John Nevins Andrews as a Family Man

by Ronald D. Graybill, 1979

Presented at the J.N. Andrews Sesquicentennial Conference,
Andrews University, October 19, 1979

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> About 12 Friday night my husband arrived home. I was awakened by his calling my name at our bedroom window. Oh, how my heart leaped with joy at the sound of his dear voice.[1]

These simple words from the diary of Angeline Andrews say much about J.N. Andrews as a family man. They say that he was very often not a family man. There were many sad partings and joyful reunions for this pioneer preacher and his wife. At one time his travels with his evangelistic tent kept him away from home for nearly a year. But Angeline's diary is also a beautiful testimony to the couple's love for one another. Witness this passage from the summer of 1860:

> Received a letter from my dear husband, also his picture. I can hardly be reconciled to his long absence. . . .He is one of the kindest and best husbands, and it is a great sacrifice to us both to be thus separated.[2]

In the nineteenth century, to speak of a family was to speak of far more than a father, mother, and their children living together in an isolated household. Grandparents, aunts, uncles, and other kinfolk all played a much more important role than they do today. This is vividly illustrated in the Andrews family, as we shall see.

Let us go back, then, to the beginning, extending the Andrews family backward in time and outward in kinship ties. J.N. Andrews' paternal ancestors came to America eighteen years after the arrival of the Mayflower and settled near Tauton, Massachusetts. In the "Indian wars," probably King Philip's War of 1675, nearly the entire family were massacred. Telling of

the tragedy, J.N. Andrews says these were men of "great stature" and tremendous physical strength, who, in their determination to "sell their lives as dearly as possible," tore up trees of "considerable size and used them as weapons." But the contest was unequal and the Indians killed them all except one small boy who was sick in the house.[3] This story has all the earmarks of legend, being so similar to dozens of others which attached themselves to family histories in New England. Still, it is entirely likely that the Andrews family suffered in King Philip's war, since there was hardly a family, Indian or white, which was unscathed.[4]

John's two great grandfathers, David Andrews and John Nevins, are said to have fought in the Revolutionary War.[5] This may explain why the family moved from Massachusetts to Maine. Many Massachusetts veterans, including the ancestors of Ellen White, were paid for their services by grants of forest land in Maine.

So it was that John Nevins Andrews was born on July 22, 1829, in Poland, Maine. His father, Edward Andrews, was 31 at the time, his mother, Sarah, 26. Nine years later his brother, William P. Andrews, was born. There were two other children in the family, but they both died young.[6]

The family was a part of the Advent movement from 1843. John declares that he "found the Saviour" in February of that year.[7] After the "passing of the time," or the "Great Disappointment," as later generations of Adventists have come to know it, the Andrews family opened their home to the Stowells, whose 15 year old daughter, Marian, had secured a copy of that fateful tract by T.M. Preble on the seventh-day Sabbath. The scriptural arguments convinced her, and she passed the tract to J.N. Andrews, who was also persuaded. John's parents were the next to accept the Sabbath, and soon, seven other families in Paris, Maine, had joined in.[8] Among these was the family of

Cyprian Stevens which included the future wives of both J.N. Andrews and Uriah Smith, Angeline and Harriet respectively.

The Adventists in Paris, Maine, were emotional and opinionated individuals, some of whom were much given to the fanatical ideas which ravaged many Adventist groups in Maine in the mid-1840's. The principal source of this fanaticism was the idea that Christ had come spiritually on October 22, 1844, and now lived in the perfect person of his saints. Since these saints were now in the seventh millennium, eternal Sabbath had dawned. Since one does not work on the Sabbath, they refused to work. Hence the "no work" doctrine about which Mrs. White writes in Life Sketches. Since they were now at home in heaven, and since no one would enter heaven unless he humbled himself and became as a little child, they dispensed with tables and chairs and crawled around on their hands and knees like little children. Hence the "false humility" which the young prophetess, Ellen Harmon, was called upon to correct. Finally, since they were in heaven, they thought they should be like the angels who neither marry nor are given in marriage. This left them free to take spiritual wives--ostensibly platonic unions without physical congress. They also practiced mixed foot-washing, not to mention other outrages on the decency and good sense of Victorian New Englanders.[9]

We do not know that the Andrews family was involved in any of these bizarre exercises, but we do know that as a result of fanaticism, the little company in Paris was so torn and divided that they had not met together for several years when the Whites visited them in September of 1849. Almira Stevens, Angeline's mother, described that time as "sad and painful," noting the "divisions and subdivisions" which prevailed as "each heart stood aloof," and mutual confidence was "almost entirely destroyed."[10]

That 1849 meeting was, Ellen White said, "a green spot in the desert," and proved the beginning of better days for the Paris believers. Parents confessed to children, children to parents and to one another. J.N. Andrews, in all the passion of his youth, exclaimed, "I would exchange a thousand errors for one truth."[11]

A little over a year later, the White and Andrews families became even better acquainted when James, Ellen, and baby Edson moved in with Edward, Sarah, and their boys. They had come, of course, to launch the Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, the first number of which was issued from Paris, Maine, in November of 1850.

It was during this stay with the Andrews that incidents occurred which were to sour and strain relations between the two families for years. Things seem to have gotten off to a good enough start. Ellen White wrote optimistically:

> Our home is in Paris, at Brother Andrews, within a few steps of the Post Office and Printing Office. We shall stay here some little time. This is a very kind family, yet quite poor. Everything here is free as far as they have.[12]

Although the Andrews may at first have offered free board and room to the Whites, before long a verbal contract was worked out betweeen Edward and James whereby the Whites were to pay $20 rent per year and a dollar a week for food. James did not feel this was any too cheap. After all, the local newspaper editor paid only a dollar and a half for board at a good local tavern, which was, James noted bitterly, "worth more than twice what we two dyspeptics got selecting the plainest [fare] from a farmer's table." What is more, James claimed that he seldom ate anything besides corn bread and

potatoes, the latter seasoned with a little salt and a few spoonfuls of milk.[13]

Finally, in order to prevent "utter starvation", the Whites set up housekeeping on their own, whereupon Edward Andrews, aided and abetted by the Stevens family, began to accuse James of cheating him out of $8. It seems a paltry sum, but the alleged injustice was long remembered. This is, of course, all based on James White's side of the story, but it fits quite well with the fact that Edward Andrews was as skeptical of James White's leadership in the church as he was of Ellen White's visions, and he had very little confidence in either. For many years he grasped at the most readily available defense for his doubts, in this case the allegation that the prophet's husband had done him out of $8.

Sometime during the course of the stay in Paris, James White also had occasion to reprove the shortcomings of some members either of the Andrews or Stevens family, and the vigor with which he performed the duty was also a chronic sore point with the Paris folk.[14]

The Review moved on, of course, to Saratoga Springs, New York, and, in 1852, to Rochester. Whatever their difficulties with Father Andrews, the Whites were more than eager to welcome his son John into their already overcrowded household in Rochester. Later, when John's health broke, James gave him the best room in the house, fed him for free, and supplied him with wood for his fire. Then he wrote out appealing to believers around the state to raise money to get him some decent clothes. James put his own name at the head of the list with a pledge of $100.[15]

Shabby clothes or not, there was one occupant of that busy household on Mt. Hope Avenue who found J.N. Andrews charming and attractive. This was the

youthful poet and proof-reader, Annie R. Smith. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that during the time they were both in Rochester, J.N. Andrews gave Annie R. Smith reason to believe that he had a romantic interest in her. In fact, she may have thought he would marry her.[16]

The secular poems of Annie and her Mother show that she suffered a blighted love. The chief evidence that John was the object of Annie's love and cause of her subsequent heartbreak lies half-buried in a letter Ellen White wrote to John just a month after Annie's death in 1855. By this time John was courting the girl he eventually did marry, Angeline Stevens. Mrs. White wrote to him:

> I saw that you could do no better now than to marry Angeline; that after you had gone thus far it would be wronging Angeline to have it stop here. The best course you can take is to move on, get married, and do what you can in the cause of God. Annie's disappointment cost her her life.[17]

Although this seems a frightfully severe indictment, it was probably justified even from a medical standpoint, since depression makes one so much more vulnerable to disease and since there was plenty of disease lurking in that house on Mt. Hope Avenue. James White's brother Nathaniel and sister Anna had already died of tuberculosis in those crowded quarters.[18]

There is some good-natured opposition to my theory about Annie Smith and J.N. Andrews, of course. As I understand it, the chief argument of my friendly detractors is that although Mrs. White's letter clearly indicates that Annie was disappointed in love, we cannot be sure that J.N. Andrews was the one who disappointed her. Perhaps Mrs. White was merely reminding John of a case with which they were both familiar. Perhaps Annie's heart had been crushed by George Amadon or someone else.

In the light of what we now know about the difficulties between the Andrews and Whites in Paris, we can read further in Ellen White's letter and find additional evidence to demonstrate that it had to be J.N. Andrews who disappointed Annie. Immediately after the sentence in which she says Annie's disappointment cost her her life, Mrs. White says:

> I saw that you [John] were injudicious in her [Annie's] case and it all grew out of a mistaken view you had of James. You thought he was harsh and impatient toward Paris friends, and you stepped right in between Annie and us; sympathized with her in everything. The interest manifested for her was undue and uncalled for, and showed that you had a great lack of confidence in us.[19]

If J.N. Andrews was injudicious in the case of Annie Smith, and if he manifested an interest for her that was "undue and uncalled for" then it must have been John who was responsible for the disappointment she suffered. What Mrs. White appears to be saying is that because John believed James White to have been too harsh, he sympathized unduly with Annie Smith in some difficulty she had with James. Annie misinterpreted this sympathy as affection for her when, in fact, it grew more out of opposition to James White. When Annie discovered the truth, she was devastated.

Since this series of lectures is in celebration of J.N. Andrews, some may question the propriety of public discussion of such unflattering chapters in our hero's life. The object is not to tarnish the image of this revered pioneer whose name this University carries, but to recall that the pioneers were, after all, people. Such a motive can be defended from Ellen White's observations about the Bible's unvarnished portrayal of its heroes' lifes:

> Had our good Bible been written by uninspired persons, it would have presented quite a different appearance and would

> have been a discouraging study to erring mortals, who are contending with natural frailties and the temptations of a wily foe. But as it is, we have a correct record of the religious experience of marked characters in Bible history. Men whom God favored, and to whom He entrusted great responsibilities, were sometimes overcome by temptation and committed sins, even as we of the present day strive, waver, and frequently fall into error. But it is encouraging to our desponding hearts to know that through God's grace they could gain fresh vigor to again rise above their evil natures; and, remembering this we are ready to renew the conflict ourselves.[20]

There is no better model for historical candor than is found in the vivid pages of the Bible. And perhaps it is fitting, after all, if we are going to name a university after a man, to know that that man suffered romantic difficulties as well as intellectual triumphs. One is as much a part of university life as the other.

Although Mrs. White had opposed John's marriage plans on the basis of a vision, once those plans were in place and had advanced as far as they had by August of 1855, she encouraged John, also on the basis of a vision, to go ahead and marry Angeline Stevens. God's greatest glory might not always be served by our decisions, but God is apparently concerned with the innocent others we involve in those decisions. Angeline had every right to expect that John would marry her. That being the case, it was then God's will that John should marry Angeline. The wedding was delayed for more than a year, but finally, on Oct. 29, 1856, John and Angeline were married. The ceremony probably took place in Iowa, where the Andrews and Stevens families had moved in November of 1855.[21]

The place they chose to settle was in Allamakee County, Jefferson Township, in the far northeastern corner of the state. Eighteen miles to the north was the Minnesota border. The Mississippi River ran roughly the same distance to the east. The Andrews farm was three and a half miles directly

south of the little town of Waukon. Prairie land it is, flat except for an occasional sink hole. If you needed wood for fence rails or pot bellied stoves, you would go another mile or so south where the land slopes down to Norfolk Creek.[22]

Looking over the roster of Adventists who soon congregated near Waukon, we discover that the church in the east was losing some promising talent to the lure of rich prairie sod. Not only did the Andrews and Stevens family go, but the Butlers came from Vermont to join them. In 1856, J.N. Loughborough came from Rochester, bringing with him his friends and next-door neighbors, Jonathan and Caroline Orton, who, in turn, brought their daughter and son-in-law, Drusilla and Bradley Lamson. The defection of these prominent members from Rochester must have left quite a gap in that congregation, not to mention the damage suffered by the evangelistic forces of the church when the two "J.N.'s,"--Andrews and Loughborough--switched from harvesting souls to shocking hay and slopping hogs--yes, slopping hogs. Health reform was still several years away.[23]

John and Angeline doubtless shared his parents house from the beginning. Farm-making was not an easy or inexpensive undertaking. Poor as they were, the Andrews would hardly be in a position to erect separate structures. Later, Angeline would continue to live with her in-laws while John was away on preaching tours, even though her own mother, sisters, and brothers were in the neighborhood.

It was just two months after John and Angeline were married that James and Ellen White made their now-almost-legendary visit to Waukon. We all recall the story of their dash across the melting Mississippi ice followed by the bone-chilling sleigh ride over the snow-covered and wind-swept prairie to Waukon.[24]

James White found the believers doing almost nothing to "set the truth before others." Their time, instead, was "almost wholly occupied with the things of this life."[25] Furthermore, they generally rejected the applicability of the Laodicean message to the Sabbath-keeping Adventists. Since this was James and Ellen White's main burden at this time, we can appreciate what James meant when he noted that they were received with "Christian courtesy," but not the affection formerly accorded them. James White presented the Laodicean message, but Waukon Adventists would have it no other way than that the arguments against his position be presented the next day. The visitors from Battle Creek were getting nowhere.

As the visit progressed, James discovered that the biggest grudge the Waukon folk held against him at this time was the feeling that he had been rash in moving the Review to Battle Creek. James carefully explained his course in that matter, and, little by little, the icy reserve of his alienated friends began to melt. "The tender spirit of confession and forgiveness was mutually cherished by all," he reported. James felt his efforts in "facing the prairie winds and storms" were more than repaid, and J.N. Loughborough returned with him to resume his ministerial labors.

J.N. Andrews was soon conducting meetings in the local area, but he did not go back to the traveling ministry until 1859, two years later.[26] We know of only two events in the Andrews family during the nearly three years after the White's visit, one joyous and one tragic. The joyous event was the birth of Charles Melville Andrews on Oct. 5, 1857, a little less than a year after his parent's marriage. The next year, on September 6, 1858, Angeline's father, Cyprian Stevens, died of a rattlesnake bite after lingering for five days in incredible agony. He was 64.[27]

In June of 1859, John attended a conference in Battle Creek where it was voted that he should work with Loughborough in the Michigan evangelistic tent. George Amadon was sent to Waukon to take his place on the farm and Hiram Edson sent money to pay Amadon's wages.[28]

Beginning in October of 1859, the story of the Andrews family is enriched by one of the most prized sources a family historian could wish for: the wife's diary. Angeline Andrews' diary is a bit sporadic in places, but it records the major events of the family's history together with fascinating insights into farm life, church affairs, and personal relationships. This diary carries all the way down to January of 1865.[29]

John was back home as the diary opened in October of 1859. Angeline noted that her son, Charles Melville, was a "rugged little fellow," who loved to run out of doors. As befits the son of a scholar, Charlie was "much interested in his letters" and even though he was barely two, he was already able to identify more than a dozen of them.[30] When John was at home, he did the work of a farmer like all of his neighbors. One day he might haul 20 bushels of wheat off to the grist mill for grinding, on another he would be out searching for a lost heifer.[31]

By late November, John was gone on another preaching tour and Angeline's diary takes up its frequent refrain: "Am disappointed in not getting a letter from John." A few days later, she noted romantically: "Last eve the evening star Venus was right in the window in the end of the house." The omen brought two letters from John the next day.[32] Six months later, John was still in New York State and was writing as though he might stay there a good while longer. "I feel [a] good deal cast down in view of his long absence," Angeline told her diary, "Yet I would have him move in the order of God. O Lord, direct him."[33]

Anyone who has ever been in love can appreciate Angeline's feelings as she writes: "There is a want in my heart which remains unfulfilled. I do not seem to get much satisfaction either in writing or receiving letters."[34] She ventured to tell John some of her "sad feelings," and confessed to feeling more cheerful once she had expressed herself. Then she added: "I want John to do just right."

In mid-June, 1860, Angeline had gone five days without a letter. She could hardly stand it. She walked the three and a half miles to Waukon hoping to find one, but she was disappointed. She waited overnight, but still no letter came. Finally, she decided she might as well retrace her steps.[35]

In June of 1860, Angeline's sister Harriet, the wife of Uriah Smith, was visiting. Early one morning their younger sister Frances Jeanette, or Nettie, as they called her, came down to the Andrews home before Angeline was up with the surprising word that Harriet was returning to Battle Creek at once. Angeline and Mother Andrews hurried up to the Stevens house before breakfast to see what was the matter. Harriet was in a state of extreme agitation and distress. She had received a letter from Sister White. "Oh," Angeline wrote in her diary, "I will not attempt to describe the state of mind Harriet was in."[36]

We have the very letter Ellen White wrote to Harriet on this occasion. At the same time, she wrote a very similar but considerably longer letter to John. As one reads these letters, the mind reels and staggers. The ego swells and rages. Ellen White expected as much. She told Harriet:

> Those who fall into an agony, as you have, at the least censure or reproof do not realize that they are perfectly

> controlled by the enemy. . . .You may call your feelings grief, but you have not realized them as they were. It has been anger, and you have been selfish. . . .How much faith do you have in the visions? They do not bear a feather's weight on your mind.[37]

Sometimes we think we are the first generation of Adventists to have so many questions and doubts about Ellen White's prophetic gift. But human nature does not change. It does not like these things. Angeline and Harriet and John may not have had parallel columns to study, but they had their own problems. "When everything moves on smoothly," Ellen White told Harriet:

> then past dissatisfactions and difficulties in Paris lie dormant, but when a reproof or rebuke is given, the same dissatisfaction arises. "Brother White was wrong back there; he was too severe and he is too severe now." Then jealous, hard feelings arise. As he is in union with the visions given, as the visions and his testimony agree, the visions are doubted, and Satan is working secretly to affect and overthrow the work of God.[38]

Do we begin to see the problem with which James and Ellen White were faced and how crucial the Andrews and Stevens families were to the situation? Through Harriet the church's most talented writer and editor, Uriah Smith, was influenced. Meanwhile, the church's most capable Biblical scholar and theologian, J.N. Andrews, also partook of the spirit emanating from Waukon.

These doubts about the visions, these resentments against James White, these feelings, Ellen White told Harriet, had been "brought down from Paris to Rochester, and from Rochester to Waukon, and from Waukon" to Battle Creek. The Waukon believers, Ellen White said, would not

> stand in the light until they wipe out the past by confessing their wrong course in opposing the testimonies given them of God. . . .Either their feelings must be yielded, if it tears them all to pieces, or the visions must be

> given up. There will either be full union or a division. The crisis has come.[39]

Ellen White confessed that sometimes she had but little courage to write to individuals, because even after she had written with feelings of deepest anguish and tears, they laid the letter aside, and said, "I believe the visions, but Sister White has made a mistake in writing it. She has heard reports of these things and has got it mixed up with her visions and thinks she saw it all."[40]

Angeline's diary proves that there was some substance to Mrs. White's statements about the doubts of the Andrews and Stevens families. However, Angeline saw these doubts as sincere uncertainty rather than sinful resistance. About three weeks after Harriet left, Angeline went over to Thomas and Mary Mead's house for a visit. The Meads were a very devout couple, and Angeline opened up her heart to them, telling them how she felt about what happened in Paris and relating her doubts about the visions. "I have great confidence in Bro. and Sr. Mead," she wrote in her diary that night, "[But] I cannot yet take just the position in regard to Sr. W. visions they do--they fully believe them to be all right from God, consequently of equal authority with the Bible."[41]

Later that month the subject came up in a Sabbath meeting. "There is some difference of views as to the place [the visions] should occupy in the church," Angeline noted:

> Some hold them as equal authority with the Bible and are designed to correct and guide the church. . . .Others believe [the] Bible does not sanction such use of them. Oh, that we might understand just the right position to take in regard to them.[42]

In spite of Ellen White's strong words in her letter to Harriet, the overall attitude of the Waukon congregation had not yet changed. Meanwhile, farm life went on as usual. Raspberries were ripening in July, the turkeys were growing plump; the rye harvest arrived, then the wheat harvest.

On the home front there was the pervasive presence of illness, disease, and death. Mother Andrews had dysentery. Charles was sick and vomiting. Angeline's face swelled up with an abcessed tooth. Late in 1860, she visited a neighbor, George Geasy. "Their little babe," she wrote that night, "is but just alive. It was a sorry spectacle. Oh, what ravages death makes. My little Charles still lives. Oh, may I bring him up for God.[43] Two days later, Angeline stayed up all night with the Geasy infant, but it was no use, the child died.

The first frost came in mid-September, 1860. A month later, John came home. He had been gone nearly a year. Angeline had received 59 letters from him in that time.[44] She counted and numbered every one.

John stayed home that winter, working on his History of the Sabbath, writing religious articles for the local newspapers, and holding meetings nearby. In the summer of 1861, an invitation came for him to join the Minnesota tent, and he was off again. Angeline was five months pregnant when he left. Their second child, born Sept. 29, 1861, was a girl, Mary Frances.[45]

John was back home in time for his brother's wedding in December. William married Martha A. Butler, sister of George I. Butler. It was their daughter, Edith, whom J.N. Andrews took back to Europe with him after his own daughter died in 1878. William also died in that year, and Martha came to Europe where she married A.C. Bourdeau. Thus Martha tied together, by

marriage, three of the most prominent Adventist families of the 19th century.[46]

Late in 1861 fresh testimonies from James and Ellen White arrived in Waukon. We do not know what these contained, but in the end they did produce a more favorable response from the Waukon church. John sent in his own confession to the Review in November.[47] More messages came, John read these to the little congregation, then wrote further confessions to James and Ellen White early in 1862. This time the letter was signed by Angeline as well:

> My heart is pained in view of my past course and the position which I have occupied relative to the visions. Oh, why have I stood out in rebelling against them as I have? How dark has been my mind and how little have I realized of the exceeding sinfulness of my course. . . . Dear Brother and Sister, how many and heavy have been the burdens you have borne on my account and others of us at Paris. . . . I know I can never make amends for the past, but I am resolved to do what I can. . . My influence against the visions has not been from a multiplicity of words against them. . . .But I confess I have not stood up for them and borne testimony in their favor.[48]

In another letter the same day, John enlarged on the point:

> I have lacked to some extent that living faith in the visions that God will alone accept. Not that I have knowingly gone contrary to their testimony, but they have seemed to be a source of terror and distress so that I could not make that use of them that is such a blessing to others.[49]

At this same time, Angeline, her mother Almira, and her sister Pauline all wrote similar letters of confession and reconciliation to the Whites. It would be another year yet before crusty old Edward Andrews would unbend enough to make a similar confession.[50]

John left to work with the New York tent in June of 1862. In November, Ellen White wrote him encouragingly:

> I saw that God has accepted your efforts. Your testimony in New York has been acceptable to him. . . .He has wrought for your wife and she has been learning to submit her will and way to God. . . .There has been a work, a good work, with some in Waukon. . . .[51]

John had begun to think now of moving his wife and children away from Waukon. The brethren were urging him to settle in New York State. He wrote Angeline and laid the matter before the whole family. Angeline at first volunteered to come with baby Mary, but leave Charles behind. When she finally left in February, however, she made a clean break with Waukon and brought both children with her. Her brother-in-law William and sister Nettie rode with her to the river. "It is hard parting with dear friends," she told her diary sadly.[52]

The next day she was on the train for Battle Creek. She stopped there to spend two days with Harriet, and while she was at the Smith home, James and Ellen White came for dinner and stayed on till supper. The three ladies visited all afternoon, then, after supper, Harriet and Angeline walked home with Ellen. She showed them all over her house, and Henry and Edson played their melodeon for them. Angeline and Ellen had a talk about the past with "considerable satisfaction" to Angeline.[53]

Finally, after eight long months, Angeline was reunited with her husband on Feb. 17, 1863. It had been a tiresome journey with a five-year-old boy and a girl of 17 months, but Angeline rejoiced that the Lord had brought her safely through. Little Mary, however, was not so happy. She was afraid of

everyone. Two days later she was still not willing to sit on her father's lap.[54]

For the next two and a half months, the Andrews stayed around Rochester, mostly with Bradley and Drusilla Lamson. They took the occasion to get a family portrait taken and to get some dental work done. John had his last few upper teeth removed and an entire new upper plate made to replace them. Angeline had 14 teeth extracted while she was, at least partially, under the influence of chloroform. Her new false teeth cost her $10.[55]

Finally, in late April, the family decided to settle in Kirkville, New York, 10 miles west of Syracuse on the Erie Canal. "The house," Angeline noted, "is of an ordinary cast, yet very good I understand, having been recently fixed up. Attached to the house is an excellent garden containing quite a variety of fruit."[56]

Once they settled in their house, Charles promptly came down with scarlet fever. John took a week-end appointment in the middle of this illness, leaving Angeline alone to deal with one frightening night when her son woke up with a high fever and a sore throat.[57] John was back on Sunday with a nice porcelain kettle and spent the day helping Angeline put up wallpaper. The next day he was off to Michigan to attend the conference of 1863 at which the Seventh-day Adventist Church was officially organized. He was home again the last of May and gone again the second of June. "I miss him much," Angeline wrote, "but it is for the Lord's work and I will [endure] it cheerfully."[58]

Early in September of 1863, Angeline was nearly seven months pregnant when she was striken with "fever and ague," probably malaria. A high fever can sometimes bring on premature labor, and this apparently happened in

Angeline's case. On the 9th of September, after six days of illness, she gave birth prematurely to a little daughter. All that day Angeline's sufferings were so intense that she had no knowledge of what had happened. Four days later the baby died and was the first to be buried in the Andrews' family plot in Mt. Hope Cemetery in Rochester, New York.[59]

About this same time, after an absence of several months, John came home in the company of James White. James remembered the homecoming as one of the most sad and touching he had ever witnessed. Charlie, bubbling with joy at the sight of his father, came hopping across the street dragging a crippled leg after him. "Father! Father!" he cried excitedly. But John groaned in anguish as he scooped up his little boy and noticed how bad his leg was. Since the age of two Charlie's leg had shown strange symptoms. The ankle grew more swollen and stiff while the entire leg withered to a quarter of the size of the right leg, yet maintained its normal length.[60]

Interest in health reform was now on the rise among Adventists, and just after the family moved to Rochester in April of 1864, Angeline and Mellie went to "Our Home on the Hillside" to seek treatment for the boy's leg. Once there, Mellie got sick again, this time with the measles, but his leg improved. When the Dansville stay was over in mid-July, Angeline had a pleasant homecoming. John was "very much struck" with the improvement in his son, and Angeline was just as pleased with her new home. Fellow believers had donated a nice new carpet for their parlor and the Whites had sent a beautifully framed photograph of their family as a present.[61]

On August 9, 1864, the Andrews' fourth and last child was born, a little girl they named Carrie Matilda, giving her the same initials as her big brother. She would live just a little more than a year, dying in September of 1865 of dysentery.[62]

That same month there was great excitement in the Andrews' household when John was chosen as a special envoy to visit the Provost Marshall General in Washington in order to secure recognition for Seventh-day Adventists as noncombatants. John may have criticized James White in the past, but now he was very anxious that James go with him to Washington. This was not to be, but James did come through Rochester on his way to Dansville and spent a day planning and praying with John. Then the two men went downtown where James spent $50 to buy John a whole new suit of clothes.[63]

The mission to Washington was successful, and when John returned, he went to Dansville to join the Whites and Uriah Smith for a much-needed rest. Old Paris troubles were all forgotten by now and when the Dansville visit was over, the Whites came to the Andrews' home for an ample dinner of sweet potatoes, pumpkin pie, bread, peaches, grapes, apples, and tomatoes.[64]

In January, 1865, the Angeline Andrews' diary ends. For some time after this we know relatively little about the family's life aside from what we learn from obituaries. In April, John's father passed away. In September, little Carrie died, as we have already mentioned. Angeline's sister Nettie, who married J.P. Farnsworth in November of 1864, died in 1868.[65]

It was during this period after his father's death that John began to write his first articles in defense of James White's leadership and Ellen White's prophetic gift. It had always been hard for the Paris Adventists, sentimental and sensitive as they were, to accept the vigorous, straightforward style in which James and Ellen White issued rebukes. John's sister-in-law Harriet called James' style "cutting and slashing." John put it more euphemistically, saying of James White that "certainly no one is so faithful in plainness of speech."[66]

But in the spring of 1868, John spent four months working and living with the Whites. John had seen Mrs. White in vision many times, but her state in vision did not, apparently, convince him that she was a true prophet. Now, however, as the watched her work, preach, and write late into the night, his attitude changed. What impressed him most was the deep distress and anguish she suffered as she struggled to write out her sometimes unpleasant and unwelcome messages.[67]

On February 17, 1872, just after John and Angeline had retired, Angeline suffered a stroke. Her right side was partially paralyzed, her right arm useless. She could scarcely speak. Day after day John and the children prayed for her, and gradually she improved. One pleasant morning a month later, Angeline decided to attempt a short walk out of doors. John was helping her put on her coat when suddenly her legs gave way and she sank to the floor unconscious. Angeline S. Andrews died early the next morning, March 19, 1872. She was 48 years of age.[68] John wrote her eulogy for the Review:

> I here bear record to the fact that she has done the utmost in her power to help me to go out to labor in the cause of God, and has never once complained when I have remained long absent. During the entire period of our married life no unkind word ever passed between us, and no vexed feeling every existed in our hearts.[69]

For the future, John said, "Henceforth it shall be my business to lead our dear children toward the heavenly city, and to strive more worthily to preach Christ to perishing men." After Angeline's death John made South Lancaster, Massachusetts, his center of operations, and the children stayed there with the Harris family.[70]

Before he left for Switzerland in 1874, John made a trip back to Waukon to visit his widowed Mother. He hastened his journey because Martha, his sister-in-law, had recently given birth to triplets. The babies died immediately, and Martha appeared to be recovering well when a dangerous relapse occurred. John rushed to Waukon fearing he might not find her alive, but she recovered, later joining him in Europe.[71]

On September 15, 1874, J.N. Andrews embarked for Europe. Artist Harry Anderson has immortalized the departure aboard the Atlas. His painting is familiar to Adventists. Waving his hat from the deck, John looms high above the other figures. Just below is fresh-faced Charles, now nearly 17, and his sister Mary, almost 13.[72]

In Switzerland, John's children provided him invaluable emotional support and practical assistance. Half of each day Charles worked in the printing office learning the trade. The other half he studied French and German and helped his father read proofs. "He is perfectly steady and quiet and gives me no trouble," John wrote proudly. "He is my companion by day and by night, and seems to prefer my company to that of any young person. Indeed, I should not know [how] to live without him."[73]

Mary didn't like sleeping under feather blankets, but she did take well to the French language. She would read the paper over after Brother Aufranc, whose native tongue was French, and sometimes find grammatical errors which had escaped his eye.[74] Father and children took their language studies very seriously. They even signed the following pact:

> We hereby covenant together that we will use only the French language in our conversations with one another. . . .We will try in the fear of God to keep this covenant, and ask His help that we may fulfill it faithfully. But it shall be our

> privilege to use the German language whenever we can speak a word or sentence of it.[75]

Early in 1877, John was seriously ill with pneumonia. When the doctor came and opened his shirt, he exclaimed: "This man is almost starving to death." John had been working terribly hard and trying to save all he could on food in order to put more money into his publishing and evangelistic work. The family lived on baker's bread, graham pudding, potatoes, and occasionally cabbage. They used milk and butter only for cooking and had almost no fruit. This diet was probably dangerously low in vitamins A and C, riboflavin, iron, and calcium. To top it all off, their housekeeper was "about the poorest cook" John ever had knowledge of.[76] A woefully inadequate diet was not the only threat to the family's health. Sanitary conditions were just as bad. The privies were in the house and there was no running water to clean them properly.[77]

It comes as no surprise that by the fall of 1878, when John preparing to return to America for the General Conference, he felt he had to take Mary with him. "We fear consumption is fastening upon her," he explained, "She has lost much of her strength and has considerable cough." [78]

It was Rochester all over again. A struggling new paper, a crowded house full of workers, poor diet, poor sanitation, and, inevitably, tuberculosis. After their return to Battle Creek, Mary died on November 27, 1878. She was buried beside her mother in Mt. Hope Cemetery.[79] From Europe, Charlie wrote his father: "Our separation will be but short. . .and then, if faithful, we shall meet our loved ones. . . .So, pa, don't feel discouraged. . . .We pray much for you."[80]

Mrs. White was in Texas when Mary died. She wrote tenderly to John:

> We deeply sympathize with you in your great sorrow, but we sorrow not as those who have no hope. . . .Mary, dear precious child, is at rest. She was the companion of your sorrows and disappointed hopes. . . .Through faith's discerning eye, you may anticipate. . . .your Mary with her Mother and other members of your family answering the call of the Life-giver and coming forth from their prison house triumphing over death. . . .The Lord loves you, my dear brother. He loves you.[81]

Mrs. White not only consoled John, she also counselled him at this juncture that he should marry again before returning to Europe and even suggested a qualified candidate. John replied that he esteemed very highly the person she had named, and that Mrs. White had led him, for the first time since Angeline's death, to seriously consider taking another wife.[82] However, John felt that this was impossible:

> Not because I cannot find anyone good enough, but simply because I am still a deep mourner for the wife that sleeps in death and my affection seems incapable of detaching itself from her and taking up some other, however, worthy. It is true that myself and children have suffered at times greatly because we lacked the care of some good woman, but we have always been supremely happy and satisfied in each other's society.[83]

Valuing romantic love as we do, we may at first see John's refusal to remarry as beautiful devotion to the memory of his wife. However, seen in the light of the more practical aspects of family life, and noticing that Mary had already died of tuberculosis and John would die before long, we cannot help but wonder how different things might have been if John had relinquished his beautiful but selfish grief, and taken the practical step which Ellen White had suggested. As a matter of fact, John's refusal to remarry was rather unusual for his time. Given the high death rates of the period it was quite common for a person to have two or even three spouses if he or she lived to an old age.

Ellen White would later fault John for rejecting the counsel. She wrote in 1883:

> I was shown that you made a mistake in starting for Europe without a companion. If you had, before starting, selected you a godly woman who could have been a mother to your children, you would have done a wise thing, and your usefulness would have been tenfold to what it has been. You are not a domestic man.[84]

In Basel once more, John had not one grief but two to weaken him. He seemed feeble all the time. He cried to God constantly for help, but said, "The restorative power in my system seems to be broken down and since the death of Mary it has been impossible for me to rally."[85] Dr. Kellogg had warned John that Mary's disease was contagious, but John could not refuse her wishes nor deny himself the privilege of nursing her. He had taken care of her night and day, and soon enough he realized that Dr. Kellogg had been right.[86]

In the spring of 1881 he was confined to bed, certain of his own death unless God intervened. He struggled on till the fall of 1883. His aged mother came to be with him. His last days, it is said, were filled with "cheerfulness, freedom of spirit, and hopeful trust in God." He died Oct. 21, 1883, the day before the anniversary of the Great Disappointment.[87]

For J.N. Andrews, as for most of us, family life was both a source of perplexing difficulties and indispensable blessing. For a time, the doubts and criticisms of his kinfolk crippled and confused his ministry. Later, his attachment to his grief hampered his usefulness. But in the loneliness and trial of his Swiss mission, Charles and Mary had sustained him. In earlier days, on those long journeys to the wilds of Minnesota and the villages of

western New York, Angeline's letters had inspired and comforted him. And, after all, few husbands can say what John did when Angeline died, that "during the entire period of our married life, no unkind word every passed between us."

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APPENDIX

The Family of John Nevins Andrews (July 22, 1829-Oct. 21, 1883)

His Parents:

Edward Andrews (Jan. 5, 1798-Apr. 14, 1865), and
Sarah L. Pottle (Apr. 24, 1803-July 7, 1899)

His Siblings:

Two who "died in youth."
William P. Andrews (June, 1838-July 27, 1878)

His Wife:

Angeline Stevens (May 9, 1824-Mar. 18, 1872)
[The couple were married on Oct. 29, 1856]

His Children:

Charles Melville Andrews (Oct. 5, 1857-July 11, 1927)
Mary Frances Andrews (Sept. 29, 1861-Nov. 27,1878)
Baby Girl Andrews (Sept. 9-14, 1863)
Carrie Matilda Andrews (Aug. 9, 1864-Sept. 24, 1865)

His Brother's Family:

William P. Andrews married Martha A. Butler, who lived (May 7, 1842-Aug. 25, 1901)

Their children, nieces of J.N. Andrews, were:
- Edith Andrews (Sept. 27, 1863-Dec.24,1885)
- Mary Louise Andrews (died age 3)
- Sarah P. Andrews

His Grandchildren:

[Charles M. Andrews married Marie Dietschy (Aug. 15, 1864-Nov. 17, 1958)]
Their children, grandchildren of J.N. Andrews, were:
- Harriet S.A. Andrews (Aug. 8,1887-July 28,1977)who married S.M. Harlan (Oct. 24, 1886-June 3,1962)
- Dr. J.N. Andrews (Jan. 13, 1891--), married Dorothy Spicer (Oct. 21, 1892-Ap.17, 1979)
- Edwin Andrews (May 2,1900-July 19,1915)

NOTES

[1]Angeline Andrews Diary (AAD), May 31, 1863.

[2]AAD, June 6, 1860.

[3]J.N. Andrews to James White, Feb. 8, 1877. James White used this letter as the basis of his article, "Elder J.N. Andrews," Health Reformer, Vol. 12 (Apr. 1877), 97-99, where he embellished this account with some fictional touches of his own.

[4]Douglas E. Leach, Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War (New York, 1958).

[5]J.N. Andrews to James White, Feb 8, 1877.

[6]Ibid.; "Obituary Notice,[Edward Andrews]," Review and Herald, Vol. 25, (May 2, 1865), 174; Uriah Smith, "A Mother in Isreal at Rest," Review and Herald, Vol. 76 (July 18, 1899), 468.

[7]J.N. Andrews to James White, Feb. 8, 1877.

[8]A.W. Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh day Adventists, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1961), 121-122.

[9]E.G. White, Life Sketches (Mountain View, Calif., 1915), 85-87. Ron Graybill, "Footwashing and Fanatics," Insight, Vol.4 (Jan. 2, 1973), 9-13.

[10]A.S. Stevens to Dear Brethren and Sisters, Present Truth, Vol. 1 (Dec. 1850), 16.

[11]E.G. White, Life Sketches, 127.

[12]E.G. White to Bro. Hastings, Nov. 7, 1850, Letter 28, 1850. The Andrews family was probably not even comfortably well off. When the census taker came around in August of 1850, he classified Edward Andrews not as a "farmer," but merely as a "laborer," indicating that he may not even have owned the farm he worked. Three months later, Ellen White describes the family as "quite poor." J.N. Loughborough moved to Waukon, Iowa, in October, 1856, and found the "brethren there," presumably including Edward Andrews, "all in debt." J.N. Loughborough, "Communication from Bro. Loughborough," Review and Herald, Vol. 9 (Feb. 26, 1857), 136.

[13]James White to E.P. Butler, Dec. 12, 1861.

[14]Ibid.; see also almost any E.G. White letter to members of the Andrews or Stevens families up through the 1860's.

[15]James White to Dear Brother, Feb. 9, 1855.

[16]Ron Graybill, "The Life and Love of Annie Smith," Adventist Heritage, Vol. 2 (Summer, 1975), 14-23.

[17]E.G. White to J.N. Andrews, Aug. 16, 1855, Letter 1, 1855.

[18]James White, "Obituary [Nathaniel White]," Review and Herald, Vol. 4 (May 26, 1853), 8; "Obituary [Anna White]," Review and Herald, Vol. 6 (Dec. 12, 1854), 135.

[19]E.G. White to J.N. Andrews, Aug. 16, 1855, Letter 1, 1855.

[20]E.G. White, Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 4 (Mountain View, Calif., 1948), 10-11.

[21]J.N. Loughborough, "Recollections of the Past.--No. 15," Review and Herald, Vol. 63 (Mar. 16, 1886), 168-169. J.N. Andrews was in Battle Creek in November, 1855, apparently on his way to Waukon, since he was already considered a delegate from that state. See Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of the Conference at Battle Creek, Mich.," Review and Herald, Vol. 7 (Dec. 4, 1855), 76.

[22]In order to get to the location of the farm today, one would drive south from Waukon on Highway 76/9 to the place where the two highways divide, 9 going due west, 76 due east. From that junction, one would continue to proceed due south on a less well-improved road. Exactly one mile beyond the junction, one would reach the top of Section 18. From that point onward for exactly one half mile, all the land on the right of the road to a depth of one quarter mile probably belonged to Edward Andrews. In other words, he owned the north west quarter of the eastern half of Section 18. This is based on the assumption that the land which William P. Andrews owned in 1872 was the same as that which his father owned earlier. We know from an 1872 property ownership map in the Library of Congress Map Division that W.P. Andrews owned this land at that time. The other geographical features can be seen on the U.S. Geological Survey's Rossville (Iowa) Quadrangle map in the 7.5 minute series. I have also interviewed individuals who have lived in that area.

[23]J.N. Loughborough, "Recollections of the Past.--No. 15," Review and Herald, Vol. 63 (Mar. 16, 1886), 168-169; James White, "Western Tour," Review and Herald, Vol. 9 (Jan. 15, 1857), 84-85; AAD, Oct. 25, 1859, says "Butchered our pig Sund."

[24]J.N. Loughborough, ibid., and "Recollections of the Past.--No.16," Review and Herald, Vol. 63 (Nov. 30, 1886), 745; James White, ibid.

[25]James White, ibid.

[26]"Bro. J.N. Andrews writes. . ," Review and Herald, Vol. 9 (Apr. 23, 1857), 196.

[27]C.P. Bollman, "Charles M. Andrews," Review and Herald, Vol. 104 (Aug. 18, 1927), 22; Edward Andrews, "Obituary [Cyprian Stevens]," Review and Herald, Vol. 7 (Oct. 28, 1858), 183.

[28]Uriah Smith, "The Conference," Review and Herald, Vol. 14 (June 9, 1859), 20: Hiram Edson, "Note from Bro. Edson," Review and Herald, Vol. 14 (June 16, 1859), 32.

[29]The original of this diary is in the possession of the Loma Linda University Library, Loma Linda, California.

[30]AAD, Oct. 25, 1859.

[31]AAD, Oct. 26, 1859.

[32]AAD, Nov. 23, 1859: Nov. 25, 1859.

[33]AAD, May 15, 1860.

[34]AAD, May 28, 1860.

[35]AAD, June 13, 1860.

[36]AAD, June 27, 1860.

[37]E.G.White to Harriet Stevens, June, 1860, Letter 7, 1860.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]E.G. White to J.N. Andrews, June 11, 1860, Letter 8, 1860.

[41]AAD, July 19, 1860.

[42]AAD, July 28, 1860.

[43]AAD, Sept. 6,8, 1860.

[44]AAD, Oct. 1, 1860.

[45]AAD, Oct. 19, 1861, Nov. 5, 1861.

[46]AAD, Dec. 18, 1861; n.a., "Faithful Worker Fallen [Martha A. Butler Andrews Bourdeau]," Review and Herald, Vol. 78 (Sept. 10, 1901,), 598. There is one error in this obituary. It says that Martha Butler was the daughter of "Ezra Pitt and Sarah Butler Pitt," but this is incorrect. She was the daughter of Ezra Pitt Butler and Sarah Growe Butler.

[47]J.N. Andrews, "Confession," Review and Herald, Vol. 19 (Dec. 17, 1861), 22.

[48]J.N. and Angeline Andrews to James and Ellen White, Feb. 2, 1862

[49]J.N. Andrews to Brother White, Feb. 2, 1862.

[50]A.S. Andrews to Bro. and Sister White, Jan. 30, 1862; Almira Stevens to Br. and Sister White, Jan. 23, 1862; P[auline] R. Stevens to Sister White, Jan. 27, 1862; Edward Andrews to Brother and Sister White, Jan. 25, 1863.

[51]E.G. White to J.N. Andrews, [c. Nov. 9, 1862], Letter 11, 1862.

[52]AAD, Feb. 10, 1863.

[53]AAD, Feb. 16, 1863.

[54]AAD, Feb. 17,20, 1863.

[55]AAD, Feb. 23, Mar. 6,25, 1863.

[56]AAD, April 29, 1863.

[57]AAD, May 15,16, 1863.

[58]AAD, May 17,18, 1863; A.W. Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, Vol. 1, 307-308.

[59]AAD, Sept. 3, Oct. 28, 1863.

[60]James White, "Elder J.N. Andrews," Health Reformer, Vol. 12 (Apr. 1877), 99; J.N. Andrews to James White, Feb. 8, 1877.

[61]AAD, May 5-July 11, 1864.

[62]AAD, Aug. 15, 1864; Uriah Smith, "Obituary Notices [Carrie Matilda Andrews]," Review and Herald, Vol. 26 (Oct. 3, 1865), 143.

[63]AAD, Aug. 26,29, 1864.

[64]AAD, Sept. 27, 1864.

[65]n.a., "Obituary Notices [Edward Andrews]," Review and Herald, Vol. 25 (May 2, 1865), 174; AAD, Nov. 13, 1864, C.A.Washburn, "Obituary Notices [Frances Jennette Farnsworth]," Review and Herald, Vol. 31 (Feb. 15, 1868), 174.

[66]E.G. White to Sisters Harriet, Cornelia and Martha, Sept. 24, 1869; J.N. Andrews, "The Labors of Bro. and Sr. White," Review and Herald, Vol. 31 (March 3, 1868), 184.

[67]J.N. Andrews, ibid.

[68]J.N. Andrews, "The Sickness of Sister Andrews," Review and Herald, Vol. 39 (Mar. 5, 1872), 92, and "Death of Sister Andrews," Review and Herald, Vol. 39 (Apr. 2, 1872), 124.

[69]Ibid.

[70]J.N. Andrews to James White, Jan. 26, 1874; See also "Thomas Harris Genealogy," Andrews University Heritage Room, VFM1004.

[71]J.N. Andrews to E.G. White, Mar. 23, 1874.

[72]A.W. Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, Vol. 2, 202-204, J.N. Andrews, "Our Embarkation," Review and Herald, Vol. 44 (Sept. 22, 1874), 112.

[73]J.N. Andrews to Bro. White, Dec. 10, 1876.

[74]J.N. Andrews, ibid., and Mary to George, May 1, 1875, letter in the Royal Ayery Collection, Andrews University Heritage Room.

[75]J.N. Andrews, M.D., "Elder J.N. Andrews," Review and Herald, Vol. 121 (May 11, 1944), 11.

[76]J.N. Andrews to Brother White, Feb. 6, 1877. The degree of deficiency in this diet would depend somewhat on how the foods were cooked and how much milk and butter were used in cooking. The more of the latter, the better in this case.

[77]William Ings for J.N. Andrews to James White, Jan. 27, 1878.

[78]J.N. Andrews to Bro. White, Sept. 3, 1878.

[79]n.a., "Fallen Asleep," Review and Herald, Vol. 52 (Dec. 5, 1878), 40. That Mary is buried in Mt. Hope Cemetery is confirmed by the records of the cemetery. With Mary's burial, the family plot in Mt. Hope was full. A flat upright marble monument marks Angeline's grave. Just to the right of Angeline's grave is a smaller marker for Carrie. Mary's grave is immediately on the other (or left) side of her mother's, and just to the left of Mary's grave the unnamed infant is buried.

[80]Charles M. Andrews to J.N. Andrews, Nov. 26, 1878.

[81]E.G. White to J.N. Andrews, Dec. 5, 1878, Letter 71, 1878.

[82]E.G. White to J.N. Andrews, Mar. 29, 1883, Letter 1, 1883; J.N. Andrews to E.G. White, April 24, 1879, Dec. 22, 1878.

[83]J.N. Andrews to E.G. White, Dec. 22, 1878.

[84]E.G. White to J.N. Andrews, Mar. 29, 1883, Letter 1, 1883.

[85]J.N. Andrews to Sister White, May 23, 1880.

[86]Ibid.

[87][Uriah Smith], "The Death of Eld. Andrews," Review and Herald, Vol. 60 (Oct. 30, 1883), 680. Shortly after his father's death, Charles married Marie Anne Dietschy, and soon returned to Battle Creek where he found employment in the Review and Herald Publishing house. He stayed with the Review the rest of his life. His daughter, Harriet, married Sanford Harlan who for 36 years was art director of Liberty magazine. Charles' son John Nevins, who was still living in the fall of 1979, married Elder W.A. Spicer's daughter Dorothy and became a physician and missionary to China. Charles' second son, Edwin, died in a tragic accident just a few days after Ellen White's death in 1915. He and a worker from the Review and Herald were struck by lightning as they inspected the damage another lightning bolt had done just a few minutes before to the same tree in front of the General Conference building. See "In Remembrance [Marie Dietschy Andrews]," Review and Herald, Vol. 136 (Feb. 26, 1959), 26; "Deaths [Harriet Sophia Angelina Andrews]," Review and Herald, Vol. 154 (Dec. 22, 1977), 23; "In Remembrance [Sanford M. Harlan]," Review and Herald, Vol. 139 (Sept. 6, 1962), 25-26; "Obituaries [Edwin Julius Andrews]," Review and Herald, Vol. 92 (Aug. 5, 1915), 21.