JOHN E. BUCHMEIER (1929-1991), a native of Kansas, relocated to Battle Creek in 1963 to work at the Defense Logistic Services Center in the Federal Center building. The location of his office in the Towers addition of the former Sanitarium inspired him to research and write the history of the buildings and institutions of the Sanitarium, Percy Jones Hospital, and the Federal Center. He wrote the guidebook to the Federal Center and conducted hundreds of tours. Named the official historian of the Federal Center in 1990, Buchmeier was largely responsible for listing the buildings in local, state, and national registers. He was a member of the Battle Creek and Seventh-day Adventist historical societies.

RONALD D. GRAYBILL is an associate editor of Adventist Heritage and also serves as circulation manager. He has a Ph.D. in American Religious History from Johns Hopkins University and chairs the History and Political Science Department at La Sierra University. He teaches courses in American and Adventist history and writes frequently in those areas for Adventist and scholarly journals. He is currently studying the textual transmission of Ellen White's writings, tracing the pre-publication revisions of her handwritten manuscripts and evaluating the various revisions made as published texts were reissued in different forms.

JAMES R. NIX is chairman of the Department of Archives and Special Collections at Loma Linda University and president of Adventist Historic Properties. He is a frequent contributor to this magazine and to other denominational publications.

LILA JOAN BISSERT PECK is the fifth generation of her maternal line to live in Battle Creek, where she was born. She graduated from Battle Creek academy and attended Andrews University in Berrien Springs. Peck and her husband recently returned to Michigan after twenty years in California, where she worked at the Adventist Media Center in Newbury Park. She writes a weekly genealogy column, "Tracing Your Roots," for the Marshall Chronicle. Mrs. Peck treasures the vast collection of memorabilia preserved by her family over the years; she especially values the forty-five volumes of diaries kept by Theodore Bogardus Lewis.

GARTH "DUFF" STOLTZ is the official historian and archivist of the Battle Creek Sanitarium and the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Battle Creek. Stoltz is founder and president of the Adventist Historical Society and serves as a tour guide for the SDA History Tours. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society of Battle Creek and is the liaison between the society and Historic District Commission. He serves as Vice-President of Adventist Historic Properties and is responsible for three historic houses and the Sanitas SDA Museum building in Battle Creek. Stoltz is also a member of the Calhoun County Heritage Council.
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Battle Creek. Many Adventists know it primarily as the site of the spectacular 1902 fires. This is unfortunate, for Battle Creek has played a pivotal role in Adventist history both before and after the fires. Some of that history is revealed in this issue.

Special thanks goes to Mary Butler, President of the Board of Directors of Heritage Battle Creek magazine for permission to reprint adaptations of articles which earlier appeared in Heritage Battle Creek, a fine journal of local history. Buchmeier's article will be a boon to teachers of Adventist history who are constantly met with skeptical looks when they tell students that peanut butter was invented by John Harvey Kellogg, not George Washington Carver.

Adventist Heritage is settling nicely into its new, exclusive home at La Sierra University. The subscription list is once again in good order, and renewals are coming in at a good pace. Some subscribers are even remembering the Adventist Heritage Endowment Fund and sending a little extra for that noble cause! In an era of shrinking educational budgets, projects such as Adventist Heritage, which cost more than they earn, depend on the generosity of patrons from the community to augment institutional support.

I wish also to report on the ongoing saga of the anonymous classroom photograph we printed on the cover of our Summer, 1990 issue. Readers will recall that it was at first identified as having been taken in the Takoma Park, Maryland, SDA school in 1932, but Nevins Harlan's letter (see the Spring, 1991 issue) led to further research which confirmed his claim that the picture dates from 1922.

Harlan's letter enabled us to get our dates right, but we still didn't know who any of the other people in the picture were. Then Marjorie Von Pohle, of Riverside, California, recognized the teacher as Mabel Cassell, a teacher she had known and loved while attending church school in South Lancaster, Massachusetts. This was puzzling, since we were quite sure the picture was taken in Takoma Park, Maryland. A little checking unravelled the mystery. A history of Atlantic Union College said Mabel Cassell taught at South Lancaster till 1916, then left, returning in 1923. The SDA Yearbook for 1921 identified her as a teacher in the
District of Columbia Conference, which at the time administered the church school on Columbia Avenue in Takoma Park, which later moved and became the John Nevins Andrews School. The photo of Mabel Cassell submitted by Marjorie Von Pohle shows the same part in the hair as is seen on the teacher of the Takoma Park schoolroom featured in *Adventist Heritage*.

Mabel Cassell was born in Laura, Ohio, in 1897, and attended Mount Vernon Academy and Washington Missionary College, taking her A.B. in 1920, two years before the cover picture was taken. After returning to Atlantic Union College in 1923, she took a position in the Normal Department. She also continued her studies at Boston University, receiving an M.A. and completing her Ed.D. in 1942. By the time she received her degree, she was teaching at Emmanuel Missionary College, now Andrews University. In 1945 she accepted a call to what is now Columbia Union College; while there she chaired the General Conference committee on Bible textbooks for grades one to four. She passed away in 1951, and is buried in the George Washington Cemetery in Adelphi, Maryland.

Many of the facts concerning Mabel Cassell's life were supplied by her nephew, Jack Cassell, a former president of Pacific Union College.

*Left: Mabel Cassell, 1897-1951*
A Taste of Cereal

By Garth "Duff" Stoltz

Ask today's child to define "cereal" and one might hear of Froot Loops, Frosted Flakes, or Ninja Turtles, products which would cause the inventors of instant breakfast cereals to turn over in their graves. After all, pioneer cereal makers considered cereal to be a health food, a "food which will make ill folks well, and will prevent well folks from becoming ill," as one early Battle Creek Sanitarium Food Company brochure put it.¹

One popular dictionary defines cereal as "grain used for food," any "grass producing such grain" or "food made from grain."² Most people would probably add that cereal is generally eaten for breakfast. This article will employ the "breakfast cereal" definition. The "food from grain" definition of cereal is really too broad to be useful since it would include the wheat flour macaroni made by the Battle Creek Macaroni Company in 1902 and the malt "health beverage" manufactured by the Battle Creek Health Beverage Company in the same year. Grain-based coffee substitutes such as Postum were also considered cereal or "health food" products when they were first manufactured.

"What's a breakfast food?" asked Mr. Hennessey.

"It depends on who ye ar-re," said Mr. Dooley, "In ye'er case it's anything to ate that ye're not goin' to have f'r dinner or supper. But in th' case iv the rest iv this impeeryal republic, 'tis th' o'y amusement they have. 'Tis most th' advertisin' in th' papers. 'Tis what ye see on th' bill boards. 'Tis th' inspiration iv porthy an' art. In a wurrud, it's oats."³

Why did Battle Creek become the cereal capital of the world, the center of production for one of the most popular foods in America? Was it the best place to raise grain? Did it have exceptional water power for milling? Did it have good railroad freight rates? While Battle Creek did have some advantages in these areas, its major asset was its people. Battle Creek had exceptional human resources. Three "great persuaders"—Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, surgeon, health evangalist, and food inventor, his younger brother Will Keith...
Kellogg, and Charles W. Post, astute capitalist and marketing genius—made especially significant contributions to Battle Creek's emergence as "Cereal Central."4

Though he remained on the sidelines while the cereal boom reached its peak in the first five years of the twentieth century, W. K. Kellogg ultimately had the greatest impact on the cereal business. He wanted to go into business on his own, but when the Sanitarium's main buildings were destroyed by fire in 1902, his loyalty to the institution kept him there another four years to help with the rebuilding and financial management. While scores of people were making and losing fortunes, he donated his services to the Sanitarium, receiving only a small remuneration as manager of his brother's Sanitas Nut Food Company.

John Harvey Kellogg looked at the cereal business primarily as a means to support his missionary work, including endeavors as diverse as Battle Creek College and the Race Betterment Foundation. C. W. Post saw the cereal business primarily as a means to make money through innovative marketing. W. K. Kellogg considered the cereal business both as an opportunity to make money and as a way to "help people help themselves." The Kellogg Company and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation attest to his success in both areas.

But the roots of breakfast cereal in Battle Creek predate Post and the Kelloggs. On West Van Buren Street, near the corner of Cass Street, on the site of the present Mt. Zion AME Church, there once stood a little wooden meetinghouse. At a conference held there on May 21, 1863, the delegates formally organized the Battle Creek Seventh-day Adventist church.5 Within two weeks one of the denomination's founders, Ellen White, experienced a vision in which God gave her instruction regarding healthful living. White began incorporating admonitions to adopt a more healthful, natural lifestyle into her speaking and writing. She encouraged Seventh-day Adventists to view health as an important part of a relationship with God.6

Historian Gerald Carson contends that what gave Battle Creek its special flavor was the "religious-health-medical doctrine of the Seventh-day Adventists." For fifty years, Battle Creek was the headquarters of this "aggressive, fundamentalist society."
Carson notes that in addition to being “devout believers in the Second Coming,” Adventists were also “convinced vegetarians,” who “followed Genesis literally where it says, ‘Behold, I have given you every herb-bearing seed. . . . to you it shall be for meat.’”

In the spring of 1866, at the urging of Ellen White, the Seventh-day Adventists drew up plans for the Western Health Reform Institute, where individuals could go both to be cured of disease by natural methods and to learn ways to remain healthy. At the same time they started a journal, The Health Reformer, to spread health information on a wider scale and to “aid in the great work of reforming, as afar as possible, the false habits of life so prevalent at the present day.”

The Western Health Reform Institute opened on September 5, 1866, and was an instant success. For weekly charges ranging from five to seven dollars, patients received rooms, meals, nursing care, medical care, and treatments. In the first two months alone “patients came from nine eastern states and Canada . . . in such large numbers that they had to stay in surrounding farmhouses because there was not room enough for them at the Institute.”

Ten years later, in 1876, a young Seventh-day Adventist doctor, John Harvey Kellogg, joined the Institute staff. Shortly after his arrival, Kellogg changed the Institute’s name and the Western Health Reform Institute became the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

Kellogg was very interested in the relationship between diet and health. He had started experimenting with food during his student years, and soon after his arrival at the Sanitarium he resumed his experiments. Within a year Kellogg was producing Battle Creek’s first breakfast food, “Granola.” Granola was similar, in both name and recipe, to a food Dr. James Caleb Jackson served to patients at his water-cure in Dansville, New York. However, Kellogg baked his cereal longer (making it easier to digest) and enriched his wheat-based recipe with other grains.

At first, Kellogg had no plans to sell Granola. It was simply a part of the healthful diet he offered his patients. Soon, however, former patients began to inquire as to how they could secure the product for home use. A small commercial business developed, and Battle Creek was on its way to becoming the breakfast cereal capital of the world.

Despite its success, Granola had its drawbacks. One woman broke her false teeth trying to munch the hard grains and argued that Kellogg ought to pay her ten dollars to get a new set. Clearly, it was time for an advance in the manufacture of cereal. Kellogg learned of Henry Perky’s product, Shredded Wheat, and tried to buy a machine to make it at the Sanitarium. Perky’s price was too high, but his introduction to Shredded Wheat convinced Kellogg that his own cereal could be improved.

Kellogg decided that there must be a way to turn individual grains of wheat into small flakes of toast. He tried soaking wheat and putting it through rollers. He got only watery starch and coarse bran. He cooked some wheat for an hour and put it through rollers. He got a pasty mass. One day he was called away for several hours while cooking a batch of wheat. When he returned, he thought the batch was ruined, but decided to put it through the rollers anyway. One of his foster children turned the crank while another used a bread knife to scrap off the wheat as it emerged. To the doctor’s surprise, his foster child scraped off distinct flakes of wheat. Kellogg had discovered “tempering,” the basic process of the flaked cereal industry. After further refinement of the process, Kellogg introduced Granose Flakes, a predecessor to his brother’s more popular Corn Flakes.

To wean his patients away from coffee, Kellogg also developed a grain product called Caramel Cereal Coffee. Kellogg himself was never too pleased with his mixture of burned bread crusts, bran, molasses, and corn, calling it “a very poor substitute for a very poor thing,” but it was a strong seller. By the time C. W. Post began to market a similar creation, Postum, Kellogg was already selling a ton of Caramel Cereal
Coffee a day.\textsuperscript{13} The similarities between many early cereal products raises some interesting and important questions. Did Post steal Grape Nuts from Granola? Did Kellogg, in turn, steal Granola from Granola creator Dr. James Caleb Jackson? Did Post steal Postum from Kellogg's Caramel Cereal Coffee? Historian Ross Coller says no, asserting that cereal product development "was an evolution and improvement.

As it turned out, each [product] was better than its predecessor."\textsuperscript{14}

C.W. Post is the person most responsible for instigating Battle Creek's food "gold rush" shortly after the turn of the century. The Kellogg brothers and several other entrepreneurs were producing what were then thought of as large quantities of cereal food products, but they had barely tapped the market. Post's innovative advertising opened the floodgates of sales which made him a multi-millionaire by 1901. The Battle Creek Daily Moon claimed he cleared $900,000 that year alone, and acknowledged that in the five years since he began, he had become "the leading figure of the industrial life of that city." He had built the city's largest office building, a magnificent tavern, a theater, and other imposing structures. In half a dozen years Mr. Post had gone from "a day laborer to a man of many millions." The key to his success: advertising. "Scarcely a newspaper or magazine is to be found in which his preparations are not exploited."\textsuperscript{15}

Many speculators came to Battle Creek hoping to copy Post's success. The city boasted nearly all the training and knowledge needed to make cereal products. The Battle Creek Sanitarium and the Sanitas Nut Food Companies (both under the control of the Kellogg brothers) lost countless knowledgeable workmen to the enticement of higher wages at competing companies. Even elaborate contractual language was not enough to stop the manpower drain. New employees of the Sanitas Nut Food Company were required to sign an agreement not to share any of their technical knowledge with competitors:

I do voluntarily and most solemnly promise and swear . . . that under no circumstances whatever . . . will I use such knowledge or information . . . for the purposes of engaging myself, or aiding or assisting in any manner or form any other person or persons, association or corporation, . . . in engaging in business enterprise of any kind or nature whatever, which could in the slightest degree in any possibility, approximately or remotely, come into competition with the business of the said Sanitas Nut Food Company . . . nor will I under any pretext whatever impart such knowledge and information to any other person or persons whomsoever.\textsuperscript{16}

These contracts were as often breached as honored, if frequent lawsuits are any indication.

In 1901, Dr. Kellogg started publication of The Battle Creek Food Idea. The first issue contained an article describing the imitation and exploitation of the Sanitarium's health foods. His foods, Kellogg lamented, proved "an irresistible temptation" to men possessed of "worldly cunning and shrewdness." The Sanitarium and its management had built public confidence in these products only to see others move their factories into the city to exploit that confidence for their own profit. Kellogg claimed that many customers, far from Battle Creek, believed they were using his foods when in fact they were getting competitors' products. He condemned the "brazen effrontery" of "unscrupulous salesmen" whose "prodigious claims" made people suppose that these foods came from the "well known and reliable institution under whose colors they sail."\textsuperscript{17}

Dr. Kellogg is often viewed as a poor businessman because he did not fully capitalize on the profit potential of his cereal products. But it was not a lack of business sense that limited Kellogg's profits; several factors in his thinking inhibited him from reaping the full financial benefit from his food ideas. As a physician, he felt compelled to avoid doing anything which could be construed as violating medical ethics by commercializing his health food products. His views re-

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\textsuperscript{13}A day was considered a good "breakfast".
\textsuperscript{14}A day was considered a good "breakfast".
\textsuperscript{15}Kellogg was known for his innovative advertising.
\textsuperscript{16}Kellogg was known for his innovative advertising.
\textsuperscript{17}Kellogg was known for his innovative advertising.
\end{center}
cal ethics by commercializing his health food products. His views regarding profit were missionary, not mercenary. While he did not plan to use his discovery for personal profit, he did hope that the sale of flaked cereals would provide funds for spreading the gospel of biologic living. He expressed his initial attitude toward any financial profit that might result from cereal foods in a lecture in which he described to a large Adventist audience the process for making Granola at home. "You may say that I am destroying the health food business here by giving those recipes," John Harvey Kellogg said, "but I am not after the business, I am after the reform; that is what I want to see."18

So Dr. Kellogg was content to use his health food products at the Battle Creek Sanitarium or distribute them to former patients through mail order sales. It was not as though Kellogg made nothing off his cereal. More than fifty tons of Granose Flakes were sold in their first year of production. But success invited competition, and competitors soon discovered that they could easily infringe upon Kellogg's Granose patent. Before long "the bulk of the flaked cereal business went to men less financially conservative and less idealistic than John Harvey Kellogg."19

The cereal boom in Battle Creek between 1900 and 1905 saw companies hastily organized and dismantled without producing a single box of cereal.20 Companies organized in other areas using the Battle Creek name to capitalize on the city's fame as the cereal capital. Companies experimented with exotic flavorings, ingredients and names for their products. Dummy corporations were established to avoid bankruptcy—factories burned to the ground and rose from the ashes to resume production within weeks. Company names changed several times in the space of a few years. It is little wonder, then, that when Seventh-day Adventist leaders wanted to move the headquarters of the denomination out of Battle Creek in 1903, they faced stiff opposition from many Battle Creek church members. According to P. T. Magan, Adventists in Battle Creek were "making lots of money" at the time of the proposed relocation. "Our brethren there have gone wild on land and food propositions."21 He reported that "the town of Battle Creek has come to be known throughout the whole Central and Eastern States as 'the Adventist mining camp.'"

Although the church's headquarters and principal publishing house moved away from Battle Creek, Adventists did not lose their interest in food companies or healthful living. Scientific studies of the effects of the Adventist diet have often been cited

Right: J. H. Kellogg and family.

in recent years to support the trend toward a more natural diet with more reliance on fruits, grains, and nuts. The Battle Creek cereal companies have responded with new products containing less sugar and more “natural” ingredients.

Meanwhile, the Seventh-day Adventist Church itself operates nearly 30 food companies around the world, many of which include some breakfast cereals in their product line. The most successful Adventist food venture has been the Sanitarium Health Food Company of Australia, whose Weet-Bix (similar to the Ruskets once produced by Loma Linda Foods) outsells every other breakfast cereal in Australia and New Zealand.

As the name suggests, the Sanitarium Health Food Company is a direct descendent of Dr. Kellogg’s food ventures. In 1897, a consignment of wheat biscuits, granola, gluten, and caramel cereal arrived in Australia from Battle Creek. The next year, a firm known as the Sanitas Supply Company was registered to do business in Australia. The name was soon changed to its present one and a factory and headquarters were later established in Cooranbong, New South Wales, on the campus of the church’s Avondale College.

The company now operates 10 factories, employs over 1,400 workers, and sells about 65,000 tons of food annually. It commands 20% of the breakfast cereal market in Australia and nearly 80% of the market in New Zealand and exports its products to 35 other countries. In keeping with the original ideals of Dr. Kellogg, the firm also invests more than half a million dollars (U.S.) annually in a Nutrition Education Service, teaching people how to live more healthfully. Thus the cereal legacy of Battle Creek and its Adventist pioneers lives on, not only in the American breakfast cereal industry, but in the Seventh-day Adventist Church and its industries as well.

Sources

1. Twentieth Century Ideas Regarding Diet (Battle Creek, Michigan: Battle Creek Sanitarium, undated, c. 1903), unpaginated.
15. Battle Creek Daily Moon, August 22, 1902.
17. John Harvey Kellogg, The Battle Creek Food Idea, Vol. 1, (January, 1901). This is the only number of this publication which I have been able to locate. I do not know if any subsequent issues were ever published.
18. Schwarz, op. cit., pp. 119-120.
19. Ibid.
20. Twenty health food or cereal companies were incorporated in 1901 at the height of the "boom". Many of these companies had short lives and 18 companies were officially dissolved in 1905-1906, as reported in local newspapers or listed in records of the State of Michigan.
101 Cereal Manufacturing Companies in Battle Creek, Michigan

By Garth "Duff" Stoltz

1. American Cereal Co. of Chicago, 18881, made Zest flaked cereal; a conglomerate of seven cereal companies, became Quaker Oats in 1906.
2. American Food Co.2
3. American Hulled Bean Co., 1901, made Navy bean cereal; dissolved 1904.3
5. Armour Grain Co., made Maple-flakes; succeeded by Ralston Purina of Chicago in 1927.4
7. Battle Creek Bakery, 1880, made The Food of Eden, Ce-Re-O-La, health foods, cereal, breads; also known as Joseph Smith Bakery.
10. Battle Creek Cereal Food Co., 1897, made cereal coffee; succeeded by Cream of Cereal Co. in 1901.
11. Battle Creek Cereal Food Co., 1901, made cereal; succeeded by Cero-Vita Co. in 1901.
12. Battle Creek Cereal Food Co., 1906, made cereal; Dr. J.H. Kellogg, president.
13. Battle Creek Flaked Food Co., 1901, made Flak-ota, a flaked cooked oat food; also known as Flak-Ota Co.5 dissolved 1905.
15. Battle Creek Food Co., 1921, made Zo cereal health foods; succeeded by Food City Packing.
16. Battle Creek Food Products Co., 1905, product unknown; existed until at least 1911.
17. Battle Creek Health Food Co., 1895, product unknown, C. W. Post, treasurer and primary stockholder; dissolved 1903.
18. Battle Creek Pure Food Co., 1900, made Malta Vita wheat flakes; name changed to Malta Vita Pure Food Co. in 1902.
19. Battle Creek Rheumatic Sanitarium and Health Food Co., 1902, made laxative breakfast food, hot cereal drink, and special rheumatic food; part of a proposed sanitarium and industrial park complex in Morgan Park, never built.
20. Battle Creek Ryena Food Co., 1903, made Ryena Food; name changed to Ryena Food Co. and plant moved to Saginaw in 1904.
22. Battle Creek Sanitarium Health Food Company, 1898, as above, name changed to Battle Creek Sanitarium Food Co. in 1901. Although this company was not incorporated until
1898, health food products, including cereals, were manufactured in the Battle Creek Sanitarium Bakery from 1877. The foods were produced not only for the patients at the San but also for former patients who ordered the products through the mail.

23. **Battle Creek Sanitarium and Health Food Co., 1903.**

24. **Battle Creek Toasted Corn Flake Co., 1906,** made cereal, corn flakes; name changed to Toasted Corn Flake Co. in 1907.


26. **J. H. Brown Co.,** date unknown, made “energy medicated food.”

27. **Caramel Cereal Co.,** date unknown, made cereal coffee; division of Battle Creek Bakery Co.

28. **Cero-Fruto Co., 1901,** made Jim Dandy, a health confection; Cero-Fruto, wheat flakes sprayed with apple jelly; bought by B. C. Breakfast Food Co. in 1905; factory bought by Hygienic Food Co. in 1906.

29. **Cero-Vita Co., 1901,** made same as above; name changed to Cero-Fruto in 1901.

30. **Coffayette Co., 1902,** made Coffayette cereal coffee; dissolved 1906.

31. **Commercial Travelers and Farmers National Food Co., 1901,** made Grape Sugar Flakes; name changed to Grape Sugar Cereal Co. in 1903.

32. **Cream of Cereal Co., 1901,** made Cream of Cereal cereal coffee; dissolved 1920.

33. **Creola Cereal Co., 1907,** product unknown.

34. **Crushed Cereal Co., 1900,** factory in Marshall, Michigan.

35. **Egg-O-See Co.,** see Battle Creek Breakfast Food Co.

36. **Flak-Ota Co.,** see Battle Creek Flaked Food Co.

37. **Food City Packing Co.,** date unknown; successor of Battle Creek Food Co.; meat substitute and dietetic product lines sold to Worthington Foods (Ohio); sold cereal manufacturing machinery to National Biscuit Co. in 1960.

38. **Food Cure Co., 1902,** made cereals; This company was formed to sell the products of the Battle Creek Sanitarium Health Food Company and the Sanitas Nut Food Company. It was also “to advocate the radical reform in food in connection with the Blue Button temperance movement of New York.”

39. **Fruit Flake Co.,** date and product unknown.


41. **Golden Cereal Co.,** date and product unknown.

42. **Gotch & Floden Co. of Chicago,** date unknown, made cereal coffee; bought Javril Co. factory in 1905.

43. **Grain Products Co.,** date unknown, made cereal food, Dixie Rice, Leader Corn Flakes; listed in city directories from 1908-1916.

44. **Grape Sugar Cereal Co., 1903,** made Grape Sugar Flakes; dissolved 1908.

45. **Grocers Specially Manufacturing Co., 1902,** made Grain-O, cereal coffee Eat-A-Biscuit, malted biscuit; became part of Malta Vita Pure Food Co. in 1903.

46. **Hays Cereal Co.,** date and product unknown.

47. **Hibbard Food Co., 1902** CocoCream Flakes, coca flavored wheat flakes; offices in Battle Creek, plant in Augusta, dissolved 1906.


49. **Horn-O-Plenty, date unknown,** made Corn-O-Plenty corn flakes.

50. **Hygienic Food Co., 1901,** made Maple-Flakes maple syrup flavored wheat flakes; S. McCamly Street plant sold to Maple-Flake Mills in 1914; Bartlett Street plant sold to W.K. Kellogg in 1906.

51. **Javril Coffee Co., 1901,** made Javril cereal coffee; L. G. Stevenson (father of Adlai Stevenson), president; sold to Gotch & Floden Co. in 1905.

Cereal, cereal everywhere, but not a bite to eat. Packing Granose biscuits in the old factory at Corranbong before the days of Weet-Bix.
52. Kellogg Co., 1922, made corn flakes and more; still manufacturing in Battle Creek
53. Kellogg Food Co., 1908, made nut butters, cereals, meat substitutes; name changed to Battle Creek Food Co. in 1921.
54. Kellogg Toasted Corn Flake Co., 1909, made corn flakes, name changed to Kellogg Co. in 1922.
55. Kellogg Toasted Rice Flake and Biscuit Co., 1909, made Toasted Rice Flakes; Dr. J.H. Kellogg, treasurer; dissolved 1921.
58. Krinkle Co., date unknown, made Krinkle Korn Flakes.
60. Lambert Nut Food Co., 1900, made same products as above; name changed to Lambert Good Food Co. in 1901.
61. Malta Vita Pure Food Co., 1902, made Power, Vim, Vigor, Malta Vita wheat flakes; bought by Sterling Food Co. in 1905 in a maneuver to avoid receivership; Malta Vita bought Sterling two weeks later; dissolved 1912.
62. Malted Food Co., 1901, made Norka malted oats; name changed to Norka Food Co. in 1902.
63. Malt-Ho Flake Food Co., 1901, made Malt-Ho flakes; name changed to Malto-Too Food Co. in 1902.
64. Malto-Too Food Co., 1902, made Malto-Too, Wheat Flakes, Honey Grits, Climax Cereal, cereal coffee; sold to U.S. Food Co. in 1903.
65. Manufacturers & Retailers Association, 1902, made Neutorita wheat flakes; dissolved 1905.
66. Mapl-Flake Mills, 1914, made Mapl-Flakes, National and Little Jack Hornor corn flakes; dissolved 1917; factory purchased by Armour Grain Co.
69. Moko Health Drink Co., 1897, made Moko cereal coffee; dissolved 1901.
70. Morgan Food Co., date and product unknown.
71. Multifarious Food Co., 1902, made 43 kinds of baked goods, soups, and puddings; dissolved 1905.
72. National Biscuit Co. (Nabisco), date unknown, made 100 Percent Bran; leased warehouse of the Food City Packing Co. in 1960; ended Battle Creek operations in 1968.
75. National Malta Vita Co., date and product unknown.
76. National Pure Food Co., date and product unknown.
77. Neuro-Vitae Food Co., 1902, product unknown; formed in Battle Creek to manufacture a granulated food, factory to be located in Ingham County, Michigan.
82. Postum Cereal Co., 1896, made Postum Cereal Food Drink, Grape-Nuts Food; C. W. Post started manufacturing Postum on January 1, 1895, but did not incorporate until October 26, 1896; purchased General Foods in 1929.
83. Dr. Price Cereal Food Co., 1903, made Try-A-Bita pepsin-celery flavored wheat flakes; plant located in Yorkville, at the south end of Gull Lake; dissolved 1907.
84. Quaker Oats Co. of Chicago, date unknown, made Zest, Mothers Corn Flakes; purchased Korn-Krisp and Flako-Ota plants in 1906; ended Battle Creek operations in 1923.
85. Rolston Purina Co., date unknown, made Wheat, Rice and Corn Chex; purchased Armour Grain Co. factory on S. McCamly Street in 1927; still manufacturing in Battle Creek.
86. Real Food Co., 1901, made Perfo (Perfect Food) cereal; factory in LaGrange, Missouri, offices in Battle Creek; dissolved 1905.
88. Sanitarium Health Food Co., see Battle Creek Sanitarium Health Food Co.
89. Sanitary My-Food Co., 1901, made cereal, nut foods, cereal coffee; moved factory to Marshall, Michigan, in 1902, named changed to Sanitary Pure Food Co. in 1903.
90. Sanitary Pure Food Co., 1903, made My Food wheat cereal, My Biscuit; factory burned and company dissolved 1903.
91. Sanitas Nut Food Co., 1899, made Sanitas Corn Flakes, nut butter, health foods; merged with Battle Creek Sanitarium Health Food Co. to become Kellogg Food Co., 1908.
92. Joseph Smith Bakery see Battle Creek Bakery.
94. Sterling Food Co., 1905, dummy.
94. Sterling Food Co., 1905, dummy corporation which existed for about two weeks as part of the legal maneuvers to keep Malta Vita Pure Food Co. out of receivership.
95. Toasted Corn Flake Co., 1907, made corn flakes; name changed to the Kellogg Toasted Corn Flake Co. in 1909.
96. Tryabita Food Co., 1902, made Try-A-Bita celery flavored wheat flake; succeeded by Dr. Price Cereal Food Co. in 1903.
98. United States Food Co., date unknown, made Malt-Too wheat flakes; bought Malt-Too Food Co. in Chicago 1903; dissolved 1905.
100. Voigt Cream Flake Co., date unknown, made Voigt cream cereal food.
101. World's Fare Food Co., 1902, made Golden Manna flaked cereal; part of Rheumatic Sanitarium complex in Morgan Park; dissolved 1906.

Note

This list of cereal companies is not definitive. More names will undoubtedly be found, and more information about known companies will no doubt be unearthed. The author welcomes additional information and will add it to the files being assembled, which are available in the Historical Society archives and in the Local History Room of Willard Library.

The sources for the majority of this information are contemporary newspapers, especially the Battle Creek Daily Moon and Daily Journal, which published the announcements of filing of papers of incorporation and dissolution. These articles were checked against the incorporation and dissolution records of the State of Michigan. Newspaper advertisements, cereal boxes and shipping cartons (primarily from the collection of the author) provided additional information, as did city directories and files in the Local History Room of Willard Library. Appreciation is expressed to Michael Gregory for sharing his list of cereal companies and to Joyce Rupp for information from the Kellogg Co. archives.

Sources

1. The dates of legal incorporation are taken, whenever possible, from the records of the Corporation and Securities Bureau of the Department of Commerce of the State of Michigan. Char Lenon of that office was exceptionally helpful in locating and duplicating these records. However, it must be remembered that companies often existed before they actually filed legal papers. Conversely, companies filed legal papers of incorporation and then never progressed beyond that stage to manufacture a product.
2. When "date unknown" or "product unknown" is listed or when no information beyond the name is listed, no record of the company has been found beyond the incorporation papers or a brief mention in contemporary newspaper accounts. This may indicate that the company existed "on paper" only. It may also indicate that more information will be located at a later date.
3. "Dissolved" indicates that a legal notice of dissolution is on file in the state records. This may indicate that the company existed until that date. It may also indicate that two years had elapsed since the Department of Commerce had received information from the company and that an automatic dissolution was recorded.
4. "Succeeded by" indicates that a company was bought out by another company or changed its name while keeping the same officers and product.
5. Frequently, companies were popularly known by the name of their product as well as by their legal name. Both names have been listed to clarify these situations.

The interior of Kellogg's Sanitas Nut Food Co. factory.
Joseph Kellogg was the patriarch of the American line of the Kellogg family; he first appears in the historical records in 1651 in Farmington, Connecticut. He moved to Boston around 1659, and from there, as early as 1662, to Hadley, Massachusetts, where he was a militia lieutenant and, often, a selectman. His will was dated in 1707 and proved 4 February 1708.

JOSEPH KELLOGG and his first wife, JOANNA, had nine children:
Elizabeth, Joseph, Nathaniel, John, Martin, Edward, Samuel, Joanna, and Sarah.

He married ABIGAIL TERRY on 9 May 1667. They had 11 children:

NATHANIEL KELLOGG married SARAH BOLTWOOD on June 18, 1692. They had:
NATHANIEL, Ebenezer, Ezekiel, Samuel, Sarah, Abigail, Mary, Ephraim, and Experience.
NATHANIEL KELLOGG married SARAH PRESTON on March 4, 1714. They had:
Daniel, Joel, Abraham, GARDNER, Moses, Prudence, Phoebe, and Sarah.

He married MARTHA ALLIS in 1758.

He married Mrs. ELIZABETH SMITH of Ware in 1765.

GARDNER KELLOGG married THANKFUL CHAPIN. They had:
Nathaniel, Gardner, JOSIAH, and Lucy.

JOSIAH KELLOGG married HANNAH SMITH. They had:
Thankful, Merub, Lucy, Diathena, Naomi Parsons, Josiah, JOHN PRESTON, Gardner, Merub, and Priscilla.

JOHN PRESTON KELLOGG married MARY ANN CALL on May 1, 1831. They had:
Merritt Gardner, Smith Moses, Albert, Julia Elvira, and Martha P.

He married ANN JANETTE STANLEY on March 29, 1842. They had:
Mary A., Laura Evelyn, Emma Frances, Emma, JOHN HARVEY, Preston, Ella, Preston Stanley, WILL KEITH, Clara Belle, and Hester Ann.

Fame came to the Joseph Kellogg family in its seventh American generation. John Harvey Kellogg and Will Keith Kellogg put Michigan and Battle Creek on the map with sanitariums and cereal. Dr. John Harvey Kellogg made us aware of the medicinal benefits of fresh air and healthful living, and W. K. Kellogg changed forever what America ate for breakfast.
A Sticky Subject

By John E. Buchmeier

Kids love it! Adults crave it! Even blue jays and squirrels enjoy it. It has been one of the most popular foods in North America since it first appeared on grocery store shelves about 100 years ago. It's gooey, nutritious fun. It's peanut butter!

American myth generally attributes the invention of peanut butter to George Washington Carver, the famous Tuskegee University educator and peanut pioneer, but Carver's meticulous and well-documented research reports fail to support the assumption. The available evidence points, instead, to Battle Creek, Michigan, as peanut butter's birthplace and to John Harvey Kellogg, as its father.

Several different sources provide support for the theory that peanut butter was just one of the many brainchildren of Dr. Kellogg. Public relations man Richard A. Schaeffer contends that peanut butter was invented when an unnamed Sanitarium employee, upset at the reprimand he had received from Dr. Kellogg for burning a batch of peanuts, smashed the nuts with a hammer and discovered the now familiar paste. The employee presented his discovery to a surprised and pleased Dr. Kellogg. This “nut butter” became a “silk purse” for Kellogg and grew popular in Battle Creek.1 Historian Richard W. Schwarz tells a somewhat different story, contending that Kellogg invented peanut butter in the early 1890s when he had some roasted peanuts “ground up into a paste” that patients who had difficulty chewing could eat and digest easily. According to Schwarz, Kellogg thought that peanut butter should be available to all and made no effort to patent it.2 Berenice Lowe disagrees, stating that Kellogg was granted a patent for peanut butter, but never enforced it.3 The Atlanta-based Peanut Advisory Board attributes peanut butter’s 1890 debut to an unnamed St. Louis doctor.4

Kellogg Company spokesperson Dianne Dickey states that company records show that Dr. Kellogg invented peanut butter in 1895, but that a similar product, Nuttose, a ‘nut butter’ with a brick cheese-like consistency, was patented by Kellogg on February 16, 1887. Archival material indicates that peanut butter was produced by oven roasting peanuts in 10 pound allotments, hulling the peanuts in a pillowcase, separating the husks from the nut meat, and running the shelled peanuts through grain rollers. At some point in the development of the product Dr. Kellogg substituted steam-boiled peanuts for oven-roasted nuts.5 In his 1923 book The New Dietetics: A Guide to Scientific Feeding in Health and Disease, Dr. Kellogg claimed to have invented peanut butter in 1893.6 A 1943 Battle Creek Enquirer article appears to support Dr. Kellogg’s claim. In the article, Dr. Charles Williams Dabney, a former assistant secretary of agriculture for the Cleveland administra-
tion from 1893-1896, explains how he and Dr. Kellogg first produced peanut butter in 1893. He describes the process as "a simple job... we just roasted the peanuts, pressed out the oil, added some cotton seed oil, sugar and salt—the result, peanut butter." Apparently the product derived from steam-boiled peanuts was not very good, so the Kellogg brothers focused their attention on cereal instead and Battle Creek eventually became the "Cereal Capital of the World." Had fate not intervened (or had boiled peanuts resulted in a more palatable spread) Battle Creek might also be known as the "Peanut Butter Capital of the World."

It is possible, of course, that peanut butter has no single inventor. Different individuals or groups, working independently, have, not infrequently, arrived at the same conclusion or invention at approximately the same time. The most famous example is the telephone. Alexander Graham Bell and Elisha Gray sought patents on the same day, but since Bell actually filed his application with the United States Patent Office before Gray did, Bell was granted the patent and we now recognize "Ma Bell" rather than "Ma Gray." From a legal perspective, the actual date of invention is irrelevant, and the date a patent application is filed is relevant only insofar as it effects the actual granting of the patent. The date a patent is granted is the all-important primary evidence used to settle conflicting claims to an invention.

What does all this legal minutiae have to do with peanut butter? It lays the necessary foundation for understanding our best evidence for attributing peanut butter's invention to Dr. John Harvey Kellogg. We know that Dr. Kellogg filed a patent application for a food compound "composed of completely-digested starch, completely emulsified vegetable oil... and thoroughly-cooked and finely-divided vegetable proteins derived from nuts..." (lawyer jargon for peanut butter) on November 4, 1895, and that Letters Patent No. 567,901 was granted on September 15, 1896. Dr. Kellogg also filed a patent application for a "process of preparing nutmeal" on November 4, 1895, and was granted Letters Patent No. 580,787 on April 13, 1897. The next time you eat peanut butter, whether directly from the jar, or on sandwiches (with jelly, bananas, mayonnaise, or marshmallows), or in candy, cookies, frosting, or ice cream, or as a cracker spread or celery stuffing, or in any of the hundreds of other possible ways found in peanut butter cookbooks and the imaginations of aficionados, remember that the best available evidence indicates that Dr. John Harvey Kellogg developed the versatile taste treat in the early 1890s at the Seventh-day Adventist Sanitarium in Battle Creek.

Sources

The William Miller Farm
Birthplace of the Adventist Movement in America

By James Nix

"[It was] a convenient farm-house, similar to those built throughout the interior of New England at that epoch. It was of wood, two stories high, with an ell projecting in the rear. The front and ends were painted white, with green blinds, and the back side was red. It fronts the north. A small yard, enclosed by a picket fence, and ornamented by lilacs, raspberry and rose bushes, separated it from the public road leading to Fairhaven, [Vermont]..." 

In 1815, William Miller (1782-1849) and his wife Lucy purchased a farm and built a house on it—a place to rear his growing family of eight children. He worked the farm to support his household, and later, when he went out as an itinerant preacher, it covered his expenses.

Here also, in 1818, William discovered the 2300-day prophecy of Daniel 8:14. His study of Scriptures led him to the conclusion that Christ would return about 1843 or 1844. By 1831 Miller had begun preaching on the prophecies, and during the next thirteen years he gave over 3,200 lectures. He also wrote a number of books and pamphlets on the subject, and led out in a religious revival in the United States. Thus arose the "Millerite Movement."

The farmhouse was extensively remodelled about 1855 (after Miller's death), although it retains several elements that go back to the time when he lived there. Further remodelling in the early 1970's wrought more changes, and these will have to be undone in order to put the house back to its original appearance.

Several out-buildings which date from the time of William Miller remain standing behind the house: an English barn, a horse barn, a piggery and a corn crib. All are of typical early nineteenth-century construction and depict rural farm life in up-state New York. We can easily glimpse the environment as it was when William Miller lived there.

On September 25, 1984, Adventist Historic Properties purchased 25 acres (10.1 hectares) out of the nearly 170 acres (68.8 hectares) which originally belonged to Miller. Plans call for the restoration of the home and other buildings to the appearance they had when the Miller family lived there. In addition, a combined Visitors' Center and a resident manager's apartment is to be constructed.
Above Left: The William Miller home, from a woodcut band on a daguerreotype photograph of the house shows how it appeared during his lifetime (about 1849). Middle Left: Pathfinders from the Georgia-Cumberland Conference rebuilt a section of the rock wall behind the Miller house in 1990. This wall dates back to Miller’s time, as do some of the maple trees. Below Left: William Miller (1782-1849) held fast to his expectation of the Second Coming of Jesus. Below Right: When Adventist Historic Properties, Inc. purchased a portion of the Miller Farm in 1984, it was found that extensive remodelling had been done, primarily in the mid-1850’s. Today the house stands, minus its original green shutters, awaiting restoration to its original appearance—as soon as sufficient funds become available. (The missing shutters, fortunately, were found stored in the attic.) The doorway must also have its classical pediment—the triangular gable—replaced over the entrance. Above Right: In 1987 Pathfinders from the Florida Conference cleared off much of the vegetation that had grown up on Ascension Rock, behind the Miller Chapel. This is the site where Millerite Adventists in the area are said to have awaited Christ’s return on October 22, 1844.
Above Left: By 1991, the back of the farm house closely approximated its original appearance, although some minor changes remain to be made. Middle Left: Surprise expenditures keep coming up. To prevent the collapse of one cellar wall, the entrance had to be rebuilt and the wall strengthened. Below Left: In the (understandable) effort to install indoor plumbing, one end of William Miller's study was walled off for a bathroom. Outside it created a hideous addition on the roof. This group of touring teachers lunching on the lawn in October 1989 were among the last people to see the eyesore before it was removed. Above Right: The original kitchen fireplace was discovered in the basement foundation—a foundation which later enclosed a water cistern. When built in 1815, the house had a central fireplace and chimney. Middle Right: With relatively little effort, the nearly-rotten trellises at the back of the house were torn down in April, 1985. Below Right: In June 1990, the exterior fireplace (which had been added only twenty years earlier) was removed.
Above Left: The farm buildings included two barns, a piggery and a corn crib—all Miller's handiwork. Middle Left: Several pieces of furniture originally belonging to William Miller have been returned to the house: his bed, a deacon's bench and a rocking chair. Bottom Left: Some interesting discoveries have been made inside the Miller house. In July, 1988 Steven Iuliano, a Florida Pathfinder, found several yards of original wallpaper in the attic. They are thought to be from Miller's study. Above Right: As in the farmhouse itself, temporary bracing had to be added to several of the outbuildings to prevent their collapse before funds could be raised for their restoration. In fact, the roof on the granary did cave in during the winter of 1984-85. Below Right: A team from Andrews University excavated the foundations of the ash house on its first archaeological dig at the Miller farm in June, 1990.
Below Left: An old wooden flour barrel in the attic of the chapel contained more than 1,100 of William Miller’s justice-of-the-peace documents. Above Right: When one sees the stalls in the horse barn, one has no difficulty picturing Miller’s horses waiting here to be harnessed up for another of his preaching itineraries. Upper Middle Right: Indeed, the necessary historic artifacts from the stables hang close at hand. Horse harnesses, some engraved with the initial M, were found in the rear attic of the house. Lower Middle Right: After being disfellowshipped by the membership of the Baptist church that formerly stood down the road, William Miller built this little chapel on his property in 1848, just a year before his death. Today the building belongs to the Advent Christian Church. It is considered to be their first church. Below Right: Elder Paul A. Gordon examines some of Miller’s legal documents. They remained undisturbed for almost 150 years—until their discovery in May, 1987.
The Life of William Miller

William Miller (1782-1849), an American farmer and Baptist preacher born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, was largely self-educated. In 1803, he married Lucy P. Smith. Through his friendship with several deists, Miller abandoned his religious convictions and became an avowed skeptic. He served his community for several years, first as tax collector and later as justice of the peace.

In the War of 1812, Miller attained the rank of captain. At war’s end, he returned to reside at Low Hampton, New York, where he hoped to live quietly as a farmer. But Miller was not at peace with himself, for he was at heart a deeply religious man. In 1816 he was converted to Christianity.

Miller concluded that Scripture “is its own interpreter, and that the words ought to be understood literally, except in those instances where the writer used figurative language. In his study of the prophecies, he reached the conclusion that the writers pointed to his day as the last period of earth’s history. Specifically, he put his first and greatest emphasis on the prophetic declaration, “Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed” (Dan 8:14), from which he reached his conclusion that in about 1843 the Lord would return.

In August, 1831, Miller preached his message for the first time. The preaching of the soon coming of Christ seemed naturally and inevitably to lead men to seek to make ready for the event. In 1833, he first published a series of his lectures in book form. During the course of his movement, Miller presented more than 4,000 lectures on the second coming of Christ in an estimated 500 different towns. From 1840 onward, Millerism was no longer the primary activity of one man. It became the concern of a great and increasing group of men.

Miller used the general phrase “about the year 1843” to describe his belief as to the time of the advent. He never personally set a precise date for the event. After the Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844, (a date set by others) there was a scattering of the 50,000 believers and a confusion of beliefs. Shortly thereafter, Miller built a chapel adjacent to his Low Hampton home for use by the local company of Adventists.

William Miller died on December 20, 1849. At the time, there was no church organization among Adventists. Nine years later his followers organized the American Millenial Association, afterward known as Evangelical Adventists. Several other Adventist churches, including the Advent Christians and the Seventh-day Adventists eventually grew out of the Millerite movement.

Above: The interior of the William Miller Chapel includes the original pulpit and pews. The kerosene lighting fixtures, however, were installed after his death. Below: The Miller Cemetery is on land originally donated by William’s father. William Miller and other members of his family are buried in this quiet plot, only a short distance from his home.

Sources

1 This description of the Miller home was written by Sylvester Bliss in Memoirs of William Miller, 1853, 63-64.
2 Readers interested in contributing funds toward the restoration of the Miller Farm or wanting to know more about Adventist Historic Properties and its various projects should write to James Nix, Adventist Historic Properties, Inc., P. O. Box 494, Loma Linda, CA 92354.

Photo credits: The photographs in this picture essay were supplied by James Nix and Adventist Historic Properties, Inc., 165 North Washington Ave., Battle Creek, MI 49016.
The Whites Come to Battle Creek:
A Turning Point in Adventist History

By Ron Graybill

The train from Detroit rolled over the Michigan countryside for more than a hundred miles before the village of Battle Creek, still three miles in the distance, came into view. The large rolling hills to the north and south, coupled with the neat and tasteful private dwellings, gave it very much the appearance of a New England town.

The junction of the Kalamazoo River and Battle Creek assured the town's 3,000 inhabitants of a water supply sufficient to support rapid growth. Battle Creek had already emerged as the business center of the greater western Calhoun County area.

The town boasted an assortment of grocery, clothing, drug, book, and dry goods stores, as well as two woolen factories, four flour mills, and a couple of iron foundries, one of which specialized in steam engines.

Many fine buildings adorned the town, including an impressive four story brick structure with an Ionic facade, but there were no paved streets. Wooden walks provided pedestrians their only escape during the muddy winters and dusty summers. One hundred new private homes had been erected in 1855 alone, and the demand for rental houses had never been greater.

As the little group of Adventists from Rochester stepped off the train at the Michigan Central Station they were doubtless greeted by members of the 10 families of fellow-believers who already lived in the city.

Seven of the fourteen Adventist pioneers who disembarked that day in early November, 1855, were members of the White household. James White, now 34 years old, and Ellen, about to turn 28, were joined by their

About ten years after their arrival in Battle Creek, James and Ellen White posed for their portrait.

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three young sons—Henry, eight, Edson, six, and Willie, one—and two friends and helpers, Clarisa Bonfoey, 35, and Jennie Fraser, 25. 2

The White household rented a house on the south side of Van Buren Street, while the others who had lived with them in Rochester went their separate ways. Stephen and Sarah Belden found their own home. Warren Bachelter and his mother and sister found a place together. The two single men, Uriah Smith and George Amadon, took up residence with a local family. 3

The last number of the Review printed in Rochester was dated Oct. 30, 1855, but the first issue printed in Battle Creek didn’t come off the press until December 4. In the interim, an important conference took place in the new 18 x 24 foot “House of Prayer” on Cass Street. The conference was a watershed moment in church history, for it was there that Sabbath-keeping Adventists decided to accept and affirm Ellen White’s gift of prophecy.

The first business of the conference, in keeping with James White’s pleas, was the financial restructuring of the Review so that White would no longer carry the economic burden alone. On Friday, November 16, delegates from churches far and near filed into the little wooden chapel and took their places on the straight-backed benches. Joseph Bates was chosen chairman of the meeting, and before the day was out the fledgling movement had formed its first committee, which was organized to sort out how much of the money spent on the Review came from James White’s personal funds and how much from subscriptions and donations. The committee vowed to monitor the finances of the Review more carefully and chose 23-year-old Uriah Smith to replace James White as resident editor.

The conference delegates devoted virtually the entire Sabbath, November 17, to a discussion as to whether Sabbath observation should commence at sundown or at 6 p.m. J. N. Andrews reported his conviction, based on a thorough examination of the subject, that the Bible supported the sundown time.

Monday, November 19, was given over to prayer and confessions. Many delegates spoke “relative to the evident departure of the remnant from the spirit of the message, and the humble, straight-forward course taken by those who first embraced it.” The delegates pleaded with God for “the return of the Spirit of consecration, sacrifice and holiness once enjoyed by the remnant.” 4

At the Monday meeting the delegates also decided that the assertions made by dissidents Stephenson and Hall in their treatise Messenger of Truth necessitated a response in addition to James White’s. Though White’s response had effectively addressed the challenges posed by Stephenson and Hall, it had also raised new questions as to Ellen White’s role as God’s messenger. James White’s statements on the issue did not fully satisfy the
statements on the issue did not fully satisfy the faithful, and the delegates determined that it was time for Sabbath-keeping Adventists to take an official position on Ellen White's gift of prophecy. Accordingly, Joseph Bates, J. H. Waggoner, and M. E. Cornell, were asked to prepare an address on the "gifts of the church."

The "Address" issued by Bates, Waggoner, and Cornell pinpointed "the neglect of spiritual gifts," that is, Ellen White's testimonies, as the chief reason for and indication of the "decline of faith and spirituality" amongst the "scattered flock:"

We feel to confess that we, as a people, have not . . . appreciated the glorious privilege of claiming the gifts . . . and we greatly fear that we have grieved the Spirit by neglecting the blessings already conferred upon the church.\(^5\)

Then, in an apparent effort to balance and correct James White's more extreme statements, these men said of the gifts:

To say that they are of God, and yet we will not be tested by them, is to say that God's will is not a testor rule for Christians, which is inconsistent and absurd.\(^6\)

A considerable number of Sabbath-keeping Adventists continued to have reservations about Ellen White's claims, but the official church position was positive.

At this time Sabbath-keeping Adventists had only a few articles and one tiny book, Experience and Views, by which to judge Ellen White. Bates, Waggoner, and Cornell recommended the book for the "candid consideration" of the believers, and added that they believed its contents "to be agreeable to the word of God, and the spirit of the Gospel."\(^7\) This vote of confidence

\(^{27}\)

Above left: Uriah Smith was only 23 when he became editor of the Review. Above right: J.H. Waggoner was one of the eyewitnesses to Ellen White's 1855 vision. Below: These pictures of the White's boys, Henry, Edson, and Willie, are believed to have been taken shortly before Henry's death in 1863.
that on November 20th, the day after the conference, the “Spirit of the Lord suddenly and powerfully came upon me, and I was taken off in vision.”

Recounting the sequence of events, Ellen White recalled how for months before this vision she had been quite depressed. Although God had seen fit to use her in past years, the duty of delivering His messages had caused her much anguish. Then, when she saw how little the visions had been heeded, she became discouraged. The visions, she said, “have been of late less and less and my testimony for God’s children has been gone. I have thought that my work in God’s cause was done, and that I had no further duty to do, but to save my own soul, and carefully attend to my little family.”

This then, was Ellen White’s perception of her own role just prior to that November conference. Then a change came:

“At our late Conference at Battle Creek in November God wrought for us. The minds of the servants of God were exercised as to the gifts of the Church, and if God’s frown had been brought upon his people because the gifts had been slighted and neglected, there was a pleasing prospect that his smiles would again be upon us, and he would graciously and mercifully revive the gifts again, and they would live in the Church, to encourage the desponding and fainting soul, and to correct and reprove the erring.”

The vision of November 20, 1855, like many of Mrs. White’s visions, was primarily a confirmation of actions and positions already taken. It bears an unmistakable and close relationship to the events of the weekend which preceded it. In fact, it is in her account of this vision that one finds evidence of the specific problems which were troubling the leaders of the movement. “I saw,” she wrote, “that the Spirit of the Lord has been dying away from the church. The servants of the Lord have trusted too much to the strength of argument.”

Mere argument in favor of the truth would not move souls, she was shown. Instead, the preachers must get the truth “warm from glory, carry it in their bosoms, and pour it out in the warmth and earnestness of the soul.” Pride and independence were threatening the working force of the church, and she admonished workers to “press together, press together.”

Next her attention was turned to the shortcomings of the lay people. She saw that they were busy adding farm to farm, plunging so deeply in debt that
they could not help the cause or even see that the
preachers had proper clothing to wear. During 1855
and 1856, speculation in mid-western lands was at a
peak and many Adventists, swept westward from
New England and New York with their neighbors,
were engrossed in the excitement and challenge of
developing farms in Michigan, Iowa, northern Illi­
nois and southern Wisconsin.

“If God has called thee West,” Ellen White
warned, “he has a work for thee to do, an exalted
work. Let not the care and perplexity of here
engross thy mind, but ye can safely be wrapt up in
contemplating Abraham’s farm. We are heirs to
that immortal inheritance. Wean thy affections
from earth and dwell upon heavenly
things.” It was
a theme she would return to again and again in the
next few years.

The November 20 vision endorsed the new
position that Sabbath observation should com­
cence at sundown, but when Ellen asked the
angel if God had frowned on his people for adhe­
ing to the 6 p.m. time for so long, the reply was that
“before light comes there is no sin.” Mrs. White
was also careful to point out that she had not
previously endorsed the 6 p.m. time on the basis
of a vision, but had merely indicated that “even”
was the time to begin the Sabbath, and “it was
inferrered that even was at six.”

The vision also included stern condemnation
for Stephenson and Hall, counsel for parents to
govern their children, and a reference to the
visions themselves. “I saw that the reason why
visions have not been more frequent of late [is
that] they have not been appreciated by the
church.” At the same time, however, believers
were cautioned against an injudicious use of the
visions. Some believers were apparently citing
them, in place of the Bible, as proof for Adventist
doctrine. “I saw this course was inconsistent, and it
prejudiced the unbelievers against the truth, for the
visions could have no weight with them. They had
never seen them, and knew nothing of the spirit of
them, and they should not refer to, in their case.”

At least six men—Bates, Waggoner, Amadon,
M.E. Cornell, Josiah Hart, and Uriah Smith—
were eyewitnesses to this vision. An account of it
was read to the thirty-six members of the Battle
Creek Church the following Sabbath, and they
voted unanimously that it be published. In the
weeks that followed, Mrs. White added to it visions
which she had received in May and June of 1855,
and before the year was out a little sixteen page
pamphlet titled Testimony for the Church was
published. This was the first installment of a work
which would, before her death, grow to nine
volumes encompassing nearly 5,000 pages.

Thus it is that the year 1855 marks a turning
point in Adventist history. In that year Battle
Creek became the center for Sabbath-keeping
Adventists. In that year, Ellen White’s visions,
which had all but ceased, were revived as her role
as God’s messenger was affirmed by the church,
and in that year she launched one of her major
works, Testimonies for the Church.

Sources

1 See “Battle Creek,” Battle Creek Journal, Vol. 5,
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2 Ages for the Whites derived from W.C. White,
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(Aug. 22, 1935), p. 8; age for Bonfoey obtained from,
Review and Herald, Vol. 8 (June 12, 1856), p. 33; age
for Fraser obtained from the 8th Census of Population.
3 A. A. Dodge was still listed as Review agent for
Jackson, Mich., Review and Herald, Vol. 7 (Oct. 16,
1855), p. 64.
4, 1855), p. 75.
5 Joseph Bates, et. al., “Address of the Conference
Assembled at Battle Creek, Mich., November 16th,
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ellen G. White, “Communication from Sister
118.
9 Ibid.
10 Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church, Vol.
1 (Mountain View, Ca., Pacific Press Publ. Assn.,
1949), p. 131, all of the following quotations are taken
from this first testimony, as recorded in this book, pp.
113-123.

Opposite Page: The earliest Testimonies for the Church
were issued in small, paper-bound pamphlets.
Contrary to public opinion, the picture below does not depict Old Battle Creek social life a hundred years ago.

Pictured are Eleanor Worden Lewis, Theodore Bogardus Lewis, and their daughter Nellie Lewis Beuchel. Eleanor and Theodore Lewis are my great grandparents, and Nellie is my great-great aunt. There follows a chronological story of what they did for entertainment over holiday weekends and special events in their lives. The pictures and captions are from old photo-albums in my personal collection that belonged to my family and to Linnie Belden (daughter of Hattie and Frank Belden), early Adventist hymn writer. The diary excerpts are from Theodore Lewis's diaries, dated 1864, and 1880 through 1923, using his actual words and (mis-)spelling. The newspaper clippings are from the historical collection at Willard Library in Battle Creek, Michigan.
Monday, October 31, 1892
I worked at the Tab in electric light system. to day. open up Tab for Teachers meeting. after that I went up to Nells after Eleanor [his wife]. Thay was a Halloween Party thare we got home about 12. Rainey this evening.

Wednesday, September 30, 1903
Cloudy. Rain afternoon. 54
This morning at 10 our famley. Mrs Straub. Griff & Lilly. Belden & famley. Miss Cadawaldr. Ferne West.

Laura Winebrenner. Thede & Eric. Went down the River. it was nice. before dinner. we took dinner just below Stringham bridge. had a nice dinner. good time. after we started down the river a gain we got caught in the rain. went down to Post Farm. got home at 5.

Tuesday, November 3, 1903
Foggy. Fine. 38
I helped Myron finish up painting to day. This evening about a 100 of us met at my house and then went over to Myron & Cornelia [Cornell] house a surprise on them as it was their Golden weding 50 years. gave them a nice gold lined fruit dish & spoon. Had Ice Cream & cake.

Above Left: Records show that Nellie Lewis took a course in penmanship at the old Battle Creek College in the years 1880-81, but she couldn't have penned this hand-done invitation because it spells her married name, Beuchel, incorrectly. Bottom Left: "River Views, September 1903," reads the caption in the old photo album. Below: Hattie Belden, Laura W., Nellie Beuchel, and F. E. Belden.
Above: Griffin Lewis at the oar.
Middle: Eleanor and Theodore B. Lewis, and their daughter-in-law Erie (on right).
Below: Eleanor and Erie with "the remains of the feast."
Tuesday, November 3, 1903
Foggy. Fine. 38
I helped Myron finish up painting today. This evening about 100 of
us met at my house and then went
over to Myron and Cornelia (Cornell) house a surprise on them
as it was their Golden wedding 50
years. Gave them a nice gold lined
fruit dish and spoon. Had ice cream and cake.

Above: Album says, "Cornell's Anniversary, Nov. 1903."
Below: The costumed young folks performed a skit honoring the Cornells.
GOLDEN WEDDING.

A West End Social Epiphany Tendered
Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Correll, at
Their Champs Street Home
Last Evening.

The children of this veteran town,
Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Correll, and in
Victoria the fellow, re-membered
that fifty years ago Tuesday night the
wedding bell was said to have run
gut the glad music of their parents'
lives; and mentioning this historical
act, a host of friends gathered at the
home of the social couple, 377 Champs street, at 7 o'clock, in
to gather the various actor's
guests, and a basket of that
cold delicious Yuletide stuff that
feeble mortals wish they could eat.
The couple were seen in the kitchen,
clothed, and of course, the visitors got there too. Each one, first, like the race
that entered the castle of Babel Hotel,
but on another mission, a perfect
Masada of people in every-day
clothes poured "in at the windows and
in at the doors," completely surpris-
ing the pair. Everybody knows what
happened. Beyond the ordinary
course of human events the gray mat-
er of A. B. Henry, Chaplain Jordey
and John L. Gilmore, furnished indi-
vidual and kindly wishes in behalf of
the assembly, the following unique
lines concluding the latter's remarks:

"May never wicked fortune touch you,
May street without bare footstep pier,
Until you pass as mild Methodist
'to hear
You enter pair;
Then to the blessed New Jerusalem
From wing two.

Mrs. L. D. A. Brattle contributed the
following benediction:
Just fifty years of hope and fear,
Of smiles and tears, have passed away.

And now we wait to celebrate
Our host and hostess' wedding day
The yellow season's mild autumn
leaves
The happy pair were young and fair.
For O, it was their wedding day.

Three hungry's door we look once
more
Upon the door of the old house,
Two little girls with waving curls
And dark brown eyes, at mother's knee.

Again we look: life's open book
Before us lies. The years have
The sun hangs high within the sky.
Life's afternoon is reached at last.

Some joy, some tears, some hopes,
Some tears
The passing years have brought, we know.
On each broad floor Time sets his plow
And spreads a canopy of snow.

While at the last, life's triune past,
On angel phoenix may we rest,
And joyous eat in rest complete.

The marriage service of the Union

The occasion of the occasion, Mr.
Belden, who furnished the foregoing
report, wishes it understood that one
reason why it was held on Mr. A. B.
Henry for the first speech was be-
cause he is grandfather to the half
brother of the sister of the oldest son of
his own oldest son's wife, Mrs. Ross Henry—who is sister to
Mrs. Tenor, the oldest brown-eyed
dughter of the golden wedded couple,
the eldest couple present.

And Lang Fyke fittingly preceded the
presentations of the beautiful frock
and spoon, D. W. Reaves rea-
ing the "whale's" for the occasion.
An appropriate acknowledgement by
the most estimable officers followed. The
writer left the home for the Esquage
office silence reigned, save the scraping
of the ice cream run by M. C. C.
Sunday, June 12, 1904
Fine. 60
I paperd the kitchen to day.
Oscar & famley with lot of others went down the river to day. got home at 10.
Tuesday, May 30, 1905  
Cloudy. 48  
Showers this morning. I painted blinds, part of the day, as it is decoration day. Eleanor & I took a drive through town to cemetery and up to the Lake. big crowd up there. Oscar Nellie & Evert went down the river with a crowd. got the horse shod. worked on books to night.

Above: Ladies  
Below: Gents

Opposite Page:  
Middle Left: They always had a tablecloth and dressed up for their picnics. That's Hattie and Frank Belden standing at the back, with Nellie Beuchel.  
Middle Right: Going down the river, and the diary's weather report must have been correct. Note the unfurled umbrella.  
Below: The festivities included a swim in the river. The center trio included Evert Beuchel (on the left) and Linnie Belden (on the right).
Wea. Cloudy Tuesday 30

Showered this morning.

Families behind part of the dam, and at decorative clay.

Eleanore & I took a drive through large tugs to cemetery and up to the lake big crowd and there, also,

fished and went down the river with a crowd, got the boat.

School started on books to mischief.
Wednesday, July 4, 1906  Fine  58

This morning about 7.45 they was about 33 of us went down the river to Augusta. Ada & Roy were along. We got home about 8.30. But it was not to me as it was when dear Eleanor was along with us. but that can't be any more. Oh that I may live so that I may meet her again. [His wife Eleanor had died in January]

Above: Evert Beuchel, Ada Dalton and Roy Lewis
Middle: Photograph album calls this group "River trip, July 4, 1906."
Below: Theodore B. Lewis of the diaries is the old man in the center of the picture. Son Roy below him to the left. Daughter Nellie Beuchel, her son Evert, and F. E. Belden, behind and to the right. Son-in-law Oscar bottom right, with Ada Dalton and Hattie Belden above him in picture.
Sunday, June 28, 1908  Fine  66
I commenced on J. W. Bacheller job at one p.m. cleaning all the afternoon. This morning Nellie Evert Dalton, with a lot of others went to Fine Lake to be gone till to morrow. Saw eclipses of Sun to day.

Monday, June 29, 1908  Rain  69
I cleaned on the Bacheller house this forenoon. and than it rained so I could not paint. so I went to town. Bought me a pair of Ralsted shoes. 4.00. The folks got home this eve.

Tuesday, August 24, 1909  Hot  68
Byron [Sperry], Nellie & Bula Sperry, Hattie & Linna Belden, Ivy Cadawalder, Emma White, Laura Winebrenner, Oscar Nellie Evert, Dalton and Self. Went to Gull Lake to day and pic nicked at Walnut grove. got home at 8 p.m. We had some pictures taken of crowd.

Above: The old album notes “Fine Lake, June 28-9, 1908,” and captions this one of Evert Beuchel, “The ‘block head’ orator making a presentation speech.” I was sure he was singing.
Middle: “Come in boys, the water’s fine.” That’s Linnie Belden in the middle.
Below Left: “On top the load of hay,” says the album.
Below Right: The Beldens must have attended both events, because this picture is captioned, “Our Cottage at Goguac, July 4, 1906.”
Tuesday, August 30, 1910  Cloudy, light rain at eve. 65
This Morning. Lee Smith & Wife. Wilt & Charly Smith. Mrs. Hutchinson & Martha.
Mable & some other young folks with her. and self went to Gull Lake to day. had a
pleasant time. got home at 8 p.m. Had a shower at 4.30 p.m.

Above: A few days later on July 4, here's a photo of "Fireworks on Goguac Lake."
Middle Left and Right: "Gull Lake, Aug. 1909," reads the caption for this photo of the
seated group.
Below Left: And this one — "In the hay mow, June 28-9, 1908."
Below Right: "3 Jolly Sailor Boys."
Thursday, July 4, 1912

This a.m. Myron & Wife. Winebrenner & family. Oscar Nellie Dalton & I. Sperry & wife. Howard Baily & wife. Al & Flo Tozer. Hattie & Linnie Belden. Mrs. Smithworth Teddy All went down to Marshall. to J. E. White home at Marshall. He has a nice home in a hill and looks as if he was in the woods. we had a good time.


Middle Left: The group pictured on the porch of the Edson White home, Cedar Crest, in Marshall, includes Edson White by pillar seated beside his wife Emma (Hattie Belden's sister) in the wheelchair, Oscar Beuchel standing extreme right beside F. E. Belden, with Hattie in front of him.

Middle Right: Another photograph of the J. E. White home.


Monday, September 4, 1916
Cloudy 64-78

Above Right: Pioneer Jonah Lewis' three sons, Theodore B., Griffin, and T. Ogden Lewis
Middle Left and Below Left: The Smiths, the Sperrys, the Beuchels, their families and friends. Beginning in the back row, left to right—Archie Smith (son of Leon), Dr. Wilt Smith (son of Uriah), three unidentified, Laura Winebrenner, unidentified, Howard Bayley, two unidentified, Byron Sperry and Mrs. Sperry (Beulah's parents), Mrs. Hutchison, unidentified, Leon Smith (son of Uriah), Nellie Beuchel, Mrs. Leon Smith, Mrs. Straub (mother of Oscar Beuchel), T. B. Lewis (father of Nellie), Evert Beuchel kneeling in center. Front row Dorothy Smith (daughter of Leon), four unidentified, Oscar Beuchel, Lolita Smith, Mrs. Beulah Bayley, Dalton Lewis, Lela Beuchel, Edith Hostetler.
Below Right: Friends Myron and Cornelia Cornell. They celebrated their 50th Wedding Anniversary in November 1903, so they had been married 62 years in 1916.
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