# Michigan's Siberia: The House of David on High Island

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#### Prologue

In the early spring of 1903, itinerant preachers Benjamin and Mary Purnell arrived in Benton Harbor, Michigan with the explicit purpose of reestablishing the Israelite House of David. Their first attempt to organize a religious commune had collapsed in Fostoria, Ohio only weeks earlier. This husband and wife Adventist team, accompanied by a small but loyal band of followers, set to work preparing a home for the ingathering. As foretold in the *Book of Revelations*, the second coming of Christ would happen soon and be immediately preceded by the gathering together of the twelve scattered tribes of Israel. These "elect" Israelites required a place where they could prepare themselves for the promised Millennium. Their preparation included leading celibate lives, following a vegetarian diet, refraining from cutting their hair, and living communally.

In the quest for soul salvation, these religious tenets are not unique. What sets the House of David apart is the promise of a "life of the body" for each of the faithful. When the Millennium arrived, these Israelites would enjoy a thousand years of heaven here on earth.

Membership in the new community grew rapidly. Surrendering all worldly possessions to the commune, these religious zealots worked feverishly to develop new business ventures, prosperous farms, and a family-friendly amusement park which was far ahead of its time. Evangelizing missionaries, touring musical groups and barnstorming baseball teams added to the sect's growing membership, wealth and notoriety.

One of the community's more novel business ventures took place on High Island, a small island in northern Lake Michigan four miles west of Beaver Island, and featuring a sand dune reported to be the highest point in the lake. Between 1912 and 1928, approximately 150 colony converts accepted assignments to live and work in a new lumber enterprise. The segment of the House of David membership that lived and worked there gave this island a unique history while contributing significantly to the material growth of the House of David. It also, quite unwittingly, contributed to the commune's infamy which culminated in the sensational

1927 court battle *Michigan v. The Israelite House of David* in which the State sought the dissolution of the community. Among a host of charges, the state prosecutors claimed that High Island served as an Israelite "penal colony."

The heart of this essay lies in the experiences of seven men and one woman who shared their youthful memories with me in extended recorded interviews. Each is cited in this essay and a piece of each still plays in the woods of High Island.



Beaver Island Archipelago (Satellite photo courtesy of Environmental Research Institute of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.)

## Michigan's Siberia

The House of David's involvement in the lumber industry predates its 1912 purchase of the High Island property. In the five years prior to acquiring this property, the Israelites had logged a five-hundredacre cedar swamp a few miles north of Beulah. Sawyers, millwrights, carpenters, machinists, and cabinet makers numbered among the colony's membership, along with many strong-backed zealots eager to fulfill the wishes of their leaders. In 1911, virgin timber still covered most of High Island. When the majority of the island's timber rights became available, the House of David sent a scouting party led by Brother M. S. Tyler to evaluate its possibilities, and he sent back a favorable report to colony headquarters in Benton Harbor. The following summer the Israelites purchased approximately twenty-five hundred acres of timber rights from the State of Michigan along with eighty acres, including buildings and equipment, purchased outright in a "sheriff's sale." Since the second transaction resulted from a bankruptcy, it probably involved only a nominal cost. This purchase included an existing lumber mill containing two large boilers and two steam engines (a 75 hp engine to run the mill proper and a 40 hp engine for a shingle machine), a large barn, two additional large buildings and several cabin-size structures all in close proximity to the mill. The remainder of the island, approximately one thousand acres, belonged to the Native American residents.

In the spring of 1913, eight to ten Israelite families were assigned to High Island. Teenage girls and young women were conspicuously absent from this initial island delegation. In most cases, they were encouraged to stay in Benton Harbor where their services were more valuable, especially in the popular amusement park. For families to be divided—parents from children, husbands from wives—was not unusual within the Israelite communal network.

During the summer and fall of their first year, the Israelite brothers and sisters faced the formidable task of making their island settlement livable. In some cases buildings had to be unceremoniously seized from various wild animals who only reluctantly gave up their claims. Since the mill had not been used for several years, much work was required to make it serviceable again. The steam engines and old belts were still functional, but required dusting, cleaning, greasing, and adjusting, which was accomplished under the able direction of Brother Al Walmer.

When we finally got everything hooked-up and fired-up the boiler, ...what a noise! The whole island shook, but it worked! ... Even the big round saws started spinning along with the rumbling of the hogger. I pulled the whistle. I continued to pull the whistle until the mill burned down.<sup>1</sup>

When the snow came that first winter, not a single Israelite—especially those from southern states—had anticipated its intensity. None had experienced such deep snow and low temperatures. Frostbite threatened several until they became wiser about the harsh northern climate. Men's whiskers froze around their mouths and noses, fresh milk froze on the way from the barn to the kitchen, and children found the snow too cold to pack a snowball. All were thankful for warm clothing and plentiful blankets and quilts.

If the weather presented problems, the northern lights brought joy. The Israelites had never seen anything like the long strands of color that danced between the stars in the crystal clear northern sky. Some nights the entire island population, Native and Israelite, would get up to gaze in wonder at the pyrotechnic display.

The men of the community went to work as lumberjacks with axes and two-man cross-cut saws. Following the felling of a tree, they chopped off the limbs and cut the trunk into fourteen-, sixteen-, and eighteen-foot logs, which were then dragged to a clearing and decked neatly in large piles. Later, the men slashed paths from the stacked logs to the mill. They used a sled with a water tank to wet down these paths, which quickly turned to ice and assisted in moving the logs to the mill. With the pathways ready, logs were loaded onto eighteen-foot bobsleds. Loading the sleds was facilitated by the use of a jammer, a tall triangular device that helped with lifting and maneuvering the large logs. The loaded sleds were lashed down with chains, and a final log was placed on top to tighten down the load.

Sometimes it took two teams of horses (the Israelites stabled eleven teams) to move a heavy load. Sharp-clogged horseshoes gave horses better traction on the ice-covered paths. Once moving, one team could easily pull a heavily loaded sled. Teamsters had to take care to avoid accidents on the slick pathways.

At the end of the journey, teamsters maneuvered their loaded sleds into position near the mill, above and parallel to the sorting pond shoreline. Logs were redecked to await the mill's start-up in the spring. As soon as the

lake ice melted, a "key" log was loosened and a whole pile rolled down into the sorting pond, where they were sorted and moved toward the hogger.

The hogger was a chain-link tramway that lifted logs from the sorting pond to the second floor of the mill. There they were rolled onto a loading bed and lifted onto a carriage bunk, then guided through a large circular saw. A sawyer adjusted the carriage for the desired board width. Bark was cleaned off and knots cut out with edgers and trimmers. A log quickly became a stack of boards.

After sorting and grading, the lumber was stacked outside the mill, at an angle and with an air space between boards to allow them to dry properly. Following a minimum ninety-day drying period, lumber was hauled to the loading dock and readied for shipment. The Israelites were proud of their reputation for never selling green lumber.

They were also proud of the loading dock they maintained near the mill. Due to wind and waves, freeze and thaw, the dock required constant repair. Constructed in an L-shape, it was three hundred feet long and thirty feet wide. Bisecting the half-moon bay at the northeast corner of the island, the dock could accommodate ships with a fifteen foot draft.



This picture was taken from the deck of the Rising Sun as she approached the High Island pier. Note from right to left: original mill, hogger, jammer, church and new school on the extreme left

During their thirteen years of active lumbering (1913-1925), the Israelites practiced efficient and environmentally-conscious techniques. Instead of dumping waste biproducts into the lake like so many other mill owners, the Israelites used sawdust along with shavings, edgings, and various scraps to fire the mill furnace. Logs not fit for boards might be sold for cordwood or pulp. Several brothers rotated managerial positions and contributed to the colony's material success.

In 1914 the island Israelites shipped over one million board feet of lumber. In a 1968 lecture, Tom Dewhirst, the Secretary of the House of David, noted,

High Island had [in 1916] the largest portable mill in the United States, owned by House of David. The House of David was the leading producer of roofing shingles. [The House of David] also operated lumbering facilities in the Upper [sic] Peninsula at Arriel [Aral].<sup>2</sup>

The best hardwoods went to Grand Rapids and Ludington for their furniture factories, with the remainder sold to the highest bidder. Rot-resistant cedar was sold for railroad ties, posts for grape and dewberry arbors, fence posts and roofing shingles. Seconds were shipped back to Benton Harbor to be sold in the House of David lumber yard or used at the home commune. Pine, hemlock, poplar, birch, maple, beech, oak, ash, hickory, tamarack, balsam and spruce were harvested in addition to cedar. "Birdseye maple brought the best price."

By the age of fourteen or fifteen, Israelite boys worked regular jobs shoulder to shoulder with the men. Younger boys did morning and evening chores, as well as other odd jobs. These young boys attended school six to eight months of the year. Classes were held in the little white Catholic Church, "Assumption of Our Lady," which had been built years earlier by Franciscan missionaries for their Native American converts, primarily of the Ottawa nation. Starting in 1911, a public school convened in the church for the island's Native children. In the fall of 1913, Israelite boys attended the school and soon outnumbered the Native children. Native Americans and Israelites cooperated in 1918 to build a separate one-room school house near the church.

Children regularly wore hand-me-down clothes and boys' trousers had patches sewn on top of patches. Boys outgrew their new shoes almost before they received them. Men liked hats into which they could tuck their long hair. Brother Benjamin had decreed: "Don't cut your hair or your whiskers. Live in the image of Jesus." The sisters made hats in the dining hall along with other articles of clothing. The women of the community tended to cooking, mending, laundry, cleaning, childcare, livestock and anything else that needed doing. Most worked in a large two-story building used as the community dining hall and meeting house. A few young girls worked along with the older women.



Known as the "Main House" to the Israelites, this building served as camp kitchen and dining hall, community center and women's dormitory. The round saw blade atop the lean-to on the left served as community dinner bell.

The majority of island Israelites lived in small cabins abandoned by the previous lumbermen, building more as they needed them. Dwellings were basically rough-hewn boards covered with tarpaper on the outside and wallpapered on the interior with old newspapers plastered with water and flour paste. Furnished with a centrally located wood-burning box stove, these dwellings featured only the bare necessities. A few pieces of furniture, a glazed window or two, rough wooden cots with corn-shuck mattresses and flour-sack sheets, a chamber pot, a kerosene lamp and a washbasin were the usual adornments of these austere single-family

cabins. Typically cold in the winter and frequently stuffy during summer days, these cabins served primarily as dormitories.

Most social activity, including meals, took place in the large dining hall. When the bell clanged sharply at six thirty in the morning, the Israelites congregated there. A typical breakfast consisted of cornmeal mush or oatmeal, boiled potatoes, bluejohn (one part milk to four parts water), and coffee or postum. Occasionally there were hot cakes or omelets. Salt and pepper shakers complemented each table setting but sugar, always scarce, had to be rationed. The brothers and sisters would find a measured teaspoon of sugar on their plate as they sat down. Sugar could be saved individually or collectively for the preparation of something special, such as cookies or pies.

Dinner, at noon, was often more of the same. Boiled potatoes were the usual fare for the most important meal of the day. Welcome additions to this meal were vegetables, bread (no butter), and possibly a small serving of mock meat. The women cooks could be quite creative with this delicacy. One mock meat recipe consisted of beans, potatoes, onions, peanut butter and bread crumbs ground into a paste and fried in patties. Homemade catsup, horseradish and mustard were the usual condiments.

The evening meal featured more of the same plus fruit—in season or from the root cellar—and, as often as possible, dessert. The cooks occasionally served a tasty mock meatloaf. If you didn't like it, you could season it with salt and pepper or possibly some of Sister Baushke's infamous horseradish. When horseradish surreptitiously found its way into Tom Adkins' mashed potatoes, a brother exclaimed, "It come near blow'n his head clean off!" The cantankerous Tom Adkins often felt the sting of island high jinks. In fact, Israelites shouted "The Devil and Tom Adkins!" in lieu of swearing.

Several members sentimentally recalled the contentment of sitting around a warm fire after supper, roasting nuts or sunflower seeds on top of the stove and listening to stories about the "good-ol'-days." Brother George Baushke served as "keeper of the keys" to the storeroom, an important position in communal life. Once in a while he would fetch pumpkin shells from the root cellar, slice and roast them, filling the dining hall with a pleasant aroma.

We [Tucker family] came from Texas on Ground Hog Day 1915 and a few months later we arrived at High Island. At the start we didn't much like the food. I do remember fresh baked bread, cornbread, molasses and navy beans, ... and boiled potatoes with every meal. Meals did improve once we started growing lots of our own vegetables and such. Uber and I found a jar of strawberry preserves one day that was mighty good. I didn't know what to say when we were accused of steal'en Sister Pritchard's preserves. Uber stood up and said "The Devil and Tom Adkins!"

Island life was difficult to be sure, but the Israelite congregation also had fun. During the summers they frequently went on Sunday picnics to nearby Garden Island, which had open fields ideal for playing baseball. They loved ball games and everyone played, including the Natives.

Although the Israelites were ceaselessly industrious, they pursued farming with a special zeal, perhaps motivated by the poor quality and undependability of the provisions shipped to them from colony headquarters. They grew cauliflower, onions, squash, pumpkins, rutabagas, carrots, navy beans, peas, strawberries, potatoes, turnips, green beans, sugar beets, corn, oats, cow beets, and hay on the island's lime-rich soil. They planted a small apple orchard and maintained a flock of chickens—for eggs only. As early as 1916, island Israelites were shipping surplus crops back to Benton Harbor where townspeople flocked to the docks to inspect the unusually high-quality produce coming from the north.

In addition to produce, young trees were shipped to headquarters and planted in and around Eden Springs Park. The brothers took care to paint each sapling on the north side before digging it up so it could be replanted with the same directional orientation. Many of those transplants survive today; the old amusement park was, and is, a veritable botanical garden.

The lumbering industry on High Island peaked between 1916 and 1919, for World War I increased lumber orders and prices. The Israelites conscientiously objected to the war, but they complied with the 1917 draft. Several were drafted and served in noncombatant roles. All drafted from the island eventually received deferments resulting from Brother Walmer's letter to the Charlevoix Draft Board explaining how important these young men were to the lumber mill and thus the war effort.

I was the first to sign-up for the draft at the Charlevoix office. They teased me that I wanted that "kit bag" to get one of those safety razors to shave my beard. It didn't matter 'cause

Walmer didn't let us go anyway. After the mill burned, I left the island <sup>6</sup>

At the height of wartime prosperity, the House of David suffered a significant setback. The majority of early High Island Israelite settlers arrived on the *Rising Sun*. A large steamer for her day, this ship measured 133.3 feet long with a 26-foot beam. With a white cabin and four white life boats perched above a dark green hull, she made quite a stately picture as she steamed up and down Lake Michigan between High Island and Benton Harbor. Purchased in 1914 to haul logs, posts, boards and shingles, she also transported colonists for both business and pleasure.

In late October 1917, the *Rising Sun* weighed anchor with its last shipment of the season on what turned out to be its last voyage. As darkness fell and it began to snow, the ship steamed southward through the Manitou Passage. The ill-fated ship, experiencing rudder problems, went aground near Pyramid Point. While she floundered, several passengers waded ashore in the bone-chilling water. Others were ferried to safety in the ship's life boats. Everyone seemed to have survived, but when heads were counted the next morning, they came up one short. It turned out that an elderly Israelite had slept through the night on board ship unaware of the accident until his rescue the following day. The only casualty was the cargo—potatoes and Christmas trees strewn for miles along the Leelanau Peninsula. Israelites salvaged what they could from their foundering vessel.

The colony replaced the *Rising Sun* with the *Rosabelle*, a fifty-five year old, one-hundred foot, double-masted schooner. The *Rosabelle* ably served the lumbering operation for the next four years, although her cargo capacity wasn't half that of the ill-fated steamer. Brother Ed Johnson served as the ship's skipper even though his license to do so was legally suspect. Johnson relied heavily on his children to help crew and often hired a gentile captain to accompany them.

In the fall of 1921, tragedy struck once more, when the *Rosabelle*, heavily loaded with lumber and potatoes, set off for Benton Harbor. Several days later, a sailor on the Grand Trunk ferry sighted the capsized *Rosabelle* floating forty miles east of Milwaukee. On October 28, 1921, the ship, its cargo and all twenty-eight passengers and crew were declared lost. Since that time, no trace of the *Rosabelle* has ever been confirmed. Bert Johnson recalled,

My dad had trouble with those damn ferry captains before. They didn't respect the sailing boat's right-of-way. I know they rammed us. Dad had a premonition and wouldn't sail that day. [That decision] saved his life.<sup>7</sup>

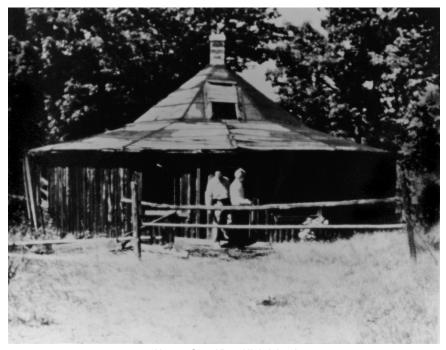
The House of David never replaced the *Rosabelle*. The declining lumber trade made investing in a ship less attractive. The new business manager began reassigning island Israelites back to Benton Harbor. The colonists remaining on the island witnessed a decline in staple provisions supplied to them. Shortages of flour, sugar, salt and coffee became the norm. By the mid-1920s the lumber camp depended heavily on a barter system with St. James on Beaver Island: vegetables, cordwood and maple syrup were traded for staple goods.

Following the disappearance of the *Rosabelle*, a few of the island brothers built a forty-foot V-bottomed power boat. They christened her the *High Island* and she served them well for short jaunts between the islands. The "keeper of the keys" made regular trips to St. James to barter for goods that were needed on High Island. Beaver Islanders remembered that that particular Israelite required a strong spirited refreshment while doing business in St. James. He didn't seem to have much difficulty satisfying his thirst, prohibition being loosely observed in the islands.

Around this time, a tawdry story about Benjamin Purnell began circulating in the gentile community. The rumor was that he resided in a seven-sided "harem shack"—seven small bedrooms surrounding his luxurious central bedroom—with a young virgin was assigned to each of the seven outer rooms so that Brother Benjamin could enjoy a fresh damsel each day or night of the week.

I remember an octagonal cabin built by Walter Nelson. Seven rooms and an entry way surrounded a central room with a skylight. Ramon Nelson told me he and his brother and dad lived there for awhile. I never heard of Mary and Benjamin visiting the island. And I would'a heard!<sup>8</sup>

By the mid-1920s, Michigan newspapers were labeling Benjamin and Mary Purnell the King and Queen of the House of David. Authorities hunted King Ben as a "fugitive from justice," stamped High Island as "Michigan's Siberia" and the House of David's "penal colony" where



"Harem Shack" on High Island

there were "bones scattered along the beach." Although not everyone living on the island had chosen to live there, High Island residents did not consider themselves exiles or prisoners.

Contrary to the newspaper articles, the High Island was never used as a penal colony, and was a means of livelihood for the members. It was a beautiful place to live. <sup>10</sup>

Bert Johnson, who was critical of Benjamin, did not agree with this characterization of High Island either.

Benjamin was not on the up and up. It was a good religion and I believe it. When they said High Island was like Siberia, that was wrong. People weren't sent there to die. 11

And Wilbur Meldrim, who left the community, did not harbor ill will because of his time at High Island. He said,

I left the House of David in 1917 because I didn't want to live that way. But I don't believe that High Island was a prison. I didn't want to be a member.<sup>12</sup>

Early in 1923, an arrest warrant was issued for Benjamin Purnell based on his alleged debauchery of young women. Purnell was also accused of obstruction of justice based on an episode that took place during the winter of 1921-1922. Following the close of the 1921 tourist season at the colony's Eden Springs amusement park in Benton Harbor, several young Israelite girls were furtively sent to High Island. Internally announced as a vacation to reward the young ladies for their hard work over the summer months, later courtroom interpretation depicted it as Benjamin hiding possible witnesses to his alleged debauchery. Clearly ten to twelve young Israelite women did reside in the "harem shack" during the winter in question. One such visitor recalled:

High Island was a lot of fun. We [girls] had a good time sledding down the dunes and being pulled by horses. I remember skating on the little lake. We never had enough skates and had to share. Yes, we liked all the attention. One of the boys carved our names on a beech tree on top of Lookout.<sup>13</sup>

Just before Christmas 1926, word arrived on the island that Brother Benjamin had been arrested and the State of Michigan had filed suit to dissolve the Israelite House of David. This disheartening news heightened the anxiety of the dwindling island colony. Before another year passed, virtually all Israelites had departed High Island. Most of the last evacuees had to scrape together their own means for paying transportation costs since they had ceased to receive any support from colony headquarters. Ramon Nelson recalled,

Dad had to use my popcorn and maple syrup money to get us back to Benton Harbor. We arrived in May [1927] just as the trial began.<sup>14</sup>

The year 1927 was tumultuous in the life of the Israelite House of David. In addition to their legal problems, the House of David experienced internal anxiety as Benjamin's wife Mary and his business manager Judge

H. T. Dewhirst grappled for colony control. Israelite unity crumbled as some members left while those that remained became polarized over allegiance to Sister Mary or Brother Dewhirst. Ironically, what encouraged the commune to close ranks was the lawsuit *Michigan v. The Israelite House of David*, the objective of which was to dissolve the House of David. The more acrimonious the charges and accusations leveled at the community, the more tenaciously the faithful clung together. One prosecution charge held that Israelites banished to High Island "died unreported deaths and were buried in unmarked graves," a charge which the faithful emphatically denied. True to their faith, the members of the House of David avoided the dead and did not conduct or attend funerals.

Somewhere near the north shore those who died were buried. We never did much when someone died. No funerals or ceremonies. Sister Mary said "Let the Dead bury the Dead." Mary's was a message of life, not death.<sup>15</sup>

Before the year ended, the circuit court's decree came down placing the House of David in receivership and exiling Benjamin and Mary. Prior to its execution, Brother Benjamin died, and the decree was stayed pending appeal.

In June 1929 the Supreme Court of Michigan overturned the 1927 circuit court decree and the House of David imploded. In less than a year, the colony split in two, half following Brother Dewhirst and half following Sister Mary. The Dewhirst faction received the High Island holdings in a settlement with Mary's faction. A final curious twist found the majority of the refugee island Israelites following Sister Mary in the division.

By the conclusion of the 1927 trial, there existed no year-round Israelite residents on High Island. Judge Dewhirst sent a caretaker to check on the island property each summer during the Great Depression and once contracted a local farmer to raise a crop of potatoes there. Apparently, this endeavor failed. The last remaining Native Americans deserted the island following the 1940 Armistice Day blizzard.

In January of 1953, the House of David sold its island property to the High Island Corporation of Beaver Island. The contract called for a payment of ten dollars and "all other good and valuable considerations"—presumably the payment of the existing tax bill. So ended the story of the Israelite House of David on High Island. "The Devil and Tom Adkins!"

## **Postscript**

The lurid rumor that High Island was maintained by the Israelite House of David as a penal colony has been perpetuated by "official" state maps of Michigan labeling the island as "Michigan's Siberia." Some of these maps still exist in school classrooms and automobile glove compartments. There are numerous tantalizing tales—some outright sinister—of the High Island Israelites. These stories continue to be circulated, if not newly fabricated, in contemporary literature. 17

#### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Harvey Baushke, interview by C. Adkin, Watervliet, Mich., June 6, 1990.
- <sup>2</sup> Tom Dewhirst, lecture at St. Joseph Public Library, St. Joseph, Mich., 1968, unpublished manuscript written by the secretary of the House of David.
  - <sup>3</sup> Baushke, February 7, 1991.
  - <sup>4</sup> Uber Tucker, interview by C. Adkin, Benton Harbor, Mich., July 15, 1983.
  - <sup>5</sup> Melvin Tucker, interview by C. Adkin, Benton Harbor, Mich., July 15, 1983.
  - <sup>6</sup> Baushke, June 21, 1990.
  - <sup>7</sup> Bert Johnson, interview by C. Adkin, Sodus, Mich., June 10, 1990.
  - <sup>8</sup> Uber Tucker.
- <sup>9</sup> "Papers Voice Demand for Expose of Cult," *Detroit Free Press*, March 25, 1923. These inflammatory Sunday features ran for five consecutive weeks.
  - <sup>10</sup> Dewhirst.
- <sup>11</sup> Johnson, May 17, 1982. Bert Johnson and his sister Esther witnessed for the prosecution in *Michigan v. The Israelite House of David*, 1927.
  - <sup>12</sup> Wilbur Meldrim, interview by C. Adkin, Niles, Mich., June 18, 1983.
  - <sup>13</sup> Ola Boone, interview by C. Adkin, St. Joseph, Mich., June 14, 1987.
- <sup>14</sup> Ramon Nelson, interview by C. Adkin, Benton Harbor, Mich., May 27, 1982.
  - $^{\rm 15}$  Melvin Tucker, August 24, 1983.
  - <sup>16</sup> Official Map Pak Michigan State (Detroit, Mich.: Hearne Brothers, 1970-1990).
- <sup>17</sup> One such example is Frederick Stonehouse, *Women and the Lakes II: More Untold Great Lakes Maritime Tales* (Gwinn, Mich.: Avery Color Studios, 2001). These "tales" are better left "untold."