, and there would be two heavenly classes. It was, however, another deliberate break with Russell, who was officially rejected in 1931 and was declared not to be the anti-type of the man with the ink-horn in Ezekiel 9:4 (Ibid. 1931, pp.261,328.) This was viewed by many Bible students as Rutherford's most serious error, as it rejected the central 'ransom for all' doctrine (Conversation with J.B.Parkinson, 1972).
4) The Golden Age 16, p.654; Watch Tower 1932, p.230; 1934, p.207; 1935, p.114; 1936, p.159; for example see Riches.
5) Although resurrected ones were also expected to be there.
6) Watch Tower 1938, pp.313,325.

It is clear that these somewhat ad hoc doctrinal changes fitted the situation as Rutherford saw it. It was appropriate that Satan-inspired and demonised Christendom should be destroyed, and not forgiven as Russell taught. In addition such destruction gave meaning to Rutherford's insistence on evangelisation if humanity was to be destroyed unless contacted by his followers. Also it provided a negative incentive to separate his followers from the rest of the world and the other Bible students. Rutherford had always been prone to see only two possiblities: right or wrong, black or white; any compromise or tolerance was foreign to his nature:

> 'The final showdown is at hand when every creature must stand on the side of Jehovah God or on the opposing side. There is no middle ground'.(1)

The combination of Rutherford's radical changes in sect ideology and structure did lead to a large number of Bible students leaving him, but some of these losses were made up by new converts who differed from the Bible students in many ways. They were willing to accept Rutherford's 'new' views, after all they had not been steeped in Russell's ways. Rutherford recognised and welcomed the substantial losses of Bible students and their partial replacement by converts.(2) The indirect evidence available suggests that these new recruits joining the Watch Tower Society from 1925 onwards particularly were of a different social class and outlook from Russell's Bible students. Instead of being predominantly middle or lower-middle class, clerical or minor professional, literate, religious and respectable, the new recruits tended to be lower-class, manual or semi-skilled, poorly educated and instead of pious, often crude and resentful. It seems likely that this type of convert was attracted and encouraged by Rutherford himself:

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1) Watch Tower 1934, p.283.
2) White, T: A People For His Name has extensive references of this in Rutherford's works. See for example: Vindication Vol.2., Jehovah p.277, Government, etc.

> 'At several large conventions a poll was taken showing that the major portion of those now engaged in the Elisha work of the church came out of Babylon and into the Lord's organisation after 1919, and many even after 1922'(1)

It was not a coincidence that his constantly repeated attacks on established religion, political and commercial systems, his offer of a paradise free from all misery and deprivation, and his assurance that Jehovah God was 'the friend of the poor and oppressed' should attract large numbers of the lower class poor in the United States, at the time of a severe economic depression.

This change in social class composition, and more of an emphasis on youth in the Society's magazines was accompanied by a new attitude to the children of sect members, who had, on the whole, been ignored in Russell's time. The Golden Age included 'Juvenile Bible studies' in each issue and in 1922 the Watch Tower refrred to the education of children as being a religious duty.(2) Internal recruitment to Russell's sect had never been an important issue because the doctrine of the elite required that they be mature adults, preferably those with many years of study and character development behind them. Rutherford, however, demanded only loyalty from his followers and he was quite willing that young people and even children be thought of as full members of the sect as long as they went out and sold books. This was, nevertheless, a problem that was to concern Rutherford's successor in office far more than Rutherford. In fact Rutherford's elimination of many Bible students from his movement and the recruitment of a new class of new converts meant that he by and large by-passed the problem of the second generation, since there was virtually no second generation of Bible students in the Rutherford movement.

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1) Rutherford,J.F: Vindication Vol 2., p.299. One of these surveys was published in the Watch Tower 1925, p.136 and showed that half those attending the Columbus,Ohio convention in 1925 had been converted since 1918. See the Golden Age Dec. 26, 1928, p.209.
2) See for example the Watch Tower 1922, p.7 and 1923, p.214.

From 1919 to 1932, Rutherford had succeeded in changing all important aspects of the sect: its norms and values, ideology, patterns of evangelisation and worship, internal structure, group committments and (significantly) its membership. Change of any sort is unusual in sects but in this case the magnitude of the change represents, in effect, the formation of a new sect, Jehovah's Witnesses, distinct from the Bible student community itself. If Russell's sect is correctly seen as the Bible student community as a whole and not just the Watch Tower Society, then it is not paradoxical to say that Jehovah's Witnesses are one of the schismatic sects to emerge from the Bible student community - a conclusion confirmed by their sectarian and total rejection of the other Bible students.

Most previous writers on the Witnesses have failed to recognise this important fact, partly because they have not had access to (or have ignored) Bible student literature and partly because Jehovah's Witnesses themselves have gone to great efforts to re-interpret their history to obscure this particular aspect.[1] Thus A.H.MacMillan's Faith on the March, Marley Cole's Jehovah's Witnesses - The New World Society, and anonymous Witness histories, Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose and the early edition of Qualified to be Ministers, all claim that Rutherford's changes were a continuation of Russell's ideas. This re-interpretation is a natural defence mechanism developed in Rutherford's era to protect the new recruits from ideological contamination from the other Bible students - now called the 'the evil slave'.

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1) Of course there were many aspects of the sect that were left unchanged and other respects in which it might be argued that the changes were 'proposed' by Russell, but this should not obscure the radical changes that did occur. Thus Beckford, J.A. (Ph.D. 1972) follows the Witnesses' incorrect interpretation of this period, even quoting Jehovah's Witnesses in The Divine Purpose to substantiate his interpretation of the Russell era (p.49) and later minimises the 'perfectionist' aspect of the sect & abuses it in terms similar to those used by Rutherford (pp.64-5,94). Thus his 'explanation' for the defections after 1919 ignores the ideological & structural changes and is quite untenable (p.120).

The type of sect created by Rutherford is still in the general category of revolutionist, but all traces of the pietist quietism that distinguished Russell's sect has now been completly removed. What Rutherford achieved was a renewal of the sect with a fresh perspective and a shearing off of what he saw as the elements contributing to the 'failure' of Russell's era. The subsequent history of the different Bible student groups justifies Rutherford's changes, if one is concerned with recruitment and expansion of membership, for the other Bible student groups tended towards introversionism (The Laymen's Home Missionary Movement and The Pastoral Bible Institute), or denominationalism (The Dawn Bible Student's Association)[1] or just a simple fading away (the Standfasts and The Bible Student Committee in England).

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1) The Dawn Bible Students were a later group to form in the Bible student community - see the next chapter.

Chapter 13.

Sect Development and Consolidation: 1932-1945

The period from 1932 to 1945 was one of consolidation for all the groups that evolved from Russell's sect including the Jehovah's Witnesses. The most important event for the Witnesses at this time was their involvement with the United States authorities and local communities over their provocative evangelising activities and the Flag Salute issue. This has been described in detail elsewhere and is merely summarised here.(1) The immediate cause of this involvement was Rutherford's inflexibility (probably hardened by old age) and the fanaticism of his followers, in opposition to an often resentful and economically-depressed public. Rutherford's extreme and vehement attacks on the Roman Catholic church, and the status quo in general, suited the times of violence, uncertainty and political extremism.

Although the interaction of the sect with society was a new development, their use of the law courts was a continuation of a trend begun by Russell, and Rutherford's appeals to patriotic and 'true' Americans was not new either.(2) The novelty of the situation lay at the individual level where a personal conflict with society tempered and hardened the sect member's ideology and world-view.(3) This was radically different from the world-view of Russell, its main components being fear and respect for Jehovah and his organisation and hatred for the rest of the world, in particular the other Bible students, the 'evil slave' class.(4)

The Jehovah's Witnesses sect was now a centrally controlled total unit, self-conceived as part of a theocratic hierarchy

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1) The best accounts are in White,T: A People For His Name and Manwaring,D.R: Render Unto Caesar. See also Rogerson,A.T: Millions Now Living Will Never Die and Dip.Ed. 1970.
2) For example his attempts to avoid trouble in 1918. See chapter 11 of this thesis.
3) For excellent contemporary descriptions of the Witnesses at this time see: Stroup,H.H: The Jehovah's Witnesses, Czatt, M.S: Ph.D. and Schnell,W.J: Thirty Years a Watchtower Slave.
4) The virulence of this rejection and the abhorrence felt for the other Bible students is a distinctive sectarian response.

with Jehovah as the head and the Watch Tower Society in charge on the earth. This arrangement did not suit many, probably the majority, of the Bible students and large numbers of them withdrew their support of the Watch Tower Society from 1925 onwards. There were, broadly speaking, three choices of action for these Bible students: (a) they could leave the movement altogether, (b) they could set up an independent ecclesia or (c) they could ally with the Pastoral Bible Institute or the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement.

There was certainly an influx of new members to both the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement and the Pastoral Bible Institute. The Memorial attendance figure for the former rose sharply in the late 1920's and reached a peak of 2,908 in 1934 (an increase of approximately 200% from 1926). The majority of 'defectors' were attracted to the Institute, however, and particularily during 1929-1930, the Herald of Christ's Kingdom mentioned the growing number of 'friends awakening and becoming disentangled from the state of confusion and bondage'.(1) The Institute printed and distributed a special booklet for these 'liberated brethren'.(2) In it they explained that the Pastoral Bible Institute (and most other Bible student groups) supported the democratic ecclesias arrangement and in no sense wished to replace the Watch Tower Society as a 'ruler' of the Bible students. It genuinely encouraged the 'deliverance from organisational bondage' of the Bible students and wished to 'serve' rather than to rule them by means of their magazine, Pilgrims, conventions, and so on.(3)

A number of Bible students, however, who had left the Watch

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1) Herald 13. 14, p.210; see also Ibid. 13. 21, p.313.
2) Ibid. 15. 9, p.282; 13. 22, p.322.
3) Ibid. 13. 13, p.272; 1. 1, p.2.

Tower Society in the late 1920's and joined the Institute, were not satisfied with its passive methods, and exerted pressure on it to modify its methods.(1) This group was led by George M.Wilson (of Pittsburgh) and Norman W.Woodworth (of New York), who, in 1931, made an attempt to displace the directors of the Institute from office at the annual general meeting.(2) The voting, however, returned the former directors 'by a large majority' and in October 1932, Wilson and Woodworth with their supporters founded the Dawn Publications Inc. of New York, and began publishing their own magazine: The Dawn.(3)

Unlike Russell's Watch Tower Society and the Pastoral Bible Institute, membership of The Dawn Bible Student Association (as it was later called) was not open to everyone who contributed. Instead every member was elected by a vote of at least two-thirds of the existing membership.(4) Members met annually to elect twelve trustees who in turn elected officers of the association.(5) The Dawn gradually grew in size and importance, displacing the Pastoral Bible Institute in its popularity as a rallying point for Bible students leaving the Watch Tower Society.(6) For it had inherited from Rutherford a keen desire to 'witness' by means of tracts, magazines, new editions of Russell's works,

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1) Herald 13. 17, p.243; 12. 23, p.356; see Jones,L.W: Souvenir Notes of the Pittsburgh Convention 1929.
2) In 1929 a Memorial convention was held in Pittsburgh (the first of many) on the anniversary of Russell's death. (Herald 12.23, p.356). From this a committee was set up which allied with the Brooklyn ecclesia committee who were attempting to finance the radio work in New York (When Pastor Russell Died, p.26; Herald 13. 23, pp.339-41), and they began to challenge the Institute. In 1931 the Brooklyn ecclesias began broadcasting (Herald 14. 12, p.192; Dawn 33. 10, p.54). For details of the radio work see the Bible Student News and The Bible Student Radio Echo for these years.
3) Replacing the Radio Echo. Further attempts to infiltrate the Institute were made and failed (Herald 16. 1, p.8; 16.7,p.106
4) Herald 31, 2, p.27; When Pastor Russell Died p.45
5) As with the case of the shareholders of the Watch Tower Society, very little is definitely known about this controlling group.(Since 1944 the Watch Tower Society has had a similar size controlling membership group).
6) When Pastor Russell Died (Dawn publication) p.45.

radio broadcasts, and so on, while laying less stress than the Institute on character development and Biblical exegesis.[1] The Dawn accepted all of Russell's doctrines,[2] but dwelt less on the doctrinal minutae of his beliefs and concentrated on teaching the outlines of Russell's system - in particular, the Divine plan of the ages.[3]

As the Dawn prospered and its subscription list increased (up to 1939), the Pastoral Bible Institute went into a slow decline - which continues up to the present day. The supporters of the Institute had expected the year 1934 to see the glorification of the saints, and this failure was followed by a split in their committee. I.F.Hoskins left and began publishing his own magazine, The Watchers of the Morning, and The Herald of Christ's Kingdom's subscription list fell from 3,000 in 1930 to 1,000 in 1940.[4] During this time the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement remained under the firm control of P.S.L.Johnson, and despite several schisms prior to 1939, the subscription list and membership figures did not substantially decrease.

Rutherford's reshaping of the ecclesias and induction of all the Witnesses into the service work, produced a massive distribution of literature during the 1930's but not a marked increase in his following.[5] The 'field workers' engaged in this work were expected to report to the Watch Tower Society each month, and in 1932 quotas were suggested as to how much time per month they should spend, and how many books they should sell.[6] Most of Rutherford's suggestions were extensions of those made by Russell,

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1) Dawn 21. 2, p.41.
2) Ibid. 14. 11, pp.54-7; 16. 7, p.58; Unlike other groups the Dawn did not believe that the door to the high calling had closed, and maintained (as did Rutherford) that the door was still open (Dawn 15. 8, p.53).
3) Dawn 21, 8, p.25.
4) Herald 17. 10, pp.147-8; May 1935, pp.69,72; 19. 5, p.68.
5) See Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, Chap. 18-21; White,T: A People for His Name.
6) Watch Tower, 1931, p.173; 1932, p.158; see also 1939, p.95.

but the important difference was that Rutherford controlled this activity, and made it a strict test of fellowship.

Thus special yearly campaigns were organised (International Bible Student Association Weeks), the colporteur and Pilgrim work was intensified, testimony cards were printed for use on the door-to-door work, and the 'back call' activity was revived.(1) The pattern of the local ecclesia meetings was also changed. The service meeting was introduced to discuss door-to-door work, and this was complemented by a Watch Tower study meeting which replaced the Prayer, Praise and Testimony meeting:

> 'The Kingdom is here now and it is no time for any to recount their woes before their brethren, but rather to be active and zealous in the service'.(2)

The incomplete Yearbook statistics for the years 1931 to 1938 indicate a rise in the number of Watch Tower and Golden Age copies printed and distributed, while between two and three million books were sold to the public each year. Thus in 1938 almost two million books, twenty-four million booklets, 4,250,000 Golden Age magazines and 1,500,000 Watch Towers were distributed. The Yearbooks provide only occasional references to the numbers of pioneers, regional Service Directors (formerly the Pilgrims) and class workers; but all these yearly totals appeared to be increasing in the late 1930's. There were, for example, 1,800 pioneers, 800 auxilliary pioneers, 14 regional Service Directors and almost 1,900 class workers in 1936 - and in 1938 there were, on average, more than 25,000 'publishers' reporting each month.(3)

The Watch Tower Society under Rutherford was now primarily concerned with literature selling, the doctrinal and devotional aspects were minimised. Local meetings and the regional Service Directors (by their very title) were now used for the purpose

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1) Watch Tower 1925, p.356; 1926, p.102; 1939, pp.160,175.
2) Ibid. 1931, p.303.
3) 'Publishers' was the new title for 'field workers' or 'class workers'. See the respective yearbooks for these statistics.

of inculcating book-selling techniques and maintaining loyalty to the Society. In addition frequent 'service conventions' were held to generate and maintain enthusiasm for the service work.[1] Many of Rutherford's lectures were recorded at this time, and Jehovah's Witnesses played them to householders using portable phonographs. If a householder showed interest he was then encouraged to purchase Rutherford's latest book. The phonograph was widely used amongst the Witnesses in the 1930's, as were 'sound cars' or loudspeaker vans.[2] It is not surprising that the use of these novel methods of evangelisation, combined with Rutherford's vitriolic attacks on the Roman Catholic Church should lead the Witnesses into conflict with the United States communities and the law.[3]

The main issue at this time was the struggle over the Flag salute. Children in many states of America were obliged to salute the American flag and repeat a short patriotic vow every morning at school. The Witnesses had never disputed this procedure until 1935, when Rutherford attacked the German government for forcing the Witnesses in Germany to do acts of obedience to the Nazi State. This was taken by some Witnesses in the United States to refer to the Flag Salute. In 1935 there occurred the first case of a Jehovah's Witness school pupil refusing to salute the flag; this was reported to Rutherford who decided to support the pupil thus embroiling all the Jehovah's Witnesses throughout the United States.[4]

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1) Watch Tower 1931, p.363.
2) Ibid. 1934, p.146. Life at this time has been vividly described by both W.J.Schnell (Thirty Years a Watchtower Slave) and A.H.MacMillan (Faith on the March) in their respective histories.
3) See the bibliography for American Civil Liberties Union, on Jehovah's Witnesses cases taken up by that body. For their Supreme Court cases see Kim, A.C.C: Ph.D., and for their involvement in Quebec see Kernaghan, W.D.K: Ph.D. See also Manwaring, D.R: Render Unto Caesar and Golden Age 14.p.323.
4) For the Witnesses' version see Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose pp. 143-4 and Chapter 25. See also Manwaring, D.R: op cit.

Literally hundreds of Witness children (and some teachers) were expelled from schools in Massachusetts, Georgia, New Jersey, California, Texas, etc. A number of court cases culminated in the Gobitis case in the Supreme Court. Judgement on June 3rd, 1940, ruled against the Witnesses: their children were required to salute the flag on pain of expulsion or legal prosecution. The next few years were extremely unpleasant for the Witnesses. In addition to the legal defeat there began a wave of mob violence against them throughout the United States. This started in the Summer of 1940 and did not abate until the end of the war.(1)

It is no exaggeration to picture the Witnesses of this time as a hostile and persecuted minority, acutely concious of their unpopularity and sensitive to every act of unfairness or discrimination which they believed was due to the machinations of the Roman Catholic Church.(2) Their mood at this time was consciously militaristic, the rest of the world was referred to as 'the enemy'.(3)

As a result of the expulsions the Society started Kingdom schools, in which the children expelled from the state schools were educated by Witnesses - often teachers who had themselves been expelled.(4) In the late 1930's Kingdom schools were set up, usually in hired halls, in the states of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, California and Georgia.(5)

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1) Altogether 843 incidents were reported (Manwaring,D: Render Unto Caesar: The Flag Salute Controversy, pp.163, et.seq.)
2) For example, see 1941 Yearbook, pp.35-6; Manwaring,D: Op.cit. p.176.
3) Lincoln,C.E: The Black Muslims in America, p.13; Whalen,W.J: Armageddon Around the Corner, pp.62,217; Course in Theocratic Ministry p.3; see also Yearbooks 1941,1942; Manwaring,D: Op.cit., p.122.
4) Watch Tower, 1941, p.223. Note that the Witnesses were too poor, or disinclined, to send their children to private fee-paying schools.
5) Manwaring,D: Op.cit., p.56; Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, p.207.

The Gobitis decision, which had brought this situation about, had been unfavourably received in legal circles. It was seen as contrary to the freedom of speech,(1) and in 1943 it was overruled in the case of West Virginia State Board of Education vs. Barnette. This was a victory for the Witnesses and the Kingdom schools, which had generally been financed by the parents of the children, were now unnecessary and were disbanded.(2) Other legal victories, such as the Witnesses' fight to establish rights of peddling without a licence, and the door-to-door work on Sundays attracted much attention.(3) Hence the Witnesses have en passant contributed to establishing the rights of freedom in the United States. At the time, however, they suffered the persecutions and privations of and unpopular minority,(4) and it seems likely that this widespread opposition inhibited the rapid growth of Jehovah's Witnesses, despite their extensive evangelisation.(5) Nevertheless during the Second World War, when the whole community was in a state of crisis, the number of Witnesses increased at an unprecedented rate.

The initial effect of the outbreak of the Second World War on the Bible student community was two-fold. Firstly, it [illegible] heightened feelings of expectancy - world crisis appears to

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1) Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, pp.179-182, and Manwaring,D: Render Unto Caesar ..., p.126.
2) Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose, pp.206-8,210; Manwaring,D: Op.cit., pp.225 et seq. The Witnesses did not use this opportunity to establish their own schools - nor has this idea ever been popular in the Witness movement. For an account of the Kingdom Schools in England, see The Golden Age, Oct.8, 1943, p.27.
3) See Manwaring,D: Op.cit., p.278; The Persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses, American Civil Liberties Union, Jan.1941.
4) This 'unusual' increase is in line with a general trend in the U.S.A. from 1935 onwards in which at one time 10,000 new congregations were being created every year. See Douglass,T.B: Social Changes in the Church ANNALS.AM.ACADEMY.POL.SOC.SC. 332. p.81.
5) This continued after the war (American Civil Liberty Union 1956/7 report and 1955/6 report). The Witnesses' lawyer for many years, Covington,H, was said to have argued and won more cases before the Supreme Court than any other man in American history (Cole,E: Triumphant Kingdom, p.170).

serve as a tonic for some sectarians in as much as it reveals the instability of the world order. Secondly, of course, the outbreak of war revived the issues of neutrality and conscientious objection.(1) Jehovah's Witnesses did generally register, not as conscientious objectors, but as 'ministers of religion' - a category which Rutherford claimed to be applicable to all Jehovah's Witnesses, full-time or not.(2) The Pastoral Bible Institute, Laymen's Home Missionary Movement and the Dawn Bible Association, on the other hand, tended to leave these matters to individual Bible students. Overall statistics are lacking, but there were certainly some who registered as conscientious objectors, although most of the Bible students were now quite old and not involved in conscription.

Unlike the Seventh-Day Adventists and other sects, the Jehovah's Witnesses usually refused non-combatant occupations.(3) Four hundred and nine Jehovah's Witnesses entered Civilian Public Service Camps to do constructive work, but the remainder refused and were imprisoned.(4) This imprisonment of Witnesses did not end in 1945 - in 1947, for instance, seventy of them were imprisoned in federal institutions, serving on average a sentence of 24 months each.(5)

Similar imprisonments occurred in Great Britain where a total of 1,593 Witnesses were detained, while in other countries their work was banned - Canada,(6) Australia,(7) South Africa, Germany,

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1) The best and most comprehensive account of conscientious objection in the United States is Conscription of Conscience. The American State and the Conscientious Objector by Sibley,M.Q & Jacob,P.E, from which the account below takes its statistics. See also Aldred,G.A: Armageddon Incorporated.
2) Sibley,M.Q &Jacob,P.E: op.cit. pp.34,35,70,71,84,85. The United States did not agree with Rutherford, however, and more than ¾ of the Witnesses (5,000) were jailed for refusing conscription.
3) Ibid., p.88.
4) Ibid., p.84.
5) Ibid., p.498.
6) See Kernaghan,W.D.K, Ph.D., 1966, p.156 et seq.; Mann,W.E: Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta, pp.58 et seq.
7) See Van Sommers,T: Religions in Australia, pp.93 et seq.

Italy, Poland etc.[1] The situation in Europe was extremely unfavourable for the Bible students as a whole; in Poland and Germany, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Epiphany Bible students and the 'Free' Bible students were all persecuted and some of them forced into concentration camps.[2] It was only after the war when the survivors related their experiences that the details of these persecutions were known.

The Watch Tower, the Pastoral Bible Institute Herald, the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement's The Present Truth and the Dawn continued to be published although their statistical reports are incomplete for the war years. The circulation of these magazines did not, surprisingly enough, decrease during this time although reports of membership dropped, except for the Jehovah's Witnesses who doubled in size from 71,509 (in 1939) to 141,606 (in 1945). The subscription list for the Pastoral Bible Institute Herald continued at about 1,000 and the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement attendance figures for the post-war Memorials were much the same as before the war. The Epiphany Bible students were looking forward to the date 1956 when they expected Johnson to be glorified and the Kingdom of God set up on earth, and they were not interested in converting large numbers of people.[3]

Unlike both the Pastoral Bible Institute and the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement, the Dawn Bible students did increase their activity and their membership during the world war and afterwards became the most influential organisation in the Bible student community. In 1940 Norman Woodworth and the other leaders moved their headquarters from New York to Rutherford, New

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1) Hayes,D: Challenge of Conscience p.26 et seq
2) See for example: Bettelheim,B: The Informed Heart; Buber,M; Under Two Dictators; Kogon,A: Anatomy of Hell and Golden Age Apr. 25,1935;Feb 27,1935;Feb 12,1936.
3) The Present Truth 30.3. p.45; 30.10 p.138. 'EpiphanyBible students' was the name of the followers of Johnson and his Laymen's Home Missionary Movement.

Jersey and revived the radio work that had been abandoned for eight years.(1) Several fifteen-minute programmes were recorded and offered to the Bible student ecclesias, who in turn financed the broadcasts on local radio stations.(2) By 1941 about sixty stations were broadcasting 'Frank and Ernest' Bible dialogues, and by 1945 they had begun broadcasting in other countries, and The Dawn Bible Association had branches in Canada, Great Britain and Australia.(3) In 1947 the Dawn literature, which was mainly reprints of Russell's writings, was being published in French, Italian, Greek, German and Polish as well as in English.(4)

Rutherford died in 1942, at the height of the war and the persecution of the Jehovah's Witnesses in the United States, and F.H.Knorr, former general manager of the Society's large printing factory, was elected President in his place. Rutherford's control over the sect had been total - he was a disciplinarian and even his closest associates living with him in the Bethel home had to endure humiliating 'tongue lashings', from time to time.(5)

To achieve a better understanding of the events in the development of Jehovah's Witnesses, some comment on Rutherford's personality is relevant. He was undoubtedly an opportunist, who left the Watch Tower Society headquarters in 1914 to set up a legal practice in Los Angeles (with $1,000 borrowed from the Society),(6) and then in 1916 returned to take control of the Society in preference to a career in law. Without overstressing his

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1) Dawn, 14. 10, p.61; 33. 10, p.55.
2) Dawn, 15. 11, p.56; 31. 10, p.44; 21. 7, p.55.
3) Dawn, Jan. 1942, Jan.1946.
4) Dawn, 16. 10, p.56. Gruss estimates the subscription list of the Dawn to be 30,000 with a possible increase in following of about 1,000 per year (Gruss,E.C: Apostles of Denialp.273-4)
5) There are numerous examples of this sort of incident in the works of Schnell,W.J. and Goodrich,R. who are probably reasonably reliable in this respect. Otherwise both Stroup,H,H: The Jehovah's Witnesses; White,T: A People For His Name and Johnson,P.S.L: Meraism describe this matter in some detail.
6) These facts were disclosed in a recent issue of the United Israel Bulletin for 1972 by the son of Olin Moyle, former counsel for the Watch Tower Society.

cynicism or underestimating his faith, there was a streak of personal self-interest in Rutherford outside his commitment to the sect and its ideology. Evidence from private sources confirms that Rutherford was immoral and drank a lot.(1) There may also be some truth in the accusation that he consciously exploits his followers - his use of Cadillacs and the palatial Beth Sarim are just two of the more sensational examples.(2) Rutherford's opportunism allied with his dogmatism led to his making a great many hasty and impetuous decisions. His alienation of the four directors, his volte face on The Finished Mystery - too late to prevent his imprisonment, his expectations for 1925, a long succession of discarded Biblical interpretations, the Flag Salute issue, and so on, all bear the same marks of his 'habitual capacity to blunder'.(3)

It is, therefore, inappropriate to project onto him (or Russell) a sophisticated analysis of the situation, for Rutherford had only limited motives for his actions.(4) It is, nevertheless, true that, for his own reasons, he created an entirely new sect with a structure quite different from that of Russell's group. Rutherford's organisation had both a formal and informal part. Firstly there existed in the Bethel, an inner elite who shared Rutherford's indulgencies and, like him, saw themselves

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1) The evidence for Rutherford's liking for drink is strong. See the works of Goodrich,R, Stroup,H.H. and Dencher,T. The evidence of his immorality is based on the private testimony of a Bible student in Pennsylvania whose was present during the troubles in 1918 and whose word is reliable.
2) For Beth Sarim, see the Society version in Golden Age April 19, 1937. This account is contradicted by the actual deed of Beth Sarim (photocopy in author's possession) and by the newspaper interviews with Rutherford in the San Diego Sun, and San Diego Tribune (see bibliography). The matter of the Cadillac cars is also defended in the Golden Age ibid. See Stroup,H.H: The Jehovah's Witnesses.
3) Johnson,P.S.L: Gershonism p.12.
4) Thus it is incorrect of Beckford,J.A. to say that Rutherford defined and clarified the Society's proper goals. The word 'proper' begs the question, and defining and clarifying were not Rutherford's strong points. In Zygmunt's Ph.D. thesis also there is considerable confusion between Russell's actions and the interpretative framework applied to them, and often attributed to Russell (Beckford,J.A: Ph.D. p.139).

as 'above' the official sect ideology.[1] And secondly, for the other sect members the structure was authoritarian and hierarchical, the authority scale being: Rutherford, Watch Tower Society directors, company servants and finally company publishers.[2] It was not a bureaucratic system, nevertheless, since Rutherford (like Russell) ruled autocratically and could promote and demote individuals at will. As Rutherford grew older and 'retired' to his California mansion,[3] however, the Society was controlled by the functionaries at their various levels, and on Rutherford's death in 1942 the well-articulated institution he had created carried on smoothly - the Watch Tower Society, which now governed all aspects of Jehovah's Witnesses, was his successor with N.H.Knorr, a very capable administrator, as its President. Although there had been no substantial increase in membership for most of Rutherford's Presidency, there is no doubt that his creation of a well-organised and centrally controlled institution for distributing his literature was a vital factor in the subsequent influx of new members.

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1) A number of writers have drawn the obvious comparison with the communist party and similar movements. See for example Cohn,W: M.A.
2) There were in addition a number of intermediate posts within this authority structure, for example zone servants and pioneers (now called formerly called colporteurs). For a more detailed discussion see Stroup,H.H: The Jehovah's Witnesses and Rogerson,A.T: Millions Now Living Will Never Die.
3) Rutherford was evidently unwell in the final years of his life and spent most of his time in California. The Golden Age and Watch Tower often mentioned that he spent his winters there for many years prior to his death.

Chapter 14.

Sect Recruitment

The attitude of a sect towards recruitment varies considerably, from a strong and explicit commitment to no interest in recruiting new members at all. Thus some introversionist and manipulationist sects may be indifferent about increasing or maintaining their numbers - a sect that stresses the personal and inward nature of salvation has no need to convince outsiders, and the very esoteric nature of the sect would be destroyed by an influx of converts.(1) Some utopian sects also do very little external recruiting and the Shakers are a remarkable example of a sect that has ideologically prevented both internal and (at some stages in their history) external recruitment.(2) At the other extreme there are the many conversionist and revolutionist sects for which recruitment occupies a central position in their ideology.(3) Assuming that a sect takes some responsibility for the socialisation of children, then at some stage they will be coerced or encouraged to become members of the sect. This internal recruitment was discussed by Niebuhr, who pointed out that it was likely to change the sect structure and lead, perhaps, to denominationalism.(4)

In the case of Russell's sect, there existed considerable tension between his doctrine of the elect and his promotion of widespread evangelisation, and this led to a variety of solutions to the problem of recruitment when the movement fragmented after

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1) This particularly applies to so-called 'cults', who may nevertheless informally 'replace' members of their group when necessary. Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects Chapter 7 & 8.; Marty,M.E: Sects and Cults ANN.AS.AM.ACADEMY.POL.&.SOC.SC. 332.
2) See in particular Whitworth,J.McK: D.Phil.1971 and also Andrews,E.D: The Shakers
3) Wilson,B.R: An Analysis of Sect Development AM.SOC.REV. Feb. 1959,
4) Niebuhr,R: The Social Sources of Denominationalism pp.18,19.

Russell's death. Rutherford and the Watch Tower Society intensified the evangelisation but as their members increased in the late 1930's the ideology was readjusted to make proselytisation a goal. The Pastoral Bible Institute, the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement, and to a lesser extent the Dawn Bible Association, gave precedence to the doctrine of the spiritual elite and not recruitment. After 1945, however, the problem of recruitment became acute for all the groups, but in quite different ways. For the predominantly elderly Bible students in the Pastoral Bible Institute and the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement, it is a question of survival, and for the Watch Tower Society a question of maintaining their rapid rates of expansion. The difficulties arising from internal recruitment did not significantly affect Russell's movement or, more recently, the Pastoral Bible Institute and the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement; but since 1945, both the Dawn Bible Association and the Watch Tower Society have had to come to terms with the 'second-generation problem'.(1)

Although Rutherford had created an authoritarian and centrally controlled sect, he had been more interested in social control than socialisation, and many of his followers were not only poorly educated in the secular sense, but they also possessed no more than a hazy outline of the ideology they were so loyally supporting.(2) The phonograph work was deliberately introduced

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1) The progress of the Witnesses and the schismatic groups since 1945, and the contemporary situation, will not be discussed in any detail in this chapter. Detailed descriptions of the modern history are found in White,T: A People For His Name, Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose and Cole,M: Jehovah's Witnesses - The New World Society. Discussion of the contemporary scene is also found in those works and Rogerson,A.T: Millions Now Living Will Never Die and Dip.Ed., Macmillan,A.H: Faith on the March, Stevenson, .C: Year of Doom - 1975 and Whalen,W.J: Armageddon Around The Corner. Parkinson,J.B: The Bible Student... has written briefly about the modern Bible students and a forthcoming thesis by Melton,G. at Northwestern University will also deal with them.

2) See Rogerson,A.T: Dip.Ed. for documentation, also Stroup,H.H. The Jehovah's Witnesses and Czatt,M.S: Ph.D.

to let Rutherford talk to the householder rather than the publisher, and at one time 'testimony cards', bearing a printed message for householders to read, were used in preference to the publisher saying anything.[1]

Knorr was well aware of the low educational level of the Witnesses in 1942, and he deliberately began a long and intensive campaign to establish 'education' (that is, training or indoctrination) as ideologically relevent and necessary, and to create a wide variety of agencies to effect this training.[2] The most important of these was the 'Theocratic Ministry School' - a weekly one-hour meeting to train Witnesses in basic grammar, use of the English language and public speaking.[3] A variety of other changes were also made to help train the Witnesses and make them more efficient in the evangelisation work. After 1945 the Watch Tower Society leaders became primarily concerned with the growth rate of the sect and the maintainance of this increase in membership. When the statistics showed signs of decline (as they did in 1956 and 1966), Knorr developed other agencies to provide more efficient training in order to improve the figures for the following year.[4]

The effect of the recruitment of at least a million active Jehovah's Witnesses into the sect since 1945 has been two-fold. Firstly the sect appears to be recruiting more members from the

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1) Rogerson,A.T: Dip.Ed. p.19 and Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose p.214.

2) For full details of these methods and changes see Rogerson, A.T: Dip.Ed. Also Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose chapter 29 and White,T: A People For His Name chapter 29. Cole,M: Triumphant Kingdom also discusses these changes but his account is less reliable.

3) Textbooks were written and published for use in this meeting and also the 'Service Meeting'. For example: Equipped For Every Good Work, Theocratic Aid to Kingdom Publishers, Qualified to be Ministers the last-named illustrates the change in attitude: that some 'education' is now necessary in order to be 'qualified'.

4) For further details see Rogerson,A.T: Dip.Ed.

lower-middle and middle classes, and the sect literature and ideology has been perceptibly altered in the same direction. Knorr's 'educational drive', and its interaction with the changing class composition of the converts has produced an overall socialisation of sect leaders and members in middle class norms and values; a conclusion which is based primarily on a comparison of the Watch Tower Society literature, with its changing vocabulary and style, and its increasing commitment to middle class ideals, themes, values and norms.(1) The second effect of this influx of converts concerns internal recruitment. The children and grandchildren of Jehovah's Witnesses are inducted into the sect and now apparently form a large proportion of its membership.(2) This has led to the explicit formulation in the sect ideology of its attitude to education, the training of children and their place in the sect.

It is likely that the Witness movement now consists mainly of family groups for an increasing proportion of Watch Tower and Awake!(3) articles deal with domestic, not doctrinal, matters. During Rutherford's presidency such information was neither needed nor desired, when the ideal Jehovah's Witness was a young, single, fanatical pioneer travelling thousands of miles selling Rutherford's books.(4) Not that the Witnesses were not family men - many were, but the sect had the atmosphere of a persecuted minority, and their children took second place to the battle being waged by Jehovah (and his witnesses) against Satan.(5) The iconoclasm of Rutherford's era had softened

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1) The theme of the social mobility of sect members (or recruits) leading to denominationalism is well known. Of particular relevance here is Johnson,B: Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values??SOCIAL.FORCES. 39.4.
2) See Rogerson,A.T: Dip,Ed. for substantiation of this. Most of the evidence is indirect, however.
3) Awake! is the magazine originally called the Golden Age and later Consolation, see the bibliography.
4) Most commentaters on the Rutherford era discuss this aspect, see Stroup,H.H: The Jehovah's Witnesses, Czatt,M.S: Ph.D., W.J.Schnell: Thirty Years a Watchtower Slave and Cohn,W. M.A. p.44.
5) The Flag Salute issue was far more a matter of principle than of educational theory, it may, however, have drawn Knorr's attention to the problem of education.

considerably by the 1950's.

A different situation existed in the Bible student community where there has not been a large influx of new converts and those that did join were usually individually recruited and willingly socialised in the values and norms of the group. It was true that many of the Bible students were married and had children, but there was no necessity for the children (or even the wives) to be of the spiritual elite. It was usual for the children to be given a Christian upbringing in the hope that when they became adults they would choose 'the truth', but the primary task of the elect was still the gathering and perfecting of the saints and only adults could be saints. The second and third generation, therefore, had far less effect on the Bible students and it seems likely that many of their children lost interest and left the Bible student ecclesias - they had no recollection of Pastor Russell nor any strong desire to indulge in intensive Bible study or Character development.(1)

While this is generally true of the majority of Bible student ecclesias, the Dawn Bible Student Association, unlike the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement and the Pastoral Bible Institute, has succeeded in winning new recruits and meeting the needs of its second generation.(2) The Dawn magazine is the most lively of the magazines circulating amongst the Bible students, and thousands of people write to them each year in response to their radio and television work.(3) The Dawn Bible students have

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1) This tendency is probably more in evidence in Britain than in the United States. Not even communitarian sects are free from the problem of the disruptive influence of society on their children. See for example, Chaffee,G.E: The Isolated Religious Sect... AM.J.OF.SOC. 35.4.

2) It should be emphasised again that the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement and the Pastoral Bible Institute still maintain their belief in the primary gathering and purifying of the saints, and therefore 'success' in their terms is not measured by increase in converts - figures are irrelevant.

3) Dawn, October 1952, p.45. In eleven months 90,000 booklets were sent out.

also made special efforts to educate and retain their children within the sect, by means of special classes in the ecclesias, literature specifically for children, and a significant dilution and simplification of the ideology. The evidence from Dawn literature and from participant-observer research at their meetings and conventions, suggests that this ability to recruit members externally and internally has been achieved at the cost of ideological compromise.

In fact, the Dawn Bible Student Association provides a classic case of the development of a sect into a denomination as a result of external and internal recruitment. Its ideology has already been modified to reduce the sectarian characteristics - for example, chiliastic hopes are no longer emphasised and the sect now stresses community, fellowship, maintaining moral and ethical purity and propagating Russell's Divine plan of the ages.(1) The next generation will undoubtedly see a transition to denominational status in which the kingdom of God will be relegated to the permanent future and Russell will be relegated to the venerated past.

It is unlikely, however, that this process of adaptation and change to denominational status will occur in either the Pastoral Bible Institute or the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement as they are now structured. Their aging membership and negligible recruitment suggests that many of the ecclesias will simply die out - as is happening in Great Britain today.(2)

While the Jehovah's Witnesses continue to ignore the Bible students and brand them as the 'evil slave' class, the Bible students still regard the Witnesses as part of their community, although a much misled and confused part.(3) Excluding Jehovah's

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1) Dawn, March 1953, p.52.
2) See forthcoming study, Rogerson, A.T & Waughton, M.K: Schism: A Study of the Disintegration of Religious Sects.
3) Jolly, R.G: The Teachings of the Jehovah's Witness Examined in the Light of the Scriptures; When Pastor Russell Died, published by the Dawn Bible Student Association.

Witnesses, the Bible student community now numbers something less than ten thousand, many of whom are in 'independent' ecclesias.[1] The Pastoral Bible Institute has kept to its original intention of being merely a publishing agency, and it is impossible to know how many ecclesias support it. Until recently, the subscription list for The Herald of Christ's Kingdom remained at around twelve hundred,[2] and this might be a reasonable estimate of the number of Bible students, world-wide, supporting it. The Laymen's Home Missionary Movement's Memorial attendance is around three thousand - half of whom are in Poland. The Dawn Bible Student Association has branches (or more accurately - representatives) in Canada, Great Britain, Australia, France, Greece, Denmark, Sweden and Germany and publishes literature in several languages. Attendance at the Dawn annual General Convention exceeds a thousand, but estimates vary as to how many Dawn Bible students or classes there are. All three groups have several yearly conventions, occassional Pilgrim visits and distribute a limited amount of their literature to the public.

The history of Jehovah's Witnesses since 1945 is mainly statistical, its headquarters, printing factory, number of branches in foreign countries, distribution of literature, number of conventions both local and international, have all expanded to such an extent that <u>increase</u> is now the <u>sine qua non</u> for the Witnesses. In 1971 there were 1,510,245 Witnesses throughout the world, 402,893 of them in the United States.[3]

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1) This is based on a considerable amount of evidence accumulated from the Bible student groups, but it is only possible to make a rough estimate of the total number of Bible students as no overall statistical data exists.
2) There has been a considerable rise in the <u>Herald</u> circulation list following its being advertised in secular magazines. The number of Bible students subscribing is unlikely to exceed twelve hundred, however.
3) <u>1972 Yearbook of Jehovah's Witnesses</u> pp.34,40.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to examine in a historical and sociological framework the origins and subsequent development of the Jehovah's Witnesses and their schismatic groups. Taking as a starting point the early career of Russell, some of the ideological origins of his beliefs and the personal influence of some of his contemporaries were investigated. In the early years the Bible student community was a loosely organised group, whose self-concept was that of a non-sectarian, interdenominational, spiritual elite, waiting for imminent glorification. The postponement of their chiliastic hopes, combined with the secralising and legitimating of all their activities gradually changed the Bible students into a consciously separated, distinctive community led by Russell. His followers appeared to be urban, lower-middle class or middle class lapsed Protestants, living in the East or Mid-West of the United States. Russell's attempts to increase the group commitment to evangelisation and enhance his own status in the sect led to crises in 1894 and 1908, which clarified his status and authority respectively.

Russell's failure to provide the movement with a clear authority structure together with the failure of 1914 led to central and local schisms after his death, in which the informal elites in the movement struggled for power. Rutherford, through the Watch Tower Society, succeeded in changing all aspects of the sect from 1919 to 1932, and created the Jehovah's Witnesses - a schismatic offshoot from the Bible student community. Rutherford's creation of an institutionalised sect as a means of social control and Knorr's subsequent promotion of recruitment and

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1) Russell's case provides a good example of the emergence of charisma after the assumption of power - see Worsley,P: The Trumpet Shall Sound, p.xvi.
2) Isichei,E: Organisation and Power in the Society of Friends, in Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism, p.182.
3) Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects, p.32.

socialisation helped to increase the numbers of Jehovah's Witnesses,[1] whereas the Bible student community in locally governed ecclesias have not shown a substantial increase.[2]

Russell's movement split up into a wide variety of different groups each emphasising a part of his message. Thus the tensions existing in the sect were resolved by this fragmentation: the Pastoral Bible Institute catered for the introversionist perspective of individual character development and contemplative study; the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement emphasised the exegetical and doctrinal complexity purveyed by a charismatic leader; the Watch Tower Society under Rutherford concentrated on evangelisation and <u>en passant</u> a rigid, centrally controlled sect structure and finally the Dawn Bible Student Association seems to have catered for those elements in Russell's following who eschew the extremes, and are prone to move towards a denominational position.[3] The subsequent history of the groups indicates this divergence, despite the fact that all the groups (with the exception of the Jehovah's Witnesses) continue to recognise their connection with each other as members of the same Bible student community. It is, strictly speaking, misleading to think of the Pastoral Bible Institute of the Dawn Bible Student Association as anything more than central publishing agencies; the unit of organisation is still the ecclesias, and their independence makes it difficult to assess the Bible student community as a whole. Many ecclesias now produce their own journal and teach their own local variant

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1) The Jehovah's Witnesses, along with the Mormons, Seventh Day Adventists and Christian Science, constitute one of the major sectarian groups in the world today. All of these sects have a highly organised structure, exceeded in complexity only perhaps by the Scientology movement (Hoekema,A: <u>The Four Major Cults</u>, Vesper,C: <u>The Mind Benders</u>).
2) Wilson,J. D.Phil. p[illegible]. The Bible students in some respects resemble the British Israelites in Britain.
3) In some respects the progress of the group illustrates Weber's point that the more legalistic the form of the group the less tension it has with the world: Weber,M: <u>The Sociology of Religion</u> p.207.

of Russellism, and congregational autonomy has inevitably led to a deviation, dilution or pollution of Russell's beliefs. The probable fate of most Bible student ecclesias is abandonment or absorption in the denominationalism of United States communities.

In addition to the historical analysis, the thesis has investigated a number of sociological themes connected with sect development, three of which, leadership, schism and typology, merit further discussion. Russell's career provides an example of the complex and changing relationship that may exist between a leader and his followers. Weber's concept of charisma, while it has the advantage of being a 'polar type' set against the concept of bureaucracy by means of a series of strict dichotomies, it is difficult concept to apply to Russell. The general conclusion of this thesis is that Russell's authority over some Bible students was <u>charismatic</u> and over others it was 'partly charismatic'.[1] Analysis is difficult because the Bible students had other referents for authority and legitimation such as the Bible, their ideology, even the local ecclesia and their own God-given conscience as one of the elite. Russell was constrained firstly by the sect ideology in general, secondly by the sacralised sources of truth - the Bible and later his own writings and thirdly by the internal structure of the sect including its existing authority patterns.[2] Thus Russell's authority over the Bible students varied according to what changes he proposed - they would more readily accept structural changes than ideological ones. To some he was a prophet, to some a priest, to others

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1) Moraley,P: <u>The Trumpet Shall Sound</u> p.(1) suggests the use of the word 'prestige' instead of 'charisma of office' and this word is certainly one applicable to Russell if one considers his 'office' to be that of a 'channel' or 'conveyer' of Biblical truth rather than a 'source'.
2) The bounds of these constraints were not explored, which makes our assessment of them more difficult. We do know that Russell had some difficulty in changing his <u>own</u> doctrines (for example, the New Covenant).

a leader, a channel, and so on. Neither Weber's concept of 'charisma'[1] nor Wach's types of religious specialists[2] is adequate to encapsulate Russell's role in the sect and the delicate balance between his status, authority and power.[3]

The lack of a well articulated authority structure and the independence os ecclesias were undoubtedly contributing factors in the local schisms that occurred during Russell's lifetime, particularly in the early years when Russell's status and influence were low and the concept of exclusitivity not stressed. Much more, however, is known about the central schisms and the subsequent discussion will restrict itself to these. A number of recent sect studies have suggested a correlation between schism and a variety of other factors. B.R.Wilson mentions that in the three sects he studied in Great Britain,[4] the tendency to schism was inversely correlated with central control. His point seems to be illustrated in the history of Jehovah's Witnesses, as there have been fewer schisms since the establishment of central control by Rutherford and Knorr. Strictly speaking, however, this comparison of the Jehovah's Witnesses with Russell's sect (or the Bible students) is invalid, since the sets of people considered are not comparable. Isichei made the broader suggestion that either extreme individualism or totalitarianism produces an endless chain of schisms.[5] While

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1) Worsley,P: The Trumpet Shall Sound p.(xv)
2) Wach,J: Sociology of Religion p.340 et seq
3) In a vague way Russell's career illustrates his progress from an ethical to an exemplary prophet in Weber's terms. Weber,M: The Sociology of Religion p.55; Gerth,H.H. and Mills,C.W: From Max Weber p.285. For comments on the leaders of the Seventh Day Adventist and Christadelphian sects see: Schwartz,G: Sect Ideologies and Social Status p.93 and Wilson,B.R: Ph.D. p.140.
4) Wilson,B.R: Ph.D. pp.1238,1242.
5) Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism contains the relevant article: Isichei,E: From Sect to Denomination Among English Quakers p.177.

this is also a plausible assertion, it is a difficult one to verify in practice.(1) Her hypothesis, combined with B.R.Wilson's, suggests that there is a cut off point after which central control ceases to inhibit schism and begins to cause more- assuming, however, there is some way of 'measuring' the extent of central control, which in itself is difficult to imagine. Otherwise an apparent contradiction between B.R.Wilson and Isichei is evident.

In an interesting article on schism, J.Wilson uses Smelser's work in an attempt to produce a theoretical framework for the analysis of schism, in particular he suggests that norm-value strain is at the 'core' of all cases of schism, and he finds some verifying examples of this.(2) The real difficulty lies in the interpreting of events to deduce that 'normative strains' exist; and it is this wide gap between a 'high level' conceptual model and an empirical investigation, typical of Smelser's work, that makes it difficult to apply.(3) Without, however, entering into the lengthy discussion of J.Wilson's work that it deserves, it is felt that his analysis raises more questions than it answers. Finally Calley makes the interesting suggestion, with reference to the West Indian Pentecostal sects which he examined, that fission in the congregations separated out the nuclear and ordinary members.(4) This may be partially true of the splits

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1) Totalitarianism in the case of Rutherford's movement or Knorr's certainly did not produce an endless chain of schisms.
2) See Hill,M: A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain/4 for this article. See also Wilson,J: D.Phil. and his article in Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism. It is difficult to agree with his apparent denial of the possibility of purely ideological schisms.
3) Braithwaite,R.B: Scientific Explanation, Popper,K.R: The Logic of Scientific Discovery and Conjectures & Refutations. See also Bacon,F: Novum Organum.
4) Calley,M.J.C: God's Pepople... p.49.

occurring in the Bible student ecclesias in the 1920's,

The task of fitting the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Bible student groups into typological categories is a relatively easy one. The Witnesses, for example, embody all the characteristics of the revolutionist sect, whose 'desire is to be rid of the present social order'.(1) Their ideology tends to be deterministic with an emphasis on prophetic exegesis. They are hostile towards social reform and instantaneous conversion - conversion to their sect is gradual, although not occasional.(2) These characteristics also apply to Russell's sect, the crucial difference being the additional emphasis Russell placed on his non-sectarian concept of the elite and the practice of character development. This latter addition, however, does not vitiate the revolutionist perspective, although without the adventist emphasis the sect would be classified as introversionist.(3)

Of the groups of Bible students associated with the Pastoral Bible Institute, the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement and the Dawn Bible Student Association, it is clear that all are in a state of transition from an explicit revolutionist position to one where the 'desire to be rid of the present social order' is minimised or forgotten. The Pastoral Bible Institute and the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement, if they survive, are likely to become introversionist sects, as they retain Russell's emphasis on character development, strong fellowship of brethren, and are becoming more and more inward-looking.(4) They remain

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1) Wilson,B.R: A Typology of Sects in Robertson,R: Sociology of Religion - Readings p.365.
2) Ibid pp.365-6. See Also Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects
3) For the introversionist type see Wilson,B.R: op cit (both references). See also Wilson,B.R: Patterns of Sectarianism for some case studies of introversionist sects.
4) For a study of a similar process in the Christadelphians, whose progress resembles that of the Bible students, see Wilson,B.R: Ph.D. and Religious Sects 106-109. For the introversionist perspective see pp.43 and 123 of that work.

strictly sectarian in their insistence on exclusitivity and in specifying a test of merit for their members. The Dawn Bible Association, on the other hand, appear to be moving towards a denominational position in as much as their attitude to society is softening as a consequence of their concern for the training of children. There is some evidence from Great Britain and the United States that the children of Bible students tend, in a general way, to be denominational in outlook rather than sectarian. The denominational characteristics manifested by the Dawn Bible Association include the relaxing of exclusitivity, a lack of insistence on a test of merit, and their concern with the pastoral care of their own community rather than appealing to the world.(1)

The likely future of the Bible student movements is more predictable than that of the Jehovah's Witnesses. At present it is difficult to decide whether the Witnesses will retain their revolutionist ideology or become a denomination for there are signs of both possibilities. Evidence for a maintainance of sectarian characteristics is the emphasis placed on the exclusitivity of the group, and the recent revival of a date (1975) for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.(2) On the other hand, the pressures of chiliastic disconfirmation, the lack of fervour in the second and third generations of internal recruitment, the increasing pre-occupation with child training, and possibly the upward social mobility of members lessening

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1) For the specification of 'denomination' as a type set alongside that of the sect and the church see: Martin, D.A: The Denomination BRIT.J.OF.SOC. 13.1. and also Nelson, G.H: The Spiritualist Movement and the Need for a Redefinition of Cult J.FOR.THE.SCIENTIFIC.STUDY.OF.REL. 8.1.

2) At one time in the Witness movement the date 1984 was informally advanced as the likely last year in which God might intervene. The present formal introduction of the date 1975 is probably to revitalise the group. For interpretations of this date see: Stevenson, W.C: Year of Doom 1975 and Rogerson, A.T: Millions Now Living Will Never Die.

their separation from the world, all point to a move towards denominationalism.

The transition from sect to denomination can be seen in the Seventh Day Adventists, where, as an example of goal displacement, their extensive educative and missionary work has displaced the anti-worldly element in their ideology. The Mormons have also lost some of their sectarian characteristics and while it is unclear what will happen to Jehovah's Witnesses, it is expected that, due to internal or external strains, they too will move in a similar direction.(1)

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1) See Hoekema,A: The Four Major Cults, Schwartz,G: Sect Ideologies and Social Status, O'Dea,T: The Mormons, Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation AM.J.OF. SOC. 60.3. Wilson,B.R: Religious Sects Chapters 6 & 10.

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