

As 1916 began, Christ's ransom and the restitution hope for mankind were being preached far and wide. About eight million volumes of *Studies in the Scriptures* had already been circulated worldwide, colporteurs were distributing them on every continent, and Pastor Russell's sermons were published weekly in over a thousand newspapers. But overseas work was being impeded by the war in Europe. Pastor Russell made no trips abroad that year. He was slightly ill as he began what turned out to be his last railroad trip, with destination Los Angeles. His discourse in that city was delivered with a weak voice and while seated, rather than with his usual ambulatory presentation. Afterward Joe Brown drove him and Menta Sturgeon to the railroad station for the return trip. On October 31 on the train near Pampa, Texas, the pastor died. The body was removed from the train in Oklahoma. A Presbyterian minister offered his home for the viewing of the body, although it was taken to the only mortuary in town. Helen Noah (later Williams, Swanson) and her carload were the first on the scene a few hours later.

Menta Sturgeon wired his wife that Pastor Russell had died. A. H. MacMillan intercepted the telegram at the Brooklyn Bethel home and wired J. F. Rutherford, then at a convention in Oakland, Maryland: "The old man is dead."¹ Rutherford came immediately to Brooklyn and took over.

Pastor Russell's will had designated a five-member Editorial Committee: Wm. E. Page, Wm. E. VanAmburgh, H. Clay Rockwell, E. W. Brenneisen, and F. H. Robison. Then, "The names of the five whom I suggest as possibly amongst the most suitable from which to fill vacancies in the Editorial Committee are as follows: A. E. Burgess, Robert Hirsh, Isaac Hoskins, George H. Fisher (Scranton), J. F. Rutherford, Dr. John Edgar." The declaration of "five" names, followed by **six** names, could possibly be because John Edgar (of Scotland) had died (although seemingly Rutherford's name should have appeared after Edgar's, if that were an added codicil), or because, as keeper of the will, he had added his own name. (It is said that Rutherford denied all requests to see the will.) Rutherford was added to the Editorial Committee.

At the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society's next annual meeting on January 6, 1917, Rutherford insisted that some new by-laws needed to be passed in order to continue Watch Tower operations, though he did not allow the new by-laws to be read to the elders' meeting or the membership meeting. Among the by-laws were provisions that votes for officers of the Watch Tower board would be counted only for those nominated, and that election as president of the Peoples Pulpit subsidiary would be for a life term.² At the annual meeting A. H. MacMillan was chairman; for election as president he recognized only those who would nominate or second for J. F. Rutherford, and then those who moved and seconded that all votes be cast for him. Rutherford's assertion in the January 15 *Watch Tower* that "There being no further nominations ... Brother Rutherford was declared the unanimous choice of the convention as President of the Society for the coming year," hardly seems to epitomize the matter.

Pastor Russell's last will and testament left "all my voting shares ... in the hands of five Trustees, as follows: Sr. E. Louise Hamilton, Sr. Almata M. Nation Robison, Sr. J. G. Herr, Sr. C. Tomlins, Sr. Alice G. James. J. F. Rutherford convinced these five that it was contrary to law for them to vote those shares (which constituted a majority of all shares). It is unclear whether Rutherford then proceeded in the name of the Watch Tower to vote those shares himself, as he did in subsequent elections.

Rutherford's efforts to establish control met increasing resistance from the majority of the board. On July 17, 1917, Rutherford claimed the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society charter provided for the election of directors annually; thus only the three officers of the board (elected January 6) were "legally" members of the board. So he appointed A. H. MacMillan, G. H. Fisher, J. A. Bohnet,

and W. E. Spill to replace Ritchie, Wright, Hoskins, and Hirsh.³ The board majority, joined by F. H. McGee, countered that officers of the board cannot be elected unless they are first members of the board; therefore, there are either seven members or no members. Both sides purchased legal opinions to support their claims. The ousted members decided not to institute legal proceedings, following 1 Corinthians 6:6,7.

A series of publications ensued from various sides, including:

Harvest Siftings (August 1917, by Rutherford)

Light After Darkness (September 1917, by the ousted board members)

Harvest Siftings No. 2 (October 1917, by Rutherford)

Harvest Siftings Reviewed (November 1917, by P. S. L. Johnson)

Facts for Shareholders (November 1917, by the ousted board members)

The Watch Tower proxies for the January 5, 1918, annual meeting were solicited with Power of Attorney (granting the proxy holder the right to override the designated vote). About 13% of the votes recorded were for M. Sturgeon, A. I. Ritchie, H. C. Rockwell, I. F. Hoskins, R. H. Hirsh, J. D. Wright, and W. J. Hollister.⁴ The convention then voted to ask R. H. Hirsh to resign from the Editorial Committee.

Thereupon several withdrew to a hastily-convoked mini-convention at the Fort Pitt Hotel. A Committee of Seven was elected to carry on work outside the Watch Tower and IBSA (International Bible Students Association, as a voluntary association, not the British corporation of the same name). The first convention scheduled outside the IBSA was held on July 26-29, 1918, at Asbury Park, New Jersey. Two or three hundred attended the Providence, Rhode Island, convention on November 8-10, where it was resolved to form the Pastoral Bible Institute (PBI). The first board of directors consisted of J. D. Wright, chairman; Ingram I. Margeson, vice-chairman; I. F. Hoskins, secretary; P. L. Greiner, treasurer; H. C. Rockwell; F. H. McGee; and E. J. Pritchard. (The Committee of Seven was dissolved.) *The Herald of Christ's Kingdom* (*The Herald*) journal commenced publication in December under an Editorial Committee of I. F. Hoskins, Randolph Elwood Streeter (Providence, Rhode Island), I. I. Margeson (Westwood, Massachusetts), H. C. Rockwell, and Dr. S. N. Wiley (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). PBI offices were in Brooklyn, New York.

When P.S.L. Johnson, Raymond Grant Jolly, and Robert Hirsh were not re-elected to the Committee of Seven, they, with most of the Philadelphia church, severed association with the Committee. Johnson began publishing *The Present Truth and Herald of Christ's Epiphany* in December, 1918. The Laymen's Home Missionary Movement (L.H.M.M.) was organized in 1920 and *The Herald of the Epiphany* issued regularly for public witness work. (In 1952 the name was changed to *The Bible Standard*.) The L.H.M.M. calls Pastor Russell the Parousia Messenger, and P.S.L. Johnson the Epiphany Messenger.

When the so-called "seventh volume" of *Studies in the Scriptures* was published in July 1917, suggesting that the Gospel age harvest period was to end in the spring of 1918, the ibsa classes in the Pacific Northwest backed it all the way. But C. E. Heard, of Vancouver, and many others felt Rutherford's recommendation in the spring of 1918 to buy war bonds was cowardice, and sacrilegiously perpetuating harvest work. The Stand Fast Bible Students Association was organized on December 1, 1918, at Portland, Oregon. It published *Old Corn Gems* (Joshua 5:11,12) monthly, and organized many conventions in the Northwest and even in the Midwestern states. Perhaps 40% of the Watch Tower adherents in the Northwest left in favor of the Stand Fast. Many (non-doctrinal) divisions followed a Seattle convention in July 25-27, 1919.

In 1922 John A. Hardeson and C. D. McCray organized the Elijah Voice Society for an ambitious regathering and witness work. They published the *Elijah Voice Monthly*, and became the most prominent “Seventh Volume” group.

In 1923 Ian C. Edwards and C. E. Heard organized the Stand Fasts into the Star Construction Company in Victoria, British Columbia, although Heard was persuaded by his wife to stay in Vancouver. Fearing the prophesied time of trouble, Edwards in 1924 took the company of more than three hundred to Sooke and the Gordon River on the southwest part of Vancouver Island. Because the business failed in 1927, most packed up and went home.

From twelve hundred adherents in 1919 in the Northwest and near Wisconsin, these “Seventh Volume” movements have dwindled to near vanishing.

Overseas, Alexander Freytag started the largest movement to break with the IBSA: the Man’s Friends group (or Philanthropic Society). They numbered several thousand until the French and Swiss groups divided.

In Great Britain, Jesse Hemery was progressively centralizing power in himself⁵ but was opposed by Henry J. Shearn and Wm. Crawford. P. S. L. Johnson was sent by J. F. Rutherford to England, where he expelled Shearn and Crawford. Secession from Hemery and the Watch Tower Society progressed rapidly after World War I ended. The Bible Students Committee was constituted on April 5, 1919, in London to coordinate publishing, pilgrim service, etc., outside the IBSA. Its seven initial members were H. J. Shearn, W. Crawford, and Frank B. Edgell of London (west side); Fred G. Guard, Sr. and Alex Guy of Forest Gate (London east side), William Seager of Ipswich; and George B. Tharratt of Bishops Stortford. (The Committee was dissolved in 1945.) Edgell began publishing *Fellowship* in 1923. Shearn began publishing the *B.S.C. Monthly* (then *Bible Students Monthly* until 1951, now *Bible Study Monthly*) in 1924. Crawford commenced *The Old Paths* in 1925 (continuing to 1961).

In Australia, R. E. B. Nicholson rejected the “Seventh Volume” and in 1918 formed the Berean Bible Institute in Melbourne; it began publishing *Peoples Paper* which continues today.

In India, S. P. Devasahayam (“Davey”) from near Nagercoil had begun the work in 1912, including the translation of *Studies in the Scriptures*, vol. 1, into Tamil and then Malayalam. After Pastor Russell’s death, contact with the Watch Tower was lost for many years, but contact with the PBI was quickly established.⁶ Davey appointed V. Devasandosham to succeed him around 1920, and he organized the Associated Bible Students (later, India Bible Students Association) and centered the work in Madras.

In Germany and Switzerland, Samuel Lauper published *Herold des Königreiches Christi*, which was the German *Herald of Christ’s Kingdom*. He also published a German translation of R. E. Streeter’s two Revelation volumes.

Polish activity outside the Society began with the journals *Strasz* [Watchman] in 1923, edited by R. H. Oleszynski, and *Bzask Nowej Ery* [Dawn of a New Era] in 1930. Oleszynski also translated the six volumes and *Tabernacle Shadows* into Polish.

Probably a few thousand left the IBSA in the U.S. and Canada at this time, and many thousands overseas. Of the several groups, all continued to stress Ransom and Restitution. While the Stand Fasts, Elijah Voice Society, P. S. L. Johnson, and A. Freytag all believed the door to the high calling was now closed and that the hope of newcomers would be restitution on earth, Johnson rejected *The Finished Mystery* as the “seventh volume” of *Studies in the Scriptures*, and hence was not associated with the other two groups. Freytag’s claims to direct divine revelations were a concern to those outside his group.

The PBI, Bible Students Committee [England], and similar committees on the European continent (also in India), and the Berean Bible Institute (Australia), all stressed that the high [heavenly] calling remained open (though the called, chosen, and faithful were getting fewer), that Christ's second presence had occurred, Israel was to return to her land, and the end of the present evil world would occur soon. It seems a majority of those with the heavenly hope eventually left the IBSA, though not all for the same reason.

In the 1920s F. H. Robison contacted Adolph Ernst Knoch of the Concordant Publishing Concern, then in Los Angeles, and was converted to universal reconciliation. He soon persuaded Menta Sturgeon, O. L. Sullivan, Walter H. Bundy, W. T. Hooper, and most of the ex-IBSA Bible Students in Finland and Sweden to go with him.

Of Pastor Russell's nieces and nephews, Alice Land Williamson was sister-in-law to A. Ed. Williamson, a leader in the 1909 New Covenant movement; Ada Land White, in Kansas, followed P. S. L. Johnson; May F. ("Thelma") Land Kendall, in Florida, and Joseph Russell Land, in Atascadero, California, associated with the Dawn. None stayed with Rutherford.

Prominent Personnel

Many who had been with Pastor Russell were well known to Bible Students around the U. S. and Canada, and some overseas also. All were well versed in Scripture.

Alfred I. Ritchie (1871-1946): Watch Tower Vice-President. The principal administrator of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, including its main office and publishing plant. Originally from Nova Scotia. A capable administrator, though not gifted as a leader.

Alex Hugh MacMillan (b. 1877): The greatest orator the IBSA had. Widely known for his September 1914 discourse, "I Am Ready to Be Offered," in which he said, "This is positively my last public address on this side of the veil [meaning in this life]." But Pastor Russell then persuaded him to speak at the New York Temple the following Sunday. (MacMillan did not get along well with A. I. Ritchie and several others at the Bethel home.) He apparently was given charge of the Brooklyn Bethel, home for the Watch Tower workers, in 1916.

William E. VanAmburgh (d. 1947, age 83): Secretary/Treasurer of the Watch Tower. Originally from South Dakota. A man of financial integrity. Some gift for writing, including poetry.

Joseph Franklin Rutherford (1861-1942): From a large Calvinist family; formerly a small-town lawyer in Missouri; at least once appointed to serve as judge in a case; politically active in Democratic politics. Custodian of Pastor Russell's last will and testament. Apparently dismissed from Bethel in early 1915, living in Monrovia near Los Angeles, working as a lawyer for a department store in Los Angeles. Forceful in disposition and persuasive. Debated Rev. John H. Troy at First Baptist Church in Glendale, California, April 21-24, 1915.

Clayton Woodworth (d. 1951, age 81): A bright idea-man, living in Scranton, Pennsylvania. In 1907 he had assembled a Bible commentary from Watch Tower publications, called the *Berean Comments*.

James Dennis Wright (d. circa 1920): Elderly, of gentle manner. The senior member of the Watch Tower board of directors.

Isaac F. Hoskins (d. 1957): An able journalist. Often had a sharp tongue for those who differed with him. One of many Hoskins brothers and sisters in the IBSA. A Watch Tower director.

Paul Samuel Leo (formerly Levitsky) **Johnson** (1873-1950): A converted Jew, then Lutheran

pastor, and then one of Pastor Russell's personal secretaries and Watch Tower pilgrim. A brilliant man, delved heavily into Bible types. A strong leader, though controversial.

Robert H. Hirsh (d. 1949): An able journalist.

Fredrik Homer Robison (1885-1932): Formerly Disciples of Christ, later a personal secretary to Pastor Russell. Perhaps the most scholarly in the Watch Tower office.

Menta Sturgeon (d. 1935): An able speaker. Older than most of the others. Was Pastor Russell's personal attendant on his final train trip to and from Los Angeles.

John G. Kuehn: Had a large Ohio family, all in the IBSA. Managed the extensive Watch Tower pilgrim work.

Henry Clay Rockwell (d. 1950): On the Editorial Committee, but a relatively new member of the Watch Tower board of directors.

Francis H. McGee: A lawyer in Freehold, New Jersey. Assistant to the Attorney General of the State of New Jersey.

Charles E. Heard: A Watch Tower pilgrim from Vancouver, British Columbia.

George H. Fisher (d. 1926): Another in Scranton, Pennsylvania. Active also in the German Watch Tower. (In 1926 urged the German classes to disfellowship J. F. Rutherford.)

R. Hipolit Oleszynski (1857-1930): Polish immigrant to Chicago. Active in Watch Tower work in the USA since 1891, and intermittently in Poland since 1894.

Jesse Hemery (b. circa 1863, d. 1963): Manager of the IBSA (the British subsidiary corporation of the Watch Tower) in London, England.

Henry J. Shearn (d. 1946): Secretary of the IBSA in London.

William Crawford (d. 1957): From Scotland. Treasurer of the IBSA in London.

R. E. B. Nicholson (d. 1955): Former colporteur. Manager of the Australian branch of the Watch Tower since 1909.

Alexander Freytag (1870-1947): Manager of the Watch Tower office in Switzerland. Capable in the French language, but also in German and English.

1. It is perhaps possible the wording was a coded message, rather than simply disrespectful.

2. J. F. Rutherford was the only one seeking that office. (The Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society was a Pennsylvania corporation; the Peoples Pulpit Association was a New York subsidiary, incorporated to do business in that state when Watch Tower offices were moved to Brooklyn, New York.)

3. The simultaneous release of "The Finished Mystery," advertised as the "seventh volume" of *Studies in the Scriptures*, appears to have been irrelevant to the arguing that followed this move.

4. If the shares C. T. Russell had contributed to the Watch Tower were excluded, this percentage might have been closer to 16%. Had Power of Attorney not been exercised, it is unknown how much higher it would have been.

5. Hemery later published Futurist interpretations of Revelation, but he could not be forced out of the London Bethel home because of a lifetime contract with the IBSA.

6. A letter from S. P. Davey of S. Travencore appears already in *The Herald* of December 15, 1918.

Bible Students Fragments

1917-1967

After the death of Pastor C.T. Russell on 1916 October 31, multiple divisions rent the International Bible Students Association.

At the moment of C.T. Russell's death, the surviving directors of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society were Alfred I. Ritchie, Vice President; William E. VanAmburgh, Secretary-Treasurer; James D. Wright, Isaac F. Hoskins, H. Clay Rockwell (replaced 1917 March 29 by Robert H. Hirsh), and Joseph F. Rutherford, all having been appointed by C.T. Russell. Two days later Andrew Nils Pierson was elected by the others to fill the vacancy. The board thereupon constituted A.I. Ritchie, W.E. VanAmburgh, and J.F. Rutherford an Executive Committee. The publication of the Watch Tower continued under an Editorial Committee of W.E. VanAmburgh, J.F. Rutherford, H.C. Rockwell, F.H. Robison, and R.H. Hirsh.¹ A.H. MacMillan continued in charge of the office staff. The pastoral work (organized "follow-up") continued under the direction of Menta Sturgeon.

Election of the Society's officers took place 1917 January 6 (Saturday) during a two day convention at Pittsburgh.² J.F. Rutherford (d. 1942) was elected President. A.N. Pierson was elected Vice President over A.I. Ritchie. W.E. VanAmburgh was reelected Secretary-Treasurer unanimously. At this time the Executive Committee was dissolved.

At a 1917 January 6 committee meeting and the ensuing Watch Tower annual meeting, several by-laws had been adopted (at Rutherford's urgent insistence), concentrating authority in the President's hands, and sidelining the Board of Directors.³ Chairman of the business meeting, A.H. MacMillan, recognized only those nominating/seconding Rutherford for president, or moving/seconding that nominations be closed. And then "a motion was made that the rule of balloting be suspended, and that the Secretary of the convention be directed to cast the entire vote for Brother J.F. Rutherford." The *Watch Tower* wording of January 15, "There being no further nominations...Brother Rutherford was declared the unanimous choice of the convention as President of the Society for the ensuing year," hardly seems to sum up the matter.

For the 1918 annual business meeting, Pierson, who had fallen from Rutherford's favor, was voted out as a director, probably by Rutherford, et. al., voting the C.T. Russell shares now held by the Watch Tower. [In later years, Watch Tower officers used this method to do away with annual voting at the business meeting, citing the number of shares held by the Watch Tower as greater than the sum of all shares represented by voters and proxies.] In 1916 Nov. the Executive Committee, at Rutherford's urging, asked Clayton J. Woodworth and George H. Fisher of Scranton to compile a volume on Revelation and Ezekiel (and also Canticles), to be published as "The Finished Mystery," the Seventh Volume of Studies in the Scriptures, as the posthumous work of Pastor Russell. It was ready the following July. (Subsequent reception of the Revelation portion among Bible Students was somewhat mixed. During the remainder of World War I many countries on both sides banned it, on grounds that it advocated religious conscientious objection against joining the armed forces.)

¹ Pastor Russell's will, as published, says, "The names of the five whom I suggest [as replacements on the Editorial Committee]...are as follows:" (six names follow, including that of J.F. Rutherford, who was also custodian of the will. Although Dr. John Edgar had already died (1910), Edgar's name appears last, making it unlikely Rutherford's name had been substituted by C.T. Russell).

² Rutherford prevented the five Trustee sisters from voting C.T. Russell's shares (previously donated to the Watch Tower); it is not clear if he voted those shares in the name of the Watch Tower. In 1918 he evidently did, as the reported 194,106 cumulative number of votes for Rutherford considerably exceeded the approximately 164,000 shares voted.

³ P.S.L. Johnson says that J.F. Rutherford arranged to have I. Margeson of Boston, O. Ostrander of Cleveland, and R.H. Bricker of Pittsburgh appointed to recommend these by-laws to the voting shareholders. This three-man committee resisted giving the President nearly total power, but eventually reluctantly conceded.

Dissension

Tensions began rising almost immediately between Ritchie, Hoskins, Hirsh, and Wright on one side and MacMillan, Rutherford, and VanAmburgh on the other (actually a resumption of tensions from the past few years). On 1917 July 17 Rutherford claimed that since the Society charter provided for the election of directors annually, only the three officers of the board (having been elected officers that January) were truly board members. He therefore appointed A.H. MacMillan, G.H. Fisher, J.A. Bohnet, and W.E. Spill to the board positions occupied by Ritchie, Wright, Hirsh, and Hoskins. [The board majority, joined by Francis H. McGee, assistant to the Attorney General of New Jersey, countered that the three could not have been elected officers of the board unless they had already been members of the board; therefore, there were either seven board members, or else none. They later decided not to institute legal proceedings, based on 1Co 6:6-7.]

Hirsh, et. al., issued a protest pamphlet, "Light After Darkness," during the summer. Rutherford answered with a special "Harvest Siftings No. 2" in 1917 October. Within a month P.S.L. Johnson issued "Harvest Siftings Reviewed." A straw poll of IBSA classes (ecclesias) in December showed 95% backing for Rutherford. The annual election of Society officers and the first election of the Board of Directors came 1918 January 5, during the Pittsburgh convention January 2-6. R.H. Barber nominated for director: J.F. Rutherford, W.E. VanAmburgh, A.N. Pierson, A.H. MacMillan, W.E. Spill, J.A. Bohnet, and G.H. Fisher. F.H. McGee of Trenton, N.J., then nominated: Menta Sturgeon, A.I. Ritchie, H.C. Rockwell, I.F. Hoskins, R.H. Hirsh, J.D. Wright, and P.S.L. Johnson (Johnson withdrew). Elected were: Rutherford, MacMillan, VanAmburgh, Spill, Bohnet, C.H. Anderson (not nominated), and Fisher. McGee's nominees plus W.J. Hollister (not nominated), received votes of about 13% of the total shares voted. Rutherford was reelected President, Anderson elected Vice-President, and VanAmburgh reelected Secretary-Treasurer. The convention voted also to ask R.H. Hirsh to resign from the Editorial Committee.

Among those who parted with the Society about 1918 were McGee and his nominees, R.E. Streeter, I.I. Margeson, H.A. Friese, P.L. Read, and P.E. Thomson. A.E. Burgess wavered for a year before leaving. Raymond G. Jolly sided with Paul S.L. Johnson.

Those avowing loyalty to the Society at this time include: O.L. Sullivan, F.T. Horth, M.L. Herr, E.H. Thomson, E.J. Coward, W.E. Page, J.F. Stephenson, H.H. Riemer, E.D. Sexton, W.A. Baker, R.E. Nash, C.P. Bridges, W.J. Thorn, G.S. Kendall, J. Hutchinson, B.M. Rice, E.A. McCosh, Jesse Hemery, E.G. Wylam, J.H. Hoeveler, F.P. Sherman, and J.R. Muzikant. Dr. L.W. Jones said he was not in opposition.

It was also about this time that Edwin Bundy, who had dissented from the Society in 1912-1917, returned to its fellowship.

Watch Tower Arrests

World War I, which had been occupying Europe since 1914 Summer, saw U.S. participation beginning 1917 April 6. The Watch Tower stand on conscientious objection then occasioned the 1918 May 8 arrest and subsequent conviction of J.F. Rutherford, W.E. VanAmburgh, A.H. MacMillan, R.J. Martin, C.J. Woodworth, G.H. Fisher, F.H. Robison, and Giovanni Dececca. (Warrant for the arrest of R.H. Hirsh was also issued, but he had already resigned under pressure; so the warrant likely was not pursued.) These were imprisoned in Atlanta from 1918 June 21 until their release on bail 1919 March 21. Their convictions were reversed 1919 May 15.

During the imprisonment of these eight Watch Tower leaders, C.H. Anderson was acting President and J.F. Stephenson was acting Secretary-Treasurer. The Watch Tower offices were temporarily removed to Pittsburgh in 1918 ca. Sept. 25 for barely more than a year. The Society's annual meeting in 1919 Jan. 4 in Pittsburgh reelected J.F. Rutherford President and W.E. VanAmburgh Secretary-Treasurer. But the others elected to the Board of Directors, viz. C.A. Wise (Vice President), R.H. Barber, W.E. Spill, W.F. Hudgings, and C.H. Anderson, were freer to carry out their responsibilities. When the imprisoned leaders were released, Barber resigned in favor of MacMillan.

Pastoral Bible Institute (PBI)

Amid the rancor of the Watch Tower's Pittsburgh convention meetings (1918 Saturday Jan. 6), several withdrew to a hastily-convoked mini-convention at the Fort Pitt Hotel for the balance of the weekend. A Committee of Seven was convoked.

The first scheduled convention outside the IBSA was held 1918 July 26-29 in Asbury Park, New Jersey. The *Committee Bulletin* was then published monthly from August to October. Two or three hundred attended the Providence, R.I., convention 1918 Nov. 8-10. It was there resolved to form the Pastoral Bible Institute (P.B.I.) to resume the pastoral work outside the Society; it was incorporated in New York 1918 Nov. 23. A new journal, *The Herald of Christ's Kingdom*, commenced publication immediately with a December issue⁴ under an editorial committee composed of I.F. Hoskins, R.E. Streeter, I.I. Margeson, H.C. Rockwell, and Dr. S.N. Wiley. The PBI published Streeter's books on Revelation (2 vols., 1923) and (posthumously) Daniel (1928). The PBI offices were in Brooklyn until ca. 1960. The work was split between St. Louis and Batavia, Ill., when the 177 Prospect Pl., Brooklyn, property was disposed of. Recent circulation of *The Herald* was several thousand.

Among the better-known pilgrims were: Isaac Hoskins (part time), H.A. Friese, L.F. Zink, J.J. Blackburn, Wm. McKeown, Benjamin Boulter, Paul Thomson, Walter Sargeant (d. 1941 Nov. 18), John T. Read (noted for his singing voice), Alec L. Muir, Fred A. Essler, and W.J. Siekman. (See further in the Appendix.)

For many decades an annual convention in late September at Atlantic City, N.J., was closely associated with the PBI.

Stand Fasts and the Elijah Voice Society

The IBSA classes in the Northwest backed the Seventh Volume all the way. But Charles E. Heard of Vancouver and many others felt Rutherford's recommendation in 1918 Spring to buy war bonds was cowardice, and sacrilegiously perpetuating harvest work. The Stand Fast Bible Students Association was organized 1918 Dec. 1 at Portland. It published *Old Corn Gems* (Josh 5:11-12) and organized many conventions in the Northwest and throughout the U.S. Heard, Wm. B. Palmer, R.O. Hadley, W.M. Wisdom (briefly), Ieuan C. Edwards, H.A. Livermore (former Anglican Bishop), Allan A. Yerex, and Finley McKercher were all prominent. Many (non-doctrinal) divisions followed a Seattle convention 1919 July 25-27.

In 1922, John A. Hardersen and C.D. McCray (later dropped out?) organized the Elijah Voice Society for an ambitious regathering and witness work. They published the *Elijah Voice Monthly*. The E.V.S. became the most prominent Seventh Volume group, though they never quite gathered "Gideon's 300."

In 1923 Fall, Edwards and Heard organized Stand Fasts into the Star Construction Company in Victoria (although Heard was persuaded by his wife to stay in Vancouver). Fearing the time of trouble, Edwards in the Fall of 1924 took the company of more than 300 to Sooke and then to Port Renfrew and the Gordon River on the southwest part of Vancouver Island. When the business failed in 1927, Dr. Alec McCarter (dentist) and Oscar Kuenzi closed out the property.

From twelve hundred adherents or more in 1919 in the Northwest and near Wisconsin, these Seventh Volume movements have dwindled to near vanishing.

⁴ The first issue noted "a Pastoral work in ministering to the spiritual needs of the Lord's People" (p.2). "The name chosen for this journal – *The Herald of Christ's Kingdom* – we believe is especially appropriate and significant... What more important message could we bear than that the earth's new King is present!... It shall ever be the aim of this journal to be a true herald of not only the presence of the King... Is 52:7" (p.5).

"It is not our purpose to open the columns of this journal to fanciful interpretation or wild speculation either of ourselves or of others" (p.4) was likely intended as a response to P.S.L. Johnson, while "The pages of this journal shall not be used to engage in any controversy with those who may oppose us, nor to quarrel with anyone" was likely intended as an implied response to J.F. Rutherford as well.

Laymen's Home Missionary Movement

Paul S.L. Johnson⁵ had fallen out with Rutherford in 1917 but continued to visit IBSA classes for a couple of years (though not under Watch Tower auspices). He was one of the prominent founders of the Committee of Seven, though the affiliation was brief. He organized the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement and began publishing monthly the *Present Truth and Herald of Christ's Epiphany* ("PT" - for believers) on 1920 Jan. 1, and bimonthly the *Herald of the Epiphany* (in 1952 renamed *The Bible Standard and Herald of Christ's Kingdom* - for witness work) on 1920 July 16.⁶ By 1941 Johnson taught that Pastor Russell had been the Parousia (*Presence*) messenger of the Reaping period but that he himself was a special "Epiphany messenger" for the separation time and Time of Trouble.⁷ (In later years it was taught that he was the last member of the Church and that R.G. Jolly was the last member of the Great Company – also a heavenly class.) He wrote voluminously on the interpretation of types and shadows before his death in 1950 Oct. 22. Adherents now believe they constitute an earthly class of "Youthful Worthies" or (since 1954) of "Epiphany Campers," who will reign on earth with the Ancient Worthies. Johnson was succeeded as executive trustee by his chief adherent, Raymond Grant Jolly (1886-1979) [then by August Gohlke (1916-1985), and then by Bernard W. Hedman]. The headquarters was moved from Philadelphia to the Chester Springs suburb 1967 Oct. 15. The LHMM publishes the *Bible Standard* and *Present Truth* journals in English, Polish, French, Dano-Norwegian, and Portuguese. Perhaps 250-300 partake of the Memorial⁸ in the U.S. and Canada. There is a greater number of adherents abroad (e.g., of perhaps 6200 others, about half are in Nigeria, one third in Poland, and several others in France, India, England, Scandinavia, Brazil, and the West Indies). In Poland the LHMM separated from the other Bible Students 1927 April, under the leadership of Czeslaw Kasprzykowski in Warsaw (who then disassociated a few years later). Wiktor Stachowiak (1897-1990) became the Polish representative 1936-1990.

Others prominent in the LHMM work included John J. Hoefle, Michael Kostyn (until ca. 1930) and C.J. Schmidt of Detroit, F.A. Hall of Indianapolis, Wm. Eschrich of Milwaukee, Daniel Gavin of Springfield, Mass., Carl Seebald of Muskegan, Mich., Alex Wayne (Wojnerowski) of Memphis, John Treble of Miami, and J.L.A. Condell of Jamaica. Principal conventions were at Philadelphia, Muskegan, Chicago, and Hyde, Cheshire, England.

There have also been some splinter groups: W.S. Stevens of Atlanta left in 1935 and circulated a letter claiming Johnson was dictatorial. S.A. Cater⁹ of Vancouver, B.C., departed in 1948, and Thomas T. Ryde in Los Angeles left soon afterwards. Cyril Shuttleworth, the British representative, left in 1951. John W. Krewson¹⁰ split with Jolly in 1954-1955 over whether Krewson (not eligible for the heavenly hope) should assume the teaching position; he published *The Present Truth of the Apocalypse* journal through his Laodicean Home Missionary Movement in Philadelphia and later in Florida. About 1956 Feb. John J. Hoefle left and began issuing a monthly newsletter through his Epiphany Bible Students Assn. of Mount Dora, Fla. Hoefle taught that the elect of the church continued longer than the other two groups had taught. Those who left were commonly disfellowshipped (whether before or after leaving).

⁵ Paul Samuel Leo Johnson (b. Titusville, Pa., 1873 Oct. 4; c. 1887 Dec 25; bapt. 1889 Jy 14; d. 1950 Oct. 22) married Emma B. McCloud 1905 Jan. 3. Experienced "brain fog" 1910 May 22 [per PT 1950 Dec. 1].

⁶ Sr. Feenhold and Sr. Schatz of Phila., under urging from R.G. Jolly, offered P.S.L. Johnson a home in Philadelphia.

⁷ Johnson thought the bulk of the elect was outside the LHMM, scattered among the various Bible Student groups [PT 1932 Oct. 1, p.166]. Johnson had expected the truth to be entirely cleansed by 1954 [per PT 1933 Feb. 1, p27].

⁸ Johnson originally reckoned the Memorial date, counting 13 days from the new moon (conjunction) reckoned by GMT (Greenwich Mean Time) but changed to Jerusalem time in 1933 [PT 1933 Feb. 1, p.23-25]. (Other Bible Student groups usually follow the published Jewish calendar established in the 4th century. In earlier times the first of each month had been reckoned according to the first visibility of the new moon, as determined by the Sanhedrin.)

⁹ Johnson implied Cater had gone into second death – everlasting oblivion. [PT 1949 May 1, p.79.]

¹⁰ Krewson was suspended by R.G. Jolly 1954 Sept. 13 and disfellowshipped 1955 Aug. 21. Disfellowshipping was extended to some of his adherents.

General Convention

George M. Wilson, J.T. Johnson, George S. Kendall, and E.W. Keib left the Society in Pittsburgh in 1929 September. Joined by James C. Jordan, they organized a reunion convention, emphasizing adherence to Pastor Russell's teachings, rather than the current Watch Tower teachings. The Pittsburgh Reunion Convention was held at the old Bible House 1929 November 1-3, with at least 150 attending.¹¹ This convention was held annually in Pittsburgh thereafter. Among the more prominent speakers at these conventions were I.I. Margeson, C.P. Bridges, P.L. Read, P.E. Thomson, W.N. Woodworth, and G.S. Kendall; also J.G. Kuehn, H.E. Hollister, L.F. Zink, Walter Sargeant, Oscar Magnuson, and S.C. DeGroot.

Meanwhile, on 1938 July 2-4 the Chicago, Aurora, Minneapolis and Stevens Point ecclesias sponsored a general convention¹² at Camp Cleghorn (Methodist, near Waupaca, Wis.). On 1939 Aug. 2-6 the Pittsburgh and Chicago ecclesias sponsored a Midwest General Convention at Epworth Forest on Lake Webster (near Warsaw, Ind.). In 1940 it was moved to the Miami Valley Chautauqua (near Dayton, Ohio), where it was held annually through 1944. Then it was canceled for 1945 (war) and 1946 (lack of post-war housing). The General Convention resumed 1947 Aug. 6-10 at Brooklyn. In 1948 it returned to Chautauqua. In 1949 Aug. 7-14 the General Convention was moved to Bowling Green University at Bowling Green, Ohio, where it remained through 1952. In 1953 Aug. 1-7 the convention was moved to Indiana University at Bloomington, Ind., where it was held for 18 years, with attendance around 1,000. (Later it was at Albion College [Methodist], in Albion, Michigan, 1974-1987, after which it moved every year or two.) The General Convention is closely associated with the Dawn. Members of the convention committee at various times from 1939 have been G.M. Wilson, D.J. Morehouse, E.G. Wylam, W.N. Woodworth (since 1942), R.J. Krupa (1949-1994), Wilber N. Poe; L.H. Norby, G.S. Kendall, S.C. DeGroot (since 1942), A. Burns, and E.K. ("Bunk") Penrose.

Dawn Bible Students Association

In the early 1930's there was interest in an energetic effort to regather Bible Students outside the Society and to put forth a public message. The new effort was spearheaded by the New York (Brooklyn) ecclesia, with support from around the country. W. Norman Woodworth and John E. Dawson (who had commenced *Frank & Ernest* radio broadcasts on WBBR in 1927) having left WBBR and the Society, the Brooklyn Radio Committee attempted radio broadcasts in New York, and then Boston, beginning 1931 April 12. The broadcasts were discontinued after three months each due to shortage of funds. *Radio Echo* tracts were issued from 1931 April 29 through 1932 September. A monthly tract-sized paper, *The Dawn*, was issued to answer radio requests. *The Witness Bulletin* was published for a few years beginning 1931 October.

The Pastoral Bible Institute declined to sponsor the work,¹³ but many of its leaders expressed moral support. Therefore Dawn Publishers, Inc., was organized 1932 June 7 in New York to replace ecclesia sponsorship. *The Dawn* was expanded into a monthly magazine 1932 October. The free *Bible Students News* was issued for four years beginning 1935 ca. June. *Bible Students News* was again published from ca. 1947 to 1950. The Dawn offices were originally in Brooklyn, 251 Washington St., then 136 Fulton St., before being moved to 199 Railroad Ave., East Rutherford, N.J., ca. 1944 Jan. 1. Thereupon, the Dawn Bible Students Association was incorporated 1944 May 22 in New Jersey; Dawn Publishers was merged into it in 1953. Recent circulation of *The Dawn* was around 15-20,000.

In the later 1930's Bill Gleason arranged for Russell Pollock to broadcast programs on the California Rural Network. Soon afterwards, Frank & Ernest resumed radio broadcasting (Norman Woodworth and George Wilson, with Don Copeland announcer).¹⁴

¹¹ Edith Hoskins testified in 1929 that Pastor C.T. Russell "used to say, 'Take your eyes off me, dear friends, and fix them on the Lord.'"

The 1930 convention established a Central Committee of George M. Wilson, J.T. Johnson, G.S. Kendall, E.W. Keib, and J.C. Jordan (out of 14 elders in the Pittsburgh area). [Perhaps the committee was soon dissolved into the Dawn.]

The 1949 convention pledged to support the Frank & Ernest radio broadcasts on the Mutual Broadcasting System.

¹² A general convention was understood to be one sponsored by more than one ecclesia, or it might be self-sponsoring.

¹³ Isaac Hoskins was particularly cool towards PBI-Dawn cooperation, already in 1931-1932.

¹⁴ When *Frank & Ernest* went on a national network, Joe Brown and Russell Pollock were the financial guarantors.

Many gave enthusiastic support to the new activity: Lilia Woodworth and Norma Mitchell, Corey Mitchell, Ruth Roark, Rose (Johnson) Bertsche, Oscar Magnuson, W.F. Hudgings, William Robertson, Jere Reimer, Arnold Greaves (a printer), Mr. and Mrs. Rodgers, Walter Sargeant, Mr. and Mrs. J.H. Hoeveler, Mr. and Mrs. John Hutchinson, and some from farther away, L.F. Zink, George Kendall, Christian Zahnow, among many others.

Watchers of the Morning

In the early 1930's troubles arose in the PBI.¹⁵ Some of its prominent members began to believe the Church was under the Mediator and under the New Covenant (rather than part of the Mediator of that covenant when it goes into operation in the thousand-year kingdom of Christ), and that the Church has no part in the sin offering (rather than joining with Jesus Christ in that offering). Some also doubted that the Lord had returned in any sense, and that the sleeping saints had been raised from the dead. Others protested that none should be engaged in the ministry except those in harmony with "Present Truth." Still others, who were in harmony with "Present Truth," defended the right of those who were not to continue in the service without limitation.¹⁶ At the PBI annual meeting 1936 June 6 the "liberal" directors, Dr. S.D. Bennett, J.J. Blackburn, J.C. Jordan, P.L. Read, and P.E. Thomson, were elected, together with their nominees, Chester E. Stiles of Washington, D.C., and Benjamin Boulter of New Jersey. The "Present Truth" directors, I.F. Hoskins and B.A. Parkes, were not elected, nor their nominees, P.A. Gates of Memphis, C.H.S. Kuehn of Toledo, C.W. McCoy of Spokane, S.N. McElvany of Pittsburgh, and G.C. Stroke of Buffalo.

Thereupon, Isaac Hoskins withdrew from the PBI and in 1937 April began publishing *Watchers of the Morning*, emphasizing "Present Truth." Among those cooperating with Hoskins were H.H. Eddy of Providence, R.I., C.W. McCoy of Spokane, and Charles F. Moser of Toledo. *Watchers of the Morning* continued until Hoskins died (1957 Sept. in the Los Angeles area). (His sister, Edith, stayed with the PBI.)

Other Endeavors

Among various other endeavors are those by individuals or groups working parallel to the *Dawn* or the *Herald*, or who feel Pastor Russell's teachings are not being strictly adhered to by others, or who believe they know the date when the Church will be complete, or who feel a great witness work is now due the Jews, etc. There are yet others who believe the Church has no special work or message of "harvest" at the present time. In a few cases individuals feel they have received, or are receiving, direct revelations from the Lord. Publications frequently accompany these beliefs.

Guy K. Bolger began publishing *The Berean Bible Student* (similar to the early *Dawn* and *Herald*) in San Francisco in 1926 (until ≥1942, when he gave his subscription list to I. Hoskins). A contemporary journal was *Berean Forum*. Still another is said to have been *Zion's Messenger*. A movement spearheaded by R.H. Bricker of Pittsburgh believed the harvest work was essentially finished. Carl Olson (and Mr. Ofstad) of Minneapolis published thoughts on Revelation and chronology of the Gospel Age harvest. About 1925 Prof. Fred. H. Robison, pursued universalism and was followed by Walter H. Bundy, Menta Sturgeon, O.L. Sullivan, W.T. Hooper, and C.B. Shull (along with J.O. Mellinder, Axel Sjo, and a majority of others, in Sweden). A series of seven studies were issued in 1928 from the St. Joseph, Mo., ecclesia.¹⁷ The major New Covenant movement publications were *Kingdom Scribe* (by New Covenant Believers, later called Christian Believers) and *The New Creation* (1940–). Of similar nature, pre-harvest theologies were offered by 145 issues of *Back to the Bible [Way]* [Roy D. and Maud Goodrich (1952–1973)] in Fort Lauderdale, *Stream of Time* [M.J. Adams] in Houston, and by *Bible Student Inquirer/The Bible Student Examiner* [Olin R. Moyle and Henry Wallis] in Baltimore. *Jews in the News* [C. Lanowick, himself of Jewish descent] in 1946 began

¹⁵ A significant irritation to I.F. Hoskins came in 1932 when P.L. Read moved to displace him as secretary.

¹⁶ On the death of I. Margeson, Isaac Hoskins was clearly the senior director. Some voted for the other side not because they supported J. Blackburn but because they found Hoskins too difficult to work with. Hoskins had apparently been cool towards the Dawn and its public witness work from the beginning and remained so after leaving the PBI.

¹⁷ Primarily by the Riemer family: Series 1: The New Creation; 2 and 3: The New Creature; 4: The Wedding Supper and Festival; 5: Abraham and His Seed; 6: The Pearl of Great Price; 7: The Revelation of Jesus Christ. Smaller publications appeared occasionally until 1963. This group was friendly towards the PBI and the Dawn. [J.F. Rutherford's adherents had been in the minority; so the Watchtower group seceded from the St. Joseph ecclesia in 1924.]

several years of publication from Redwood City, Calif. Strict in doctrine are such publications as *Timely Excerpts from the Harvest Message* [Roy Schnee] and *Bible Teachers Manual* [Herbert Brisette] (and since 1969 *Harvest Message* [K.W. Bordes]). There are yet many other publications of assorted persuasions. (Publication does not necessarily indicate support from local ecclesias.)

An outgrowth of efforts of several associated primarily with the PBI to encourage their younger generation has been several new ecclesias in America. These ecclesias generally believe that ransom and restitution are important, but that doctrines of "Present Truth" (as described above) are not vital and ought not to be emphasized; their members also commonly do not accept these doctrines. Such classes commonly title themselves Berean Bible Students and Free Bible Students. "New Covenant" Bible Students (survivors of A.E. Williamson, Matthew L. McPhail, et. al., since 1909) are often with them. Adherents are found in Cicero (Chicago suburb), St. Louis, Buffalo, and New England, among many other places. Since 1950 this movement has sponsored the annual Berean Christian Conference, now at Grove City, Pa. Now that its members have grown older, they are sponsoring since ca. 1954 their own youth movement, various "Youth for Truth" conferences around the U.S.

Various Ecclesias

Noted here are some of the Bible Student ecclesias operating apart from the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, and which were cooperating with the PBI and/or the Dawn. The largest ecclesias in 1920 numbered typically one hundred, which rose around 1930 to perhaps two hundred.¹⁸

The Brooklyn ecclesia had already been functioning since 1918 (with about 130 members). Among its early members were Isaac F. Hoskins, J.L. Cooke, William J. Hollister, John G. Kuehn, Percy L. Read, and H. Clay Rockwell. The present New York ecclesia is closely associated with the Dawn.

The Pittsburgh ecclesia formed 1929 October 6 at the old Bible House.¹⁹ Among its founders were G.M. Wilson, J.C. Jordan, G.S. Kendall, E.W. Keib, and J.T. Johnson (IBSA 1896) and E. Forrest Williams of Duquesne. (A much smaller ecclesia had been meeting for many years earlier, among them J.C. Jordan.)

The Los Angeles ecclesia formed 1930 Jan. 5, including Ernest D. Sexton,²⁰ Elza P. Taliaferro, Russell G. Osborn, Joseph B. Brown, Nicholas Molenaar, James L. Seery, and E. Jasper Wood, and soon thereafter A.W. Abrahamsen (who became its secretary for nearly 50 years, until 1980) and George P. Ripper. Also, Frank T. Horth, Robert Nash, and G. Russell Pollock. A few weeks later the Society withdrew from the Hawthorne, Calif., ecclesia, which had been meeting on the Earl Fowler property. That Spring, Morton Edgar from Glasgow boosted the L.A. efforts on a pilgrim trip. There were 75 in the L.A. ecclesia; when Isaac Hoskins came to speak 1930 Sept. 21, there were 210 present.

The Chicago ecclesia numbered about 64 at its first meeting 1933, the first Sunday in August. Among the early elders were Louis C. Friese, Benjamin F. Hollister, John T. Read (1877-1978), Daniel J. Morehouse, Irving C. Foss, Joseph H. Hoeveler (who shortly went to the Dawn), Charles E. Schiller, Ernest G. Wylam, and Robert C. Jolly. In 1934 128 celebrated the Memorial and 136 in 1935. In the Norwegian ecclesia, Oscar Magnuson²¹ was a spearhead for Norwegian, English, and Polish activity.

The Phoenix ecclesia also organized in the early 1930s. Among others were C. Russell Siglin, E. Harry and Laura Herrscher, and Frank Brackett.

Other ecclesias organized by the 1930s include Providence, R.I., Boston, Springfield, and New Bedford, Mass.; Buffalo; Dayton and Cincinnati, O.; Detroit; Minneapolis; St. Louis, Washington, D.C., Baltimore; St. Petersburg; Vancouver; Seattle; (Philadelphia?, San Francisco?); and several in northeast New Jersey. Additionally, there was non-Society Bible Student activity in England, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, India, and Australia. There was activity among the Polish especially in Detroit and Chicago, and also in Poland and France. There was also Italian and Greek activity.

In the 1960's the largest ecclesias worldwide numbered 150 to 200.

¹⁸ There have been occasional problems with imposters trying to "borrow" money; some have succeeded.

¹⁹ The Rutherford Watch Tower had sold the Bible House building, which made it possible to begin meeting there.

²⁰ Sexton wavered for ten months, according to his letters to J.F. Rutherford 1930 Oct. 22 and to the PBI 1931 Jan. 6.

²¹ Magnuson is also remembered by a younger generation for having shunned having children.

Various Individuals

Noted here are some of the other Bible Students who had left the Society by the 1930's. Most of them were cooperating with the PBI and/or the Dawn.

Harvey A. Friese of Springfield, Mass., had begun his association with the IBSA in 1878, probably on Pastor Russell's trip to New England then. Others include James H. Cole, Oscar Magnuson, and L.F. Zink of Brantford, Ont., all well-known former colporteurs and pilgrims; John G. Kuehn, Allen M. Saphore, T.H. Thornton, William A. Baker, W.M. Batterson, John A. Meggison, S.J. Arnold, and G. Russell Pollock, all former pilgrims; John Hutchinson, former colporteur and Bethel worker; and William Franklyn Hudgings, formerly editor of the *Bible Students Monthly* and in 1919 a Watch Tower director.

Still others include Ingram I. Margeson, Thomas E. Barker (b. ca. 1860 England, d. 1942 Nov.8), J. Henry Sonntag, and W.J. Davis of Boston, also H.S. Cox,²² C.P. Bridges of Lynn (IBSA 1899), R.E. Streeter (d. 1924) and his son Arthur B. Streeter (d. 1932) of Providence, and Andrew Horwood of St. Johns, Nfld.; W. Norman Woodworth of Brooklyn (erstwhile of Nova Scotia), J.T.D. Pyles (d. 1943) of Washington, D.C., Robert Lee Smith of the "Agape" class in Richmond, who published *The Good Samaritan*, Peter Kolliman and Myrza Kolliman of Wilmington, Dela., J.H.L. Trautfelter of Baltimore, J.J. Blackburn and Don Copeland of Toronto, John E. Dawson, and Walter Sargeant of Nova Scotia; Conrad H.S. Kuehn and Charles F. Moser of Toledo, Julian T. Gray (author of "Which is the True Chronology?") and Wilber N. Poe of Cincinnati, Albert P. Johnson of Columbus, Mr. Deming (IBSA 1885) of Greenfield, Ohio, (Mr.) Shirley C. DeGroot of Grand Rapids, W.J. Siekman of Aurora, Ill., G.G. Nybeck, Harvey M. Nosby (d. 1963), and Leon Norby of Minneapolis, Christian W. Zahnow of Saginaw (in the late 1930's), and two well-known photographers, William D. Soper of Cleveland and Harold N. Nelson of Detroit; John Karutsky and Ignac Stocki in Eastern Saskatchewan, John Y. MacAulay of Calgary, W.L. Dimock and G.K. Bolger of San Francisco, L. Paul Davis of Los Angeles and San Luis Obispo, Henry Burdette and John H. Moore of Vancouver, F.W. Shultz of Seattle, C.W. McCoy of Spokane, and F.M. Robinson (xIBSA 1929) of Denver; G.F. Wilson of Oklahoma City, J.B. Bernoudy of St. Louis, and Joseph Wyndelts of Dallas; Alec L. Muir and a Mr. McIlvaine of Florida; John Hoskins; and Morton Edgar visiting from Glasgow, Scotland. Also Joseph Russell Land of Atascadero, California and Mae F. (Thelma) Land Kendall of Florida (Ada Land White followed P.S.L. Johnson; thus, none of C.T. Russell's relatives went with Rutherford). Yet another was Dr. Leslie W. Jones of Chicago, who from 1905 to 1916 published the Souvenir Convention Reports, and who published the first Pittsburgh Reunion Convention souvenir reports (1929 and 1930). Wm. Imre Mann attended the small ecclesia at Rochester, N.Y., for a few months before he died in 1930.

In the late 1960's the total number of Bible Students outside the Society who professed consecration and partake of the Memorial was perhaps 15,000, of whom perhaps nearly one-fourth each were in America, Poland, and Romania (though the latter were unknown to others). There were perhaps somewhat more than one hundred immersions per year of those who profess full consecration to do the LORD's will and the hope of the high calling.

²² Cox headed a small group which separated from the Boston ecclesia, ca. 1924, over the R.E. Streeter chronology (which added 19 years, changing the end of the seven Gentile Times from 1914 to 1933).

Annual Conventions

Many ecclesias take the opportunity of a holiday time to hold annual conventions of three days or longer. Among these conventions are:

New Years (Jan. 1) Chicago (1939-) Phoenix (1943-)	Independence Day (July 4) Detroit (1935-) Los Angeles (1936-) New Brunswick, N.J. (1957-)
Queen's Birthday (ca. May 21) Vancouver, B.C. (1946-)	Labor Day (ca. Sept. 4) Springfield, Mass. (1923-1930) New York/Brooklyn (1931-) Seattle (1930, 1941-) Saginaw (1932- , at Jackson since 1967)
Memorial Day (ca. May 30) Springfield, Mass. (1920-1922) Cincinnati (ca. 1937-1955) Chicago (1939-) San Francisco (1950- , at Asilomar since 1957) Allentown, Pa. (1948-1958)	Minneapolis (1932-1969) San Diego (1948-1985) Thanksgiving (ca. Nov. 27) San Diego (1986-)

At other times of the year were the joint Florida convention (ca. March), several Texas conventions (throughout the year), and the Saskatchewan conventions (since ca. 1947; later merged into a Canadian Midwest General Convention; held in English, Ukrainian, and Polish; in July). [As noted earlier, the main American General Convention was usually held around the first week in August.] The attendance at these conventions is typically from one hundred to several hundred. In addition, many ecclesias around the country have one- or two-day annual conventions.

[The first International Bible Students Convention was held 1982 July 10-14 at Kufstein, Austria, with 293 attending from 13 countries, and biennially since, with attendance growing to around a thousand.]

The PBI and the Dawn Compared

The individual and collective efforts of the Bible Students were somewhat reduced during the years of wartime economy. In the years 1946-1947 efforts were made towards merging the PBI and the Dawn. They failed.

The PBI is an organization of unlimited membership of those having contributed at least \$5 to the cause and who profess harmony with the PBI goals. It is managed by a board of seven directors and has an Editorial Committee of five. Its annual volume of service work and its net assets since World War II remained fairly constant, both of order \$20,000. Its primary purposes are the pilgrim work, and publication of *The Herald of Christ's Kingdom* and related literature. Subsequent to the Isaac Hoskins era, its stand has been that no more than a basic baptismal confession should be enforced either for fellowship or for the teachers the organization sponsors.

The Dawn Bible Students Association is an organization composed of some seventy or so members banding together for common cause. It is managed by a board of 12 trustees, to whom the office staff is responsible. Its annual volume of service work has grown from a post-war cost of \$25,000 to \$250,000 in the late 1960's. Its primary purpose has been to regather Bible Students, with emphasis on public witness. Its stand is that a basic baptismal confession is sufficient for fellowship, but that the organization can only sponsor or approve teachers who are in harmony with the whole Truth, including "Present Truth" (with essentially the usage given previously).

As each group felt it was defending principle, merger was not effected.

Prime movers of the PBI at various times since World War II include Paul Edward Thomson, Percy L. Read, Horace E. Hollister, James C. Jordan, John T. Read, Benjamin F. Hollister, Wm. J. Siekman, Alec L. Muir, Fred A. Essler, James B. Webster, Alex Gonczewski, the Petrans, and others. Others before the war included Isaac F. Hoskins, Ingraham I. Margeson, J.J. Blackburn, Dr. S.D. Bennett, Edith Hoskins, John Hoskins, and John G. Kuehn. Considerable emphasis has been placed on visiting Bible Students in isolated places, and also in Great Britain.

Prime movers of the Dawn at various times since the last war include W. Norman Woodworth, George M. Wilson, G. Russell Pollock, Christian Zahnow, Raymond J. Krupa, Edward E. Fay, (Mr.) Shirley C. DeGroot, Don H. Copeland, John Y. MacAulay, Felix S. Wassman, Stephen Roskiewicz, Irving C. Foss, William C. Bertsche, Claude R. Weida, William J. Hollister, Gustin P. Ostrander, Robert A. Krebs, William T. Baker, William A. Baker, John H. Moore, John A. Meggison, Leon H. Norby, Martin C. Mitchell, Ernest K. ("Bunk") Penrose, Jens Copeland, Samuel Baker, Peter Kolliman, J.H.L. Trautfelter, Chester A. Sundbom, Ludlow P. Loomis, Michael A. Stamulas, Pantel Hatgis, Kenneth M. Nail, George M. Jeuck, and others. Others before the war include John G. Kuehn, George S. Kendall, William F. Hudgings, Oscar Magnuson, and Alec L. Muir. In the late 1960's about one-quarter of the members and one-half of the trustees of the Dawn lived in the New York area; the rest were spread around the country plus some members in Canada and Europe.

During the post-war era there was a strong organizationally pro-Dawn sentiment, which was resisted by some Dawn members and by many more outside the general pro-Dawn fellowship. In later years the exclusive pro-Dawn sentiment gave way to wider cooperation, extending to some of the more conservative PBI members.

Public Witness and Related Efforts

During the 1930's public meetings sometimes drew a few hundred, and on rare occasions more than a thousand. Since the war a few comparably large meetings have been held. Meetings in New York and Detroit, featuring the Dawn TV films and personalities drew 800 and 1100 respectively. All such large meetings have been carefully prepared and heavily advertised. They are roughly comparable in size to Pastor Russell's public meetings about 1903.

G. Russell Pollock began broadcasting on the California Rural Network in the late 1930's (aided by efforts of Wm. Gleason a radio station owner in El Centro). The Dawn resumed "Frank and Ernest" radio broadcasts in 1940. The broadcast increased in scope after the war, and in 1949 the ABC network of 174 stations began broadcasting "Frank and Ernest" throughout the U.S. and Canada. Initial rate of response was about 5,000 per month. "Frank and Ernest" in the late 1960's was broadcasting from approximately one hundred stations. A few stations in Europe, Africa, and Australia were also contracted for English language broadcasts.

The rise of tape recorders in the consumer market during the 1950's led to the recording and mailing of discourses (Bible lectures). Beginning early in 1953 with the efforts of G. Russell Pollock and Kenneth E. Thompson in Los Angeles, the Dawn Tape Recorded Lecture Service grew and moved to the Dawn offices in New Jersey, where it has expanded into an international service. The exchange of tape recordings between Bible Students is widespread; more than fifty recorders have operated in a single convention.

In the middle 1950's the California State Fair at Sacramento saw a Bible Students booth added to the scene. Since that time Bible Students have obtained booths in many annual fairs in the U.S. and Canada. More recently, booths were being taken in home shows and flower shows also. These booths were among the most fruitful public witness efforts. Requests for literature from several hundred people are quite typical, and sometimes several thousand. A booth at the 1964-1965 World's Fair in New York received more than 50,000 requests for literature. The Los Angeles county fair booth effort began in 1965 and distributes several thousand booklets each year (to 2019).

A 1952 "Frank and Ernest" television program in Grand Rapids was not especially successful; so the idea was dropped for a few years. In 1956 or 1957 the Chicago (LaSalle St.) ecclesia began to produce 15-minute TV programs. This effort culminated in the "King of Kings and Lord of Lords" 30-minute film in color (presented by Edward Fay). Currently, this film is seen on many TV stations across the country at Easter and Christmas times. With this film Chicago abandoned its TV production in favor of the Dawn efforts. The Dawn TV library began in 1957-1958 with several 15-minute programs. Currently it includes roughly 75 of the 30-minute films, of which about half are in color. In addition to fifty or more TV stations, these films are being shown in many churches, schools, clubs, and rest homes. The Dawn TV promotion and distribution were handled from Los Angeles in its earlier years.

The success of the initial Chicago TV effort created a heavy demand for public tracts. Therefore several members of the Chicago ecclesia banded together to form the Chicago Bible Students Press. Its average production is about 350,000 tracts per year, of which about half are for local use. More recently, the Chicago ecclesia is reprinting most of the works of the late Pastor Russell.

The colporteur work continued into the 1960's. Although the number of full-time colporteurs was fewer than half a dozen, there were several dozen part-time colporteurs. In addition, the Scripture Studies Colporteur Fund, whose prime mover was the Wilmington, Del., ecclesia, offered colporteurs supplementary assistance. A team of colporteurs may typically place one to ten 1st Volumes per day. Current distribution of Volume I is several thousand per year. Since 1886 the total circulation of the six Volumes²³ is about fifteen million.

Foreign Efforts

In Great Britain,²⁴ Jesse Hemery was progressively centralizing power in himself. Secession from Hemery, J.F. Rutherford and the Watch Tower Society progressed rapidly after World War I ended. The Bible Students Committee was constituted 1919 April 5 in London to coordinate publishing, pilgrim service, etc., outside the Society. Its seven initial members were Henry J. Shearn (1919-1936), William Crawford (1919-1925) and Frank B. Edgell (1919-1924) of London (west side), Fred G. Guard, sr. (1919-1923) and Alex Guy (1919-1923) of Forest Gate (London east side), William Seager (1919-1923) of Ipswich, and George B. Tharratt (1919-1921) of Bishops Stortford. Later members included Ebenezer Housden (1921-1930), Ben Thatcher (1924-1936), Tom Holmes (1927-1945), and Albert O. Hudson (1936-1945). The Committee was dissolved in 1945. H.J. Shearn (d. 1946) began publishing the *B.S.C. Monthly* (1924-1927), *Bible Students Monthly* (1927-1951), and then *Bible Study Monthly* (since Aug. 1951). There is cooperation with the PBI in the U.S.A. William Crawford (d. 1957) commenced *The Old Paths* in 1925, which continued publication through 1961. Crawford was strict in doctrine and felt the harvest was essentially over. Frank Edgell began publishing *Fellowship* in 1923. Frederick Lardent was publishing *Gleanings*. Jesse Hemery,²⁵ departing from the Society later than the others, established Goshen Fellowship and published Futurist interpretations of Revelation, which have some adherents today. A monthly publication, *Pyramidology* (monthly), by Dr. Adam Rutherford of Newcastle, began in 1941. The *Forest Gate Church (London) Bible Monthly* published 1936-1985. An evening devotional book, "Songs in the Night," was compiled by Phillys Stracy. A Dawn office was established in England shortly after World War II (a British section is included in the American *Dawn*). The annual Conway Hall/London convention (1931-1970), sponsored by four classes there, was Great Britain's largest. An annual convention was held in Portrush, Northern Ireland (1950-1980) [which corresponded roughly to the U.S. General Convention, though proportionately much smaller]. The annual Maranatha [Our Lord Cometh] Conference (1950-1980) corresponded approximately to the Berean (Grove City, Pa.) Conference in the U.S.

In Australia, R.E.B. Nicholson rejected the Seventh Volume in 1918 and thence formed the Berean Bible Institute. [Mrs. R.E.B. Nicholson remained with the Watch Tower.] This Institute has published *Peoples Paper* in Melbourne since 1918 (edited by E.E. Martin, ca. 1926-1988), and it represents both the PBI and the Dawn there. There are several associated Berean Bible Student ecclesias (including Polish) in Australia and also a few in New Zealand. (The term "Berean" here carries about the same connotation as in America before World War II.) At the same time, the Henninges in Melbourne continued publishing *New Covenant Advocate and Kingdom Herald* from 1909 April 1 to 1943 Mar 1; it was later resumed by H.S. Winbush.

In India, S.P. Devasahayam ("Davey"), from near Nagercoil, had begun the work in 1912, including translation of Studies in the Scriptures, Vol. 1, into Tamil and then Malayalam. After Pastor Russell's death, contact with the Watch Tower {XE "Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society"} was lost for many years, but

²³ The Dawn has republished "Studies in the Scriptures," Vols. 1-6. The PBI has republished Vol. 1. The Laymen's Home Missionary Movement has published Vols. 1-6 as slightly reedited by P.S.L. Johnson. The New Brunswick, N.J., ecclesia has reprinted Vols. 1-6 in hardback, ostensibly with corrections C.T. Russell had intended to implement. A tabloid edition of Vol. I, and a 6-volumes-in-one editions are republished in Ft. Worth. The Watch Tower has discontinued these volumes.

²⁴ In detail, see the excellent 196-page book, A.O. Hudson, "Bible Students in Britain," Hounslow: Bible Fellowship Union, 1989.

²⁵ Hemery evidently had a lifetime contract to live at Watch Tower headquarters, London; so he was not evicted even long after he parted company with Rutherford's teachings.

contact with the PBI was quickly established.²⁶ Davey became physically weak ca. 1920 and became involuntarily inactive until his death in 1936. Then, also, many associates left the Society en masse.

Davey appointed V. Devasandosham to succeed him ca. 1920. A capable organizer, Devasandosham organized the “Associated Bible Students” (later India Bible Students Association) and centered the work in Madras. Tamil publications included “Babylon and her Daughters,” “Is Saturday the Sabbath of the Christians?,” and “The True Bible Catechism.” Later, he suggested 2520+30 years might signify the end in 1944; after 1939 many sold all for the sake of the Christian work, which afterwards led to serious problems.

Originally from Singapore, Bro. Bagyam (of poor health) bought a small printing press in Madras, 1920-1924. Bagyam Press printed many Tamil tracts, and a monthly magazine (since ca. 1922) for the Associated Bible Students. After Devasandosham's death, the press was moved to Coimbatore, in 1966 (with a press bought by the Dawn) to Madurai, and in 1974 to Trichy (Tiruchiripali, where there were about 300 in the ecclesia). Sr. Ryer Pillai gave a trimming machine for books ca. 1960.

As head of the India Bible Students Association, Devasandosham (1920-1944) was succeeded by T.C. Devakannu (“TCD;” 1944-ca. 1970), by S. Rathansami (1967-1975) of Tiruchiripali, and Sebastian (1975-). Studies in the Scriptures, Vol. 1, had been published in Tamil in 1920. The India Bible Students Association [Tamil language] convention has been held annually since 1921. Currently it lasts about three days, attracts roughly a hundred, and from year to year rotates among a few cities. The Bible Students Press published a monthly magazine in the Tamil language. A few hundred Bible Students are scattered throughout India, but primarily in the South.

Sundar Raj Gilbert (ca. 1936, c. 1937) left an engineering career to begin his activity. His outreach beyond the Tamil state began in 1940. Solomon Subamangalam and Bro. George by chance found a small Dawn booklet at Madras and wrote for free literature early in 1946.²⁷ In 1947 Subamangalam gave some of it to Sundar Raj Gilbert. Then correspondence between H.A. Livermore of Portland, Ore., and Peter Sundar Raj Gilbert led to foreign support of the India work beginning in 1947. The Northwest India Committee (in America; later renamed Northwest Committee for India), consisting of one member each from the Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, and Salem classes, receives cooperation from several ecclesias and individuals in the U.S. and Canada. Other assistance comes directly from Germany, France, and Australia. The South India Bible Students Committee was formed in 1965 (in conjunction with G.R. Pollock's visit) to publish literature also in the other native languages: including Telugu, Kanada (Canarese), Malayalam, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Oriya. The Bible Students Press has a working agreement with the Dawn in America.

In Germany and Switzerland, Samuel Lauper (d. 1938) published *Heroldes des Königreiches Christi*, which was the German *Herald of Christ's Kingdom*. Lauper also published a German translation of Streeter's Revelation volumes. Ewald Vorsteher published *Wahrheitsfreund* [Friend of Truth] in the 1920s. Conrad C. Binkele began publishing *Der Pilgrim* in 1931. These efforts all suspended at the advent of the Hitler government. (Binkele and his wife, Hanna, returned to Los Angeles, U.S.A., in 1940, d. 1942 and 1949.) After the war many Bible Students again received Watchtower literature (for the first time in a decade) and forthwith left the Society. Mr. Hodler stressed Israel. Jos. Huber began *Die Brennende Lampe* [The Burning Lamp], similar to the American *Herald* and *Dawn* (though more Futurist). A. Freytag published *Jedermannsblatt* [Everybody's Paper; see below, under the French work]. Emil Sadlac of Kirchlengern began *Christliche Warte* [Christian Watchtower] in 1949, which offers a pre-harvest theology. The German *Tagesanbruch* [Daybreak, the German *Dawn*], began in Berlin ca. 1950 and later moved to Freiburg. The German general convention began in 1955 and now typically hosts 200. There are many Bible Students in East Germany also; they published *Christliche Verantwortung* [Christian Responsibility] for two years ca. 1950 (Mrs. Dollinger was instrumental).

Polish activity outside the Society began with the journals *Strasz* [Watchman] in 1923, R.H. Oleszynski (1857-1930), editor, and *Brzask Nowej Ery* [Dawn of a New Era] in 1930. S.F. Tabaczynski, Jan Jezuit, W. O. Wnorowski and Anthony E. Bogdanczik were also energetic. The American Polish general convention alternates between Chicago and Detroit. There are many Polish classes throughout the U.S. and central

²⁶ A letter from S.P. Davey of S. Travencore appears already in the *Herald* of 1918 Dec. 15. (See also 1919 May 15.) India was included on R.E.B. Nicholson's pilgrim trip in 1922 July-August.

²⁷ Herbert Poole of BC first sent Dawn literature to Bro. Moses Vedanuthu of Gurpur, about 1935, at the request of Charles E. Wessman in Sweden [*Dawn* 1937 Dec.].

Canada. In Poland a majority of non-Society Bible student ecclesias formed after 1934. The general convention in Poland is held every two years and may attract over two thousand. Roughly three thousand have registered with the government as Bible Students. *Na Strasz* [On the Watch] began publication in Warsaw in 1958. A group breaking cooperation with the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement in the U.S. in 1958 began publishing *Swit* [Daybreak].

The French Dawn, *Aurore*, began publication ca. 1951. *Journal de Sion* began near Lille, France, in 1956 and publishes translated writings of Pastor Russell and some current articles. The Polish constitute the largest proportion of Bible Students in France. Along a different line, Alexander Freytag formed the Man's Friends (or Philanthropic Assembly) group in 1920. Freytag claimed special revelations and looked for Christ's Second Coming in the future. The Swiss and the French groups are divided now and publish their own journals. They claim an earthly hope and endeavor to do many good works.

The New York Greek ecclesia formed in 1933 and in 1934 began publishing a Greek Dawn, *He Haravgi. Frouros* [Watcher] is a doctrinaire publication (by Geo. Loumbardas) in Toronto. In Greece most of the Bible Student activity is in Athens. Activity in Greece was often hampered by anti-proselytizing laws.

A publication in the Italian language, *L' Aurora Millenniale* [The Dawn of the Millennium] was attempted in Hartford, Conn., beginning ca. 1933. The Italian Dawn, *Aurora*, began publication in 1953.

Prominent among Scandinavians who left the Society was (Count) Carl Lüttichau of Copenhagen. The Dano-Norwegian Dawn, *Daggry Forlaget*, began publication ca. 1951.

Swedish efforts outside the IBSA commenced about 1920, with Mr. Mellinder of Harnosand and Axel Sjo prominent. A 1922 winter convention in Stockholm was attended by nearly 100. (A few years later most of these turned to universalism.) Anders Karlen stressed the divine plan in the Great Pyramid of Egypt. A Swedish Dawn, *Dagnigen*, was published 1951-1960.

Finnish efforts apart from the IBSA commenced early in 1921. A year later a Finnish journal had 1500 subscriptions, 500 attended a convention in Helsinki (150 Swedish speaking), and 1000 attended public meetings. Mr. Nortamo was a full-time pilgrim, and W. Berghäll (pronounced "Berryhill" in English) appears to have been a guiding light. There were active ecclesias of about 50 in Tampere (Tammerfors) and Turku (Åbo).

A journal, *Storas*, corresponding to the Polish *Strasz*, is published from Winnipeg in the Ukrainian language. A Ukrainian radio broadcast, *Peter and Paul*, is sponsored by the Ukrainian ecclesia in Winnipeg.

Spanish broadcasts of *Francisco y Ernesto* are heard throughout Latin America and the southernmost U.S. The Spanish work was spearheaded by Roberto Montero in San Diego, Calif.

Romanian activity was curtailed by World War II. Afterwards, property was confiscated and activity suppressed during the Ceausescu regime. Several thousand there had no contact with Bible Students from other countries.

Africa work began in earnest in 1972-1973 with visits to interested groups in Nigeria and Ghana.²⁸

²⁸ Many in Nigeria had felt that J.A. Brown was persecuting them. In 1950 G.M. Uhrobo in Lagos had told Shadrach Okalowe that the Jehovah's Witnesses were not the followers of C.T. Russell, but that they were somewhere around the world. Mr. Okalowe moved successively to several countries before hearing the Frank & Ernest radio programs in Toronto in the 1970's.

Travels

Great Britain is visited almost annually by associates of the Dawn or the PBI. America is visited from Great Britain not infrequently also. Continental Europe is visited every year of two by associates of the Dawn, with some reciprocation. In particular, since 1937 Poland and France are often visited by members of the Polish ecclesias in the U.S. and Canada. More recently, Polish pilgrims have been visiting France and America about every two years. Greece and Italy are occasionally visited from America. India, Australia, and New Zealand were visited in 1965 by G.R. Pollock as a Dawn pilgrim. Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel J. Hiam from Auckland, N.Z., visited Great Britain, the U.S., and Canada, also in 1965. The interested in South America were visited infrequently, and West Africa not at all, until after 1967.

A Contemporary - The Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society

When J.F. Rutherford and the other Watch Tower officers were released from prison after the war, the first effort was a convention at Cedar Point, Ohio. During 1919 Sept. 1-7, attendance exceeded 6,000, with about 200 baptized. Rutherford went to Europe the next year to revitalize the overseas work also. The 1922 Cedar Point convention drew 18,000 to 20,000, with 144 baptized.

The *Watch Tower* had continued publication unbroken through the war. *Kingdom News*, which had replaced *The Bible Students Monthly* in 1918 March, had been discontinued on account of the war. (Special issues of *Kingdom News* were very occasionally published into the 1940s.) But now a new journal was begun for the public. *Golden Age*, published and edited by C.J. Woodworth, began publication 1919 Oct. 1. *Golden Age* was subsequently renamed *Consolation* (1937), and *Awake!* (1946). Instructions to the colporteurs (later called pioneers) were issued beginning in 1917 as *The Bulletin*, later as *The Director*, as the *Informant* (1936), and as *Kingdom Ministry* (1957). Rutherford began his book-writing in 1915 with a 64-page defense of Pastor Russell, "A Great Battle in the Ecclesiastical Heavens." In 1920 he issued a sermon pamphlet, "Millions Now Living Will Never Die." Then followed books: *The Harp of God* (1921), *Deliverance* (1926), *Creation* (1927), *Reconciliation* (1928), and *Government* (1928). These books soon replaced *Studies in the Scriptures*, which were last published ca. 1927 and last circulated ca. 1930. The Society's first annual report published separately from the *Watch Tower* was the 1927 *Yearbook* (report for 1926).

The Society returned from Pittsburgh to the Brooklyn Bethel 1919 October 1. The offices were moved to Myrtle Ave., Brooklyn, in 1920, and then to 18 Concord St. ca. 1921, and finally to 117 Adams St. in 1927.

Rutherford made his first radio broadcast in 1922 ca. April 16. The Society built radio station WBBR in 1922-1924 and operated it from 1924 to 1957. The peak radio work came in 1933 when 408 stations were broadcasting the Society's message. In 1937 the radio work was virtually abandoned (except for WBBR) in favor of portable phonograph recordings carried by the pioneers.

The Watchtower work in the 1930's was complicated by the approach of World War II. The work in Germany was stopped in 1933, when Adolph Hitler came to power.²⁹ Thereafter the work was slowed or stopped in many more countries until the war was over. During this time the Society placed considerable emphasis on winning a wide variety of legal cases.

Rutherford's first big message began in 1918 as "The World has Ended - Millions now Living will never Die." During the time of "Millions Now Living Will Never Die" it was emphasized that the Church would probably be complete and the Ancient Worthies raised in 1925.³⁰ After 1925, study of time-prophecy was discouraged, and now Armageddon figured prominently in the Society's message. In 1931 (ca. July 26) the Society named its membership "Jehovah's Witnesses."

²⁹ Bible Students and Jehovah's witnesses were both interned in Bergen-Belsen and other Nazi concentration camps. [*Bibelforscher* {cognate: Bible-foragers} at Auschwitz were identified by a violet arm patch.]

³⁰ A large house, named "Beth Sarim," was built in the Kensington district of San Diego in 1929, overlooking the Mission Valley, to be kept in perpetuity for the Ancient Worthies. It was built with all-volunteer labor and a materials cost of \$75,000. A concrete-block structure about 75 feet down the northeast slope appears to have been the wine cellar. R.J. Martin deeded the property to Rutherford for \$10 on 1929 Dec 24. Rutherford used it as his winter residence. (There were rumors about his relationships with Bonnie Boyd and/or Mrs. Verna Peale.) Permission to bury him there was denied; so his body was shipped east. A gardner at Beth Sarim claimed the body was secretly returned and that he buried it at night under a floorless building, though a later resident, Cuppy Ching, searched the entire property with her dog and failed to find any evidence. After his death, the property was sold in 1947. (His wife, Mary (crippled), and son Malcom Cameron Rutherford, lived on Stedman Rd. in Monrovia, east of Los Angeles.)

Rutherford's teachings differed slightly - but progressively - from C.T. Russell's, even from the start. Beginning about 1925 Rutherford began to reinterpret many passages and to innovate notably different teachings. In 1925 the war between Michael and the dragon (Rev. 12) was interpreted literally, and also the 1260 days. In 1926 the "abomination that maketh desolate" was interpreted as the League of Nations. In 1929 the Society's members were told they were subject not to earthly governments but to the Society only (Rom. 13), which led to refusing to salute the flag (climaxing in 1935). In 1932 a "Jonadab" class (or "other sheep") was introduced as participating in the destruction of Babylon and as having hope of an earthly reward. In 1935 the Great Multitude was reinterpreted from a heavenly class to an earthly class and was identified with the Jonadabs. In 1938 it was proclaimed that only the Great Multitude would survive Armageddon and that they (and the dead-and-to-be-resurrected Jehovah's Witnesses) would generate a new race to fill the Earth during the Millennium. It was now taught that the man Jesus Christ gave himself a ransom - not for all people - but for Jehovah's Witnesses only (or at least that since 1914 no others would benefit from it). (This last teaching was partially withdrawn in 1965 for the Sodomites and others.) To several, Rutherford and the Society were going into outer darkness. But the Society claimed this was the light shining brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.

The matter of ecclesia government was also a heated issue. In Pastor Russell's day the various Bible study classes had been autonomous, voting on elders and deacons and other ecclesia matters, and voluntarily cooperating with the Society. In 1919 Rutherford appointed a service Director for each ecclesia participating in the Golden Age work. In 1920 he required weekly reports from all class workers. In 1932, ca. October, he stopped the election of elders and replaced the elders with a local service committee appointed by the Society. In 1938 he removed the last vestiges of autonomy, all classes now being fully organized by the Society. Rutherford called it "Theocratic organization." Dissenters called it a ruthless take-over.³¹

There were yet other points of dissension. Many were saying the only way to serve the Lord was to go out and "sell the books." The concept of character development was abandoned, and then declared taboo. The Society was declared to be God's exclusive channel of Truth, and God's visible representative on Earth, whose teachings may not be questioned. Answers from the Bible were banned in some local *Watch Tower* studies.³² Many accepted these things readily. Others quietly dissented but feared to leave the Society. Still others openly felt Rutherford was smiting his fellow-servants and that the Society had now become another part of Babylon; these left.

Of those who left the Society, many withdrew and many more were disfellowshipped.³³ All were anathematized and generally treated with animosity and indignation. Those who associated with various other Bible Student groups were called by the Society "the evil servant" (or, "the wicked and sluggish slave").

³¹ In 1926 George Fisher urged German ecclesias to disfellowship J.F. Rutherford, but Fisher died later that year.

³² "Brother, this is a *Watch Tower* study, not a *Bible* study; you are out of order!" was not infrequently used to end discussion. For some, it also ended attendance.

³³ By one estimate, in 1925-1928 the Society lost 75% of its membership. The following excerpt from an official letter is illustrative of the conflict between organizational loyalty and individual conscience:

C. J.
Bowling Green, Ky., 42101
Sept. 10, 1978

Mrs. L. G.

We have scheduled a judicial committee hearing for you at the Bowling Green Kingdom Hall Wednesday, Sept. 13, 1978 at 5:30 PM...

I want to re-emphasize that during the hearing if you are unwilling to renounce any "Dawnite" or "Russellite" teachings that are no longer accepted by the governing body of the Watchtower Society you will certainly be disfellowshipped. On the other hand, if you are willing to accept the governing body of Jehovah's Witnesses as the leading representative of Jehovah's earthly organization, and if you are willing to accept our entire current understanding of God's Word we will gladly and happily accept you into our midst. And, of course, we would no longer view you as a disassociated person. However, it is entirely up to you. The choice is yours.

Sincerely
Judicial Committee
Bowling Green Cong. (West) of Jehovah's Witnesses

The Society grew in numbers through all this.³⁴ The 1918 Watch Tower office staff was reduced to about ten. In 1929 there were about 180 at Bethel, a few more than in the last years of Pastor Russell. Now the number is closer to 500. Conventions in New York in 1950 and 1953 filled Yankee Stadium. In 1958 Yankee Stadium and the Polo Grounds together drew ¼ million. In 1963 in Los Angeles, they drew 140,000 to the Rose Bowl the same week Billy Graham was drawing an equivalent number to the Coliseum. In 1915 the Memorial was celebrated by over 15,000; in 1917 to 1920 it was around 20,000; in 1925 it reached a peak of over 90,000. (1926, 89,278; 1927, 88,544; 1928, 17,380.) Today, well over 1,000,000 attend the Memorial, but fewer than 10,000 partake of it. A large portion of these is overseas.

Among the recent Watchtower leaders are Nathan H. Knorr, Society president since 1942, and a capable organizer; Fred W. Franz, the theological leader, who spearheaded the New World Bible translation beginning in 1950 (and who succeeded Knorr in the presidency in 1977); Hayden C. Covington, the Society's chief lawyer for many years (but now withdrawn, apparently under pressure from N.H. Knorr); and Milton G. Henschel, who made several post-war world tours (and who succeeded Franz in the presidency).

The Contemporary Denominations

Since World War I denominational Christianity has waxed in numbers while waning in influence. The rise of modernist teachings and the suppression of denominational differences are outstanding features of the time. There has also been some notable scholarship in Biblical archaeology and related fields.

The three schools of thought in twentieth century Protestantism have been liberal, neo-orthodox, and conservative:

Liberal theologians de-emphasize the Bible and its supernatural aspects, and instead emphasize confidence and hope in human reasoning. Led by Harry Emerson Fosdick, they grew in numbers and influence through the 1920's. During the depression the major denominations and seminaries were almost entirely under liberal control.

Neo-orthodoxy revolts against the utopianism and faith in man of the liberals, and emphasizes instead the chronic sinfulness of man. Its adherents proclaim that God's revelation was in Christ, but they do not necessarily either accept or reject various evangelicalist doctrines. Led by Reinhold Niebuhr, and abetted by depression and war, neo-orthodoxy replaced liberalism as the dominant Protestant theology.

Conservative theology rejects liberalism, neo-orthodoxy, and related modernist thinking. The fundamentalism of the 1920's and 1930's upheld five fundamental doctrines, affirming the inspiration of the Bible, Jesus' virgin birth, Christ's "substitutionary atonement," His resurrection, and His second coming. Fundamentalism sustained a series of costly setbacks following the 1925 Scopes "monkey trial." During the depression fundamentalism almost perished from the major denominations. Since World War II, conservative theology has rebounded as evangelicalism. Evangelicals emphasize Christ as God and other traditional doctrines, in addition to the fundamentalist doctrines.

The most remarkable theological feature of the century has been Protestant abandonment of protest: In the Reformation, Protestants agreed that the Antichrist [Dan 7, Rev 13, 17, 2Ths 2, etc.] had its fulfillment in Rome, especially the Papal phase. A generation later the Jesuits countered with two alternatives: that the Antichrist had been Heathen Rome and was therefore all in the past [the Præterist view], or that the Antichrist would be one man who would rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem and reign 3½ years sometime in the indefinite future [the Futurist view]. Not until the 19th century had the Futurist view begun inroads into Protestantism. But now in the 20th century conservative Protestantism has switched to the Futurist view, while liberal Protestantism (to the extent that Revelation is studied at all) has accepted the Præterist view; the Reformation view has been almost totally abandoned.³⁵

In the past several decades denominational Christianity has experienced growing - and now very widespread - feelings of frustration and despair about the possibility of knowing God. As a result, radical theologians occasionally generalize their own experiences in shocking statements. While many conservative members express repugnance, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, or independent conservative churches have filled the void for others.

³⁴ It is probable that a majority of those professing the heavenly calling left the Society over Rutherford's first twenty years, while a progressively larger proportion of converts were not interested in the heavenly calling.

³⁵ Some have observed, "Protestantism is dead, because it no longer protests." It is reminiscent of Studies in the Scriptures, Vol. 4, p.34, "The *ism* is still with us, but what has become of the *protest*?"

Several Baptist and Lutheran churches have grown considerably in numbers. Several smaller groups have also grown rapidly, often at the expense of the larger denominations. In addition, several science-of-the-mind churches, and also Latter Day Saints (Mormons), have experienced a spectacular rise. The sum total represents a rise in church membership of perhaps 3% per year.

Yet in spite of increased numbers, overall church influence has been waning in the lives of the people. Since the beginning of World War II the ratio of professed Christians to non-Christians has continually decreased (except in Africa). In an effort to stem the tide many church leaders have been progressively turning from the spiritual realm to the socio-political world (in an effort to identify the church with the people).

Amid the waning influence of religion, there has been much emphasis on interdenominational cooperation and mergers. The Federal Council of Churches, Home Missions Council, Foreign Missions Conference, and several other bodies joined to form the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. ca. 1951, claiming it to represent the majority of American Protestants. More locally, many councils of churches and ministerial associations sprang up. For the teen-agers Youth for Christ was organized. Two global products of the Ecumenical movement were the International Missionary Council (1921) for assistance to missions to the non-Christian, and the World Council of Churches (1938-1948) for international cooperation between churches. Anti-modernist councils also formed, such as the National Association of Evangelicals and the American Council of Christian Churches (led by Carl McIntyre), together with their associated world organizations. Southern Baptists and certain other Bible-oriented groups, however, remained aloof from all interdenominational organizations.

Several individuals are worthy of note. The evangelism of the informal, and perhaps irreverent, ex-baseball-player Billy Sunday, and more recently of the eloquent fundamentalist Billy Graham (of Baptist background), has attracted wide attention. Charles E. Fuller began "The Old-fashioned Revival Hour" radio programs in 1925. Frank N.D. Buchman began the global Moral Re-armament (M.R.A.) movement in the 1920's. Overseas, John R. Mott, J.H. Oldham, and William Temple were the prime movers in the Ecumenical movement. Among the influential thinkers was the versatile philosopher, theologian, musician, and medical missionary to Africa, Albert Schweitzer. Many others made equally significant contributions.

In the Roman Catholic world there has been a considerable increase in numbers. On the other side of the ledger, however, the dilemma of the Roman church during World War II was exceeded by the post-war threat of communism. In recent years there has been much effort towards liberalizing church policies, and towards cooperation with Eastern Orthodox and Protestantism (especially as most of the latter no longer protest). Among the better known Catholic expositors have been Charles E. Coughlin, who broadcast provocative politics and economics on radio during the depression, and Fulton J. Sheen, who eloquently expounded the Catholic faith over both radio and television in the 1950's.

Also noteworthy are the past half-century's contributions to Biblical scholarship. Some New Testament papyrus fragments are a century and more older than the renowned fourth-century Sinaitic and Vatican-1209 manuscripts. Notable are the Oxyrhynchus papyri continually published since the turn of the century, the Chester Beatty papyri in the 1930's, and the Bodmer papyri since 1956. C.R. Gregory (successor to Tischendorf, died in World War I) was succeeded by E. von Dobschütz, W. Eltester, and then Kurt Aland, as compiler of the manuscripts. Eberhard Nestle's Greek New Testament text has replaced Westcott and Hort's as the standard of comparison; its critical apparatus (summary of variant manuscript readings) is continually updated. Aland, et. al., revised this text slightly in 1966.

The discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls beginning in 1947 constitute a windfall in the study of the Old Testament Hebrew text and idiom. These numerous scrolls from the first two or three centuries B.C. generally conform to the familiar Hebrew and Greek Old Testament texts. Work on the scrolls was under the direction of Yigael Yadin and Frank Moore Cross, jr. The Hebrew (Masoretic text) and Greek (Septuagint) standards of comparison are the texts of R. Kittel and A. Rahlfs respectively.

Additionally in the last few decades, archaeologists have excavated very many sites of Biblical fame. Leonard Wooley in 1922 announced discovery of Ur (the city Abraham left), to the delight of Bible believers, and to the chagrin of the school of "higher criticism." Building upon earlier archaeological excavations and publications of Edward Robinson, Flinders Petrie (in Egypt), J.H. Breasted, and several others, have been the enthusiastic organizer William Foxwell Albright,, G. Ernest Wright, Nelson Glueck, J.B. Pritchard, and many others. Particularly notable for students of the Bible have been the excavations of Jericho by John Garstang in 1930-1936 and by Kathleen Kenyon, and of mighty Hazor by Yigael Yadin.

Similarly, to the earlier decoding of ancient languages by Jean Francois Champollion (hieroglyphics), Sir C.C. Rawlinson (Behistun inscriptions in Persia), and Wallis Budge (Rosetta Stone, 1913), was added Behistun Elamite (1948 and 1957) by G.G. Cameron. At the same time, Church history has been the forte of Kenneth Scott Latourette.

Bible concordances by Robert Young (segregates each English word by Greek words), James Strong (organized by English words, with lexicon), and G.V. Wigram (Englishman's; organized by Greek words) remain the most popular. McClintock and Strong's "Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, & Ecclesiastical Literature" remains unequalled for the scholarly.

There has been a flurry of new Bible translations. The Bible was translated early into Greek (O.T.), Latin, Aramaic (= Syriac), Coptic (several dialects in Egypt), Gothic, Ethiopic, Armenian and Georgian. On the eve of the Reformation the full Bible had been printed in only seven languages (ancient Greek, Latin, High and Low German, Italian, Catalan, and Czech). By 1800 the number had increased to 39, by 1917 to 154, and by 1970 it had increased to 249, plus portions of scripture in more than a thousand other languages, covering 97% of the world's population.

The 19th century had seen many English translations dedicated to improving accuracy: Rotherham (1872, 1897), English Revised Version (RV, 1881-1884) and American Standard Version (ASV, 1901), and the Wilson diaglott (N.T. Greek-English, 1864), while the turn of the century added the Twentieth Century New Testament (N.T., 1900) and Weymouth (N.T., 1902). However, with a background of waning faith, twentieth-century translating philosophy turned from accuracy to making versions more understandable (commonly incorporating greater theological biases): Notable examples include the Revised Standard Version (RSV, 1946-1952), New English Bible (1961-), Jerusalem Bible (1966), and the New International Version (NIV, 1973-1978). Perhaps the only important contribution to accuracy is the Marshall diaglott (N.T., 1958), while the New American Standard Bible (NASB, 1960-) has retreated little from the ASV (particularly the NASB 1960's editions). The most accurate expanded version is K.S. Wuest, The New Testament – An Expanded Translation (N.T., 1956-1961), while R.G. Bratcher's Good News for Modern Man (or, Today's English Version, TEV, 1966) is the best of the simplified translations. The Concordant Version (universalist, 1926, 1944) also merits honorable mention.

Appendix Additional Details

There were seven members of the PBI Board of Directors, among whom were:

James Dennis Wright of Bayonne, N.J.	1918-1920, chairman
Ingram I. Margeson of Boston (Westwood)	1918-1935, vice-chairman and chairman
Isaac F. Hoskins (d. 1957 Sept.) of Brooklyn	1918-1936, secretary to 1932
P.L. Greiner of Ulster Park, N.Y.	1918-1936 ⁻ , treasurer to 1934
Henry Clay Rockwell (d. 1950 Feb. 24)	1918-1926 May
Francis H. McGee of Freehold, N.J.	1918-ca. 1924
E.J. Pritchard of Andover, Mass.	1918-ca. 1924
Benjamin Boulter (IBSA 1908, PBI 1918, d. 1947 Oct. 10) of Plainfield, NJ	ca. 1924-1932, 1936-1939, 1942-1944
Bertrand A. Parkes (d. 1942 Feb.) of Philadelphia	ca. 1924-1936
J.J. Blackburn (b. 1881 Feb. 10, d. 1946 Mar. 24) of Toronto	1926-1946
Percy L. Read	1929-1950, 1954-1980, treasurer and secretary
Paul E. Thomson	ca. 1932-1968, secretary and treasurer
Dr. S.D. Bennett of New Jersey	1935-1942
James C. Jordan (d. 1986) of Pittsburgh	1936-1971, 1973-1977, chairman
Chester E. Stiles (d. ca. 1974)	1936-1942
William J. Siekman (1902 - 1988) of Batavia, Ill.	1942-1985
John Threlkeld Read (b. 1877 Oct.11, d. 1978 Aug. 29) of Chicago	1943-1978
Fred A. Essler (d. 1980) of Lynn, Mass.	1942, 1951-1980
James B. Webster of Boston	1968-1993
Horace E. Hollister (b. 1879, d. 1955)	1947-1955
Alec L. Muir (d. 1972) of Florida	ca. 1926-1928 ⁺ , 1959-1972

There were five members of the Editorial Committee, among whom were:

Randolph Elwood Streeter (d. 1924 Dec. 20) of Providence	1918-1924
Isaac F. Hoskins (d. 1957 Sept.)	1918-1936
Ingram I. Margeson (b. ca. 1872, c. ca. 1890, d. 1935 May 8)	1918-1935
H. Clay Rockwell (d. 1950)	1918-1926 May
Dr. S.N. Wiley (d. ca. 1928 Aug.) of Philadelphia (McKeesport)	1918-1928
Harvey A. Friese (b. 1863, c. & IBSA 1878, d. 1943 Feb. 15) of Springfield	1925-1929, 1936 (director 1939-1941)
J.J. Blackburn (d. 1946 March 24) of Toronto	1926-1936
Silas J. Arnold (1860-1943) of Dayton	1928-1932 ⁻
Percy Leonard Read (1887-1980) of Indianapolis and St. Louis	1929-1949, 1954-1980
Paul E. Thomson (d. 1973)	1932-1949, 1952-1954, 1968-1973
Dr. S.D. Bennett (1870-1942) of Millville, New Jersey	1935-1941
Horace E. Hollister (b. 1879, d. 1955 Dec.)	1936-1955
John T. Read (b. 1877, IBSA 1902, d. 1978) of Chicago	1937-1952
W.J. Siekman (1902-1988) of Batavia, Ill.	1940-1951, 1964-1985
James B. Webster of Boston	1950-1968, 1973-1978
Alex Gonczewski of Springfield, Mass. (ecclesia)	1951-1971
Loyal Petran of Racine, Wis.	1953-1977
Wm. A. Eliason of Minneapolis?	1956-1964
James C. Jordan (d. 1986) of Pittsburgh	1971-1977

PBI auditors were initially chosen one each from Boston, Springfield, and New York: W. H. Kimball, H.E. Spear, and Wm. J. Hollister.

The first listed pilgrims and lecturers were Hugh S. Cox, Wm. J. Hollister, Isaac F. Hoskins, E.J. Pritchard, Percy L. Read, H. Clay Rockwell, R.E. Streeter, and S.N. Wiley.

P.L. Greiner is described as wealthy, had property; and a nice person. Benjamin Boulter an ex-Salvation Army man and flamboyant talker. Harvey Friese had a sweet disposition.

The national flu epidemic (variously called swine flu, chicken flu, etc., from which many died) eliminated many conventions in 1918.³⁶ The PBI arranged several general conventions in cooperation with local ecclesias until 1923. Most of the early conventions in America are tabulated below, as published in the early *Heralds*.

Year	General Conventions	Local Conventions	Year	Local Conventions
1919	Feb 21-23 Buffalo, N.Y. June 5-8 New York Aug 30-Sep 1 Detroit Sep 12-14 Providence, R.I.		1925	June 6-7 Brooklyn Sep 25-27 Ulster Park
1920	May 29-31 Springfield, Mass. July 3-5 Detroit Sep 4-6 Dayton, Ohio Sep 4-6 St. Louis Sep 17-19 Providence		1926	July 3-5 Springfield Sep 4-6 Brooklyn
1921	Apr 16-19 Boston May 28-30 Chicago June 3-5 Brooklyn, N.Y. July 2-4 Toledo, Ohio Sep 23-25 Providence		1927	Feb 26-27 Tacoma May 28-30 Dayton June 4-5 Brooklyn Sep 3-5 Springfield Sep 3-5 Saginaw, Mich. Sep 16-18 Ulster Park Nov 6-7 Toronto, Ont.
1922	Sep 22-24 Providence Oct 20-22 St. Louis		1928	May 19-20 Dayton June 2-3 Brooklyn June 2-3 Detroit Sep 1-3 Springfield Sep 1-3 Buffalo Sep 1-3 Richmond, Va. Sep 1-3 Portland, Ore. Sep 15-16 Atlantic City Sep 30 (only) Los Angeles Nov 10-12 Boston Dec 30-Jan 1 Seattle
1923	Sep 9 (only) Atlantic City, N.J.	Sep 1-3 Springfield		
1924		June 7-8 Brooklyn Ag 30-Sep 1 Springfield Sep 19-21 Ulster Park, N.Y.		

³⁶ P.S.L. Johnson motivated the Philadelphia Church (ecclesia) on August 4 to request that the ("PBI") Committee arrange a General Convention in Philadelphia 1918 September 8-10, to include an investigation of the differences between themselves and the Committee. I.F. Hoskins, acting on behalf of the Committee, declined on August 13. P.S.L. Johnson then called that General Convention for Sept. 8-10. The Committee protested that no individual or single ecclesia may call a general convention. The Philadelphia Church then severed relations with the PBI on Sept. 17. Johnson claims the chief partisans were I.F. Hoskins, I.I. Margeson and H.C. Rockwell vs. P.S.L. Johnson, R.G. Jolly and R.H. Hirsh.

Directors and Trustees of the Dawn

There were originally nine directors of the Dawn Publishers, Inc. (New York) on 1932 June 7, and originally nine trustees of the Dawn Bible Students Association (New Jersey) on 1944 May 22:

Dawn Publishers (N.Y.), 1932	Dawn Bible Students Assn. (N.J.), 1944
1. W. Norman Woodworth	W. Norman Woodworth
2. John E. Dawson	Frederick H. Mundell
3. Frederick H. Mundell	Martin C. Mitchell
4. Martin C. Mitchell	George M. Wilson
5. William F. Hudgings	Fred A. Bright
6. John G. Kuehn	(Mr.) Shirley C. DeGroot
7. Hugo F. Kuehn	Peter Kolliman
8. George M. Wilson	G. Russell Pollock
9. Ingraham I. Margeson	J.H.L. Trautfelter

When Dawn Publishers was merged into Dawn Bible Students Assn. on 1953 Nov. 14, the Board of Trustees was enlarged to twelve, elected annually by the membership:

D.B.S.A. Trustee (1953 Nov. 14)	Successors
1. Claude R. Weida, sr.	Stephen Roskiewicz (1972-1990) Joe Panucci (1990-)
2. Frederick H. Mundell	William C. Bertsche (1966-1972) Kenneth M. Nail (1973-1984) Emile H. Herrscher (1984-)
3. W. Norman Woodworth	J. Burton Brown (1975-1999)
4. George M. Wilson	Leo B. Post (1974-200x)
5. Felix S. Wassman	Carlton Chandler (1993-)
6. Martin C. Mitchell	Kenneth Fernets (1974-)
7. G. Russell Pollock	John G. Hull (1976-1978) Charles M. Chupa (1978-1979) George M. Jeuck (1979-1995) George Passios (1995-)
8. Fred A. Bright	Walter Blicharz (1968-)
9. Leon H. Norby	Jens Copeland (1957-1965) Pantel Hatgis (1965-1987) Mike Balko (1987-)
10. E. Harry Herrscher	Ernest K. ("Bunk") Penrose (1955-1992) Robert Gorecki (1992-)
11. J.H.L. Trautfelter	Edward E. Fay (1962-1980) E.F. ("Al") Lankford (1980-)
12. Raymond J. Krupa	

Data on Dawn directors and trustees courtesy Deanna Gorecki

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