"Into the Spotlight: How Louise C. Kleuser Worked for Adventist Women" Matthew J. Lucio Women in Seventh-day Adventist History Conference October 12-14, 2023

INTRODUCTION

"Louise Caroline Kleuser was one of the most illustrious women leaders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church." So wrote Bob Spangler, editor of *Ministry*, in his 1976 obituary for Miss Kleuser. Eulogies are panegyric, yet it was no exaggeration to say that "Saint Louise" (as Spangler crowned her) ranks highly among women in the church leadership. Kleuser was a Bible worker, pastor, associate secretary of the General Conference ministerial association, conference youth director, author, and seminary lecturer—as well as the first woman to graduate from the medical cadet corps as a second lieutenant. Her research was the foundation for one of the best-received compilations of Ellen White's writings: *Evangelism* (1946). Kleuser reviewed theological papers, defended the Adventist-Evangelical Conferences that birthed *Questions on Doctrine*, published poetry, and even wrote a hymn.²

The careful reader will notice that Spangler inserted the word "women" between "illustrious" and "leaders," rendering the sentence more awkward to read. Whatever Spangler's reason for this insertion, it reminds us how women like Louise Kleuser i are often seen (if they are "seen" at all) as "also rans" rather than as key players in the development of the denomination. Though much work has been done in recent decades to uncover and tell the stories of Adventist women, those stories have yet to penetrate popular narratives of Adventist history.

 In service of the larger objective of seeing Adventist women's stories integrated into our denominational histories, this paper focuses on Louise Kleuser.³ In **act one**, we will acquaint ourselves with Louise Kleuser's life, focusing on the critical role women played in her development. In **act two**, the paper will examine how Kleuser helped Adventist women from her positions as teacher, administrator, and author. Finally, **act three** will look at the question of women's ordination in connection with Kleuser as well as some lessons we might be able to glean from Kleuser's legacy of service.

¹ Spangler, Robert. "In Memoriam." *The Ministry* 49, no. 6 (June 1949):

^{48.} https://cdn.ministrymagazine.org/issues/1976/issues/MIN1976-06.pdf.

² Hymnary.org. "Holy Day, Jehovah's Rest, Day Which God,"

n.d. https://hymnary.org/text/holy_day_jehovahs_rest_day_which_god#pagescans.

³ For those looking for a more complete treatment of Kleuser's life, see "Kleuser, Louise C." in the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*. You can also listen to a more in-depth episode about her on the Adventist History Extra (subscription-only) podcast (released September 2023).

ACT ONE: SHAPED BY WOMEN

Louise Kleuser was surrounded by women. Born in Barmen, Germany, she was the second of five daughters. Her father died shortly after moving the family to New York City, leaving Louise with her sisters, her mother, her aunts, and her grandmother. "By this time," she reflected, "Mother was the head of our home." Attending Christ Lutheran Church in Manhattan, Kleuser's first role model was an ordained deaconess by the name of "Sister Regina." "Before I was fifteen I wanted to become a Lutheran Deaconess," Kleuser would later write.⁴

Conversion. One day, another woman entered the Kleuser women's life: Mrs. Hilbert. Hilbert was likely a local Seventh-day Adventist Bible worker who took to knocking on doors offering Bible readings. She showed up at the door of Marie Drevermann—Louise's aunt—and was undeterred when Aunt Marie stuck her head out the window and barked: "Now what do you want?" Another female Bible worker, Auguste Meyer, worked with Louise's grandmother, who died shortly after accepting the Adventist faith. This was the unlikely foothold that ended up with Louise Kleuser being baptized into the Seventh-day Adventist Church in November 1909.

 Colporteuring. The Kleusers then moved to Connecticut in the hopes of planting a church. Here Louise worked with another Louise—Louise Mueller—in colporteur work (selling Adventist books). Louise Kleuser ranged a territory from Stamford, Connecticut, and one hundred miles along the coast into Rhode Island. As the work grew, Louise eventually placed in charge of "a group of young women colporteurs."⁵

Kleuser received additional training from Hetty Haskell (1857-1919), Loretta Robinson (1857-1933), and Ellen "Nellie" Sisley-Starr (1854-1934), when they spoke at workers meetings. Kleuser would go on to pay homage to these women in her later writings.

Bible Work. The president of the Southern New England Conference, J.E. Jayne, had noticed Louise's success and persuaded her to become a Bible worker (like Mrs. Hilbert) in New Haven. When the local evangelist had to stop to deal with a death in the family, Kleuser gamely took over and pastored two churches, teaching Sabbath school, speaking for a week of prayer, and assisting with the church building campaign. Declaring herself "a husky ministerial intern," she also continued knocking on doors as a Bible worker.

Conference Leadership. Let's fast-forward: Kleuser spent 1914 to 1941 working for three conferences in the northeast: Southern New England, East Pennsylvania, Greater New York. She always headed two or three of the following departments at each post: education, missionary volunteer (youth), Sabbath school, and home missionary.

Translation. In 1936, Kleuser was tasked with being a German translator for a notable Adventist woman who was to tour the United States *en route* to the general conference session in San Francisco. Hulda Jost headed up the Adventist church's welfare ministry

⁴ GCA, Silver Spring, MD. "Louise C. Kleuser," PC 8. Box 6853.

⁵ Ibid.

in Germany and had arrived in America to talk about her work—with the blessing of the Nazis. What followed was over 140 speaking engagements where Jost sang Hitler's praises while an increasingly uncomfortable Louise Kleuser translated.⁶ An article in *The Denver Post* lauded Jost as "a loyal backer of Hitler."⁷ This prompted Kleuser to fire off a letter to the General Conference president, James McElhaney:

"Our sister is positively playing with fire. . . . Getting a perspective of Sister Jost's whole propaganda, I feel she may bring to us in the future far more embarrassment than we can trust our brethren right close up to the problem in Europe, to now see."8

 General Conference. Louise Kleuser was called apply her experience as a Bible worker to a global scale when she was invited to join the General Conference ministerial association in September, 1941. As Bible instructors (as "Bible workers" were officially known after 1942) were often women, Kleuser was able to help educate hundreds, if not thousands, in how to give Bible studies. After seeing how women stepped into ministry during the Second World War, Kleuser believed that "women need to lead out in evangelism."

 "God has indicated that Seventh-day Adventist women throughout the world will give Bible readings until the gospel work closes. It is this conviction that made me see the importance of a trained womanhood for the proclamation of our message. I have recognized its urgency and was guided into serving the cause in an evangelistic way." ¹⁰

Conclusion. Louise Kleuser was a woman who was raised, inspired, and mentored by other women. She devoted her life to training men and especially women to do ministry, impacting thousands of Adventist women over the course of her career. Her vision was to see a "trained womanhood" playing an important role "in an evangelistic way." Kleuser owed her life and career to the women in her life: from her mother who raised her to Sister Regina who showed her the difference a deaconess could make; from the two Bible workers (Mrs. Hilbert and Ms. Meyer) who studied with the Kleuser family to her grandmother who encouraged her to join the Adventist church in spite of her mother's opposition; to the legion of Adventist women from whom Kleuser drew inspiration, such as Loretta Robinson, Hetty Haskell, and Nellie Sisley-Starr. Without this long list of women, Louise Kleuser likely never would have become a Seventh-day Adventist, nor devote her ministry to working with and for Adventist women.

⁶ "Louise Kleuser to J. L. McEhlany," n.d. https://perspectives.ushmm.org/item/louise-kleuser-to-j-l-mcehlany.

⁷ The Denver Post. "German Welfare Leader Lauds Hitler's Work on Denver Visit," April 19, 1936.

⁸ "Louise Kleuser to J. L. McEhlany," n.d. https://perspectives.ushmm.org/item/louise-kleuser-to-j-l-mcehlany.

⁹ GCA, Silver Spring, MD. "Louise C. Kleuser," PC 8. Box 6853.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* The "highest ideals of Seventh-day Adventist womanhood" was also a subject of the first issue of *Keynote* (November, 1937), a publication by and for women working in the General Conference office. Kleuser became a sponsor of *Keynote* shortly after joining the Ministerial Association.

ACT TWO: PAYING IT FORWARD

 Kleuser's new position at the General Conference ministerial association led to her teaching at the seminary (in Takoma Park) from 1944 until at least 1962.¹¹ She wrote a course called "The Bible Instructor", which she made available to Bible teachers at denominational colleges with the note: "It is equally important for young men and women."¹²

The first two lessons in the Bible instructor course seemed to have been drawn from her fifteen-page history of Bible work in which Kleuser deliberately included women's' stories alongside that of men. 13 Kleuser noted that there were no paid Bible workers in the early decades of the church, and so one must "read between the lines of the *Review* or *Signs* articles." 14 Following A.W. Spalding, she gave credit to Angeline Lyon Cornell alongside her husband, Merritt. From Spalding, Kleuser apparently secured the names of "the wives of missionaries who were tied in with their husbands' evangelism." On this list were Adelia Patten Van Horn, Maud Sisley Boyd, Nellie Starr, Eva Hankins, and Ellen Lane, whom Spalding apparently called "a minister in her own right." We might surmise that in preparing to teach this class, Kleuser read Spalding's *Footprints of the Pioneers*, noticed how Spalding mentioned Angeline Cornell, and then wrote Spalding to learn about other notable women in the early Adventist church. Kleuser then incorporated their stories into her history of Adventist Bible instructors.

 Kleuser mentioned other women—besides those Spalding had mentioned—such as Jennie Owen McClelland and Helen McKinnon. "As we reach the year 1900 in our research," Kleuser noted, "we find no difficulty in listing a growing group of remarkably well-trained personal workers among our sisters." ¹⁵

Louise Kleuser also mentioned a colporteur in Berlin named "Sister Dieben." This Sister Dieben apparently brought the three angels' message to the attention of Crown Prince Frederick of Germany, who "at times met one of our colporteurs in the royal garden for the chief purpose of fulfilling prophecy." The collection of the chief purpose of fulfilling prophecy.

Kleuser gave much of the credit for the formation of Bible instructors to Stephen Haskell. He was "a man with real vision and organizing abilities" and "a patriarchal

¹¹ Some of the courses Kleuser taught were "Fundamental Techniques in Bible Work," "Bible Work in City Evangelism," and "Meeting Objections." See *The Seminarian*, January 2, 1949 and March 4, 1950. ¹² GCA, Silver Spring, MD. "Louise C. Kleuser," PC 8. Box 6853.

¹³ This manuscript was also adapted for an article in *Ministry*. See Kleuser, Louise C. *Ministry*. January, 1949 (vol. 22, no. 1).

¹⁴ GCA, Silver Spring, MD. "Louise C. Kleuser," PC 8. Box 6853.

¹⁵ GCA, Silver Spring, MD. "Louise C. Kleuser," PC 8. Box 6853.

¹⁶ This "Sister Dieben", according to Kleuser, later married J. Christiansen, first mate and captain of the *Pitcairn* during its first two voyages.

¹⁷ GCA, Silver Spring, MD. "Louise C. Kleuser," PC 8. Box 6853.

type."18 Yet, at an 1883 Michigan camp meeting, Haskell said that "men and women are wanted."19

Nevertheless, Kleuser recognized that the church needed to move past Haskell's methods because times were changing and that "it takes more than an array of proof texts to beat off these [devilish] assaults" the church was facing at the midpoint in the twentieth century. Advocating for "up-to-date methods" and equipping "both men and women," Kleuser wanted the future of Bible work to include a "blending" of professional Bible instructors with lay volunteers.

Kleuser believed that the best days of Adventist womanhood were ahead. Kleuser believed that evangelists' novel use of felt and black light to illustrate their talks "had brought woman's talents into the spotlight."²⁰ She went even further. After noting how women stepped up when men were drafted during the Second World War (she mentions Finland, where perhaps a dozen women functioned as ministers)ⁱ, Kleuser envisioned a time coming when "women need to lead out in evangelism." When that time comes, "the Bible work training already begun in many lands will come to the front."²¹ In other words, Louise Kleuser believed her Bible instructor training prepared women for an even greater service in the Seventh-day Adventist Church than they could otherwise have.

Bible work was a good fit for women who weren't permitted in other areas of church ministry. Kleuser, as noted, believed it was a steppingstone to future usefulness in the church. But it was also financially beneficial for women. Ministers' wives wouldn't have to "work for free" alongside their husbands.²²

BIBLE WORK IN RETROSPECT. Bible work did not progress to the glory Kleuser had hoped. Toward the end of her life, she asked: "What happened to the woman Bible instructor during the last 20 years? A question that definitely deserves an answer!" Kleuser noted that "the peace period between War I and War II records great activity in lay women teaching talent." Bible work, she says, enabled women ("especially our young women") to lead in a ministry that "carried great respect and profound influence." The Bible instructor "was an exemplary woman in any church" and "her word counted and she was loved by young and old." Why, then, did women turn away from Bible work if it afforded them a privileged position in the church? Kleuser blamed cultural changes in the post-war world for pushing women towards college and then towards teaching and secretarial jobs at the expense of Bible work. Nevertheless, Kleuser renewed her call for women to become Bible instructors.

¹⁸ I believe she intended this as a compliment.

¹⁹ GCA, Silver Spring, MD. "Louise C. Kleuser," PC 8. Box 6853.

²⁰ "Life Sketch of Miss Louise Caroline Kleuser," January, 1966. p. 16. GC Archives, Col. 6856.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

²² Kleuser, Louise. "Our Veteran Bible Instructors," *The Ministry* 30, no. 5 (May 1957): 35.

²³ "What Happened to the Woman Bible Instructor During the Last 20 Years?" GC Archives, Col. 6856.

²⁴ *Ibid*.

PUBLISHING WOMEN. While men and women worked as Bible instructors, Kleuser

- 2 routinely highlighted the role of female Bible workers. In the "acknowledgements" of her
- 3 book, *The Bible Instructor*, Kleuser acknowledged "both men and women" Bible
- 4 instructors but named 26 women in special appreciation. Kleuser certainly might have
- 5 filled the book with her own ideas and anecdotes from her extensive experiences. But
- 6 she used of the chapters were written by these 26 female Bible workers.
- 7 Kleuser also used her role as an editor of *Ministry*—a journal for Adventist clergy—to
- 8 pay tribute to Adventist women. After a regional paper, *Atlantic Union Gleaner*, marked
- 9 Auguste Meyer's 50 years of employment, Kleuser penned her own ode to Meyer in
- *Ministry*, ensuring that pastors and church leaders around the world were aware of
- 11 Meyer's feat, which "may well be unique in the denomination." Kleuser highlighted
- Meyer's impact by favorably contrasting it to pastoral ministry: "Miss Meyer has seen
- many pastors come and go while she has remained unmoved at her post."

Louise also paid tribute to Loretta Farnworth Robinson, an early Adventist Bible instructor from whom Louise had received training. Kleuser praised Loretta Robinson as "was one who set the distinctive pattern of the future Bible instructor." Kleuser noted how Robinson gave Bible studies until her death: "It was as natural for her to do this as to live, and those who knew her well declare her to have been one of the denomination's ablest Bible instructors." ²⁶

 CONCLUSION. Louise Kleuser used her influence as an author, teacher, and departmental director to highlight the work Adventist women were doing. Rather than writing *The Bible Instructor* herself, Kleuser chose to allow various women to write chapters in the book, allowing them to share in the spotlight. Kleuser constantly extolled women's' value in ministry and highlighted their work in her writings. Kleuser argued for equal pay for women, believed "Adventist womanhood has been and is a great blessing to the denomination," and sought to include women in every aspect of her ministry.²⁷

In Louise Kleuser, we see a path to strengthening the role women play in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. **First, mentoring**. Kleuser had a clear picture of the empowering and effective role women could play, both in the home and the church. She also devoted her life to being a trainer and mentor to other women. **Second, recognition**. Kleuser not only benefited from having women as mentors, but she gave them public credit. She also recognized the role women played in Adventist history, which she both published and taught to future and current ministers. **Third, platforming**. Kleuser used her position to give other women a voice. While Kleuser was in the spotlight, she did not hog the spotlight. Rather, she shared the spotlight.

A personal reflection: Kleuser has reminded me that there is no Adventist history without women. If we were to remove women from her history of Bible work, it would be unintelligible. If we removed women from the stories we tell, would they be the worse

²⁵ See "A Remarkable Record," *Atlantic Union Gleaner* 55, no. 24 (June 1956): 3. Cf. "Our Veteran Bible Instructors," *The Ministry* 30, no. 5 (May 1957): 35.

²⁶ Louise C. Kleuser. "Origin of the Bible Work." Ministry 22, no. 1 (June 1949): 16-17.

²⁷ Kleuser, Louise. "Our Veteran Bible Instructors," The Ministry 30, no. 5 (May 1957): 35.

for it? Would anyone notice? As I look over my own work with the Adventist History Podcast, I realize how few of the stories I've told involve Adventist women. This wasn't a deliberate choice, since the published histories I relied upon didn't really feature Adventist women. If the Adventist history I do can be told without women, then it isn't good history. When I re-record my first season of the podcast next year, the stories of Adventist women will be indispensable.

ACT THREE: THE ORDINATION PROBLEM

In 1975, Konrad F. Mueller, a newly minted lecturer at Newbold College, asked Louise Kleuser the question that most interests modern Adventists. (Mueller, it should be said, was likely Kleuser's student at the seminary when he was enrolled in the late 1950s.) Mueller, a fellow German, asked Kleuser about her thoughts on the ordination of women to pastoral ministry. Mueller, our source about this meeting, later regretted that he didn't record her answer. Arriving at Newbold, he wrote Kleuser just before Christmas and asked if she might share her thoughts in writing. It's unclear if she replied to Mueller's letter, but some marginalia are of note:

 First, a handwritten note on the letter reads: "Show Eld. Don Yost. Reply later." This might suggest that Kleuser did indeed reply—or at least intended to reply. Don Yost was mentioned as Kleuser was in the process of donating a number of her documents to the archive he was establishing at the General Conference.

Second, Kleuser typed another statement on the front of the letter and addressed to "Elder McKee:" "This type of letter calls for my help too often these days! [unclear] interesting. But not my concer[n]. Just for your information. Kee[p?] it. Louise Kleuser." This statement suggests that Kleuser might not have replied, and that Mueller wasn't the first people to ask her about the ordination of women.

Mueller's letter makes it clear that Kleuser wasn't in favor of ordaining women. He characterized her position as that "such a step at the present time was uncalled for, because it would be born out of a spirit of rebellion." This line, like many others, was underlined in Kleuser's characteristic blue and red colored pencil, indicating that she read the letter carefully. When Mueller asked if Kleuser might write out her views, she wrote a question mark in the margin. Assuming that Mueller has roughly represented Kleuser's view on women's ordination, Kleuser didn't seem to believe that ordination to pastoral ministry was the best path for Adventist women "at the present time." Kleuser was apparently concerned that women's ordination be accomplished in the right spirit and judged that, in 1975, the motivation wasn't yet right.

 Perhaps Kleuser's reply on this question (to Mueller or anyone else) might yet turn up and help us to better understand her thinking on the issue of ordination. Certainly, it is an issue of great interest to present generations of Adventists. Yet it didn't seem to be of much interest to Kleuser, who continued to hope that women might continue to conduct successful ministry as Bible workers. That was the profession which, to Kleuser, seemed

²⁸ GCA, Silver Spring, MD. "Louise C. Kleuser," PC 8. Box 6856.

to promise the most advancement for Adventist women. Could it be that some of the emphasis on "women's ordination" today is due, in part, to the fact that fewer women are serving in the roles Louis Kleuser once held? Bible work has all but collapsed as an avenue for women to serve in full-time ministry and earn a respectable wage. And while women are serving at all administrative levels of the church, they often occupy the same positions that had been available to them a hundred years go. In some respects, ordination to pastoral ministry has become more important as a gateway to service in the Adventist church.

Kleuser could sidestep the question of women's ordination because she felt women had other meaningful, important ways to serve. After all, Kleuser herself had pastored two churches but preferred to train women for Bible work. Though Kleuser might not state it as such, she was preparing female Adventists to be the church's evangelists, pastors, teachers, etc. with the men raptured off to war in another draft. She noted the work of Elsa in Sweden.

 Ordination to pastoral ministry is an important issue concerning Adventist women today, but Louise Kleuser believed that there were other, equally important ministries available to women. She lamented seeing them choose secretarial work, believing that they had greater potential. Were she alive today, I don't know what Louise Kleuser might say about women's ordination, but I do believe she would invite us to think bigger than ordination; to push the church to create other pathways to leadership; to encourage conference constituencies to consider women for departmental roles beyond "women's ministries."

 Again, the topic of women's ordination to pastoral ministry is important. Personally, I believe in women's ordination. But if we consider ordination the height of what Adventist women can achieve, then we risk missing the spiritual, energetic, and courageous ministry of women like Louise Kleuser.

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