

L I G H T B E A R E R S

A HISTORY
OF THE
SEVENTH-DAY
ADVENTIST
CHURCH

R I C H A R D W . S C H W A R Z
F L O Y D G R E E N L E A F



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Preface to the revised edition

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P R E F A C E

t o t h e F i r s t E d i t i o n

When Edward Gibbon began his “candid but rational inquiry into the progress and establishment of Christianity,” he posed the question as to how its “remarkable” victory over the prevailing religious systems of the day could be explained. With tongue in cheek, Gibbon made ironic obeisance to the “obvious but satisfactory answer” that this was due “to the convincing evidence of the doctrine itself, and to the ruling providence of its great Author” (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, pp. 507, 508). Then followed over fifty pages devoted to explaining the rise of the Christian church solely in the light of social, intellectual, and political currents of the first centuries after Christ.

In spite of his skeptic’s orientation Gibbon had a point. It seems easier for historians to explain the past on the basis of tangible events: the interaction of men, institutions, economic forces, social groups, even the intellectual “climate,” than to discover “behind, above, and through all the play and counterplay of human interests and power and passions, the agencies of the all-merciful One, silently, patiently working out the counsels of His own will” (E. G. White, *Education*, p. 173).

Trained to be critical, to prefer several eyewitnesses and documents produced by impartial, competent observers close to an event, the historian reaches for certainty about the past in terms of things he knows, things that can be seen, heard, and read. He may be confident, as was the ancient prophet Daniel, that the God of heaven “changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings” (Dan. 2:21). He may, with Nebuchadnezzar, be certain that the Most High “doeth according to his will

in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth” (Dan. 4:35). Yet to inject this all-powerful God into his interpretation of past events requires an act of faith in the Unseen and seemingly Intangible which runs counter to his training as a historian. It is frequently more comfortable to follow Gibbonian reason and package an explanation of the past in terms of “the will and prowess of man. . . his power, ambition, or caprice” (White, *ibid.*).

Faced with this dilemma, the Seventh-day Adventist historian must frankly recognize that he is not only a historian, he is also a Seventh-day Adventist Christian. As he approaches the past, and particularly the past of his own church, he does so in this dual role—and finds that it is not always easy to keep the two roles separate. Many things he will find easy to explain in terms of human passions, social forces, and psychological “insight.” Yet he must also be conscious that his theological beliefs color his selection and interpretation of facts. These beliefs provide, in essence, the “glasses” through which he views the past.

In the following interpretation of the origins, development, and spread of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, a conscious effort has been made to heed Leopold von Ranke’s famous injunction to “tell it as it actually happened.” Yet there has been the constant realization that to do so would require much more information and insight than is available. At the same time the writer has tried to heed the warning of an outstanding European church historian. “Men are so much in love with their own opinions,” wrote Fra Paolo Sarpi, “that they persuade themselves that God favors them as much as they do themselves” (quoted in P. Burke, ed., *Sarpi*, p. xxxii).

While attempting to portray the rise and development of the Seventh-day Adventists as accurately as possible, this account also seeks to avoid a dogmatic interpretation of events as occurring “because God ordained them so.” This should not be taken to mean that there are not many aspects of Seventh-day Adventist history which can be fully understood only in the light of the great controversy which continues to rage between Christ and Satan. To the Seventh-day Adventist historian the existence of that controversy provides the real key to a true understanding of all history, including that of his own church. The student is challenged to keep this continuing conflict constantly in mind and thus to develop his own insights into the divine leadings in our past history.

Richard W. Schwarz

P R E F A C E

t o t h e R e v i s e d E d i t i o n

Between the appearance of *Light Bearers to the Remnant* in 1979 and this revised edition, the Seventh-day Adventist denomination has grown from approximately 3,000,000 to more than 10,000,000 members. This growth has taken place primarily in what we have variously called the third world, the developing world, or its more recent term, the two-thirds world, descriptions that are not precisely equivalents, but approximations of each other. During the years of this growth, four General Conference sessions have occurred and three different men have been elected to the General Conference presidency. Adventists have revolutionized their conceptualization of mission processes and reorganized the representational system of their governance; General Conference leaders have moved into a new world headquarters office building. The church has also passed through some of its most serious challenges to doctrine and authority. At the same time it has coped with social issues that seemed so remote in 1960 as to be unlikely.

This revised edition seeks to depict the denomination as a truly global organization by narrating its growth and commenting on the changes that growth has fomented. Because the church has become a world entity it can no longer deal with questions as though they are primarily North American issues. They have become world issues. More than ever before Adventists have become aware that while their church emerged within North America, its growth has produced an international body—a process that has required changes in governance and an appreciation for the impact of its cosmopolitan character on faith and practice.

These changes give rise to a second underlying theme, that of the nature of the challenges Adventism experienced regarding its doctrine and authority. As the church became larger, much of its activity and many of its programs became more sophisticated. In part this reflected global trends unrelated to religion, but church growth paralleled by increased professionalism was not a mere coincidence in Adventism. The struggles over faith, practice, and authority that affected much of the Adventist world during the last quarter of the twentieth century stemmed not only from questions that remained from an earlier era but also from a well-educated, philosophically-inquisitive generation that wanted to understand the church's identity in the context of a milieu far removed from the nineteenth century and its aftermath.

A third theme also appears in this revision. Changes notwithstanding, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has preserved a remarkable continuity since its origins in the Millerite movement. Adventists still hold as strongly as ever the conviction that their message is firmly established on biblical foundations and that they are fulfilling a divine commission to carry this gospel to a perishing world. Adventism at the end of the twentieth century retains the apocalyptic urgency of 1844 blended with the pastoral sensitivity that a tortured world needs.

Many similarities to the first edition remain in this revision, but readers of this book will quickly detect differences. The most obvious change is its format. This revised edition consists of four parts. The first three are both chronological and topical, but the fourth is genuinely topical—a sweeping view of the denomination. This changed format represents several aspects of revision—updating some chapters, adding new chapters, and rearranging some of the material so that it better reflects the denomination at the end of the twentieth century as compared to the mid-1970s.

I have made only scant change in chapters 1 through 15 of the first edition. In this revised edition these chapters constitute Part I and the first three chapters of Part II. Beginning with chapter 16 of the first edition, I revised by condensing chapters in order to make room for new material. Chapters 16 through 26 of the first edition have become chapters 16 through 23 in the revised book, with material from chapter 24 reassigned to Part IV.

The most serious revisions began with chapter 24 of the first edition and continued in chapters 27 through 36. Chapters 29 and onward in the first edition received my close attention because they discussed questions that are still pertinent to the church. In their updated form these chapters make up the bulk of Part III. This section also includes four new chapters: 28, 31, 32, and 34. Approximately half of the material in the revised chapters in Part III is new; the other half is condensed from its original form.

Chapters 37 and 38 of the first edition are a final statement which Part IV of the revised book replaces. I formed this last section by combining material from chapters 24, 27, and 28 of the first edition and adding extensively to produce two new chapters, 36 and 37 of the revised edition.

One of the more serious difficulties I encountered was that of handling the fast-moving events in the church, especially when describing growth in membership and institutions, and satellite telecasting. Some of the data were outdated even before publication. Also, regarding theological discussions in the church, new books appeared too late for me to comment upon. My revisions taper off with events after 1995, but some references to events, publications, and personalities appear as late as 1999.

Many of the sources I consulted for my revisions do not fit the conventional definition of history, but they become historiographically significant because they contributed to the Adventist mindset that, in a sense, was on public trial from the 1970s onward. The literary spectrum of pertinent material to which I referred ranged from issues discussing the perennial arguments between science and Scripture, to theological hair-splitting and the debate about the nature of inspiration, and on to light reading such as stories by missionaries. The Adventist mind fed on all these topics, as well as others, and thus all of Adventist literature became the forum in which the twentieth-century discussions about the centrality of Adventism took place. It is my belief that no one can understand Adventism on the threshold of the twenty-first century without first understanding the Adventist mentality, hence this literature looms in importance. It is worth repeating that the globalization of Adventism on the one hand and its internal conflicts and successes on the other are somehow inextricably mixed, perhaps in ways that we are just beginning to fathom.

Many persons merit my thanks because of their assistance in technical and supportive ways. My first word of gratitude is to Humberto Rasi, General Conference Director of Education, who approached me about this project and guided me through it with wise counsel, especially at crucial points. His secretary, Silvia Sicalo, was always willing to add my ever-growing list of requests to her already full schedule. John Fowler, also from the Department of Education of the General Conference, and Russell Holt of Pacific Press, provided valuable comments and suggestions.

During a long evening session of the Association of Seventh-day Adventist Historians in Portland, Oregon, in April 1998, my fellow historians expressed both confidence and encouragement and made numerous helpful suggestions. From among them I should specifically note Ben McArthur, Eric Anderson, Brian Strayer, and Arthur Patrick who were especially generous with ideas. Gary Land, chair of the History Department at Andrews University and Richard Osborn, Vice President for Education of the North American Division, deserve special thanks for their careful attention to my manuscript and their incisive critiques.

Many conversations were the source of impressions and ideas that eventually found themselves in the revision. Cherie Smith, at the time a member of the pastoral staff of the Collegedale Church, rendered valuable counsel regarding women's ministries. David Mansfield, a friend and neighbor, acquired a packet of papers for me from the Trans-European Division that provided information about Adventist relationships to labor unions in Britain; and Sarah Holmes, a student in denominational history at Andrews

University offered me ideas about Adventist lifestyle. Bruce Norman, former faculty member at the Adventist Institute of Advanced Studies in the Philippines, shared relevant information with me about Adventism in Asia. From Norman Gulley, whose roots are in England and who directed the first graduate program in theology in the Philippines, I gleaned insights about the British Union's biracial reorganization as well as information about Adventist education in the Far East.

Carl Currie, career missionary to China and a one-time member of the East Asia Association, provided candid descriptions about Adventist work in China. A. C. McClure, president of the North American Division, gave me a first-hand account of the evolution of that division from its "special relationship" with the General Conference to its contemporary status. Joel Tompkins, a former union president, discussed with me issues of church administration.

I had virtually free access to the resources of the McKee Library in Collegedale, Tennessee, where Peggy Bennett, the head librarian, and Shirley Bennett of the periodical section, went out of their way to make information acquisition easy for me. In the Heritage Room at the James White Library, Andrews University, James Ford and Carlota Brown provided all the assistance that I needed for successful searches.

Richard Coffen and Gail Hanson of the Review and Herald Publishing Association generously accommodated my requests for illustrative material, as did Tim Poirier in the White Estate. Bert Haloviak and John Wycliffe in the General Conference Archives were tireless in their support of my search for pictures and other materials. Tanya Holland of the *Adventist Review* provided invaluable service by preparing the illustrative materials for publication.

My own experience has also contributed to this revision. Some of my conversations about denominational matters occurred during trips before I undertook this project. I talked to several members of the Kulakov family and other church workers during visits to Russia, and to Robert Wong, Eugene Hsu, Robert Folkenberg, Jr., and Daniel Peek, an ESL teacher at the University of Beijing, during a trip to China. Conversations with fellow Adventists and visits to Adventist centers during earlier journeys to Europe and Latin America gave me a context of understanding for denominational affairs in those regions, and notes that I made as a participant in the General Conference sessions of 1990 and 1995 were useful to me.

Although the help I received enabled me to produce extensive revisions, I cannot overlook the towering influence that the original author, Richard Schwarz, still exerts in this new edition. When rewriting and condensing chapters in the first edition I developed a new appreciation of his capacity to synthesize and to sequence his material effectively. It was with more than a little trepidation that I broke into his chapters. Throughout my revisions I attempted to retain his pertinent thoughts and, as space would permit, his phraseology. Although the title of the book has changed, and despite my work, he remains the principal author of this book.

Floyd Greenleaf

PART ONE

ORIGINS AND FORMATIVE YEARS, 1839-1888

These were the years of origin and formation, 1839 to 1888. They began with a sense of buoyancy and excitement and hope, followed quickly with bitter disappointment after the pent-up emotions of Adventists dissipated following October 22, 1844. Their belief that Jesus would come on a specific date that they mistakenly identified from their biblical studies forced them back to the Bible to find their error. Forty-four years later they struggled over their understanding—and misunderstanding—of the relation of law and obedience on the one hand and forgiveness and grace on the other, wrapped up in the phrase, righteousness by faith. It was the first major doctrinal battle for Adventists after they had developed their body of teachings.

During the years immediately following the Great Disappointment, Adventists studied their way to a set of doctrines that included, among others, conditional immortality, the seventh-day Sabbath, the presence of the Spirit of Prophecy in the church, a broader understanding of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14, and a belief in the priestly ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary.

In 1860 Adventists chose a name that incorporated their two defining beliefs, and over the next three years formally organized congregations, conferences, and the General Conference. In the years that followed they established institutions to support their mission. Schools, health-care establishments, and publishing enterprises became institutional benchmarks of Adventism. They also began to sense their responsibility to the world and formed a mission board to oversee sending workers to other countries.

Until after the American Civil War, the Seventh-day Adventist Church was primarily a church of the northern part of the United States. Adventists began in the northeastern states and spread westward, settling in Battle Creek, Michigan, as their headquarters. They survived the Civil War by setting precedents for the relationship of their church with the state. After that conflict Adventists ventured southward, somewhat cautiously. For them it was almost a mission to a foreign land.

During these formative years both Joseph Bates and James White, two of the founders of the church, died. The remaining voice from among the founders was Ellen White, who continued to guide the fledgling denomination. In the 1880s she spent time in Europe, helping to establish Adventism abroad. Ministers, eager to perpetuate the church's beliefs, preached boldly, if not virulently at times, on prophecy, Sabbath observance, and the soon return of Jesus. Two younger men, just as vehemently, preached new ideas about the relation of the law to obedience and forgiveness and grace. For some it was a shock to think that in their emphasis on biblically based doctrines they had neglected the most basic of all, faith in the atoning blood of Jesus. A confrontation developed, and at Minneapolis in 1888 the church thrashed it out, leaving wounds that festered a long time.

The church was not the same afterwards. It was no longer an innocent body. Doctrinally, it passed through acute soul-searching. For Adventists, it was a time of new beginnings for self-understanding.

The World in Which Adventism Began

Seventh-day Adventists believe that their roots in history go back a long way. Back, not only to the Millerite movement of the 1830s and 40s, but farther: to Wesley and the eighteenth century Evangelical revivalists, to the great Protestant Reformers and to such earlier dissenting groups as the Lollards and Waldenses. Back to the primitive Celtic Church of Ireland and Scotland, the persecuted church of the first three centuries after Christ, back to Christ and the apostles themselves. Yet it is obvious that modern Adventism developed in the great advent awakening which took place in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Events in Europe

As that century began, much of the Western world was preoccupied with the activities of Napoleon Bonaparte. This

Corsican adventurer, who had recently been propelled to the leadership of Europe's dominant state, busied himself in remaking the map of Europe. Even that could not satisfy his restless quest for power. He determined to carve out a position of influence in areas as widely separated as the ancient Near East and the Western Hemisphere.

After a decade and a half of almost incessant warfare Bonaparte was at last confined to a tiny South Atlantic islet, and Europe tried to rebuild an orderly society, free from the excesses for which the French Revolution was held responsible. Drawing inspiration from the writings of Edmund Burke and under the astute leadership of Austria's Prince Metternich, European statesmen set out to encourage institutions that would bring stability to the ordered society they desired. Among these was the Roman Catholic Church,

whose influence and prestige gradually increased from the nadir of the preceding revolutionary decades.

Yet many eyes had seen the indignities heaped upon the priests of Rome; indignities which reached their height when Colonel General Louis Berthier established the Roman Republic in 1798 and took Pope Pius VI off to die in exile in France. A new interest was sparked in the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, particularly the 1260-day period, which many interpreters now believed had come to an end with the dramatic events of 1798. This rebirth of prophetic interest would soon move on to closer consideration of the longest time period in biblical prophecy—the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14.

Religious Diversity

Meanwhile, Protestantism was also experiencing a renaissance, particularly in Great Britain and the United States, where the work of the Wesleys was coming to fruition in the rapid growth of Methodism. In America frontier camp meetings took on an interdenominational hue, and soon sedate Congregationalists and Presbyterians were feeling the call to a more personal and emotional religious experience.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were rich in religious diversity. New sects proliferated. Rejecting established churches and dogma, proclaiming their return to Bible-oriented primitive Christianity, some of these groups developed into religious communes with beliefs and practices later

shared by Seventh-day Adventists. Drawn from the uneducated, lower socioeconomic groups of Europe, such communities were held together principally by a strong leader, their confidence in divine intervention in the current affairs of men, and their belief in the imminence of the second advent of Jesus. They sought a pure religious life in rural frontier communities away from the evils of “the world.”

America had long been a promised land for religious dissidents. Although the Pilgrim Fathers are best known, certainly one of the most intriguing is the German Community of the Woman in the Wilderness, which was established near modern Philadelphia in 1694. It was also in Pennsylvania, among the German Dunkers (Baptists), that Conrad Beissel became convinced of the continued sacredness of the seventh-day Sabbath. Rejected in his community, Beissel withdrew to form the Ephrata Cloister, whose members, in addition to observing the Sabbath, denied the doctrine of eternal punishment, opposed all war and violence, and followed a two-meal-per-day vegetarian diet. Other transplanted German communalistic societies having deep religious motivations were the Rappites, the Separatists of Zoar, and the Amana Society.

In the year of America’s Declaration of Independence a homegrown prophetess appeared in the person of Jemima Wilkinson. Following a thirty-six-hour trance Miss Wilkinson was convinced that Christ’s Spirit now occupied her body, and would for a thousand years. Calling herself the “Universal Friend,”

she eventually established a community of her followers near Seneca Lake in New York's frontier Genesee County. Although a believer in the seventh-day Sabbath, Jemima was willing to accept Sunday as a holiday and day of rest in order to meet local prejudice. Her insistence on celibacy was a major factor in the swift demise of the group after her death in 1819.

A more lasting religious community was created by "Mother" Ann Lee Stanley, who had arrived in America from England in 1774 with eight followers. Officially called the Millennial Church, Mother Ann's converts were popularly labeled "the Shakers." Stressing celibacy and equality of the sexes (Mother Ann was believed to be an incarnation of the female nature of God), the Shakers were also given to spiritualistic communications, especially during the period of their greatest growth, 1837-1844. From Maine to Kentucky they established successful communal colonies known for their industry and temperate living as well as their strange religious dances.

It was left, however, for John Humphrey Noyes to develop a creed which emphasized the development of perfect individuals in a perfect community. Converted during a Charles G. Finney revival meeting, Noyes studied for the ministry but was denied ordination because of his belief that at conversion a person became free of sin. He developed a truly communistic society at Putney, Vermont, but in 1848 was forced to move his group to Oneida, New York. His idea of "complex marriage," which taught that every woman in the group must be married to every man, brought Noyes's fol-

lowers into great disfavor. Later, under community pressure, the Oneida group abandoned this concept.

Latter-day Saints

Although all of these religious communities believed that they had been divinely led to a rediscovery of ancient Christian truths and practices, none developed a successful proselytizing program. It was a different story with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, organized in 1830. In the process its founder, Joseph Smith, Jr., did more to focus attention, and suspicion, on the idea of a modern prophet receiving direct revelations than any of his contemporaries. Smith, the son of itinerant parents who finally located in western New York, possessed little formal education, but he had an active imagination and considerable skill in influencing others. At the age of fourteen Joseph claimed to have received his first visions, in which he was instructed that none of the existing religious denominations was correct in its theology and practices. Several years later an angel named Moroni supposedly directed him to a neighboring hill. Here, in a stone box, Smith claimed to have found inscribed golden plates, together with a breastplate and the Urim and Thummim, two crystals set like spectacles in a silver bow.

By 1830 Smith had produced the *Book of Mormon*, a purported translation of the golden plates. According to Smith, God had called him to preach a restoration of original Christianity in order to prepare the world for the soon

return of Jesus, who would establish His kingdom on an earth restored to its original state. Among the doctrines the new Saints taught were baptism by immersion, tithing, and temperance. They held that a recent divine revelation authorized the keeping of the first day of the week rather than the seventh as the Sabbath. Smith failed to develop much of a following in his home district, but his fortunes increased following a series of moves to Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Converts came in the wake of frontier revivals, and an active missionary program was begun both at home and in Great Britain.

Within several years Smith built a virtual state within a state around Nauvoo, Illinois. Then in 1844 disaffection within his church over the practice of plural marriage by the prophet and other church leaders, combined with the fears of non-Mormon leaders, led to Joseph Smith's destruction. State officials were alienated by Smith's announcement of his candidacy for the presidency of the United States. Upon order from Governor Thomas Ford, Smith and his brother Hyram were charged with treason and detained in the Carthage, Illinois, jail. On June 27 the brothers were killed during the storming of the jail by a mob. Subsequently Brigham Young led the Mormon faithful westward to establish a new Zion in the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Spiritualism

Just as the emotionalism of revivals helped plow the ground in which the

seeds of Mormonism sprouted, so the philosophical teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg, which experienced a considerable vogue in America in the early nineteenth century, helped prepare the way for spiritualism. In Swedenborg's view the Second Advent foreseen by John in the Revelation occurred through God's disclosure to him of the true spiritual meaning of the Bible. He maintained that he experienced visions in which he conversed with famous men of the past ages.

In 1844 an eighteen-year-old New York cobbler, Andrew Jackson Davis, had a trance in a country graveyard during which he believed he met and received messages from the ancient Greek physician, Galen, and from Swedenborg. It was Davis who popularized clairvoyance and the spiritualistic trance; in effect he was America's first popular medium. Scholars generally credit him with supplying the vocabulary and suggesting the theology of modern spiritualism. Four years later the mysterious rappings interpreted by the Fox sisters at Hydesville, New York, gave wide publicity in America to communication with spirits. Spiritualism did not develop a strong separate denominational organization. Instead its believers retained their connection with established churches, particularly of the Universalist-Unitarian variety. The number of mediums increased. For the year 1859 one scholar has identified seventy-one in New York, fifty-five in Massachusetts, and twenty-seven in Ohio. Some 350,000 New Yorkers were estimated at this time to be believers in communion with the dead.

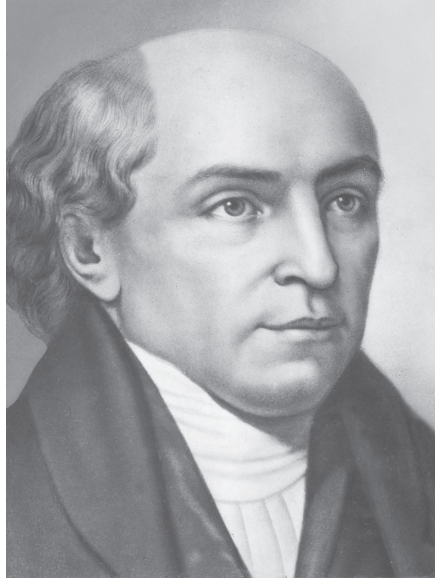
Conventional Protestantism was displaying increasing vigor at the same time that it was becoming more fractionalized. In Great Britain, which emerged from the Napoleonic Wars as a dominant world power, the Wesleyan revival continued to stir thousands to a new interest in humanitarian crusades and missionary endeavor. The Great Awakening of the 1740s and a century later the Finney revivals provided a similar stimulus in the United States. This new energy led to a greatly expanded interest in carrying the gospel to the non-Christian world.

The Missionary Movement

Many date the beginning of the modern Protestant missionary movement to William Carey's arrival in India in 1793. Two years later the London Missionary Society was established, followed the next year by the establishment of a similar organization in New York. During the next few years Robert Morrison went to China, Henry Martyn to the Muslim Near East, Adoniram Judson to India and Burma, and Robert Moffat to South Africa. Enthusiastic support for this mission endeavor came from the mushrooming Bible societies, which sprang up in Europe, America, and Asia—sixty-three from 1804 to 1840. The British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society was particularly active in sponsoring translation of the Scriptures into new languages. The entire Bible or parts thereof were translated into 112 languages and dialects between 1800 and 1844. This was more translation than had been made in the preceding eighteen centuries.

The Sunday School Movement

The churches recognized that much needed to be done in their own neigh-



William Carey (1761-1834), whose missionary career in India began in 1793, was an important part of the Protestant missionary movement prior to the Millerite era.

borhoods as well as in foreign lands. Thousands of children and youth were growing up in homes where the name of Christ was used only in profanity. To reach this group Robert Raikes inaugurated the Sunday School Movement in England in the late eighteenth century. Similar schools were launched in New York and Boston in 1816. Soon the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union was shepherding 723 schools scattered among the major Protestant denominations in nearly twenty states. In 1826 the Congre-

gational, Presbyterian, and Reformed Churches cooperated to establish the American Home Missionary Society, which for the next quarter century actively promoted Christian schools and churches in the frontier states and territories.

Economic Conditions

Economic conditions in Great Britain and the United States contributed greatly to the churches' ability to finance missionary endeavors at home and abroad. The advent of improved technology in the textile industry and the development of the steam engine propelled Britain into the first industrial revolution. Fortunes were developed in manufacturing and in trade with a growing overseas empire. Much of this new merchant wealth was given to support overseas missionaries, perhaps in the hope that a desire to purchase the products enjoyed by Christians would follow the adoption of their religion. Others whose consciences were troubled at affluence acquired through "nasty" ventures like the slave trade quieted them by donating money to have Bibles translated into Hindustani.

As factories mushroomed, so did the population in urban areas. This concentration of population made it easier to contact larger numbers in a short time. Still, the Industrial Revolution proved a mixed blessing for the Christian churches. The increase in the variety and amounts of material goods tended to stimulate the acquisitive nature of the wealthy and to arouse the envy of the poor. Factory hands

and miners, weary from a twelve- to sixteen-hour working day, were generally lethargic toward spiritual things. Disillusioned over their chances for upward mobility in English society, thousands longed to emigrate to America, Australia, or South Africa.

Reform Movements

In both Britain and the United States religious groups were soon involved in the campaign to improve numerous aspects of society. America's most famous revivalist, Charles Grandison Finney, "preached not only salvation but reform." Many who were converted under his preaching became active in antislavery and temperance societies.

Perhaps no reform movement exhibited more clearly the interweaving of religious and secular motivations than the crusade to promote temperance. Hundreds of clergymen labeled intemperance and the liquor traffic as sinful. William Miller exhorted his followers, "For your soul's sake drink not another draught, lest he [Christ] come and find you drunken." Other temperance advocates were stimulated by more earthly interests. If increasing numbers of citizens were to be given the vote, it was essential that they be able to cast their ballots with minds unclouded by liquor.

Numerous causes designed to improve the lot of disadvantaged groups attracted the reform-minded. Thomas Gallaudet and Samuel Gridley Howe campaigned for education and understanding of the deaf and the blind. Louis Dwight of Boston

sought to arouse church members to the “miseries of prisons.” Surely there was much in the common methods of handling criminals that needed reforming. Confinement in the stocks, whipping, and branding came to seem inhuman—fit treatment only for slaves! Surely counseling, education, and religious services were more potent than corporal punishment for encouraging reformation.

Educational Reform

It was during these years that the free public school system took shape in the United States. Beginning in 1823, when Samuel Hall called for better training for elementary teachers, the drive for improved publicly funded schools gained momentum after Massachusetts appointed Horace Mann in 1837 as the first state superintendent of education. The next year New Jersey became the first state to provide free primary schooling for all children at public expense. Soon, under the leadership of Mann and Henry Barnard, of neighboring Connecticut, school buildings were improved, the school term lengthened, normal schools developed, and teachers’ salaries increased.

Feminist Reformers

Many of the most active reformers were women. A number crusaded for improvement in their own lot. Although along the frontier it was common for women to be accepted as near equals, in the older areas of settlement they were expected to be good housekeepers, strong in support

of the church, but ignorant of politics, economics, and legal matters. This viewpoint was vigorously attacked by Margaret Fuller, Lucy Stone, and a score of others who campaigned for equal rights to receive an education, enter any profession, control their own property, and make their voices heard on public issues.

Health Habits

A call to reform personal health habits was urged by many, the best known of whom was Sylvester Graham. The great cholera epidemic of 1832 led Americans to give an attentive ear to Graham’s call for a vegetarian diet which placed a heavy reliance on coarse stone-ground whole wheat and rye grains.



Among the early nineteenth-century American reformers was Sylvester Graham (1794-1851) who urged integrating natural foods into the diet for improved health.

Edward Hitchcock at Amherst College and Reuben Mussey at Dartmouth promoted a more complete health regimen, which stressed a moderate vegetarian diet, cleanliness of person, proper sleep and exercise, and abstinence from alcoholic beverages, coffee, tea, tobacco, and foods prepared with large amounts of grease. By the 1840s hydrotherapy had been imported from Graefenburg, Austria, where an uneducated peasant, Vincent Priessnitz, had accidentally discovered the effectiveness of cold water in relieving pain and swelling. The simplicity of water as a curative agent appealed to many who were properly skeptical of the poorly educated physicians of the day.

Abolition of Slavery

Gradually in America concern over one particular evil became so all-encompassing that it consumed practically the entire reform energies of the nation. Slavery had long disturbed many, but as it became more profitable, following Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin, Southern planters found their consciences smothered by devotion to their pocketbooks. During the first years of the nineteenth century, advocacy of abolition was left principally to the Quakers. The 1830s were different. Stirred by the strident tones of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, both encouraged and shamed by the abolition of slavery in the British Empire and by the equation of slavery with sin by evangelists like Finney and Theodore Weld, thousands of Americans



Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), a New England editor, spoke out against slavery as a moral wrong.

from Massachusetts to Ohio enlisted in a crusade to end forever the ownership of one man by another.

The issue of slavery broadened to include the rights of free speech and a free press as antislavery advocates were tarred and feathered in the South and Postmaster General Amos Kendall approved the refusal of Southern postmasters to deliver abolitionist literature. Politics seemed to some the only way to fight the growing evil. This attitude led to the birth of the Liberty Party in 1840. At the same time ex-President John Quincy Adams was vigorously fighting the "gag" rule, by which Congress had attempted to choke off antislavery petitions. Tempers rose. Not only were Northern abolitionists pitted against Southern slave owners, but

neighbor disagreed with neighbor throughout the North. Women's rights, temperance, health reform all faded in the heat of a controversy which was soon to rend the nation and almost split it in two.

Travel and Communication

In general these reform years were, in the United States, years of prosperity. A seemingly inexhaustible supply of good farmland promised that, barring economic disasters such as the Panic of 1837 or severe physical illness, almost any family willing to work could develop the security of becoming property holders. True, this land must be wrested from the virgin prairies and forests. It also required a willingness to move constantly westward, where land prices were cheaper. Then, the cotton and wheat produced must be moved to markets. Small wonder that Americans during these years pinned their faith on such internal improvements as an expanding network of canals and turnpikes. By 1811 steamboats were operating on the Mississippi. Soon steam would be used to propel cars down iron tracks at what seemed extravagant speeds of 15 to 20 miles an hour.

Steam and electricity also provided the power for more rapid transmission of knowledge: in 1814 the *London Times* installed the first steam cylinder press; by the 1830s Samuel F. B. Morse had harnessed electrical current to develop the first successful telegraph. In May of 1844 Morse sent his first message over

the wire recently strung between Washington and Baltimore.

Democracy

It seems hardly coincidental that Britain and the United States, the two pillars of the growing evangelical Protestant outreach, should also be the two countries most firmly committed to a democratic form of government. There had always been an affinity between Protestantism and democracy. He who demanded freedom to interpret Scripture and order his religious practices as he pleased was not generally willing to accept autocratic rule by kings or oligarchs. In both countries the democratic impulse was deepening during the 1820s and 30s. Jacksonian Democracy in America heralded the age of the common man, frontier egalitarianism, a broadened suffrage, mass participation in government, and a commitment to education for all at public expense.

Democratic and liberal ideas were spreading throughout the European continent as well. In spite of the diligent efforts of conservatives, popular hopes for increased participation in government and a larger piece of the economic pie helped precipitate the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. In several places—Belgium, Germany, Poland—these outbreaks were coupled with the spirit of nationalism. Nationalistic stirrings were also being felt in Italy and Spanish America. In the United States they flared up in the War of 1812, the later conflict with Mexico, and in disputes with Britain over the

Canadian boundary in Maine and Oregon. Here, too, nationalism mutated into an ugly antiforeign jingoism as increasing numbers of Irish Catholics, propelled by famine, began to arrive in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Catholic schools and churches were burned, and proposals to make naturalization more difficult became increasingly popular among politicians.

The quarter of a century that followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars was a period of ferment. A new technology based on steam and electricity

was in its infancy. A host of reforms, from vegetarianism to the abolition of slavery, stirred the emotions of thousands. There was an increased interest both in acquiring the comforts of this world and in preparing oneself and others for the next. Religious ideas and organizations were being born and were dying at a rapid rate. Interest in Bible prophecy and the establishment of Christ's kingdom of glory competed for attention in this turbulent milieu. Would this interest be sustained or falter and die out?

Suggested Topical Reading:

General reform movement:

A. F. Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (1944), covers the religious and humanitarian reform of the 1830s and 1840s in the United States.

Jerome Clark, *1844* (1968), a three-volume treatment of the milieu in which Adventism appeared.

Edwin Gaustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism* (1974), includes essays about social reform, communitarianism, and health reform.

Frederick Hoyt, "Ellen White's Hometown: Portland, Maine, 1827-1846," in *The World of Ellen G. White* (1987), Gary Land, ed., pinpoints the mood of the times as they affected the environment in which Ellen White grew up.

The religious mood:

B. A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River* (1958), chapter 4, describes Charles G. Finney's revivalism in America.

K. S. Latourette, *The Great Century* (1941), chapters II and III, analyzes the expansion of Christian missions.

L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1966), chapters 2 and 3, interprets the Christian mission movement.

Jonathan Butler, "When America Was 'Christian,'" in Land, *ibid.*, describes the general Christian atmosphere of the United States at the time of the rise of Adventism.

The Great Advent Awakening

How the words of the angel messengers must have rung in the disciples' ears that day in A.D. 31 as they trudged back to Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives! "This same Jesus . . . shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." From that day on, their Lord's return was the "blessed hope," referred to more than 300 times by New Testament writers. Then shortly before his death, John the beloved received a glimpse of a third coming a thousand years after the second. At that time final judgment would be passed upon sin and sinners.

So real to the early Christian church was the hope of Christ's imminent return that Edward Gibbon, in his rational attempt to account for the rapid growth of Christianity, identified the belief in Christ's soon return as one of the major factors in Christianity's success. But

Christ did not return. As the years stretched into decades and then into centuries, more and more Christians accepted Origen's spiritualized view of the Second Coming as occurring when an individual accepted Christ and died to the old world of sin. In the fifth century St. Augustine argued that the millennial reign of Christ had begun with the establishment of His church at the First Advent.

Interest in Prophecy

In subsequent centuries isolated scholars such as Joachim of Floris (fl. 1180) saw in the biblical prophecies of Daniel and Revelation evidence of the Second Advent's approach. Yet it was not until the Protestant Reformation that belief in the imminence of this event again developed on a broad scale. More decades passed, and the hope remained

unrealized. By the beginning of the eighteenth century most Protestant theologians were ready for a new view of the Advent. An English clergyman, Daniel Whitby, soon accommodated them. He posited a spiritual “second coming,” to be followed by a thousand years during which first Protestants, then Catholics, and later Jews and Moslems, would renounce sin and unbelief and be thoroughly converted to Christ. At the close of this millennium Christ would indeed come in a literal way. Protestants of all varieties seized this idea with alacrity. By 1750 Whitbyanism, a belief in a postmillennial advent, dominated Protestant eschatology, especially in England and America. When Yale University president Timothy Dwight proclaimed in 1798 that “the advent of Christ is at our doors,” it was the Whitbyan concept of a spiritual advent that he apparently had in mind.

The French Revolution also rekindled millennial speculation and interest in such time prophecies as the 1260 (Dan. 7:25) and the 2300 days (Dan. 8:14). In Christian circles the realization that a prophetic day stood for a year dates back at least as far as Joachim of Floris. By 1800 many Protestant expositors were convinced that the 1260-year period of papal supremacy had ended during the 1790s. Attention began to shift to the 2300 days, the longest specific time prophecy in the Bible.

Awakening in Germany

The key to dating the 2300 days had been provided as early as 1768 by Johann

Petri, a German Calvinist pastor. Apparently it was Petri who first ascertained the close relationship between the messianic seventy-week prophecy of Daniel 9 and the 2300 days of Daniel 8. He began both time periods in 453 B.C., thus concluding that the 2300 days/years would end in 1847. Similar conclusions were reached about the same time by Hans Wood, a pious Irish layman. Wood, however, began the two periods in 420 B.C. and so ended the 2300 years in 1880.

Roughly fifty years before Petri, Johann Bengel, another German pastor, had made a major impact on evangelical Protestantism. To Bengel the entire Bible was a progressive revelation of God’s plan for man’s salvation. In this plan Christ is the central figure. All prophetic time periods point forward to the culmination of God’s plan: Christ’s second coming in glory. Bengel was fascinated by the number of the beast mentioned in Revelation 13:18 and decided that this number 666 was equal to the 1260 years of the beast’s supremacy. Through complicated arithmetical reasoning he ended the period in 1836. He believed Christ would return at this time and begin a millennial reign on earth to be followed by a second millennium in heaven. Bengel paid scant attention to the 2300 days beyond identifying them as 2300 literal years.

Manuel de Lacunza

For centuries the Roman Catholic Church had either virtually ignored Christ’s return or projected it into the far-distant future. Then in the 1790s a manuscript entitled *The Coming of the*

Messiah in Glory and Majesty, written by an exiled Jesuit priest, began to circulate in Spain and Spanish America. Manuel de Lacunza had been forced to leave his native Chile in 1767 when Charles III expelled all Jesuits from his realm. Lacunza eventually resettled in a monastery near Bologna, Italy. Here he found leisure to complete his study of the Second Advent, which had intrigued him for more than twenty years. Realizing the likelihood that his views would incur the wrath of the Inquisition, Lacunza circulated his manuscript under the pseudonym Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra. It was not until 1812, more than a decade following the author's death, that *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty* was published in Spain, where the Inquisition's authority had been undermined during the French occupation.

Even before publication, manuscript translations of Lacunza's work in Latin and Italian were in circulation. Once printed, it spread rapidly, creating a considerable stir throughout southern Europe and Latin America. Believing that the two advents of Christ were the focal points of all history, Lacunza called for a thorough examination of the Bible for light on the soon return of Jesus. This Jesuit priest accepted the early Christian Church's position that there were to be two resurrections of the dead, separated by a millennium. His understanding of the Second Advent as occurring prior to the millennium placed him in direct opposition to Whitbyan postmillennialism.

As Lacunza had feared, his book was condemned by the Sacred Congregation of the Index. In 1824 Pope Leo XII

officially forbade its publication "in any language whatsoever." Far from ending its influence, the papal ban was a virtual recommendation to Protestant scholars.

English Expositors

The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty became an important stimulus to the advent awakening which flowered brilliantly during the 1820s in Great Britain. Early in the Napoleonic period interest in prophetic interpretation increased among English clergymen. This can be seen clearly in the correspondence columns of *The Christian Observer*, an Anglican journal begun in London in 1802. At first the *Observer's* correspondents were particularly concerned with the 1260-year period, but in 1810 John A. Brown introduced the 2300 years into the discussion, dating them from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843.

These dates were later accepted by one of the *Observer's* most vigorous correspondents, William Cunninghame. This Scottish layman became a prolific writer, publishing twenty-one different works on biblical prophecy and chronology. Cunninghame believed that he was living in the time of the first angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 and that the messages to be sounded by the second and third angels in this chapter were still in the future. He interpreted the "cleansing of the sanctuary" at the end of the 2300 years as the start of God's cleansing of His church and the visiting of judgment on apostasy and Islam. He expected the millennium to begin at the close of the 1335

day/year period mentioned in Daniel 12:12. Because he began this period, as he did the 1260 years, in 533, he figured that it would end in 1867.

Several differences between British participants in the advent awakening and their counterparts in the later Millerite movement in America are evident. In general the British preachers failed to proclaim one specific date with the same fervor as the Americans. The belief that the Jews would be converted and return to establish a Palestinian state was a major British, but not a Millerite tenet. This led English advent believers such as Lewis Way and Henry Drummond to be very interested in missionary work for the Jews. Drummond, the financial angel of British Adventism, was a wealthy banker who decided in 1817 to renounce politics and devote himself to Christian service. In 1826, at Way's suggestion, Drummond invited a number of interested ministers and laymen to engage in an intensive study of the prophecies for one week at his Albury Park estate. This conference became an annual event for the next four years. All of the participants agreed that Christ's coming was "at the door," and many expected Him in 1847. They interpreted the work of the newly organized missionary and Bible societies as fulfilling the loud cry of the first angel of Revelation 14.

Among the participants in the Albury Park conferences, two young men in their early thirties stand out: Joseph Wolff and Edward Irving. The son of a German-Jewish rabbi, Joseph Wolff found himself attracted to Christianity as a youth. Repulsed by the rationalism

prevalent in early nineteenth-century German Protestantism, he turned to Catholicism. Finding his way to Rome, Wolff became a favorite of pope and cardinals. His gift for languages and evangelistic fervor earned him entrance to the Church's College of Missionary Propaganda. Soon, however, this brilliant young Jew found himself in sharp conflict with both teachers and fellow students over the church's right to burn heretics, which Wolff denounced as a violation of the commandment "Thou shalt not kill."

Wolff's independence brought him under the surveillance of the Holy Office and eventually led to his banishment from Rome. Shortly thereafter he cut his ties with Catholicism and migrated to England, where he became an Anglican. Wolff came to expect Christ's second advent in 1847. No other advent believer heralded the good news of this anticipated event over a wider area. An expert in six languages and able to converse freely in another eight, Joseph Wolff was a compulsive missionary to Jews, Moslems, Hindus, and Parsees. He traversed most of the Near East, pierced the mysterious lands of central Asia, and crossed the Himalayas to India. On a visit to America in 1837 he was invited to address the American Congress. Shortly thereafter he was asked what he would do if, when 1847 came, the millennium did not begin. "Why," Wolff replied forthrightly, "I shall say that Joseph Wolff was mistaken."

Edward Irving, the "most colorful figure in the British Advent Awakening," grew up in Scotland and graduated

from Edinburgh University at the age of seventeen. After an apprentice ministry in Glasgow he accepted an invitation to pastor a small chapel in London. Soon his brilliant oratory, reputation for piety, and ability to empathize with his parishioners brought the cream of London society to his chapel. He found it necessary to move to the larger Regent Square Presbyterian Church in order to accommodate his congregation. Irving's early and somewhat casual interest in the prophecies was dramatically changed when he read a Spanish edition of Lacunza's work in 1826. That same year he joined James Frère and Lewis Way in organizing the Society for the Investigation of Prophecy, which met to study "the speedy coming of our Lord."

Sunday by Sunday, Irving taught the imminent return of Jesus before packed congregations of a thousand people in his London church. On tours of Scotland he spoke in the open air before crowds of up to 12,000. A large congregation in Edinburgh turned out to hear him at five o'clock in the morning. During one of his Scottish tours he converted the three Bonar brothers to the advent hope. Horatius Bonar, then only twenty-one, would later serve for twenty-five years as editor of *The Quarterly Journal of Prophecy*.

But tragedy struck Irving's church. One Sunday in 1831 the sermon was interrupted by an outbreak of speaking in tongues; experiments with faith healing followed. The congregation became deeply divided over the genuineness of these supernatural manifestations. Although not directly involved in either phenomenon, Irving refused to condemn

what he thought might be the promised latter-day outpouring of the Holy Spirit. This led to his removal and trial for heresy. Broken in spirit, he died in 1834.

Continental Expositors

No other European country had so brilliant a cluster of heralds of the advent hope as did England. Yet the Continent was not without witnesses. In Geneva, François S. R. L. Gaussen, driven from his pulpit by the rationalistic state clergy, became a teacher in the Evangelical Society's School of Theology. As a "zealous advocate" of the Second Advent he paid special attention to the prophecies in his teaching. Gaussen originated a unique way of creating interest in the prophecies by giving a series of Sunday School lessons on Daniel to the children of Geneva. This series attracted numerous adults, including many who visited the city from other areas of Europe.

In Germany the advent hope was promoted by men like Johann Richter, Bavarian schoolmaster Leonard Kelber, and an obscure Roman Catholic parish priest, Johann Lutz.

Scandinavia

A large scale mood for revival in Scandinavia, including visions, dreams, and prophetic utterances, focused the attention of thousands on the advent message. In Sweden the clergy of the state church proved uninterested in discussing the soon coming of Christ. Instead laymen began proclaiming the impending hour of God's judgment in

meetings in private homes and in the forests. Since such gatherings were in violation of royal decree, the young lay preachers were arrested, beaten, and imprisoned. They maintained that when the Spirit of God came upon them they could not refrain from preaching and justified their actions by citing Joel 2 and Revelation 14:6-8. During the years 1842 and 1843 in particular, many children and youth, girls as well as boys, some as young as six years of age, gave discourses on the Second Advent and called the people to repentance. This made a profound impact upon many, particularly among the common people. Most of these children were illiterate. Some seemed to preach while in a trance-like state; the tone and manner of their voices changed completely when they were "overpowered" by the Spirit.

Australia

On the opposite side of the world, in Adelaide, Australia, Thomas Playford preached powerful sermons on the Second Coming. Since local churches were not big enough to hold his audiences, friends built a large structure for his use. In India Daniel Wilson, Episcopal Bishop of Calcutta and a participant in one of the Albury Park conferences, published in 1836 a book on the prophecies of Daniel. In this volume he set the end for the 2300 years in 1847, at which time he expected Christ's return and a premillennial resurrection of the dead.

Yet in spite of all the interest in the Second Coming, the Old World failed

to produce a unified movement dedicated to promoting readiness for that climactic event. Why? Several reasons may be suggested. First, there was considerable argument among students of prophecy over whether the 2300 days ended in 1843, 1844, or 1847. No consensus developed. Second, there was a failure to focus on one time period exclusively. Considerable interest was shown in the 1290- and 1335-day periods (Dan. 12:11, 12) in addition to the 1260 and 2300 days. These were extended by many to 1866 or 1867. What was to happen then? The Old World expositors also tended to expect the conversion and restoration of the Jews and the expulsion of the Moslems from Jerusalem before the Advent. As the 1840s drew near and there were no evidences that these things were about to take place, interest shifted to the 1860s. Nor did England or the Continent develop any popular journals for promoting Adventist views. Those journals that interested themselves in the prophecies and the Advent were largely of a scholarly nature, inclined to treat events with detachment rather than evangelistic fervor. They developed no mass following. Perhaps the Old World was too set in its ways, too conservative, to look with enthusiasm toward anything so revolutionary as the Second Advent and a new heaven and earth.

The United States

Although in the United States there was no major interest in an imminent second advent until a decade after the Albury

Park conferences, there had been much speculation on the 2300-year period. As early as 1811 Presbyterian pastor William C. Davis of South Carolina had calculated the ends of both the 2300- and 1260-year prophecies to occur in 1847. He reached this date by recognizing that the seventy weeks of Daniel 9:24 provided the key to the beginning of the 2300 days. Davis interpreted the “cleansing of the sanctuary” to mean the start of the millennium. At this time he believed the “true worship of God will be restored to the church.” Intent on integrating the 1290- and 1335-day prophecies with the other two time periods, which he had already synchronized, Davis envisioned the purification of the church as starting in 1847 with the overthrow of the papacy. The conversion of the Jews would begin thirty years later, but he delayed the full glory of the millennium until 1922. In later life, Davis adopted a more thoroughgoing postmillennialist position, placing a literal, personal second advent and last judgment some 365,000 years in the future.

Other American preachers, such as Joshua L. Wilson of Cincinnati and Alexander Campbell, founder of the Disciples of Christ, came to teach the cleansing of the sanctuary and the 2300 days in much the same way as William Davis. In 1830 a Campbellite layman, Samuel McCorckle, of Tennessee, even projected a literal second advent to occur in 1847. For the most part, however, Whitbyan postmillennialism dominated the thinking of those American clergymen who studied biblical prophetic time periods. It remained for a New York farmer to

work out a convincing premillennial interpretation of the Second Advent linked to the 2300 days.

William Miller

Yet this was no average farmer. As the eldest son of sixteen children, William Miller soon learned that there was no money to provide the advanced education that he desired. College would have to be such books as he could borrow from friendly neighbors in the semifrontier area southwest of Lake Champlain, where he grew up. Reading by the light of pine knots long after the rest of the family had retired, Miller developed a good basic knowledge of the Bible and of history. He also developed some skill in writing, enough so that he was frequently called upon to write letters or compose a verse for a friend.

At twenty-one Miller married a young lady from Poultney, Vermont, just across the state line from his family home in Low Hampton, New York. Upon moving to his bride’s community, Miller quickly took advantage of the village library. His scholarly interests brought him into contact with the local village intellectuals, most of whom were deists. Under the influence of a religious mother and a grandfather and uncle who were Baptist preachers, young Miller had learned to reverence the Bible. Now his new friends introduced him to skeptics such as Voltaire, Paine, and Hume. Before long he decided that a deistic philosophy was more reasonable than acceptance of the Bible, which to him seemed filled with

troublesome inconsistencies.

Miller was well accepted in his community, serving it as a constable, justice of the peace, and deputy sheriff. Shortly before the outbreak of the War of 1812 he became a lieutenant in the state militia; during the war he advanced to a captaincy in the regular army. Miller's wartime experiences shook his faith in deism. As he saw comrades die, he became preoccupied with the question of a future life. Then came participation in the Battle of Plattsburg, where the raw American forces were outnumbered nearly three to one by British veterans, many of whom had fought against Napoleon. Yet the British were beaten. Could this be because God had intervened? he wondered.

At the end of the war Miller moved



The Millerite movement derived its name from William Miller (1782-1849), whose powerful and convincing preaching made him the foremost personality of the advent awakening.

back to Low Hampton, the better to care for his recently widowed mother. Perhaps to please her he began attending the local Baptist church, where his Uncle Elisha preached quite regularly. On occasion, when a minister was not available, a deacon would read a printed sermon. This Miller did not find edifying; so he stopped attending on such Sundays, until the deacons invited him to read future sermons. Gradually he became dissatisfied with deism's lack of hope for a life beyond the grave. One Sunday while reading the sermon, he was overcome with emotion and had to sit down. He had suddenly begun to see the beauty of Christ as a personal Savior. Why not become a thorough Christian and pin his hopes on the Bible promises of salvation?

Immediately he found himself the object of ridicule among his deist friends, who now advanced the old arguments Miller had previously used against the Bible. Both to answer these challenges and to build a firm foundation for his faith, Miller began a program of systematic Bible study. Since he had discovered that commentators frequently differed strongly with each other, he determined to use only the Bible and a *Cruden's Concordance*, and let the Bible serve as its own interpreter. Beginning with Genesis he proceeded in his study only as fast as he was able to explain each passage satisfactorily. When confronted with an obscure or difficult verse, Miller looked up all other verses containing the same key words. Through careful comparison and reasoning he then formulated his explanation of the troublesome passage.

Early in his study he concluded that the Bible should be interpreted literally unless the context clearly indicated that the writer was using figurative language.

As Miller studied, his earlier reading of history began to influence him. He noticed that although the prophets frequently spoke in figurative language, their predictions were fulfilled by literal events. This was noticeably true in reference to the first advent of Christ and the great outline prophecies of Daniel 2 and 7. From this conclusion it was a logical step to assume that the Second Advent would also take place literally. As he studied Daniel 8:14, he became convinced that

the sanctuary to be cleansed at the end of the 2300 days/years was the church, which would be purified at her Lord's return. By linking up the 2300 days of Daniel 8 with the seventy weeks of Daniel 9, he deduced that both periods had begun about 457 B.C. Having reached this conclusion in 1818 after two years of intensive Bible study, Miller was thrilled at the thought "that in about twenty-five years . . . all the affairs of our present state would be wound up."

Miller Spreads the Word

Now he began to talk more openly to neighbors and visiting preachers about



William Miller's home in Low Hampton, New York, as it appeared about 1895. It was here that Miller promised the Lord he would preach about his understanding of biblical prophecies if someone asked him.

his conclusions regarding Christ's return. To his chagrin, few showed any interest. Although disappointed, he continued his Bible study and, as he did so, the conviction pressed home to his heart that he had a personal responsibility to share this "good news." The very thought filled him with terror. He reasoned that his lack of training and experience as a public speaker excused him from any such assignment. Yet the impression would not go away. Finally one Saturday morning in August 1831, alone in his study, Miller promised God that "if I should have an invitation to speak publicly in any place, I will go and tell them what I find in the Bible about the Lord's coming." Instantly his mind was relieved. Because he had never had such an invitation, he felt entirely safe in making the promise.

Within the hour Miller had his invitation. It came from his brother-in-law in nearby Dresden, New York. When he had learned that there was no preacher available for Sunday service, Silas Guilford sent his son to get Uncle William to come and talk with the neighbors about the things he had been studying in the Bible relative to Jesus' return. Miller's first reaction was anger that he had made such a foolish promise. Yet he was a man of his word. That afternoon he set out for Dresden. The meeting the next day was a thorough success. Once launched into his topic, Miller lost his shyness and presented his views so forcefully that he was invited to stay on for a week and hold revival services.

Upon his return home, Miller found a letter containing a request from the Baptist pastor in nearby Poultney that he

come and talk to the Baptists of Poultney about the Second Advent. From that time on Miller was in constant demand as a speaker in the Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational churches in the area and across the border in eastern Canada. In September 1833 his local Baptist church, without his knowledge and with the direct simplicity of frontier America, voted him a license to preach. It seems he was never formally ordained. Throughout the remainder of his life he refused to be called "Reverend," maintaining that it was not biblical to apply such a title to any human.

Miller's earnestness and sincerity were to win him high marks, even from those who, like William Lloyd Garrison, disagreed with his interpretations of prophecy. As he traveled, hundreds commented on his "coolness and soundness of judgment," his biblical and historical expertise, and his logical reasoning. This farmer-preacher was not interested in simply securing intellectual assent to his mathematical calculations; his greatest desire was to see men and women, especially agnostics and infidels, accept Jesus Christ as Saviour and look forward with joy to His soon return. Miller's sermons were known for their careful organization and heavy reliance on numerous Bible texts. He spoke in a forceful, but not bombastic, style and in language the common people understood.

The first printed version of Miller's views appeared in a series of letters, which he wrote in 1832 to a Baptist paper, *The Vermont Telegraph*; these were followed two years later by a sixty-four page pamphlet prepared to answer inquiries. In

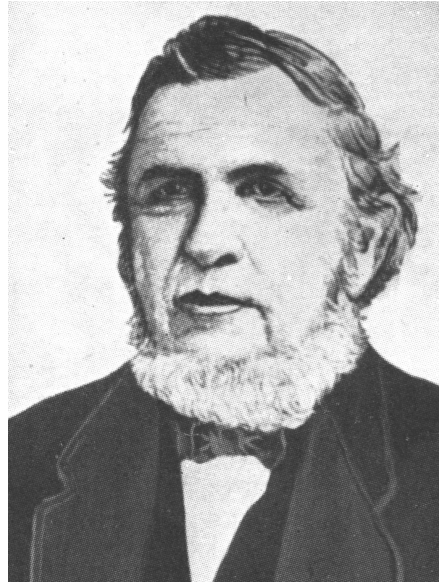
1836 Miller published a more comprehensive version in sixteen lectures collected in book form. Gradually the knowledge of his views spread. Early in 1838 a copy of his *Lectures* came into the hands of the editor of the *Boston Daily Times*, who published most of them.

Miller's Associates

About this same time a friend asked Dr. Josiah Litch, one of the ablest Methodist Episcopal preachers in New England, to read Miller's *Lectures*. Certain that no one could set a date for Christ's return, Litch grudgingly agreed, confident that he could easily prove Miller wrong. But the more he read, the more fascinated he became. When he had finished, he was convinced not only that Miller was right, but also that he should teach "the advent near." That summer of 1838 he prepared a 200-page book entitled *The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ About A. D. 1843*. In commenting on Revelation 9 Litch daringly applied the day-year principle of prophetic interpretation to Turkey, predicting its loss of power in August 1840. This caused considerable discussion and increased interest in Bible prophecy. Thousands, including hundreds of former infidels, interpreted the Ottoman Empire's acceptance of Great Power guarantees on August 11, 1840, as a vindication of Litch's position.

In the spring of 1838 another prominent New England preacher, Congregationalist Charles Fitch, of Boston, read Miller's lectures and wrote the author, "I find nothing on which to rest a single

doubt respecting the correctness of your views." During the 1830s Fitch had been closely associated with evangelist Charles G. Finney, and like him was a strong temperance and antislavery reformer. In the flush of his enthusiasm for Miller's teachings Fitch rushed to share them with a group of local Congregational ministers. Instead of matching his enthusiasm, they heaped ridicule on the idea of an imminent advent. Shaken, Fitch backed off and temporarily abandoned any preaching of the 1843 date, submerging himself instead in a study of sanctification. Some three years later, after personal labor by Josiah Litch, Fitch reaffirmed his advent



Josiah Litch (1809-1886), a well-known Methodist Episcopal minister in New England, added impetus to the Millerite movement by accurately applying the principles of prophetic interpretation to predict Turkey's loss of power in 1840.

faith and became one of the most vigorous adventist evangelists.

Although Miller's message was reaching many through his appearances in the villages and towns of northern New York and western Vermont and others through his printed *Lectures*, he had not yet gained prominence in a major metropolis. All that changed as a result of a meeting in November 1839 in Exeter, New Hampshire. Miller was in town to deliver a series of lectures; a group of Christian Connection ministers decided to visit him *en masse* to learn about his teachings. They were surprised and impressed with the easy way in which he

answered their questions, none more so than Joshua V. Himes. This young firebrand, who had helped Garrison organize the New England Antislavery Society in his church and was a vigorous promoter of educational reform, had heard of Miller before. In fact several weeks earlier he had written inviting the New Yorker to come and give a series of lectures in his Chardon Street Chapel in Boston. Now he vigorously renewed his invitation. Miller accepted. Thus began an association that was to transform Millerism from a local curiosity into a cause that would receive national attention.

Suggested Topical Reading:

The advent movement:

M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), pp. 73-119, is a concise treatment of the second-advent awakening.

L. E. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, III (1950), covers the Old World heralds of the Advent; vol. IV describes those in the United States.

Ernest Sandeen, *The Rise of Adventism* (1975), contains a valuable essay on millennialism.

George Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (1993), effectively connects the advent movement with millennialism.

William Miller:

Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller* (1853), is an old but basic biography of Miller.

Robert Gale, *The Urgent Voice* (1975), is a modern biography of Miller.

F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry* (1944), pp. 17-74, describes Miller's background and early experiences.

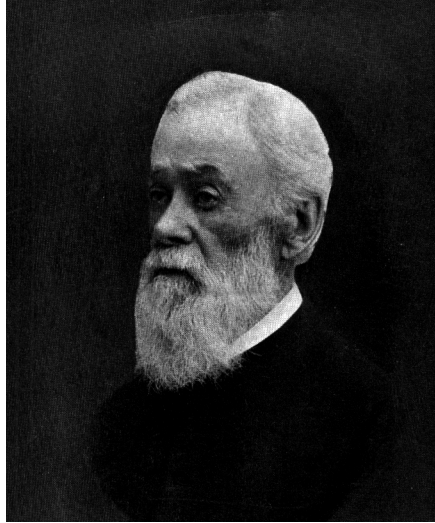
E. N. Dick, *Founders of the Message* (1938), pp. 13-66, is a popular account of Miller.

The Millerite Movement, 1839-1844

William Miller's contact with Joshua V. Himes opened an entirely new era in the advent awakening in the United States. Accepting Himes's invitation, Miller lectured to packed audiences in Boston's Chardon Street Chapel, December 8-16, 1839. During this visit Miller stayed with Himes, who became deeply impressed that his guest was correct about the nearness of the Advent, although he remained uncertain that Miller's dating was correct. Himes did believe the subject deserved much wider publicity and inquired why Miller had not sounded his message in the nation's larger cities. When the old farmer replied that he had not been invited to do so, Himes determined that he would open doors for Miller "in every city in the Union."

Publicizing the Advent

Within weeks Himes was launched on



Joshua V. Himes (1805-1895) was an associate of William Miller and the leading promoter and organizer of the Millerite movement. After 1844, Himes did not join the sabbatarian Adventists who became Seventh-day Adventists.

a new career which made him the chief organizer, promoter, and publicist of adventism. Not only did he help secure Miller's repeated return to Boston, but he also arranged for him to visit New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. In February 1840, during Miller's third series of lectures in Boston, Himes began another method of publicizing the "Advent near." On February 28, *The Signs of the Times*, the first newspaper designed to advertise Miller's views and to stimulate discussion of the Second Advent, appeared. Lack of both funds and a subscription list made it seem probable that the first number would also be the last. But Dow and Jackson, the antislavery publishers who printed the paper for Himes, believed that interest in the Second Advent had grown so much that a regular newspaper devoted to the subject could be a financial success. They offered to assume responsibility for the paper and publish it semimonthly if Himes would, as an unpaid editor, furnish copy and help build a subscription list.

At the end of the first year of publication *The Signs of the Times* had 1500 subscribers, and Himes persuaded Dow and Jackson to sell the paper to him. By the spring of 1842 there was sufficient interest to warrant making the *Signs* a weekly. Some nine months earlier Josiah Litch had been hired as associate editor. The *Signs* was but the first of a host of Millerite papers. When Miller and Himes conducted a major lecture series in New York City during the fall of 1842, they began *The Midnight Cry*. To publicize their meetings, ten thousand copies were sold or given away each day for four

weeks, after which the *Cry* became a weekly. In succeeding months, as increasing numbers of ministers and other lecturers carried the advent message to new areas, it became customary to launch papers to publicize the cause. Many of these journals lasted only a few weeks or months, but among the most important and long lasting were *The Voice of Truth* in Rochester, *The Western Midnight Cry* in Cincinnati, the *Trumpet of Alarm* in Philadelphia, and the *Voice of Elijah* in Montreal.

Himes's publishing ventures were not limited to newspapers; he became the key figure in producing the Second Advent Library, a continuing series of tracts and books by Miller and others. Those who had accepted Miller's views were encouraged to purchase and loan copies of the Second Advent Library to neighbors and friends. Himes's genius also provided several other means for promoting Adventist views. Copies of the colorful prophetic chart developed early in 1842 by Charles Fitch and Apollos Hale for use by Millerite lecturers were printed in miniature on one half of a sheet of stationery, with the remainder left for letter writing. Sheets of small Christmas-seal-type "monitory wafers" were also imprinted with appropriate Bible texts or advent slogans; these could be utilized in place of wax for sealing letters.

Early in his career as the chief advent propagandist, Himes began to publish thousands of tracts containing a synopsis of Miller's views. These sold for two or three cents each. Many were packaged and sent to newspaper and post offices across the country with the request that

they be distributed to any that might be interested. Bundles were also entrusted to ship captains with instructions to drop them off at their ports of call. By early 1843 tracts were available in French and German. In May 1844 Himes announced that more than five million copies of advent newspapers and tracts had been distributed. Himes's many publishing ventures, which also included the printing of an advent hymnal, *The Millennial Harp*, drew unfounded charges that he was reaping exorbitant financial profits. Himes plowed any profits from his ventures back into the general cause.

Advent Conferences

As more and more publicity was given to Miller's views and increasing numbers of clergymen accepted them, it seemed desirable to convene the leaders of the developing movement for a conference. Consequently *The Signs of the Times* carried a call, signed by Miller and others, for a general conference of advent believers in Chardon Street Chapel, Boston, on October 14, 1840. Miller was scheduled to give the keynote address but was taken ill en route and prevented from attending. In his stead an Episcopalian rector, Henry Dana Ward, the New York editor of the *Anti-Masonic Magazine*, was selected conference chairman. He also gave the principal address, a scholarly history of the second-advent hope and a firm defense of a premillennial advent. Ward and Henry Jones, a New York Presbyterian minister who became the conference secretary, disagreed with Miller's choice of 1843 as the definite date for Christ's

return, but both agreed that the Advent was very near.

Approximately two hundred clergy and laymen representing a wide variety of churches attended this first general conference of advent believers. At Himes's suggestion a conference *Report* containing the principal addresses presented was printed and 2000 copies circulated at once. Thousands more were later used in publicizing the Advent. In contrast to the violent clash of opinions that characterized so many of the reform conventions in Chardon Street Chapel, a surprising unanimity prevailed at the second-advent conference. The participants took several official actions including the endorsement of *The Signs of the Times* and the recommendation that advent believers increase its circulation among their friends. One of the most interesting features of this two-day conference was the introduction among Adventists of the "social meeting," a time when those in attendance could encourage one another through brief expressions of their personal faith in the imminent Advent.

So successful was the first general conference that at least fifteen others were held during the next three years. These ranged in location from Maine to Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia convention, held in the "Chinese Museum" auditorium, which accommodated 5000, was reported "packed to suffocation." In addition to these general conclaves approximately 120 local conferences of advent believers met between 1842 and 1844, several as far west as Indiana and Michigan. These local conferences tended to be

evangelistic and revivalistic rather than scholarly exchanges of views such as characterized the first general conference.

From the start of his public lectures Miller maintained that his entire purpose was to call attention to Christ's soon return and to encourage his listeners to prepare for that great event. He had no intention of starting a new denomination. The purpose of the first general conference was to focus attention on the Advent and facilitate exchange of views. As more and more conferences were held, however, and as the publishing work grew, a kind of unintended skeletal organization developed. The tendency toward separation was given impetus through distribution of a circular authorized in 1841 by the second general conference.

Although this circular specifically counseled advent believers to remain in their churches, it also advised those in a given geographic area to form Bible-study classes and get together in social meetings for mutual encouragement. They were urged to question ministers concerning the Advent and related topics and to increase the circulation of advent tracts and books. At this same time the Millerites appointed Josiah Litch as their first general agent, agreeing to support him financially if he would leave pastoral work and devote himself solely to promoting Adventist ideas. Litch's Methodist Episcopal Conference somewhat grudgingly released him from pastoral duties, and in effect he became the first paid Adventist worker. Miller traveled almost entirely at his own expense and received no remuneration beyond board and lodging.

By the time the sixth general conference met in May 1842 in Boston's Melodion Hall, the organizers were becoming more restrictive concerning those believers invited to participate. Although men such as Ward and Henry Jones were still welcome, those who believed in the return of the Jews to Palestine, their conversion to Christianity, and a temporal millennium preceding the advent were not. This sixth conference, presided over by Joseph Bates, later a founding father of the Seventh-day Adventists, also established a committee to plan three summer camp meetings for promoting interest in the advent.

While Miller, Himes, and their associates were taking the position that the advent movement broke down sectarian barriers and drew Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and others together in bonds of Christian love, embryo local churches were appearing in the form of Second Advent Associations. One of the earliest of these, organized in New York City on May 18, 1842, elected officers and an executive committee, who soon hired Columbian Hall for regular Sunday afternoon meetings. The New York association, probably typical of others, included many ministers who presumably continued serving their regular congregations. In addition to renting meetings places, the Second Advent Associations collected money for spreading Adventist literature and sending lecturers out to other cities and towns. Some lecturers, like Joseph Bates, used their own savings to hire halls and pay travel and maintenance expenses. In this way Bates used up most of the modest fortune he had

gained from years as a sea captain.

Camp Meetings

Just about a month after the sixth general conference, in late June 1842, the first Adventist camp meeting in the United States was held at East Kingston, New Hampshire. Canadian Adventists had spontaneously organized one a few days earlier while Josiah Litch was in eastern Quebec on a speaking tour. In their camp meetings the Millerites followed a frontier pattern previously developed by the Methodists. The East Kingston site was in a pleasant grove of trees near the Boston and Portland Railroad, which brought both Adventist believers and the merely curious from all over New England to the encampment. Perhaps as many as 10,000 attended at some time during the week-long session.

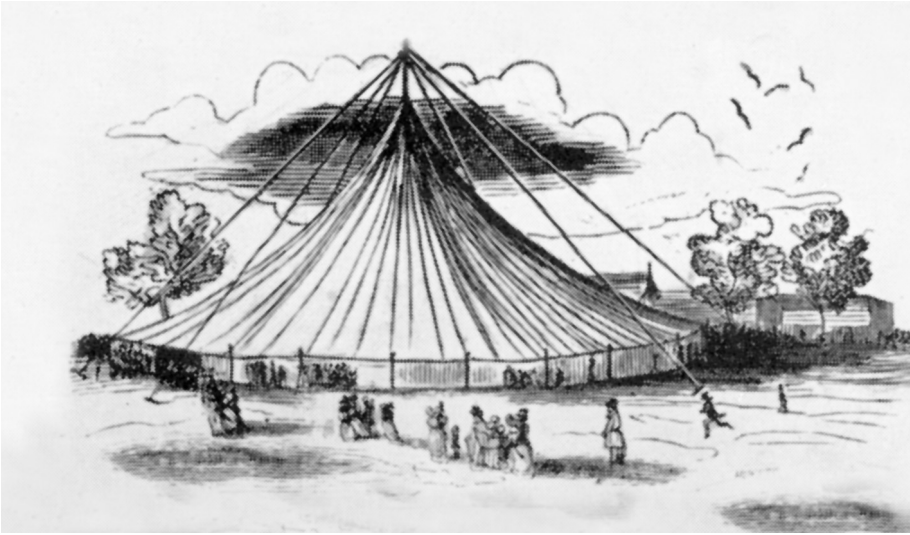
So successful was the East Kingston encampment that instead of the original three camp meetings planned for the summer of 1842, thirty-one were held. The next year the number increased to forty and in 1844, the final year of the movement, fifty-four. It seems likely that as many as half a million persons attended Adventist camp meetings during the three seasons they were held.

The usual camp plan was to have three general open-air meetings per day. These were interspersed with social and prayer meetings held in the tents pitched in a rough semicircle around the main assembly area. These were not small, family tents, but in some cases were as large as thirty by fifty feet. Each served as headquarters for all the believers attending

from a given area. In case of bad weather services were held simultaneously in these tents. Provision and dining tents were also available. Unfortunately it was not just believers and the idly curious who came. Frequently rowdies bent on mischief and fortified by liquor descended upon the grounds to create a little excitement by disrupting the services and creating general havoc.

The emotionalism associated with frontier camp meetings was not entirely absent from their Adventist counterparts; fervent prayers were frequently interrupted by shouts of "Glory!" and "Hallelujah!" As emotions rose, some fell prostrate to the ground. The major Millerite leaders sought to prevent this excitement from getting out of hand, lest it degenerate into fanaticism and bring the entire movement into disrepute.

By the spring of 1843, when the believers' expectancy of the Advent had reached a high point, some fanaticism had developed, promoted chiefly by Elder John Starkweather, a former assistant of Himes at Chardon Street Chapel. Starkweather became an exponent of extreme sanctification. He and some followers attended camp meetings, particularly in Connecticut. They pretended to be able to discern the condition of the worshippers' hearts and, amidst much muttering and groaning, called men and women to give up their "idols," which might include breast pins, ribbons, braided hair, or even false teeth! When Josiah Litch arrived on the grounds, he took a strong stand against these fanatics; his position was later backed enthusiastically by Miller, Himes, and the other Adventist leaders.



The Great Tent, sometimes called Father Miller's Tent, attracted thousands to Millerite sermons.

So pleased were those who attended the original East Kingston camp meeting that they desired to see more general meetings held. To facilitate these, someone advanced the novel idea of securing a large tent, which might be pitched in the cities where churches were closed to advent lecturers, or where there was no hall large enough to accommodate the crowds expected. Before the camp meeting ended, Himes had collected enough money to commission Adventist tentmaker Edward Williams, of Rochester, New York, to make the largest tent in the country. Made of heavy canvas, the "Great Tent" was 120 feet in diameter and had a center pole 55 feet high. Preachers proclaiming the advent message were elated with the huge crowds that this novelty could accommodate.

The Great Tent was pitched for the first time in July 1842, on a small hill

behind the State House in Concord, New Hampshire. It was moved to seven other cities that summer, including Albany, New York and Newark, New Jersey. Four persons cared for its transportation and supervised its erection. The tent's very size attracted much attention and helped draw the crowds to hear Himes, George Storrs, Charles Fitch, or another of the advent preachers. In some cases camp meetings were held in connection with the pitching of the Great Tent.

In general the message of Miller and his chief associates remained the same throughout the entire period of the advent awakening. They believed that Christ's second advent was imminent; that it would be a literal, visible event, and would precede His millennial reign. They believed that just as the time of Christ's first advent had been foretold in the seventy-week prophecy of Daniel 9,

so His second advent was meant in Daniel 8:14's reference to the cleansing of the sanctuary at the end of the 2300 days. By deducing that the seventy weeks formed the first portion of the 2300 days, they fixed upon 457 B.C. as the start of the longer period, to end in 1843. The return of Christ to abolish sin and purify His church was the most joyful event these Adventists could imagine; they longed for His coming and were deeply burdened that others share their joy. This could be possible, they recognized, only if individuals first accepted Jesus as a personal, sin-pardoning Savior.

By the start of 1842 Miller had broadened his understanding of the word "sanctuary" in Daniel 8:14. Originally he believed that this referred to the Christian church, but as he studied the events which would take place at the Second Coming, he became increasingly interested in references to fire in connection with judgment. The Bible taught, he believed, that fire was a cleansing agent. Thus he talked more and more about the cleansing of the earth by fire at Christ's return. In January 1842, Miller replied to a specific inquiry by Himes regarding the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14. He indicated that the Bible referred to seven different things as God's sanctuary: (1) Jesus, (2) heaven, (3) Judah, (4) the temple at Jerusalem, (5) the Holy of Holies, (6) the earth, (7) the saints. Through a process of elimination Miller disqualified the first five as being the sanctuary of Daniel 8; it must be the last two he reasoned. Himes immediately published Miller's statement in tract form. From this time on Millerite leaders spoke much more of the earth as the sanctuary to

be cleansed than they did of the church, a company of saints.

Excitement mounted as 1842 drew to a close. Many bands of Millerites held New Year's Eve services on December 31 to welcome what they believed would be the last year of earth's history. Chardon Street Chapel was packed that night. The next day Miller wrote an open letter to the advent believers. It was full of joy and hope that the time so long anticipated had at least arrived. Yet not for a moment did Miller suggest that the believers should slacken their efforts for the salvation of friends and neighbors. Instead he encouraged each one to win at least one soul for Christ during the last year of earth's history. Miller himself kept right on with his work. February found him giving a major course of lectures in Philadelphia.

Date Setting

For some time many of Miller's followers had been pressing him to define the time he expected the Advent more exactly than simply "about the year 1843." Father Miller, as he had come to be called, had always believed that in applying the time prophecies of Daniel, one should use the Jewish religious calendar rather than the civil calendar developed by the Romans. He knew that the Jewish year began in the spring rather than in January. Since he did not know exactly how the rabbis adjusted their calendar, a lunar one, he concluded that the spring equinox was a likely point to begin the year. Thus by early 1843 he was willing to assume that Christ would returnsome-time during that Jewish year, which he

reckoned as from March 21, 1843 to March 21, 1844.

Some Millerites were anxious to point to a specific day for the Advent. They hunted for historic dates or Jewish ceremonial days on which to fasten their hopes. The first day to be advanced was February 10, 1843, the forty-fifth anniversary of the French seizure of Rome in 1798. Others believed that February 15 was more likely, since this was the anniversary of the abolition of papal government and the proclamation of the Roman Republic. When those days passed uneventfully, some decided that April 14, which would be the anniversary of the crucifixion, must be the date. Many Adventists believed the seventy weeks ended at the crucifixion; so the 2300 days must do the same. Again nothing happened, and hopes were transferred to Ascension Day or to Pentecost, both in May. With the passing of so many definite days, some gave up their advent hope. But not many; advent leaders continued hurrying from camp meeting to camp meeting and from lecture series to lecture series.

Not so with Miller. Poor health, which had plagued him for several years, kept him at home in Low Hampton. In May he wrote Himes that his arms, shoulders, back, and sides were covered with some twenty-two boils. Almost unnoticed at the time was another Miller letter which was published in the May 17, 1843 *Signs of the Times*. In it he suggested that since all Jewish ceremonies and types which were observed in the first month had been fulfilled at Christ's first advent, it was reasonable to suppose that the feasts

and ceremonies of the seventh month (which would come in the autumn) "can only have their fulfillment at his second advent." Miller failed to push this idea, however, and it lay largely dormant until early in 1844.

So great was the desire of people in the major cities to hear advent lecturers that auditoriums large enough to accommodate the crowds could not be found. The believers in Boston remedied this situation by constructing a large, but cheap, tabernacle in a central location. After leasing a spot for the shortest possible time, they quickly put up a huge auditorium capable of seating 3500. The fact that a city ordinance required a building of such size to be built of brick opened the Millerites to considerable derision. Here they were, expecting the end of all things at any moment, and yet constructing a solid brick structure which could last for years. Other Second Advent Associations followed Boston's lead, and Millerite tabernacles soon appeared in several cities.

During the summer of 1843 special attention was paid not only to the large cities, but also to the trans-Appalachian West. J. B. Cook was dispatched to Cincinnati. Charles Fitch, who had been in Ohio since the previous fall, lectured in Cleveland, Detroit, and throughout northern Ohio and western New York. The Great Tent was moved to Rochester, then on to Buffalo and Cincinnati, where Himes and George Storrs did most of the preaching before huge audiences. Later Himes proceeded to Louisville, Kentucky. Others carried the message into Missouri, Illinois, Indiana,

Wisconsin, and Iowa.

Hundreds of copies of the *Voice of Elijah*, published by Robert Hutchinson, a Canadian Millerite, were sent across the Atlantic. Robert Winter, an English visitor who had become an Adventist at the 1842 East Kingston camp meeting and later returned home, preached in the streets of London with the aid of a prophetic chart dangling from a pole. By the summer of 1843 Winter had printed 15,000 copies of Millerite books.

There was also interest at this time in starting a special drive to warn American Blacks of the coming Advent. Black Millerite minister John W. Lewis was anxious to devote full time to this work. There was a very practical problem, however: most of America's Blacks lived as slaves in the southern states, and the abolitionist beliefs of the majority of Millerite lecturers made them *personae non grata* in the south. When, in May, George Storrs tried to lecture in Norfolk, Virginia, he was mobbed and forced to leave the area. Later that summer advent lecturers did penetrate Virginia and the Carolinas. In November Litch held a series in Baltimore. The interest there, small at first, increased gradually, and the effort "ended in triumph."

Lesser-known Preachers

While the leading Adventist ministers carried their message to the big cities, dozens of lesser-known lecturers preached in homes and country schoolhouses. James White was typical of these. The "clear and powerful" preaching which the twenty-one-year-old White heard at

the Exeter, Maine advent camp meeting in 1842 inspired him to leave school teaching and become an advent lecturer. Armed with three lectures, a borrowed horse, and a patched saddle, he set out. When, in spite of his meager preparations, he found sixty repentant sinners asking for baptism and instructions following his first course of lectures, he had to send a call for assistance to his minister brother. White was not always well received. At times he was in real physical danger from mobs that hurled snowballs and other objects at him. Yet he persisted and could report 1000 conversions after one six-week period of lectures. His earnestness led to his ordination as a minister in the Christian Connection. A lesser light among the Millerites, White would become one of the founding fathers of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

During 1843 the number of ministers who embraced Miller's basic teachings increased markedly. Probably the most notable new recruit was Elon Galusha, son of the Vermont governor who had signed Miller's commission during the War of 1812. Galusha pastored the Baptist church in Lockport, New York and was president of both the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Society and the New York Baptist Association. His action had considerable effect and caused several more timid ministers to follow him.

Millerite preachers, with their eye-catching charts and the millions of pages of Millerite literature, certainly focused popular attention on what might happen in the course of 1843. "The millennium and the end of the world," says one



The fervency of Millerite convictions is evident in this example of a warning to the public by a Millerite publication. Note the progressive use of exclamation marks to impress readers.

scholar, “were subjects of daily conversation.” The nation’s press followed the movements of Miller, Himes, and the other leaders with interest. Newspaper columns bulged with advertisements for Millerite and anti-Millerite literature. Ever ready to profit from public interest in any cause, patent medicine vendors slanted advertisements to catch the eye of those concerned with the end of the world. One such featured a flying angel carrying a scroll on which was inscribed, “THE TIME HAS COME.” Below were the words, “When consumption may be

classed with the curable diseases. Wistar’s Balsam of Wild Cherry.”

The press also noted the wide variety of natural phenomena which seemed especially prevalent at the time and which many Adventists cited as added evidence of the imminent end of all things. Henry Jones claimed that the aurora borealis had not been noted prior to 1716 and thus constituted one of the wonders of the heavens referred to in Joel 2:30 as appearing “before the great and terrible day of the Lord.” In this vein others cited the dark day of May 19, 1780 and the spec-

tacular star shower of November 13, 1833. During 1843 a wide variety of heavenly portents was reported from all parts of the country. Probably none was more widely observed than the comet which suddenly and unexpectedly appeared in February 1843. A catastrophic earthquake in Haiti and an especially violent storm in the Madeira Islands that year were looked upon as partial fulfillments of Luke 21:25, 26, while the aftermath of the Panic of 1837 was felt by some to meet the requirement that in the last days men's hearts would fail them for fear.

Intolerance

As the Millerites became more settled in, and certain of, their position, they tended to exhibit less tolerance toward those who contradicted their views. For their part, the major Protestant sects became more critical of the Adventists. More and more churches once open to Millerite lecturers closed their doors to their presentations. The next step was to discipline ministers and laymen who promoted Adventist views. One dramatic example of such pressure concerned Elder Levi Stockman of the Methodists' Maine Conference. The July 1843 meeting of the conference condemned Millerite "peculiarities" and required Methodist pastors to refrain from promulgating them. When Elder Stockman refused, he was tried for heresy. By this time fatally sick with tuberculosis, Stockman was not only threatened with expulsion from the church unless he complied, but was also warned that his widow and children would be denied any pension benefits.

Stockman refused to capitulate and was expelled from the ministry only weeks before his death.

By the summer of 1843 relations between those who expected Christ to return momentarily and the regular Protestant churches of which they were members were becoming tense. Many Adventists wondered if they should withdraw from their churches. Not so, said *The Signs of the Times*. Continue to witness to your faith among your brethren. If they will not hear you, let them take responsibility for expelling you. As late as January 1844 Miller advised against separation, proclaiming that he had "never designed to make a new sect, or to give . . . a *nick name*."

"Come Out of Babylon"

But a different voice was being heard out in Ohio that summer of 1843. In Cleveland perhaps the best loved of Millerite preachers, Charles Fitch, preached a powerful sermon from Revelation 18: "Babylon the great has fallen. . . . Come out of her, my people!" Millerites, along with most Protestants, had customarily identified the papacy with the Babylon of this text. Fitch went far beyond this by labeling the entire Christian world as Babylon because of its opposition to the doctrine that the time of Christ's return was at hand. He appealed to all true Christians to come out into the light of the "Advent near" or risk perishing. Although most of the eastern Millerite leaders were initially cool to Fitch's call for separation, some like George Storrs and Joseph Marsh, editor of the *Voice of Truth*, took

it up. Storrs warned Adventists who separated from their old churches to be careful not to manufacture a new church. “No church can be organized by man’s invention but what it becomes Babylon *the moment it is organized*,” Storrs wrote in *The Midnight Cry*.

As the weeks and months passed and 1843 became 1844, Joseph Marsh’s pen became the chief one calling Adventists to separate from the churches. Marsh reasoned that it was wrong to continue to give funds and support to organizations denying the imminent Advent. Only by “coming out,” Marsh argued, could the advent believers show their full devotion to truth. Yet it was not until the early fall of 1844 that Joshua V. Himes became an open, although reluctant, advocate of separation. And what of the general-in-chief of the movement, William Miller himself? He could not bring himself to call for definite separation. At a later time when his own Low Hampton Baptist church expelled him and his followers, he accepted the action without bitterness, but with genuine sadness. The deterioration of relationships between the advent believers and the churches may help to explain the growth of ridicule and the spread of derogatory stories designed to make the Millerites look ridiculous. Ranging from mocking jokes to cruel cartoons, these appeared in the press in larger numbers after the passing of each date which some Adventists set for the Advent. As early as late 1842 some newspapers began to charge that Millerite teachings caused increased insanity and suicide. Few scholars would deny that in periods of increased religious excitement

some emotionally unstable persons might crack and go to extremes. Yet, while this is admitted, careful examination of contemporary records indicates that the insanity and suicide charges were grossly overstated.

Perhaps the most lively delusion relative to Adventists’ behavior was that they prepared special white muslin ascension robes to use on the great day of Christ’s return. This story, which goes back as far as late 1842, has been shown to have no basis in fact, but it has become so enshrined in popular folklore that it has continued to surface periodically, down to the present. The ascension robe story was labeled a libel by the March 17, 1843 *Midnight Cry* and by numerous participants in the movement on dozens of occasions thereafter. Substantial cash rewards for one authenticated instance of robes being made or worn repeatedly went unclaimed. Yet the tales persist.

Although the Millerite papers either refuted or consigned to their “Liar’s Department” the scurrilous stories circulated about them, the leaders were far too busy sounding the warning to pay much attention to such matters. As 1843 turned into 1844, few “days of mercy” remained, according to Miller’s calculations. Activity increased. On February 20, 1844, Miller, Himes, and Litch arrived in the nation’s capital for a major campaign. After less than a week of lectures in a Baptist church the crowds who wanted to hear these advent lecturers became so great that the meetings were transferred to Apollo Hall, not far from the White House. Two days later the freak explosion of a gun on the U.S.S. *Princeton*

resulted in the death of Secretary of State Abel Upshur and the Secretary of the Navy, Thomas Gilmer. The resulting shock led to an increased attendance at the Adventist lectures, which continued until March 2.

The interest aroused in Washington extended into surrounding Virginia and Maryland. For the first time serious invitations came to the lecturers from the major cities of the South: Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile. But previous commitments prevented acceptance; the trio returned north, holding nearly a week of lectures in Baltimore on the way. Then Miller proceeded toward Low Hampton, where he arrived March 14 after having lectured in Philadelphia, Newark, and New York City en route. His predicted time had almost run out; he considered his work done. He closed his notebook at this time with the words: "Now I have given, since 1832, *three thousand two hundred lectures.*"

Revising the Chronology

Throughout 1843 criticism from their opponents forced the Adventist leaders to a more thorough study of chronology. As a result Himes, Litch, Apollos Hale, Sylvester Bliss, and others became convinced that they must use the more precise method of calculating the Jewish year as preserved by the strict Karaite Jews. According to this method, the Jewish year 1843 would close at sundown on April 18, 1844, rather than on the March 21 equinox date Miller had arbitrarily selected. Miller had always admitted his dependence on the chronological system

worked out by others. He recognized that this might be an imperfect copy of God's method of calculating time. This explains, in part, his reluctance to fix upon a specific date. He did not want any to delay their preparation too long, or to become discouraged if Christ did not come on the day expected.

March 21 and then April 18, 1844 passed with no sign of the returning King. Soon the spring season was gone; disappointment seeped through the ranks of the advent believers. It was not a dramatic disappointment, since no specific day had been anticipated exclusively. Yet it was no less real. Some became disillusioned and decided that Miller had understood things entirely wrong. These Adventists either returned to their old churches or lapsed into skepticism.

The majority, however, although discouraged and disappointed, still believed that the Advent was to be expected at any moment. Manfully, Miller admitted that he had been in error, but he also called the believers' attention to Habakkuk 2:3: "The vision . . . though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come." Soon the advent papers were filled with references to the "tarrying time" spoken of in Christ's parable of the ten virgins.

By early summer, to the amazement of their critics, Adventist activities had resumed with increased vigor. Lecturers streamed in all directions. Litch went west, Fitch east. In July Miller and Himes began an extensive speaking tour of western New York and Ohio. Camp meetings were held once more; the Great Tent was unfurled for use in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky. Millerite lecturers suddenly discovered that

the B.C.-A.D. system of chronology allowed for no “zero” year. Thus it would take all of the 457 Jewish years before Christ and all of the 1843 years after His birth to add up to 2300. Since no one knew just when in the year the decree of Artaxerxes, used as a starting point for the 2300 days, was given, the exact date for the time prophecy to end must be an unknown day during the year 1844.

The Seventh-Month Movement

Even before the passing of the spring dates, seeds of a new movement were being planted by Samuel Sheffield Snow. Reclaimed from infidelity by Miller’s message, Snow had begun traveling as an advent lecturer in 1842. Intensive study of the Mosaic tabernacle and Jewish festival types convinced him that Christ would return at the time of the Jewish Day of Atonement, in the seventh month of the year. This would be in the fall rather than the spring of 1844. Snow began promoting this position in New York City during the winter of 1843-44. At first other advent leaders paid little attention to him, even though Miller had suggested a similar possibility in May 1843.

As 1844 progressed, Snow became more energetic in promoting the “tenth day of the seventh month.” By Karaite reckoning this day would come on October 22. Snow aired his views in letters to *The Midnight Cry*, but still the major Adventist leaders largely ignored his “new light.” All this changed as a result of the dramatic events that took place at the Exeter, New Hampshire camp meeting in mid-August of 1844. Suddenly, while Joseph Bates

was speaking, a horseman rode into camp, dismounted, and sat down at the edge of the congregation. The rider, S. S. Snow, was soon engaged in conversation with his sister, Mrs. John Couch. After a few minutes Mrs. Couch rose and, interrupting Bates, proclaimed: “It is too late to spend time upon these truths, with which we are familiar. . . . Time is short. The Lord has servants here who have meat in due season for his household. Let them speak. . . .”

Bates had come to the Exeter meeting with the conviction that here he would get further light on the reasons for their spring disappointment. Now he courteously offered to relinquish the pulpit to the new arrival. Snow proceeded to present his reasons for believing that Christ would return on the great Atonement Day, October 22, 1844. So cogently were his ideas expressed that a wave of enthusiasm swept through the audience. In two subsequent sermons he developed his arguments more fully. The effect was spectacular. As the campers scattered throughout New England, the cry rang out, “*Behold the Bridegroom cometh . . . on the tenth day of the seventh month! Time is short, get ready! Get ready!*”

A few days later Snow published a summary of his arguments in a four-page paper entitled *The True Midnight Cry*. Although the principal Millerite leaders and papers opposed fixing their hopes on a definite day, the bulk of Adventist believers welcomed the new message enthusiastically. “It swept over the land with the velocity of a tornado,” reported the October 30, 1844 *Advent*

Herald. By the first week of October, Miller, Himes, and the other principal leaders had begun to capitulate. Josiah Litch held back the longest. It was not until October 16 that he fixed his hopes on October 22.

Two days earlier Charles Fitch had died. He contracted a severe fever after exposing himself to a cold wind in order to baptize three separate groups of believers. "I believe in the promises of God," he said as he lay dying, confidently expecting to be reunited with his wife and children in a little over a week.

Words fail to capture the urgency of the activities that engaged the advent believers in the weeks just preceding October 22. Crops were left unharvested; potatoes undug. Shops were closed; workers resigned from their posts. Nothing was important except that Christ was coming in a few days. People needed to be warned; sins must be confessed, debts repaid, wrongs made right. Millerite tabernacles and meeting places hosted almost continuous religious services.

As Adventist expectations grew, so did the ridicule of opponents. Disorderly crowds forced the cancellation of evening meetings in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Many of the Millerites interpreted this increasing persecution as an indication that probation had closed. Nothing was left but to await the end of all things.

Throughout much of the United States the morning of October 22 dawned bright and clear. Adventist groups gathered quietly in homes or meeting houses to wait out the last hours of earth's history. Perhaps as many as one hundred thousand waited in calm expectation that

Jesus would soon appear on a cloud of light. There was one exception to this general rule. Shortly before October 22, a virtually unknown Millerite, Dr. C. R. Gorgas, claimed to have been shown in vision that Christ would appear at 3 A.M. on October 22. Before then the righteous were to flee the major cities as Lot had fled from Sodom. Himes, Litch, and other advent leaders strongly opposed what they regarded as Gorgas's fanaticism. Nevertheless, perhaps 150 to 200 of the approximately 3000 advent believers in Philadelphia journeyed about four miles into the country to await the Advent.

But the great day passed. Most of the believers continued waiting expectantly until clocks tolled midnight. Then they were forced to face the fact that something was wrong. Christ had not come. They were devastated. "Our fondest hopes and expectations were blasted," Hiram Edson remembered, "and such a spirit of weeping came over us as I never experienced before. It seemed that the loss of all earthly friends could have been no comparison. We wept, and wept, till the day dawn."

Traumatic as was their disappointment, it did not diminish the memories of some for what Ellen Harmon termed "the happiest year of my life." How could this be? The same participant remembered, "My heart was full of glad expectation. . . . We united as a people in earnest prayer for a true experience and the unmistakable evidence of our acceptance with God. . . ." Small wonder that in later years former participants in the Millerite movement referred to especially warm and solemn meetings as being like those held in 1844.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Eyewitness accounts of the Millerite movement:

James White, *Life Incidents in Connection with the Great Advent Movement* (1868), pp. 25-72, is an insight into the period by a founder of the church.

Ellen White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (1915), pp. 20-63, written shortly before her death but draws upon her earlier writings.

Isaac Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People* (1874), tells the story from the viewpoint of one who did not become a Seventh-day Adventist.

Accounts of the Millerite movement in addition to those listed in Chapter 2:

E. N. Dick, "The Millerite Movement, 1830-1845," in *Adventism in America* (1986), Gary Land, ed., pp. 1-35, synthesizes the various strands of the movement.

_____ "Advent Camp Meetings of the 1840's," *Adventist Heritage*, v. 4, no. 2, (winter 1977), pp. 3-10, describes the camp meeting culture of the Millerite movement.

David Arthur, "Millerism," in *The Rise of Adventism*, (1974) Edwin Gaustad, ed., pp. 154-172, summarizes the role of Joshua V. Himes in the movement.

Delbert Baker, *The Unknown Prophet: the Story of William Ellis Foy* (1987), is a biography of the first of three persons who received visions at the time of the Great Disappointment.

Ruth Alden Doan, *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture* (1987), explains the links of Millerism to millennialism and emphasizes the dissident character of this first phase of Adventism.

Ronald Numbers and Jonathan Butler, *The Disappointed* (1993), chapters 1-9, studies major personalities of Millerism and various topics of the movement such as the use of prophecy.

George Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (1993), chapters 4-11 present an insightful account of the Millerite movement.

After the Disappointment

In the days following October 22, 1844, a tidal wave of negative emotions threatened to engulf and destroy the advent believers. Humiliation, confusion, doubt, disappointment—how could faith survive in such a maelstrom? With many, of course, it did not.

Yet there were hundreds who determined to retain “the blessed hope.” Unwilling to meet jeering neighbors, they stayed sequestered in their homes. As they pored over their Bibles, two questions dominated their thinking: Where did we err? What should we expect next? Gradually, they began gathering together to comfort and encourage one another, braving taunts of “What! Haven’t you gone up yet?” Some found that the most effective rejoinder to this cruel sneer was to look their tormentors in the eye and reply, “And if I had gone up, where would you have gone?”

Calm Assessment

By the end of October the *Advent Herald* and *The Midnight Cry* had resumed publication. On the thirtieth Himes wrote to Joseph Bates, “I never felt more happy and reconciled to His will; the late work has *saved me*—it has been a blessing to us all. Now let us hold on.” Through the advent newspapers Himes sought to reassure fellow believers. “We have found the grace of God sufficient to sustain us, even at such a time.”

And what of William Miller? “Although . . . twice disappointed, I am not yet cast down or discouraged,” he steadfastly affirmed; “surrounded with enemies and scoffers, yet my mind is perfectly calm, and my hope in the coming of Christ is as strong as ever.” He had done only what he felt was his solemn

duty, Miller maintained. Love for his fellowmen had compelled him to warn them so that they might meet their Redeemer in peace. To those who had joined in his efforts he appealed: “hold fast; let no man take your crown. I have fixed my mind upon another time, and here I mean to stand, until God gives me more light.—and that is *To-day*, To-Day and TO-DAY, until He comes.”

In general, Miller’s position was that of most of his leading associates in the weeks immediately following October 22. Their recent experience had been so precious that few could agree with George Storrs, who ascribed the positiveness with which he had preached a definite date to “mesmerism.” Although Storrs continued to regard Christ’s advent as near, he felt certain that the power of the seventh-month movement came from “an influence not of God.” This implication disturbed Miller. He remembered that Jonah had preached a definite time for Ninevah’s destruction at God’s direct command. A blessing had come from that. Might not the same be true for the world in 1844?

As the days passed, the unity of the advent movement began to erode. Many of the leaders continued to believe not only that the Advent was near but also that it was possible to discover in the Scriptures its exact time. Miller confidently expected that Christ would come before the expiration of the Jewish Year 1844, that is, by the spring of 1845. In this he was joined by Josiah Litch. H. H. Gross and Joseph Marsh looked to 1846. When this year passed, Gross discovered new reasons to expect Christ in 1847.

By early 1845, recognizing that repeated time setting and disappointments were likely to destroy all faith in the Advent, Himes and Miller began counseling against fixing on any *definite* time. They found comfort in the fact that the systems worked out by eminent chronologers were not always in agreement. Adventists were correct in expecting to see Christ return at the end of the prophetic 2300-day period they were certain; they had been wrong in stating this period would end on October 22, 1844. These two leaders were also concerned over a variety of new beliefs and practices now advocated by one or another of their former colleagues. In an attempt to maintain harmony, unity, and orthodoxy, they announced a conference of “Second Advent lecturers, and brethren who still adhere to the original Advent faith” to meet in Albany, New York on April 29, 1845.

What Happened in 1844?

Some Adventists disagreed with Miller and Himes, accepting instead the position stated by Joseph Marsh in his *Voice of Truth* as early as November 7, 1844. While admitting that they had been mistaken “in the nature of the event” to occur on October 22, Marsh wrote that “we cannot yet admit that our great High priest did not on that very day accomplish all that the type would justify us to expect. We now believe he did.” These men believed that their reckoning of the prophetic dates was correct; they had only misunderstood what was to take place on October 22, 1844.

Driven back to the Bible to discover just what had happened on October 22, a number of Advent lecturers studied carefully the parable of the ten virgins, which they believed mirrored the advent experience in every particular. Linking this parable with Christ's discussion of the Lord returning from the wedding, recorded in Luke 12:36, 37, convinced many that the wedding did not signify Christ's union with His church at the Second Advent, but referred to His receiving His kingdom, the New Jerusalem. Christ's return to earth was still in the future. Meanwhile they must be found "watching."

The "Shut-Door" Theory

In January 1845 two Adventist editors, Apollos Hale of the *Advent Herald* (the old *Signs of the Times*) and Joseph Turner of *The Hope of Israel*, advanced what came to be known as the "shut-door" theory. This combined the new thinking of Christ's activities as Bridegroom with the traditional Millerite understanding of Revelation 22:11, 12: that shortly before the Advent each man's destiny was forever fixed. This, Hale and Turner suggested, had happened on October 22. They could quote Miller himself: "We have done our work in warning sinners, and in trying to awake a formal church. God, in his providence has shut the door; and we can only stir one another up to be *patient*; and be diligent to make our calling and election sure," he had stated in the December 11, 1844 *Advent Herald*. The "shut-door" advocates felt no burden

for sinners. They would encourage one another until Christ should come.

Many Adventists adopted the shut-door position, some like S. S. Snow with great severity. Snow considered all Adventists who did not take this viewpoint to be Laodiceans, whom Christ would "spue out of his mouth." Eventually he proclaimed himself to be the prophet Elijah and declared that rejecting him was tantamount to rejecting Christ. As we shall see, leaders of the future Seventh-day Adventist Church were temporarily committed to one or more of the variations of the shut-door theory.

The shut door was only one, although probably the most widespread, of the new interpretations growing among those Adventists who continued to believe that something important had happened on October 22. Out in Ohio, J. D. Pickands and J. B. Cook advanced the theory that Christ was now seated on a white cloud waiting until His followers "brought Him down" through crying night and day in prayer. Still later Pickands taught that Christ *had* actually come *spiritually*. All those who let Him into their lives were now "immortal and incorruptible;" for Christ to "come in the flesh" was to enter His believers. In this view Miller had been wrong in looking for a visible Christ to return in human form.

Their renewed searching of the Bible convinced some Adventists that they should adopt long-ignored Bible practices such as keeping the seventh day as the Sabbath, engaging in the ordinance of foot washing, and greeting fellow believers with a holy salutation (an embrace and a

kiss). On the last two points, some argued that they should be practiced only between persons of the same sex; others saw no need for such limitations.

Fanaticism

Probably the most radical practice, eventually promoted by Pickands and Enoch Jacobs, editor of the *Day Star* (the old *Western Midnight Cry*), was “spiritual wifery.” Arguing that Christ had already come, they maintained that they were in heaven; thus there should be no marrying or giving in marriage. They used Christ’s statement that a man should leave father, mother, wife, and children to justify deserting their families and forming “spiritual” unions, devoid of sex, with new partners. Jacobs eventually led his followers into a Shaker colony. Equally bizarre was the belief, held by some, that they had now passed into Christ’s great thousand-year Sabbath and should do no secular work of any kind.

Himes, Miller, and the other major promoters of the Albany Conference were determined to purge their movement of these new theories and practices. Those in attendance at Albany came largely from the eastern coastal states. There were no delegates from Ohio or Maine, the frontier areas where the new ideas and practices were the most prevalent. After two days of deliberation the conference delegates reaffirmed traditional Millerite teachings minus the time element and suggested congregational-type organization of Adventist groups. They urged continued work for the salvation of sinners through

preaching and a wider distribution of literature. Resolutions were passed directly condemning foot washing and the holy salutation and indirectly the seventh-day Sabbath.

Divisions

The strong stand taken by the Albany Conference practically assured a permanent division among Adventists. Himes, Litch, and Galusha led out in a series of advent conferences in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore during May 1845. These men, joined once more by Apollos Hale and J. B. Cook, attempted to hold together a truncated advent movement, which found it necessary to depart farther and farther from Miller’s original teaching on prophecy. Eventually they abandoned the belief that there was any connection between the seventy-week and 2300-day prophetic periods. Increasingly they became leaders without followers as more and more Adventists either accepted the views of those who held to the validity of the 1844 date or returned to their former churches.

Miller had always been sensitive to the charge that he was trying to start a new religious sect. This accusation continued to trouble his associates throughout the 1840s. They constantly asserted that the Albany Conference should not be construed as an attempt at building a denomination. Yet by the spring of 1846 they were clearly moving in that direction. That year they established an executive committee, charged with supervising the distribution of funds and ministers.

They also dispatched Himes and sev-

eral associates to stimulate the developing interest in a premillennial advent in Great Britain. In spite of the Millerite experience, the majority of British Millerites expected Christ to return in October 1845. Interest lagged when this time passed; it was to renew this interest that Himes and his companions arrived in England in July 1846. Large crowds attended Himes's lectures, and he succeeded in establishing several permanent congregations, but following his return to America the movement in Britain stagnated.

By the time of Miller's death in December 1849 Adventism was fragmenting into several splinter groups. This is exactly what Himes, Litch, and Hale had feared and tried to prevent by groping their way toward a permanent organization. Always they were opposed by Adventists such as Joseph Marsh, who maintained that organization would be both unbiblical and a denial of faith in an imminent advent.

In addition to the sabbatarian Adventists with whom we are concerned, three other fairly coherent Adventist groups were in existence by 1852. The first, claiming to have maintained the original advent faith, was centered around Boston and looked to Himes, Bliss, and Hale for leadership. These men favored developing a strong church congregational structure, but were unable to bring it to fruition prior to 1859, when they organized the American Evangelical Adventist Conference. With the *Advent Herald* as their mouthpiece, the Evangelical Adventists developed increasingly close ties with some of the major Protestant

churches, many of whom were switching to a belief in a premillennial advent. As the only Adventist group which persisted in retaining a belief in the immortality of the soul, the Evangelical Adventists found less and less to divide them from the older denominations and gradually lost any reason for a separate existence.

A second Adventist group, which developed in the Hartford, Connecticut-New York City area, coalesced around Joseph Turner and his *Second Advent Watchman*. These people believed that the millennium was in the past. They all accepted the idea of man's sleep in death and the final annihilation of the wicked as introduced by George Storrs during the 1844 movement, but they held divergent views on matters of organization and church discipline. In 1862 Himes broke with his old colleagues by accepting the doctrine of "soul sleep" and eventually joined this group to form the Advent Christian Church, the largest nonsabbatarian remnant of Adventism.

A third group centered largely around Rochester, New York. Its members rallied behind Joseph Marsh's *Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate* but were violently opposed to any formal organization. Their major difference with the Advent Christians concerned the millennium, which they saw as future. During the millennium they expected a second period of probation, when the Jews would return to Palestine. Their persistent objections to organization kept these "Age-to-Come" Adventists from becoming strong and united.

Even before the Albany Conference

various elements of Adventism, at first referred to as the “Sabbath and Shut-Door” brethren, began to emerge. Scattered across Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and western New York, these believers, for the most part laymen or minor advent lecturers, had but slight contact and no coherence. Only Joseph Bates among them had had any prominence in Millerite circles. Yet gradually through prayer, extensive Bible study, and what they saw as divine encouragement, they worked out a series of doctrines that explained their disappointment in 1844. They eventually became the largest of all the advent bodies.

The Sabbath

It was probably in the early spring of 1844 that Frederick Wheeler, a Methodist farmer-minister of Hillsboro, New

Hampshire, began keeping the seventh day as the Sabbath. His action resulted from a contact with a Seventh Day Baptist laywoman. An advent believer, Wheeler occasionally ministered to the small Christian church in nearby Washington, where the members shared his advent hope. In this southern New Hampshire town he met forthright Rachel Oakes, newly arrived to live with her school-teacher daughter. During a friendly visit Mrs. Oakes challenged Wheeler to keep *all* God’s commandments as he had indicated in a recent sermon that all men were obliged to do. After serious study of the fourth commandment Wheeler became convinced that God still wanted His children to honor the seventh day and began to keep it as the Sabbath. About the same time several members of the Washington congregation made similar decisions. The most prominent



The Washington, New Hampshire church, generally regarded as the first Seventh-day Adventist church.

of these were William and Cyrus Farnsworth. Thus, the first permanent Sabbath-keeping Adventist congregation came into being in Washington even before the Great Disappointment.

Toward the end of that same summer a more prominent advent minister, a former Baptist, T. M. Preble, of East Weare, New Hampshire, who had traveled with Miller himself, also accepted the seventh-day Sabbath. Whether he had learned of it from Wheeler or directly from Rachel Oakes is not clear. Since both Wheeler and Preble expected Christ's return in a few weeks' time, they apparently felt no burden to convince fellow Adventists to change days of worship during the short time remaining.

Seventh Day Baptists *were* agitating for Protestants to consider the Sabbath question during these years of advent expectations. *The Midnight Cry* took note of the fact several times during September 1844. Although the *Cry's* editors expressed the opinion that "*there is no particular portion of time which Christians are required by law to set apart as holy time,*" they admitted that if after careful study a person decided otherwise, then they must also conclude that "*the particular portion of time which God requires us to observe as holy, is the seventh day of the week, that is, Saturday.*"

The Great Disappointment failed to destroy either Wheeler's or Preble's faith in the imminence of the Advent. And Preble decided that the time had come to present the Sabbath question to fellow Adventists. This he did through the columns of Joseph Turner's February 28, 1845 *Hope of Israel*. The next month he

published an enlarged version of his Sabbath view in tract form. In his opening paragraphs Preble quoted William Miller as saying that the Sabbath was designed "to be a sign forever, and a perpetual covenant," a fact proving "beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it is as binding upon the Christian church as upon the Jewish, and in the same manner, and for the same reason."

The participants in the Albany Conference were aware of Preble's views on the Sabbath question, but chose to "have no fellowship" with what they considered "Jewish fables and commandments of men . . . or any of the distinctive characteristics of modern Judaism." Smarting from public ridicule, they were determined not to add anything that would rouse more opposition and, as they thought, detract from the overriding truth of the approaching Advent.

Preble's Sabbath views were soon shared by J. B. Cook, another prominent Millerite preacher, but in less than three years both returned to observing Sunday. Yet Preble's article and tract fell on fertile ground. They convinced two men who were to be among the founding fathers of Seventh-day Adventists: Joseph Bates and John Nevins Andrews. These men, in turn, convinced hundreds more, including James and Ellen White and Hiram Edson.

Joseph Bates

Joseph Bates was a man in his early fifties when, with characteristic vigor, he decided to keep and promote the seventh-day Sabbath. At the age of fifteen he had



Joseph Bates (1792-1872), a retired sea captain whose interest in biblical matters and various contemporary reform efforts led him to join the Millerite movement, learned about the seventh-day Sabbath by reading a doctrinal article and later visiting with Frederick Wheeler in New Hampshire.

left his home in New Bedford, Massachusetts, for a career at sea. The ensuing years were full of adventure, including shipwreck and impressment into the British Navy. After the start of the War of 1812 Bates, still in British hands, insisted on being made a prisoner of war. He spent the next two and half years in prison, the last eight months in infamous Dartmoor. By 1820 Bates had experience enough to captain a merchant vessel. Within eight years he accumulated a modest fortune and chose to retire. During his last years at sea he gave up the use of liquor and tobacco and enjoyed a spiritual awaken-

ing which he traced to the Bible and religious literature his wife had packed in his gear.

Retirement from the sea did not mean inactivity for Joseph Bates; he was active in both the antislavery and temperance movements and in the Christian Church, which he joined in 1827. Then in 1839, after years of careful consideration, he accepted and began actively to herald Miller's views of an imminent second coming. Bates was one of the committee who issued the call for the first Advent General Conference, and later he chaired the important May 1842 conference. In 1843, after disposing of most of his property, and accompanied by blacksmith H. S. Gurney, he carried the advent message to eastern Maryland. Here his antislavery views led to threats of violence, but Bates was saved by his quick humor and his obvious dedication to preparing all men to meet a soon-coming Saviour.

Although twice bitterly disappointed during 1844, Bates did not renounce either his advent hope or his belief that something important had happened on October 22, 1844. Earnest Bible study quickly convinced him of the logic in Preble's Sabbath article. Learning that there were Sabbath-keeping Adventists in New Hampshire, Bates was consumed with an urge to visit them and exchange views. Somehow—for at this time he was virtually penniless—he found his way early in May 1845 to the home of Frederick Wheeler. Arriving unannounced at ten in the evening, Bates was soon involved in an all-night study session. The day following his return home

Bates met a longtime friend, neighbor, and fellow Adventist, James Hall, who queried, “What’s the news, Captain Bates?” “The news is that the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord our God,” Bates shot back. Hall agreed to study his Bible on the subject and soon joined Bates as a Sabbath keeper.

J. N. Andrews

It was probably nearly a year after Preble issued his Sabbath tract that a copy fell into the hands of fifteen-year-old Marian Stowell. Having sold their farm in expectation of the Advent, the Stowell family was then living in the hospitable household of Edward Andrews, in Paris, Maine. Both Marian and her older brother, Oswald, were convinced by Preble’s tract. A few days later Marian shared the tract with her host’s son, seventeen-year-old John Andrews. John was a serious youth whose talents for study and logical thinking had led him to consider a career in law and politics. Now the logic of the Sabbath captured him, and soon both families were united as Sabbath-keeping Adventists. In later years John Andrews would write the first book-length Adventist defense of the Sabbath, combining it with a historical survey of how Christians had come to switch their allegiance to Sunday.

New Light on the Sanctuary

At the same time that the Sabbath was receiving attention among various New England Adventists, a group of laymen in western New York began formulating

a new interpretation of the sanctuary to be cleansed at the end of the 2300-day prophecy. Here the key figure was Hiram Edson, a Methodist farmer of Port Gibson, New York, who had become an Adventist about 1843. Edson’s first reaction on the night of the October 22 Disappointment was to question God and the Bible. After a little reflection, however, he recognized that his days awaiting the Advent had been “the richest and brightest of all my Christian experience.” With several fellow Adventists Edson held an impromptu season of prayer in his granary. Emerging from this session convinced that light would come to explain their disappointment, Edson and a companion, probably O. R. L. Crosier, set out on the morning of October 23 to encourage Adventist friends.

As the two men walked across a cornfield, “Heaven seemed open to my view,” Edson later remembered, “and I saw distinctly, and clearly, that instead of our High Priest coming out of the Most Holy of the heavenly Sanctuary to come to this earth . . . at the end of the 2,300 days that he for the first time entered on that day the second apartment of that sanctuary; and that he had a work to perform in the Most Holy before coming to this earth.” His mind was also “directed” to Revelation 10, with its account of the book that was sweet in the mouth and bitter in the belly. The chapter ended, he recalled, with the angel’s instruction to prophesy again.

Jarred from his reverie by his companion’s call, Edson immediately recognized that God was beginning to answer their earnest petitions for more light.

A little later, as the two men studied further, Edson's Bible fell open to Hebrews 8 and 9, where they found confirmation of the concept that the sanctuary to be cleansed was neither the earth nor the church, but rather the heavenly temple, of which that on earth had been a type. During the next few months Edson, Crosier, and Dr. F. B. Hahn, with whom the two had previously published a small Millerite paper, *The Day Dawn*, carried on an intensive study of the Hebrew sanctuary and sacrificial system. Here, they were convinced, lay the key to understanding what had happened on October 22, 1844.

Filled with enthusiasm, Edson and Hahn decided that their discoveries were "just what the scattered remnant needed." They agreed to finance a few more issues of *The Day Dawn*, if the younger and better-educated Crosier, then in his mid-twenties, would "write out the subject of the sanctuary." By April 1845 a few copies of *The Day Dawn* were going out, probably to prominent advent leaders and editors of Millerite papers. Enoch Jacobs, editor of *The Day Star*, in Cincinnati, proved the most willing to consider Crosier's expositions. He agreed to publish an expanded and refined version of the new sanctuary views as an extra number of *The Day Star*, under the date of February 7, 1846. Thus the heavenly sanctuary concepts received their first exposure to a broad range of Adventists. Part of Mrs. Edson's wedding silver was sold to help finance the venture.

Crosier's lengthy article in *The Day Star Extra*, carrying the rather ambigu-

ous title, "The Law of Moses," advanced many concepts, some new to both Adventists and other Christians. The most important may be summarized as follows: (1) A real, *literal*, sanctuary exists in heaven. (2) On October 22, 1844 Christ moved from the first apartment of this sanctuary to the second (the Most Holy Place). (3) Before He returns to earth, Christ has a work to do in the Most Holy Place that differs from what He had been doing since His ascension. (4) The Hebrew sanctuary system was a complete visual representation of the plan of salvation, with every type having its antitype. (5) The real purpose of the Day of Atonement (which began for Christians on October 22, 1844) is to prepare a cleansed people. (6) Christ's cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary also involves cleansing the hearts of His people. (7) The typical "scapegoat" represents not Christ, but Satan. (8) As the "author of sin," Satan will receive the ultimate guilt for the sins he has caused Israel (God's people) to commit. (9) Atonement for sin did not begin until Christ entered the heavenly sanctuary following His resurrection.

Perhaps as early as the fall of 1845 (but more likely sometime in 1846) Joseph Bates became acquainted with Crosier's ideas. After careful independent study and correspondence with Edson, Bates accepted the latter's invitation to visit Port Gibson for an exchange of views. Edson had been aware for some time of Preble's arguments for the seventh-day Sabbath but had not yet been impressed with the duty to keep it. As Bates shared his Sabbath convictions with

the Port Gibson group, Edson suddenly exclaimed, "That is light and truth! The seventh day is the Sabbath, and I am with you to keep it!" Although Crosier took a more cautious position, he, too, later accepted the Sabbath doctrine, only to give it up a few months later. For his part, Bates agreed that the Edson-Crosier position on the sanctuary was correct. Thus were joined two of the doctrines that were to become distinctive tenets of the emerging Seventh-day Adventist faith.

The small group of sabbatarian Adventists found it easy and reassuring to accept the idea that Christ had changed His position and work in the heavenly sanctuary on October 22. This reinforced their conviction that they understood prophetic time correctly. It was more difficult, however, for them to grasp just what Christ's new work was, and how this related to them and to the Advent. Still positive that Christ's return was only months or, at most, several years away, many found it unnecessary to abandon their "shut-door" ideas, although they did make some modifications. Joseph Bates seems for a time to have believed that the door of salvation was shut for all Christians on October 22, but that mercy might linger for the Jews, some of whom would still accept Christ as Saviour. Others held that the door which had been shut was not the door of salvation, but that of "access to the people." No longer were men's hearts open to hear; thus Christ could not minister for them in the Most Holy Place, but only for those whose names He "had borne in upon His breastplate." This last group they equated with the steadfast believers in the 1844 movement.

The Gift of Prophecy

As the advent bands struggled to retain their faith and to understand their disappointment, new evidence that God had been in their movement and would continue with them came in the form of prophetic visions received by a young woman in Portland, Maine. It was not a major Millerite editor or lecturer who was so favored. Ellen Harmon was only a frail seventeen-year-old girl who, with her family, had been dismissed from the Methodist Church because of their advent views. A childhood injury had denied her all but the rudiments of formal education. Although feeble in health, she enjoyed a strong Christian experience.

One December day in 1844, while praying with four Adventist sisters, Ellen felt "the power of God . . . upon me as I had never felt it before." Lost to her surroundings, she seemed caught up above the earth. Upon looking for her fellow Adventists, she at last discovered them on a "straight and narrow path" which ended in the heavenly Jerusalem. Behind the advent people, at the start of the path, was a brilliant light. An angel told Ellen that this was the "midnight cry," whose light shone all along the path. As she watched, some Adventists became discouraged at the length of the way, or "denied the light behind them." They found themselves in darkness and "stumbled . . . and fell off the path." As the vision continued, Ellen saw the Second Advent and the triumphal entry of the saints into the heavenly Jerusalem. When the vision ended, the world looked dark to her, but soon she and those to whom she related her experience became

certain “that God had chosen this way . . . to comfort and strengthen His people.”

About a week later, Ellen Harmon received a second vision instructing her to “go and relate to others what He had revealed to me.” She was also warned that many trials would accompany her labors, but she was assured that God’s grace would sustain her. The commission seemed too great. Ellen hesitated; she was painfully aware of her poor health, her youth and natural timidity, and of the fact that no one in her family was available to accompany her from one advent band to another. She may also have known of the deep suspicion with which the Millerite leaders viewed “visions, dreams or private revelations.” Stung by the fanaticism that had followed Starkweather’s activities and the failure of Dr. C. R. Gorgas’s supposed vision prior to October 22, these leaders consistently opposed placing any confidence in supernatural manifestations.

Opposition to private revelations had helped to keep two other advent believers from accepting the divine commission later offered to Ellen Harmon. Early in 1842 William Foy, of Boston, a Baptist studying for the Episcopal ministry, received two visions dealing with Christ’s soon return and the reward of the righteous. Foy was reluctant to relate the visions publicly, partly because, as a mulatto, he was aware of the prejudice displayed toward men of color. Overcoming his initial reluctance, he accepted the nearness of the Advent and related the visions to large audiences throughout New England. Later, however, financial

pressures and a third vision, which he could not understand, led Foy to stop recounting his experiences.

Shortly before the Great Disappointment, Hazen Foss, of Poland, Maine, was given a vision apparently very similar to the first one later experienced by Ellen Harmon. Shown the opposition he would encounter if he related the visions and warnings as instructed, Foss refused to accept the commission. Then, suddenly impressed that he had grieved the Holy Spirit, he convened a group to hear the vision, only to find that he could no longer recall it. Weeks later Foss chanced to hear Ellen Harmon, whose older sister had married his brother, describe what she had seen. Foss warned Ellen not to refuse God’s call; as for himself, he demonstrated no further interest in religious matters.

Bearing Testimony

Ellen Harmon’s reluctance to relate the visions was not easily overcome. Added to her youth and poor health was the fear that she might become proud and exalted if she accepted the divine commission. An angel assured her that if this danger threatened God would preserve her humility through affliction. Then during a special season of prayer for Ellen, one of the older advent believers present saw a ball of fire strike her right above the heart. When she revived, John Pearson told her, “We will help you henceforth, and not discourage you.”

Shortly thereafter the way opened for Ellen to bear her testimony during a visit to her sister in nearby Poland. For three

months she had been able to talk only in a low, husky tone, yet now when she began to speak her voice became clear and strong and remained so during the nearly two hours she spoke. This was but one of the remarkable physical manifestations accompanying her revelations. During public visions, which might come while she was praying or speaking, Ellen at first lost all physical strength; then she received supernatural strength such that even the strongest person could not control her bodily movements. Throughout a vision—one lasted nearly four hours—there was no evidence of respiration, yet her heartbeat and facial color continued normal. As a vision began, Ellen generally exclaimed “Glory!” or “Glory to God!” several times. Although her eyes remained open, she appeared entirely unconscious of her surroundings. She might move around the room gracefully, and occasionally speak words or phrases indicative of what she was seeing. A long, deep inhalation indicated that the vision was ending. At first she could scarcely see, as if she had been looking into a bright light. Gradually things once more became distinct, and her sight suffered no permanent impairment.

An obvious question arises: Why these physical phenomena? A logical reason may be that although those who were acquainted with Ellen Harmon’s strong religious experience might readily accept her testimony, the same was not true of those who heard this unknown teenager for the first time. The phenomena reassured many, but not all, that the messages were sent from God. Some refused to

believe, claiming that the visions were self-hypnosis or “mesmerism” as it was called in those days.

James and Ellen White

One who was immediately convinced was Elder James White, who observed Ellen Harmon during a visit she made to Orrington, Maine early in 1845. As invitations came, Ellen traveled farther from home visiting advent companies in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, always accompanied by her Sister Sarah or Louisa Foss, a faithful friend. Sensing a need, James White began going to appointments with them. This inevitably led to gossip, although neither James nor Ellen appears to have entertained romantic thoughts at this time. Both expected Christ’s imminent return; to consider marriage could be interpreted as a denial of faith. Yet love grew at the same time that James became convinced that nothing must be allowed to bring reproach on Ellen and her work. And so in the summer of 1846 he proposed marriage. Ellen accepted. On August 30, as young people without formal church membership, they were married in Portland by a justice of the peace.

Ellen White’s early visions and her subsequent travels were not for the purpose of introducing new and distinctive doctrines; her role was rather to encourage and reassure those who had looked for Christ to come in 1844. If they held fast to their faith, they would triumph at last. Many had fallen into extreme positions, which Ellen felt called to correct. Among these were the “spiritualizers”



James White (1821-1881) was only a minor personality in the Millerite movement, but he became one of the founders and powerful leaders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church after adopting the Sabbath doctrine.

Ellen White (1827-1915), wife of James White. Her divinely inspired visions and messages provided special guidance to Seventh-day Adventists, beginning shortly after the Great Disappointment in 1844 and continuing until her death in 1915.

who held that Christ had come to them “spiritually” on October 22; now they were completely sanctified and could not sin. Others developed violent emotionalism with much excitement, noise, and bodily activity. One group even advocated crawling around on hands and knees to become “as little children.”

A more delicate matter to deal with was the continuing hope of Christ’s imminent return, which led both James White and Joseph Bates to teach that this would occur on or before October 22, 1845. The matter was delicate because Ellen also wanted Christ to return soon; she did not

want in any way to discourage preparation for that event. A few days before the expected date, she saw in vision that their hopes would not be realized, and she thus warned those with whom she had contact. Similar warning came later when Hiram Edson taught that time would end in 1850 and Joseph Bates, through a rather fanciful interpretation of part of the Levitical service, fixed on 1851 as the year of the Advent.

Encouraging the Flock

It was probably in the spring preced-

ing her marriage that Ellen Harmon first met Joseph Bates. He treated her with the utmost courtesy but was frankly skeptical of her visions as direct revelations from God. For their part, James and Ellen White at first disagreed with Bates's stand in favor of the seventh-day Sabbath; they believed he stressed the fourth commandment unduly. Both Bates and the Whites soon changed their views. During the autumn months of 1846 the newly married Whites carefully studied Bates's pamphlet, *The Seventh Day Sabbath, A Perpetual Sign*, and were convinced by it. Bates's acceptance of the visions came after observing Ellen experience several of them. One in particular impressed him. In it she viewed and described some of the heavenly bodies. Fascinated with astronomy since his days on the sea, Bates had earlier tried to converse with Ellen on this subject and found her completely uninformed. How else could her sudden enlightenment be explained, if not by light from heaven? By early 1847 Bates could testify to his belief that the visions were of God, given "to comfort and strengthen His 'scattered, torn, and peeled people,' since the closing up of the work in the world in October, 1844."

Although Ellen White's early visions had been largely of an encouraging and practical nature, designed to keep the believers' attention focused on Christ's return, in 1846 she began to receive confirmation of the new doctrinal discoveries others were making. A few weeks after Crosier's long exposition in *The Day-Star Extra*, Ellen was shown in vision that he "had the true

light, on the cleansing of the Sanctuary, etc.; and that it was his will [the Lord's], that Brother C. should write out the view which he gave." Ellen continued, "I feel fully authorized by the Lord to recommend that Extra, to every saint."

The Sabbath Conferences

It was in April 1847, several months after she and James had begun keeping the seventh-day Sabbath, that Ellen received a vision confirming this new belief. In a view of the Most Holy Place Ellen observed the Decalogue inside the ark. A special halo of glory seemed to encircle the fourth commandment. She was instructed that true Sabbath observance would play a vital role in the troublesome times God's people would experience just before the Second Advent. The connection between the Sabbath and the message of the third angel of Revelation 14 was also pointed out. Joseph Bates had also noticed this relationship in the second edition of his Sabbath tract.

Although Joseph Bates, the Whites, and Hiram Edson took the lead in promoting the new Bible truths discovered after the disappointment, dozens of other Adventists throughout New England and western New York were also becoming convinced of one or more of the same doctrines. By 1848 these scattered believers felt a great need to draw together in small conferences, as they had done in their Millerite days. In such meetings they could not only confirm each other in the faith, but also hammer out more complete

details of last-day prophecies and correct errors in their religious beliefs.

E. L. H. Chamberlain, of Middletown, Connecticut, took the lead in calling the first of what would later be called “Sabbath Conferences.” This first conference met from April 20 to 24, 1848 at Albert Belden’s home in Rocky Hill, Connecticut. About fifty persons attended, with Bates and James White giving the principal addresses. Long hours were spent in prayer and earnest Bible study. So profitable was this meeting that plans were soon under way for some of the Eastern believers to accept an invitation to join in a similar conference in New York.

With no central organization to finance such meetings, the participants were thrown upon their own resources. James White mowed hay for five weeks to secure enough money for Ellen and himself to travel to Volney and Port Gibson, New York, where the second and third conferences were held in August. Although attendance at the second conference was somewhat smaller than the first, a wider diversity of opinion was represented; each participant seemed determined to hold firmly to some pet interpretation. This discord oppressed Ellen White so greatly that she fainted. Some feared she was dying. As prayers were offered for her, she revived and was soon in vision. Many of the errors being promoted were shown to her, and she was instructed to appeal to all present to lay aside minor matters and unite on the basic truths making up the three angels’ messages. Her appeals were heeded, and the meeting “closed triumphantly.”

Light on Doctrine

The experience in Volney sheds light on the way that the sabbatarian Adventists arrived at their doctrinal positions; they were hammered out as the result of Bible study, discussion, and prayer. Much of the time, Ellen White testified, she could not understand the texts under discussion and the issues involved. Yet she later remembered that when the brethren who were studying, “came to the point . . . where they said, ‘We can do nothing more’ the Spirit of the Lord would come upon me, I would be taken off in vision, and a clear explanation of the passages we had been studying would be given me, with instructions as to how we were to labor and teach effectively.” Because the participants “knew that when not in vision, I could not understand these matters, . . . they accepted as light direct from heaven the revelations given.”

A fourth Sabbath conference was held in September, again at Rocky Hill. Two more that fall, at Topsham, Maine and Dorchester, Massachusetts, completed the cycle. The Sabbath conferences brought general agreement among the sabbatarian Adventists (who probably at this time still numbered only a few hundred) on eight specific points: (1) the imminent, personal, premillennial Second Advent; (2) the twofold ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, whose cleansing had begun in 1844; (3) the seventh-day Sabbath; (4) God’s special supernatural enlightenment through Ellen White; (5) the duty to proclaim all three angels’ messages; (6) conditional immortality and death as a dreamless sleep; (7) the timing of the seven last plagues; and

(8) the final, complete extinction of the wicked after the millennium. Many details and ramifications of these doctrines remained to be elaborated, but the basic concepts had been worked out by the end of 1848.

During these same formative years, sabbatarian Adventists slowly redefined their concepts of the “shut door.” Bates and the Whites had originally viewed the shut-door idea as being inseparably connected with maintaining confidence in the integrity of the 1844 date. For some time Ellen White interpreted her first vision as confirming this connection. Yet at the same time she recognized that persons who had not “knowingly rejected” the truths of the first and second angels’ messages were not excluded from salvation.

Gradually those who were uniting on the doctrinal platform nailed together at the Sabbath conferences came to understand the shut door in a new light. This was particularly true in the days following two Ellen White visions. In the first of these, given in mid-November 1848, Ellen saw an expanding message going “like streams of light . . . clear round the world.” This certainly did not square well with the concept that probation had ended for all on October 22, 1844.

The Open and Shut Door

The second vision, given March 24, 1849, related the open and shut door to the heavenly sanctuary and the changing expectations of God for His people during the different phases of Christ’s ministry in the two apartments. When Christ opened

the door into the Most Holy Place, Ellen saw that light shone out on the commandments; the Sabbath was from then on a special test of the loyalty of professed Christians. At the same time Christ shut the door to the Holy Place. While He had served there, the Sabbath had not been a test in the same way as it had now become. Ellen was shown that some wanted to go back to these easier early days, but that this was impossible; that door was shut “and no man can open it.”

As a new decade opened, the message of the sabbatarian Adventists began to receive a hearing in other than Adventist circles. Gradually, through their witness, individuals who had had no connection with the Millerite movement were converted to Christ and accepted the doctrines of His imminent return, the heavenly sanctuary, and the seventh-day Sabbath. This dramatically pointed out to the Whites and Joseph Bates that their old shut-door views were untenable. By 1854 they were ready to accept the new meaning of the term which Ellen White, in the light of the expanded revelations given her, had been developing. Henceforth they would accept the fact that God shut the door of salvation for an individual only when he, personally, had rejected the light of the three angels’ messages. No one could be guilty of rejecting light he had not seen. This understanding had not come quickly or easily. Old terminology was retained to describe new concepts. In later years a failure to understand the gradually changing shut-door concepts of the Whites, Joseph Bates, and other sabbatarian Adventists would prove a stumbling block to many.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Roles played by persons in the post-disappointment period:

Arthur White, *The Early Years* (1985), vol. 1 of *Ellen G. White*, pp. 53-162 focuses on the role of James and Ellen White during the years, 1844-1850.

Godfrey T. Anderson, *Outrider of the Apocalypse* (1972), includes an informative account of Joseph Bates's experience as a sabbatarian Adventist.

E. N. Dick, *Founders of the Message* (1938), pp. 105-247, provides biographical sketches of the Whites and Bateses.

General accounts:

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 1 (1961), pp. 97-170, offers an interesting and detailed narrative of the period.

L. E. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. 4 (1954), pp. 827-1048, is a scholarly description of post-disappointment Adventism.

George Knight, *1844 and the Rise of Sabbatarian Adventism* (1994), is an absorbing collection of documents and articles dating from 1832 to 1850, tracing the evolution of the Millerite movement to sabbatarian Adventism.

_____ *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (1993), chapters 12-14, is a well-written account of the Great Disappointment and the aftermath.

Russell L. Staples, "Adventism," in *Variety of American Evangelism*, Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston, eds., (1991), contrasts Adventists with evangelicals and denies participants in the Millerite movement were fanatics.

Ruth Alden Doan, *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture*, (1987), pp. 202-228, is an insightful description of post-disappointment Adventism.

Ronald Numbers and Jonathan Butler, eds., *The Disappointed* (1993), chapters 10, 11, provides a useful description of the Great Disappointment. Recollections of participants in the movement are found in two appendices.

Using the Printed Page

It was only natural for sabbatarian Adventists to draw on their Millerite experience as they endeavored to spread their expanding concepts of religious truth. Yet both the times and their resources were limited factors. The derision that accompanied the Great Disappointment precluded their attracting general audiences to public lectures; nor did they have the financial resources to hire halls and advertise for crowds. The Whites came from poor families; Bates and Edson had used most of their modest possessions to promulgate the “midnight cry.”

The Millerite papers that reappeared after the Disappointment were a natural means of reaching other Adventists. Yet the conservative position taken by the Albany Conference kept the main advent journals from accepting expositions of “new light.” Through Enoch Jacobs’s *Day-Star*, Ellen Harmon’s visions and O.

R. L. Crosier’s explanation of the heavenly sanctuary could reach a substantial audience. But as Jacobs wandered farther into a forest of theological vagaries, this avenue, too, closed.

For a time Ellen Harmon and those intimately associated with her attempted to hand copy and mail out accounts of the visions. Yet the limits of such methods were obvious, and in the spring of 1846 an account of the first vision was printed as a broadside, entitled “To the Remnant Scattered Abroad.” The cost of the 250 copies published was jointly met by James White and H. S. Gurney, the singing blacksmith who had accompanied Bates on his 1844 advent mission to Maryland.

Joseph Bates, Publisher

Joseph Bates also felt a need to publish

the new truths he had discovered and to correct some of the errors into which his fellow Adventists were straying. In May 1846 he prepared a forty-page tract, entitled *The Opening Heavens*, partially to counter those “spiritualizers” who were teaching that Christ had come spiritually in 1844. Bates believed that the sanctuary to be cleansed was in heaven and enthusiastically recommended Crosier’s *Day-Star Extra*. Funds to publish this first tract were supplied by an Adventist sister who had recently woven a large rag carpet for her home. Saying that she could weave another when needed, the lady took up the new carpet and sold it, giving Bates the money to meet his printing bill.

Undaunted by lack of funds, Bates next decided to prepare a tract on the Sabbath. As he sat at his desk poring over Bible and concordance, Mrs. Bates interrupted him to report that she needed some flour to finish the day’s baking. Aware that his entire liquid capital consisted of a single York shilling (about 12 1/2 cents), Bates cautiously asked how much she lacked. “About four pounds,” Prudence Bates replied. Relieved, the captain went to a neighboring store and secured the four pounds along with a few other small items his wife had added to her grocery list.

When he returned, Mrs. Bates was horrified. Had her husband, a man of standing in New Bedford, one who as captain of a ship had traded with distant parts of the world, actually gone and purchased only four pounds of flour? That he had, Joseph assured her, and in the process he had spent his last penny. Prudence Bates’s embarrassment turned to dismay. “What are we to do?” she wailed.

The sturdy captain proclaimed his plan to write a booklet, that would help spread the Sabbath truth. As for their personal needs, the Lord would open the way. “Oh, yes! That’s what you always say,” Prudence sobbed.

A few minutes later, while at work, Bates was suddenly impressed that a letter was awaiting him at the post office. Never one to hesitate when he believed God was guiding, Bates immediately set off to see the postmaster. Sure enough, the impression was correct, but the letter carried no postage! Captain Bates had to confess that he lacked the few cents necessary to claim the letter. Although Postmaster Drew was willing for him to take the letter and pay later, Bates would not have it so. “I feel impressed that there is money in the letter,” he said. “Please open it, and if this is so take the postage out first and then give me the rest.”

Under protest the postmaster complied, and found a ten-dollar bill! Bates’s correspondent indicated that the Lord had impressed him that his friend needed money; so he had sent some off immediately. With the money, Captain Bates purchased a barrel of flour, potatoes, sugar, and some other household goods and ordered them delivered to his home. He then proceeded to the printer to arrange for the printing of his Sabbath tract, assured that God would provide funds for that as well.

Upon returning home Bates found his wife greatly agitated. Where, she demanded, had the load of provisions come from? “The Lord sent them,” the captain replied.

“That’s what you always say,” Prudence retorted. Whereupon her husband handed her the letter so recently received. After she read it, tears flowed once more, tears of penitence and joy.

The money to pay the printer arrived just as mysteriously, in small amounts at unexpected times. When Bates went to make the final settlement, the printer informed him that his bill had been paid. The captain never discovered that his last benefactor was his old companion, H. S. Gurney, who had unexpectedly realized payment on a debt long due him.

As Joseph Bates pressed forward in faith, there always seemed to be someone to help him. After revising and enlarging his Sabbath tract in 1847, the captain prepared a review of the Millerite experience in a way designed to build confidence in God’s leading. When his eighty-page *Second Advent Waymarks and High Heaps* was ready, a widow sold her humble cottage, moved in with in-laws, and gave Bates enough to publish the tract. And so it went with subsequent tracts over the next three years.

It was in late spring, 1847 that the first joint publication of James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates appeared. *A Word to the “Little Flock”* was clearly addressed to Adventists. It included accounts of several of Ellen’s visions, an endorsement of the visions by Bates, and articles by James White devoted principally to the seven last plagues and events surrounding the Second Coming. The main thrust of this small twenty-four-page pamphlet was to encourage the advent believers to hold on to their 1844 experience as they sought greater

light on the path ahead.

The need for some periodic means of communicating to the slowly growing numbers of sabbatarian Adventists became especially evident during the 1848 Sabbath conferences. Future conferences must be advertised so that more could attend; the light that came during these days of study and prayer must be communicated to others. During the October conference in Topsham, Maine, the participants made the publication of their enlarging views a matter of special prayer. Still, difficulties seemed to outweigh opportunities. The believers resolved to pray and to study the matter more the following month at Otis Nichols’s home in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

Present Truth

A highlight of the Dorchester conference was a vision Ellen White received relating to the Sabbath and its role during the sealing of God’s people. At the same time she saw that the time had come to start “a little paper” to send “out to the people.” God, Ellen indicated, was laying the burden for starting this project directly on her husband. Although James was not unwilling, his financial resources were virtually nonexistent. When he and Ellen stopped in a town for a few weeks, James would work on the railroad or as a farm laborer in order that they might not be too great a burden on kind friends. Yet what he could earn in this way was painfully inadequate. Sometimes Ellen had a real struggle in deciding whether to use the few pennies available to buy milk for herself and their son, Henry, born in August

1847, or to use these funds to purchase material to clothe the baby.

By the summer of 1849 James White's burden to start a little paper "in defense of truth" was so great that he decided to mow hay to earn printing expenses. At this time the Whites were living with the Albert Beldens in Rocky Hill, Connecticut. Just as James was starting for town to buy a scythe, he was informed that Ellen had fainted. Quickly he returned, and after prayer Ellen regained consciousness, only to be taken off in vision. At this time she received instruction that it was not James's duty to labor in the hayfield; he was to write and publish. As they stepped out in faith, funds would be provided to meet publication needs.

Eight miles away, in the village of Middletown, a printer agreed to print 1000 copies of an eight-page paper, entitled *Present Truth*, on credit. The first number, devoted mainly to the Sabbath truth, was ready in July. Then the precious sheets were carried to the Belden home, where they were folded, wrapped, and addressed to individuals who might be expected to read them with open minds. After earnest prayer James loaded the papers in his carpetbag and walked eight miles to mail them at the Middletown post office. This scene was repeated three more times before the end of September. And enough funds did come in to defray the costs. Encouraged, Elder White decided to continue publishing.

Yet the facilities available in Connecticut left much to be desired. That fall the Whites decided to shift their home and printing business to Oswego, New York. No longer would the burdensome

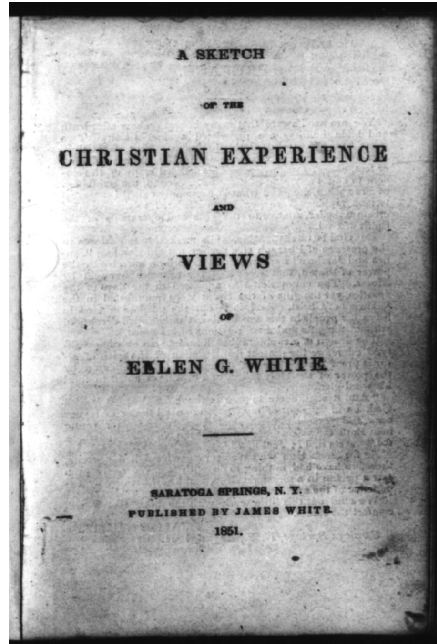
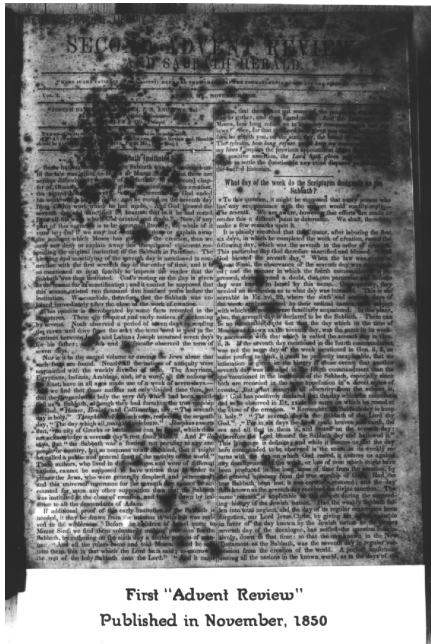
eight-mile walks be necessary, and it would also be easier to mail papers into the old Northwest, where Joseph Bates was already scattering the Sabbath and sanctuary truths among former Millerites. Two issues of *Present Truth* came out in December 1849. Then it lapsed for several months as the editor, discouraged by the slackening of donations and the opposition of Captain Bates to the idea of publishing a paper, almost gave up the project. Bates reasoned, curiously, that no paper should be published because this was what those Adventists who had given up much of their 1844 experience were doing. He also preferred to see capable preachers like Elder White actively proclaiming the message in person, rather than sitting behind an editor's desk.

Ellen White would not hear of her husband's abandoning the paper. "I saw that God did not want James to stop yet," she asserted, "but he must *write, write, write, write*, and spread the message and let it go." Consequently, that spring four more numbers of *Present Truth* were prepared and sent out before the Whites found it necessary to suspend publication for summer traveling among the scattered believers.

Advent Review

By midsummer James White was hard at work on a new publishing venture. Stung by criticisms from the ranks of main-line Adventists, James and Ellen decided to issue a paper which would contain large extracts from the pre-Disappointment Millerite press. This was designed to show that the sabbatarian

USING THE PRINTED PAGE



The first issue of the Review came off the press in November, 1850. Since that time, it has carried news, doctrinal discussions, and views that have given Adventists a sense of cohesiveness. It has had several official names, but Adventists have consistently called it the Review. This first issue carried a front page article about the seventh-day Sabbath.

A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen White, published in 1851, was intended to establish Ellen White's role as a divinely inspired messenger to God's people.

Adventists alone continued to see the Millerite movement as God-directed and designed. Four issues of the sixteen-page *Advent Review* were published in Auburn, New York, during the summer and fall of 1850.

In early fall the Whites felt burdened to visit the believers in Paris, Maine. In this area the William Andrews and Stockbridge Howland families gave stability to the little advent band. When James discovered an inexpensive and convenient printer in Paris, he decided to remain and carry on his publishing

ventures where friendly brethren were willing to aid in his work. Here the final issues of the *Present Truth* and the *Advent Review* were issued in November 1850. That same month a new journal was born which combined the purposes of the preceding two. Named the *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, the periodical became the official paper of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It has changed its name several times, the last to the *Adventist Review*. Historically, Adventists have commonly called it the *Review*.

Publishing Assistants

James White's publishing business was not yet ready to put down permanent roots; Paris was too far from the center of sabbatarian Adventism. By the summer of 1851 James was once more looking to New York. When he left Paris, however, he left with a valuable recruit—twenty-one-year-old John Andrews. Several months earlier a conference of Adventist believers in Paris had formed a committee to help Elder White with the burdens of publishing. In addition to veteran Joseph Bates, it included Samuel Rhodes and J. N. Andrews. Rhodes had been a successful Millerite evangelist who fled deep into New York's Adirondack forest following the Disappointment. With Ellen White's encouragement, he was sought out by Hiram Edson, who explained the 1844 Disappointment and the new light of the third angel's message. Rhodes once more became an effective minister, preaching first throughout New England and New York and later pioneering in Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois.

It was young Andrews, however, who was to be of most immediate help to James White in his publishing activities. At twenty-one he became one of the leading writers for the *Review and Herald*. His five-page article in the May 1851 issue was the earliest detailed Adventist exposition of Revelation 13 to interpret the two-horned beast introduced there as the United States. He later prepared a series answering O. R. L. Crosier's attacks on the Sabbath. During the winter of 1850-51 Andrews visited and ministered to the believers in northern New

England and eastern Canada. But when the Whites moved back to New York, Andrews also headed west, going beyond them to search out and encourage believers in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. At the same time he continued his contributions to the *Review*.

Shortly before leaving Maine James White once more nearly abandoned the idea of keeping a paper going. Weakened by overwork and inadequate nutrition, burdened with criticism from correspondents, James wrote a note for the paper stating he was going to cease its publication. Again Ellen White stepped in. Her words of encouragement, based on a vision showing her that "we must continue to publish, and the Lord would sustain us," tipped the scales. James did not publish his note as planned. Never again would he become quite as discouraged over his publishing trials.

By midsummer 1851 the Whites' publishing activities had been transferred to Saratoga Springs, New York. During the nine months spent here Ellen's first small book, *A Sketch of the Christian Experiences and Views of Ellen G. White*, appeared. In addition to brief biographical data this volume included accounts of a number of Ellen's visions which had previously appeared as broadsides or as articles in *Present Truth*.

This was not the first book that James had published. In late 1849 or early 1850 he had issued a tiny paperbound hymnal, entitled *Hymns for God's Peculiar People*, containing words (but no music) to fifty-three hymns. Deacon John White, a voice teacher, had passed down his love for music to his children. Frequently James

would open a meeting by vigorously singing a well-known hymn and clapping his hands in rhythm as he strode to the platform. His recognition of the vital role played by music in a Christian's life led him to publish five different hymnals, with four supplements, between 1849 and 1861. It appears that each time a printing was exhausted James issued a new collection. *Review* readers were invited to send in their favorites for inclusion in the forthcoming hymnal. In 1861 White's hymnal had grown to include 468 selections.

The Whites were joined at Saratoga Springs by Ellen's sister Sarah and her husband, Stephen Belden. Stephen's mechanical talents proved especially helpful to James as his publishing ventures enlarged. Here, too, Annie Smith arrived from New Hampshire to serve as copy editor and proofreader. The Smith family's advent experiences dated back to Millerite days, but as Annie and her younger brother, Uriah, approached adulthood, religious values faded and both became enamored of a literary career. To please her devout mother, Annie attended a lecture by Elder Bates. The evening before, both she and Bates dreamed of their meeting at this service. Annie was so impressed that she soon accepted the Sabbath truth and began sending poems to the *Review*. When only twenty-three she answered James White's call to come to Saratoga Springs and help with the paper. Four years later she would be dead from tuberculosis. During her short lifetime she contributed forty-five poems to the *Review* and the fledgling *Youth's Instructor*. A century and a half after her death, Adventists were still sing-

ing her hymns proclaiming the second advent of Jesus.

The new assistants freed James and Ellen White to devote more time to writing and to encouraging the scattered flock through personal visits. James also began to think of establishing an independent Adventist press; he saw many advantages in such a development. Work could be done more cheaply and supervised more efficiently; moreover, their consciences need not trouble them over the *Review's* being printed on the Sabbath. On March 12, 1852, Bates, Rhodes, Edson, Andrews, and others gathered with the Whites at Jesse Thompson's home south of Saratoga Springs. After study and prayer they decided to purchase a press and type. Edson sold his farm in order to loan Elder White the \$650 needed to purchase a Washington hand press and relocate in Rochester, New York, a city better situated for efficient distribution of the paper. By October enough donations had been received to cover the cost of establishing the *Review* and Herald Printing Office.

The three years that the "Office," as it was soon called, remained in Rochester were years of expansion and progress. In August 1852 James White launched *The Youth's Instructor*, an eight-page monthly designed to provide weekly Sabbath School lessons on doctrinal topics and other reading material "to interest and instruct" children. It cost twenty-five cents a year. By winter 1000 copies were being mailed out each month. At this same time 2000 copies of the *Review* were going out every two weeks. Unlike the *Instructor*, the *Review* was still being

distributed without charge. A few months later, however, James White suggested that if believers who could afford to do so would pay one dollar per year, non-Adventists could still be provided with free subscriptions. Although the Whites were anxious to make the *Review* a weekly, financial pressures occasionally made it necessary to omit an issue.

J. N. Loughborough

The move to Rochester coincided with the addition to sabbatarian Adventist ranks of several who were to become major figures in the denomination's growth. In Rochester lived young John N. Loughborough, who painted houses during the week and preached to several Adventist companies on Sundays. A member of one of his congregations, who had become interested in the truths being taught by sabbatarian Adventists, suggested that Loughborough attend one of their conferences with him. Although only twenty years of age, Loughborough had already been preaching for over three years and was confident that he could rout the sabbatarians with a few texts showing the moral law had been abolished. Upon arriving at the meeting, Loughborough was astounded to recognize the speaker as a man he had seen in a dream a few nights earlier. He was further confounded when this speaker, J. N. Andrews, used the same texts he had been prepared to use against the law, to show man's continuing obligation to it. Within three weeks Loughborough had decided to cast his lot with the sabbatarians. Soon he accompanied Hiram Edson

on a circuit-riding tour to encourage believers throughout western New York and Pennsylvania. Later he pioneered the work in Michigan, California, and England, and became the denomination's first historian.

Pioneering in Michigan

Early in 1849 Joseph Bates began ranging farther afield in search of Adventists with whom he could share recently discovered light. The summer of 1849 saw him making contact with blacksmith Dan R. Palmer, leader of an Adventist band in Jackson, Michigan. Bates gave a vaguely interested Palmer his first sermon to the tune of Palmer's hammer on anvil. The captain's points reached home. Convinced that what he heard was truth, Palmer invited Bates to speak to the Adventist company the next Sunday. Before Bates left Jackson, all of the Adventist band had decided to become Sabbath keepers.

Three years later Bates returned to Jackson to encourage his converts. On this occasion an energetic young "age-to-come" Adventist preacher, Merritt E. Cornell and his wife reluctantly agreed to listen to Bates speak at Dan Palmer's house. Cornell was confident he could quickly show the errors in Bates's presentation. But within two weeks he had carried Bates's message to his father-in-law, Henry Lyon, and to John P. Kellogg, an Adventist neighbor he sought out in a hayfield. For nearly a quarter of a century Cornell would be one of the most prominent of Seventh-day Adventist evangelists. Although personal difficulties interrupted his labors in later life, he

deserves much of the credit for the rapid spread of Seventh-day Adventist doctrine throughout Michigan.

During his second visit to Jackson, Captain Bates heard of several Adventist families in Indiana and decided to visit them. While en route he felt led by the Holy Spirit to alight from the train at the little village of Battle Creek. Proceeding to the post office, he asked for the "most honest man in town." A few minutes later he was headed down Van Buren Street toward the home of Presbyterian David Hewitt. It was early in the morning when Bates knocked at the Hewitt door and stated that he had important truth to present. Courteously invited first to share breakfast, and then to conduct family worship, Bates was later given the opportunity of presenting his beliefs. All morning the Hewitts listened to a presentation of the advent hope, complete with illustrations from the captain's ever-handly chart. The subject was new to them, as was the doctrine of the seventh-day Sabbath, which Bates discussed in the afternoon. The Hewitts were convinced. They kept the next Sabbath and formed the nucleus of a congregation that met in their home until the first Adventist chapel was built in Battle Creek. The conversion of Presbyterian Hewitt, who had never had Adventist connections, effectively ended any of Bates's lingering beliefs that the door of mercy was shut.

It did not always take days or weeks of effort to interest men in sabbatarian Adventism. One day in December 1851, two lecturers making a brief stop in Baraboo, Wisconsin, took only about an hour to make a cursory presentation of the

messages of the three angels of Revelation 14, the great prophetic periods, the Bible Sabbath, and the two-horned beast of Revelation 13. Sitting in their audience was Baptist Joseph H. Waggoner, editor and publisher of a local political paper. Waggoner was so intrigued that he spent every available minute studying the topics so briefly called to his attention. Within several months he was firmly settled in the advent faith, although some of his new colleagues wondered if his lack of a Millerite background could admit him through the "shut door." They did not wonder long. Waggoner deserted his editor's chair for the role of traveling evangelist throughout Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. A cogent writer, he prepared some of the ablest of sabbatarian answers to the "age-to-come" Adventists who flourished in his territory.

Back in upstate New York it was the influence of a single copy of the *Review* that started farmer-preacher John Byington on an investigation of the Sabbath truth. Although Byington had not been particularly impressed by a Millerite lecture he had heard in 1844, he now accepted the views of sabbatarian Adventists in 1852. Three years later he built one of the first Seventh-day Adventist churches, near his home in Buck's Bridge, New York. Byington would later become a self-supporting preacher in Michigan and the first president of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference.

It was a combination of reading the *Review* and a personal visit from Joseph Bates that led Roswell F. Cottrell to join the sabbatarian Adventists in 1851.

Cottrell came from an old Huguenot family that had long roots in the Seventh Day Baptist faith. He had heard the Millerite preaching but had not been impressed to follow it because those who preached it did not observe all of God's law. Conviction followed a comparison of the teachings of the *Review* with those of the Bible. Cottrell became a frequent contributor to the *Review*, and also prepared a long series of Bible studies for use as *The Youth's Instructor* Sabbath School lessons. These were later combined in book form as *The Bible Class*.

Uriah Smith

During the fall of 1852 a young man who was to play, after James White, the greatest part in developing the *Review and Herald*, struggled with the Sabbath doctrine. Uriah Smith had been a boy of twelve when he had gone through the Great Disappointment with his Adventist mother. In subsequent years he decided upon a literary career. Then in September 1852 he attended a conference of sabbatarian Adventists at Washington, New Hampshire. The things he heard there began to convince him that the fourth commandment still required the seventh day to be observed as the Sabbath. After twelve weeks of study he decided to become a Sabbath-keeping Adventist. The following May, just after turning twenty-one, Uriah joined his sister Annie at the *Review* office in Rochester. At this time his 35,000-word poem, "The Warning Voice of Time and Prophecy," was running serially in the paper. Smith became a managing editor of sorts, freeing James

White for more travel and preaching.

Smith did more than write and edit copy. The *Review* office was beginning to publish substantial numbers of tracts, some written expressly for circulation in this form, some reprints of articles from the paper. Lacking proper tools, the office staff had to use what was available. Uriah Smith spent many hours trimming the rough edges of the tracts with his penknife. This frequently left blistered hands and, Smith remembered, tracts that were "square" in doctrine, even if their pages were not.

Stephen Haskell

In 1853 the *Review* began to publish a little tract entitled simply "Elihu on the Sabbath." This tract was to play a large role in making Stephen N. Haskell a Sabbath-keeping Adventist. Haskell was nineteen when he heard his first sermon on the Second Advent by an unknown Evangelical Adventist. So thrilled was he with the subject that he talked about it to everyone he met. Challenged by a friend to preach, Stephen jokingly promised to do so if his friends would provide a hall and audience. To his amazement, they complied. Unwilling to back down, Haskell carried through on his promise, and from that time on combined part-time advent preaching with selling the soap he manufactured.

On the way home from an Adventist camp meeting in Connecticut in the summer of 1853, Haskell decided to visit a company of Adventist believers he had raised up in Canada the previous year. While changing trains in Springfield,

Massachusetts, he decided to store his trunk until his return. Directed to the shop of railroad tinsmith William Saxby, he was courteously accommodated. Soon the conversation turned to the seventh-day Sabbath, as Saxby was a Sabbath-keeping Adventist. Although Haskell avoided an invitation to a meeting of the sabbatarians, he went home for the night with Saxby and was given a rapid synopsis of the truths Saxby had espoused. The next morning as Haskell was leaving, his host gave him a few small tracts including “Elihu on the Sabbath.” Before reaching his Canadian destination the young preacher was convinced that “according to the best light I had, the seventh day was the Sabbath, and I would keep it until I could get further light.”

The Sabbath seemed so clear to Haskell that he was certain his Adventist friends would also quickly accept it. But when he tried to present the matter at an Adventist conference in Worcester, Massachusetts, he found few that would listen; he was denied the privilege of speaking to the entire group. At the close of the conference Haskell was invited home with Thomas Hale, of Hubbardston. Here, during the next few months, he persuaded the Adventist company to become sabbatarians. Some time later Joseph Bates suddenly appeared at Haskell’s door, announcing himself as a friend of William Saxby. Before Bates left, the Haskells had accepted all the doctrines the captain had presented and sent along with him an order for every tract and paper published by the *Review* office.

Move Toward Unity

It would be difficult to overestimate the role played by the *Review and Herald* in bringing cohesion, encouragement, and doctrinal unity to the slowly expanding body of sabbatarian Adventists. During its first several years the paper was devoted primarily to articles that promoted the major distinctive doctrines developed in the years after 1844. Nearly two thirds of the space in the first two volumes dealt with the Sabbath or the perpetuity of the law of God. Prominence was given also to articles on Bible prophecy, especially as it applied to last-day events. The doctrine of the heavenly sanctuary continued to receive regular treatment. By the mid-1850s articles dealing with the dangers of spiritualism and belief in man’s natural immortality became prominent.

At the start the *Review* had been largely the product of James White’s pen, but in the course of the ’50s, contributions from J. N. Andrews, J. H. Waggoner, R. F. Cottrell, and Uriah Smith became more and more frequent. After several volumes a “communications” section, which sometimes made up nearly one fourth of the paper, was added. This included letters from such roving missionaries as Joseph Bates, as well as from scattered and isolated Adventists who frequently discussed their religious experiences. This section thus served many of the purposes of the old “social meeting.” The *Review* also carried information of the itinerant ministers’ movements and announced time and place of general conferences of believers.

Although the addition of youthful as-

sistants helped relieve James White from many technical chores, an increasing staff posed problems of a different type. The chief of these involved finance. By 1854 from fifteen to twenty workers needed food and shelter as they worked on the papers, tracts, and small books coming in increasing quantities from the little Washington hand press. Frequently board and room were all the staff received for months at a time. In spite of working fourteen-to-eighteen-hour days, White found it increasingly difficult to make ends meet financially. More and more he was being forced into the roles of administrator and financier. The increasing mental and physical strain seemed to him to threaten his very life. He had to have help to bear these burdens.

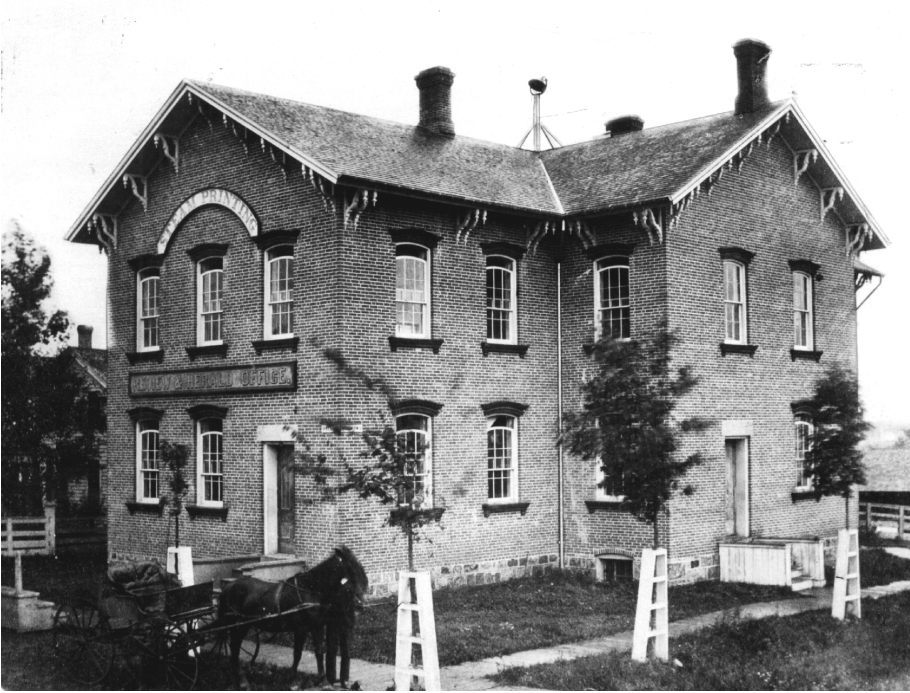
Go West

Two possibilities presented themselves. On their first trip to Michigan in 1853 the Whites had been impressed with the vigor and generosity displayed by some of the new members in this state. On a similar visit the following year White had dared speculate that within another year they might need to purchase a tent to accommodate the increasing crowds coming to hear “the third angel’s message.” “Why wait a year?” asked M. E. Cornell. He thought he knew of a Millerite tent stored in Detroit. Why not purchase it at once? When this possibility was mentioned to several of the believers in Sylvan and Jackson, they quickly contributed the necessary money, and Cornell was dispatched to buy the tent. Finding it already sold, he went on to Rochester, New York, and by June 8 he

was back with a sixty-foot circular tent that was quickly pitched in Battle Creek. Here Cornell and J. N. Loughborough launched the first sabbatarian Adventist experiment in tent evangelism. Might Michigan be a good place to relocate the *Review* office?

Vermont seemed another possibility. The believers in that state appeared more vigorous and innovative than those elsewhere in New England. Conferences with the brethren in both states eventually confirmed the Whites in a decision to accept the offer of Dan Palmer, J. P. Kellogg, Henry Lyon, and Cyrenius Smith to each advance \$300 for the construction of a printing plant in Battle Creek, Michigan. The last three of these laymen sold their farms in order to raise the necessary cash. In view of the growing interest in Adventism shown in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, surely Michigan would be more suitably located than Vermont to serve the interests of a church that was struggling to be born.

James White was determined that the *Review* office should be recognized as the property and responsibility of the entire body of Adventist believers. His attitude arose only partly from a need to share the financial and management burdens he carried. It was influenced also by the gossip circulating that James was profiting from the printing business. As the result of several conferences in Battle Creek, the last of which included representatives from several states, the church’s commitment to publishing was formalized in the autumn of 1855. At these conferences Palmer, Lyon, and Cyrenius Smith were appointed as a publishing committee to oversee the financing and promotion



After moving to Battle Creek, Michigan, Adventists set up a printing press in a small frame structure. They later erected this new building as the Review and Herald Publishing office. Photograph circa 1865.

of the *Review*. They were to be assisted by delegates from the various states. Uriah Smith was, at twenty-three, elected resident editor, with James White, J. N. Andrews, J. H. Waggoner, R. F. Cottrell, and Stephen Pierce, of Vermont, as corresponding editors. In December 1855 the first number of the *Review* was issued from Battle Creek.

An investigating committee, appointed at one conference, cleared Elder White of charges of profiteering and arranged to pay the debts he had incurred in behalf of the office.

The move to Battle Creek freed the

Whites of the responsibility for housing and boarding *Review* employees. In their own modest house, and with James receiving a small but regular salary, the Whites were released for the first time from some of the pressures that had dogged their footsteps for a decade.

Consolidation

Not that James White now settled into a life of ease; such a course was unthinkable to him. Continuing as a kind of general manager of the *Review* office, he was soon involved in planning literature in

German and French and in expanding tract and book publication. As early as 1854 he had suggested to Loughborough the possibility of selling Adventist literature to those attending tent meetings. Loughborough found this idea practical.

In 1857 Elder White began campaigning for the purchase of a steam-powered press to handle the increased volume of business. By this time it was taking three days per week just to print the *Review*, which in 1856 had become a weekly, on the old hand press. Raising approximately \$2500 for a steam press during a time of national depression was no small undertaking. Yet White called for pledges for this purpose, and so vital had the *Review* become that dozens of believers

responded. Some contributed as much as \$100; Richard Godsmark, a farmer near Battle Creek, sold his pair of work oxen to help with the needed expansion. Frequently on his trips to town Godsmark would stop by the *Review* office and listen to the clacking of the press. He would smile in satisfaction as he muttered, “Old Buck and Bright are pullin’ away; they’re pu-u-ullin’ away!”

And James White was also “pullin’ away.” Almost single-handedly he had created a publishing business, against formidable obstacles. Several times it had been only his wife’s vision-based encouragements that had kept him going. With the “Office” operating satisfactorily, White set about to create a church organization. That was to take even greater effort.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Accounts of participants:

Ellen White, *Life Sketches* (1915), pp. 125-159, is a valuable reminiscence of the period between the Great Disappointment and the era of organization.

J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1892), is a personal history of Adventism before 1892.

Biographical works:

E. Robinson, S. N. Haskell, *Man of Action* (1967), is a substantial biography of an early Adventist minister.

E. N. Dick, *Founders of the Message* (1938), pp. 251-33, covers the experiences of J. N. Loughborough and J. N. Andrews.

Virgil Robinson, *James White* (1976), pp. 54-134, intersperses considerable information about early publishing efforts into this biography of James White.

Arthur White, *The Early Years* (1985), vol. 1 of *Ellen G. White*, pp. 163-210, puts the story of the beginnings of Adventist publishing into perspective.

Organizational Birth Pangs

Part of the sabbatarian Adventists' Millerite heritage was a determination not to create another denomination. They did not soon forget George Storrs's warning that "no church can be organized by man's invention but what it becomes Babylon the *moment it is organized*." And certainly in the years immediately following 1844, they were scarcely in a condition to organize *anything*. Perplexed by disappointment, confused by the variety of new doctrines being promoted, they needed time to adjust and to become established in their religious convictions concerning dogma and duty.

It was in 1854, ten years after the Disappointment, that Ellen White, on the basis of her visions, began calling for the church to "become established upon gospel order which has been overlooked and neglected." A few weeks earlier James White had begun a series of articles in

the *Review* on the same theme. Extensive correspondence and travel had convinced him that the "scattered flock" must have better direction and organization if they were to maintain their faith and expand their witness.

Waukon, Iowa

Although by the mid-1850s doctrinal unity had been achieved among the slowly growing group of sabbatarian Adventists, many were at the same time experiencing a decline in spiritual fervor. In part this may be attributed to their yet-unrealized hope of Christ's soon return. Delay led to preoccupation with temporal affairs. As Adventists joined the westward movement, they became involved in taming the prairies, adjusting to frontier conditions, and, all too often, with improving their standard of living. This

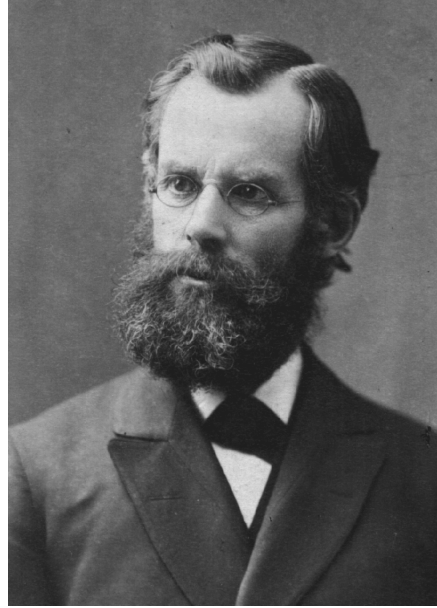
was the experience of the E. P. Butler family of Vermont and the Edward Andrews and Cyprian Stevens families of Maine. These families and others developed something of an Adventist farming colony at Waukon in northeastern Iowa.

The scattering of the flock diluted their contacts with Ellen White; faith, formerly fed by her ringing words of encouragement and reproof, grew dim. At this time the *Review and Herald*, the one avenue of regular contact the scattered believers shared, was virtually closed to Ellen's pen. In his desire to avoid the criticism of those prejudiced against visions, James decided in 1851 not to publish references to his wife's visions or their contents in the regular columns of the *Review*. He was determined to demonstrate that the doctrines the *Review* advocated were based *solely* on the Bible, not on supernatural revelations. During four years, only seven Ellen White articles—none of which mentioned the visions—appeared in the *Review*. Neglected, the visions became less frequent, the believers less sure of their importance, and Ellen herself became convinced that her special work was almost done.

In spite of the addition of men like Andrews, Cornell, and Waggoner to the ranks of sabbatarian Adventist preachers, many small congregations and isolated believers went for months without hearing a sermon from a minister of their own persuasion. The territory from Maine to Minnesota was just too large for the limited corps of available preachers. And since there was no formalized program of financial support for Adventist preachers, many were forced to support themselves as farmers

or craftsmen. During the spring and summer they might, as did John Byington, work their farms and pastor companies within horse-and-buggy distance. Visits to believers in other areas came only during the winter months. The strain of overwork and poverty broke the health of many. The most prominent of these was J. N. Andrews, who retired to clerk in his uncle's store in Waukon.

Before long Andrews was joined by John Loughborough and his wife. Loughborough spent the summer of 1856 in helping to conduct tent meetings in New



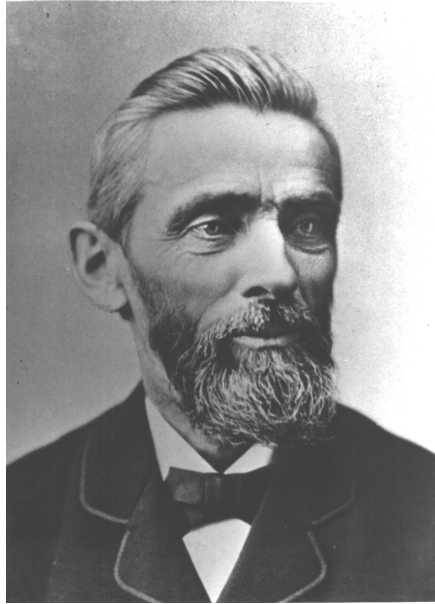
J. N. Andrews (1829-1883), one of the leaders of the effort to organize Adventists into a formal church, served on the General Conference Executive Committee during the 1860s. He later served as a General Conference president, 1867-1869, before establishing the Adventist work in Europe in 1874.

York. Since “funds were not furnished very abundantly for tent work,” he remembered, he worked four and one-half days per week in the fields during haying and harvest. This backbreaking labor earned him one dollar per day. At the end of the season the New York brethren gave Loughborough enough money to average four dollars per week, *if* he included what he had earned in the fields in that amount! Small wonder that he became “somewhat discouraged as to finances” and told his wife they would move to Waukon, where he could make a living through carpentry, preaching in the area as time and finances permitted.

The Whites were disturbed at the thought of losing prominent young ministers like Andrews and Loughborough. During a visit to northern Illinois late in 1856 Ellen received a vision depicting the Waukon Adventists as slipping into a state of religious apathy. Both she and James felt a burden to visit and encourage this group. In spite of adverse weather, two of their hosts offered to take them by sleigh the two hundred miles to Waukon. A few miles east of the Mississippi River the snow, which had been falling for days, turned to rain. They found the mushy river ice covered by nearly a foot of water. Local residents warned that it was unsafe to cross. But the group felt compelled to go on. Praying all the way, they cautiously crossed the river. Four days later they were in Waukon, thankful for the Lord’s deliverance.

Recruiting Ministers

One of the first persons the Whites met in Waukon was John Loughborough. “What doest thou here, Elijah?” Ellen



J. N. Loughborough (1832-1924) served with James White as one of the members of the first General Conference Executive Committee. Loughborough gave many years of leadership to the church as a preacher, administrator, and writer.

asked three times. Loughborough’s embarrassment was reflected in the less-than-enthusiastic welcome accorded the eastern visitors by the local Adventists. Rather grudgingly they agreed to call a meeting for the next night. During this service Ellen was taken into vision during which she received the message: “Return unto me,” saith the Lord, “and I will return unto thee, and heal all thy backslidings.”

Mary Loughborough was the first to respond to Ellen’s appeal. Others followed in rapid succession. During that night and the next several days there was a deep, spiritual revival in Waukon. When

the Whites and their companions returned east, John Loughborough went with them. The rest of that winter he labored in northern Illinois while Mary courageously remained in Waukon. Although Andrews's health was too poor for him to begin preaching immediately, he, too, was soon back on the gospel circuit.

Financial problems continued to plague the Adventist clergy. Such support as they received was entirely voluntary. For his first three months' labor after leaving Waukon Loughborough received board and room, a buffalo skin overcoat worth about ten dollars, and ten dollars in cash, a pitifully small amount for a winter's work. To save money, Loughborough walked the last twenty-six miles back to Waukon.

In 1857, with the United States suffering a financial depression, Loughborough's reward for a winter's work in Michigan consisted of three ten-pound cakes of maple sugar, ten bushels of wheat, five bushels of apples, five bushels of potatoes, a peck of beans, one ham, half of a hog, and four dollars in cash! Loughborough was fortunate at this time to have the use of the Whites' team of horses in his travels. Others, like J. H. Waggoner, walked. Lack of cash to replace worn shoes and clothing made a shabby appearance inevitable. How could men in this condition win converts to the three angels' messages?

Systematic Benevolence

In the spring of 1858 the Battle Creek congregation formed a study group, under the leadership of John Andrews,

to search the Bible for clues as to God's plan for the support of the ministry. Early in 1859 this group proposed a plan of systematic giving, which was approved by the Battle Creek church; soon it was being promoted through the columns of the *Review*. Later that year a general conference of advent believers meeting in Battle Creek recommended the system to all Adventists.

The Battle Creek brethren suggested that, following Paul's instructions in 1 Corinthians 16:2, every believer set aside a particular sum each "first day." Brethren were encouraged to pledge from five to twenty cents per week, the sisters from two to ten cents. An additional amount of up to five cents per week should be pledged for every \$100 worth of property owned. "Systematic Benevolence," or "Sister Betsy" as it was soon nicknamed, caught on rapidly, and immediately posed a new problem: to whom should the pledges be paid, and what should be done with the money received? The *Review* counseled each company of believers to appoint a treasurer, who should keep five dollars on hand for aiding itinerant preachers. The remainder might be sent to the state's evangelistic tent companies for expenses. John Loughborough's suggestion in 1861 that biblical tithing be introduced was apparently premature. In spite of James White's endorsement, it failed to attract wide support.

Just as collecting funds and paying preachers suggested the need for some kind of regular organization to handle these details, so an expanding number of believers called for an organization to

coordinate their efforts and promote their beliefs. The novelty of tent meetings was securing Adventist tent companies good crowds in more than half a dozen states. Lectures drew 1500 in a small Michigan community, and nearly 1000 gathered in more thinly populated Iowa. It was also possible to assemble larger numbers of advent believers for conferences: 250 in Battle Creek in 1857, and similar growth in attendance elsewhere.

Work Among Language Groups

The budding church was also beginning to reach some of the cultural subgroups in the United States. Two French-Canadian brothers, A. C. and D. T. Bordeau, joined the ranks of sabbatarian Adventists in 1856. Soon they started work among the French-speaking population of Quebec and Vermont. Over in Wisconsin contact was made with several Norwegian families who had been troubled over the question of the Sabbath even before immigrating to America. In spite of language difficulties Andrew Olsen and his wife soon became baptized sabbatarian Adventists. Thirty years later their son Ole would be General Conference president. Although several neighboring families joined the Olsens in their new faith, it was not until John G. Matteson, a Danish Baptist preacher, accepted Seventh-day Adventism in 1863, that work among Scandinavians really blossomed. This vigorous young Dane ranged widely over Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota in search of receptive fellow countrymen.

An Ohio tent meeting in 1857 was

responsible for the addition to Adventist ranks of one of the most colorful and enigmatic of recent immigrants. Michael Czechowski had been educated for the priesthood in his native Poland. Disillusioned with the corruption of some of his fellow clergy and in danger because of nationalistic political activities, Czechowski fled to Rome. An audience with Pope Gregory XVI further weakened, rather than strengthened, his faith in the Roman Church, although he continued as a priest for several more years. After he renounced the priesthood, his fear of Jesuit intrigues led him to flee to America. Here he was converted to Protestantism and eventually to Adventism. Czechowski's linguistic abilities were useful in work among French-speaking Canadians and New Englanders. By 1860 he had located in New York City. In that cultural melting pot, the priest-turned-Adventist established a congregation in Brooklyn, working for French, Poles, Italians, Germans, and Swedes. Still, Czechowski longed to return as a missionary to Italy and pleaded unsuccessfully with his brethren to send him.

It was hard for Bates, the Whites, Loughborough, and other Adventist leaders to turn their eyes eastward at this time. Opportunities seemed to beckon primarily in the West. "The fields are white in Michigan," James White wrote in 1857, "and in fact throughout the wide west." In tents in the summer and schoolhouses in the winter "Father" Bates, John Loughborough, Merritt Cornell, Joseph Waggoner, and a dozen other evangelists displayed their charts and captured the interest of hundreds. To those who had

known the scoffing and derision of the post-1844 years it was a heady experience. Even cold statistics confirmed the westward move of Adventist interest. While the *Review* gained only one subscriber in New England in 1858 and actually lost nine in New York, it gained 125 in Michigan and Ohio and 120 from farther west.

Growth Demands Headquarters Site

It was during a series of tent meetings in Greenvale, Illinois, that Moses Hull enthusiastically accepted the teachings of sabbatarian Adventists. His first sermon was preached during this same series. Soon he was helping Cornell in Iowa. Hull's natural eloquence and cogent reasoning attracted large crowds and led to a constant demand for his labors. Hull was not Cornell's only helper, for Angeline Lyon Cornell was a key member of the evangelistic team. Blessed with abundant energy and intelligence, Mrs. Cornell often braved the discomforts of constant travel and financial uncertainty to accompany her husband. Frequently after he had rolled up the tent and moved to a new town, she stayed behind to instruct and establish the interested ones in Adventist beliefs. In many ways she was the forerunner of the female Bible instructor, whose less-glamorous work was to do so much to increase Adventist membership.

As James White beheld the growing numbers of believers and considered the possibilities for further expansion, he was more and more convinced that events were calling for organization. Many of

his brethren continued to hesitate. Yet in spite of them the work was developing a nucleus, a nerve center, and that nerve center was the small Michigan village of Battle Creek.

Much had happened in Battle Creek since that day in 1852 when Joseph Bates came seeking "the most honest man in town." By the spring of 1853 there were eight Adventists meeting for Sabbath services in David Hewitt's parlor. Later that year Elder Joseph Frisbie and his wife joined the Hewitts in Battle Creek's west end. Frisbie's presence helped to quicken the community's interest in Adventism, an interest further stimulated by the initial Adventist tent meeting conducted by Loughborough and Cornell in 1854. By the spring of 1855 the Adventist company felt constrained to build its first meeting-house, capable of seating forty persons. About this time Adventists from eastern Michigan started to stream into Battle Creek: the Cornells, the Lyons, the Kelloggs. And then in the fall of 1855 the publishing office relocated here from Rochester; this added the James Whites, the S. T. Beldens, Uriah Smith, George Amadon, and several others.

The Whites, much on the move, put down roots in Battle Creek. Here in 1857 they built the first house they had ever owned, a modest six-room structure costing \$500. That year the local congregation constructed its second house of worship. Although it would be the mid-1860s before church membership in Battle Creek passed the one hundred mark, the brethren in 1857 demonstrated their faith by building a structure capable of seating 300. They wanted to host conferences

of believers from across the state and nation. Already Battle Creek thought of itself as the center of sabbatarian Adventism.

Splinter Groups

The 1850s were not years of unbroken progress toward unity; as early as 1853 a seemingly minor episode in Jackson, Michigan, led to the first definite split in sabbatarian Adventist ranks. H. S. Case and C. P. Russell, two advent preachers, became very vexed with one of the Jackson sisters for losing her temper in dealing with a difficult neighbor. They repeatedly called upon this sister to confess her error in using a vile name during the experience. The woman denied having used the word as charged; emotions rose as the congregation took sides.

At this juncture the Whites visited Jackson. In vision, Ellen saw that the woman had been wrong in losing her temper. Case and Russell, who had observed the vision and pronounced it genuine, were jubilant. Events of the following day, however, changed the picture. In a second vision Mrs. White was shown that the woman had not used the word as charged, but one that sounded like it. Ellen was also shown that the two preachers had exhibited a harsh and un-Christian manner; for this they were re-proved. Now the woman freely admitted her error, acknowledging that the facts were as Mrs. White had stated them. Stung by Ellen's rebuke, Case and Russell almost immediately began to challenge the validity of the visions and also Elder White's financial handling of the printing

office. The early mistaken ideas of the Whites relative to the "shut door" were cited as evidence that they could not be trusted in matters of doctrine.

To promote their charges Case and Russell launched a paper entitled *Messenger of Truth*. Upon Ellen White's recommendation this "Messenger Party" was largely ignored, and, as she predicted, the Messengers soon began disagreeing among themselves. Within a few years the paper was suspended.

Meanwhile a more serious defection had taken place in Wisconsin. Here J. M. Stephenson and D. P. Hall's views of the millennium were soon found to coincide with those of the "age-to-come" Adventists, who were numerous in the area. When their position was refuted in the *Review*, they, too, became bitter against the Whites. A temporary alliance with the Messenger Party resulted, and "age-to-come" theories blossomed in the *Messenger of Truth*. For a time it looked as if most of the Wisconsin believers would become disaffected. Soon, however, Stephenson and Hall renounced the Sabbath and consequently lost most of their following.

The Messenger Party and the Stephenson and Hall episode underlined the need for an organization with authority to deal with would-be heresy. Organization at the local level *had* begun at least as early as 1853 with the selection of deacons to officiate in the ordinances of Communion and foot washing. Infrequent visits by regular ministers had convinced most sabbatarian Adventists of the value of this tentative step. Bates and White had further taken the certifying and

ordination of ministers into their own hands. They issued primitive credentials signed by themselves as “leading ministers.”

Move Toward Organization

As it turned out, the question of the legal ownership of property—the church buildings and the publishing office—eventually propelled the Sabbath keepers into formal organization. Since the local congregations were not legal corporations, they could not hold title to the meeting houses built through their contributions. Such chapels were the legal property of the believer providing the building site. In case this person died or apostatized, real complications could develop. In Cincinnati when the owner of the lot on which the Adventist tabernacle was built became disaffected, he turned the little house dedicated to God into a vinegar factory!

To forestall similar difficulties some local groups began incorporating legally. Apparently the first was the sabbatarian band in Parkville, Michigan. In May 1860 it signed articles of association, using the name Parkville Church of Christ's Second Advent. Several months later the Fairfield, Iowa, congregation followed suit, but named itself “The Church of the Living God.”

With the choice of a name reflecting the individuality of local congregations, diversity was bound to be the rule. How could such diversity tend to unity of action in finishing the proclamation of the three angels' messages? The issue of a proper name became intricately bound up with

the idea of legal organization.

Throughout the first half of 1860 debate over organization increased. James White emphasized that as the general agent of the *Review* office, he was looked upon as its owner. This was true even though scores of believers from Maine to Wisconsin had invested money in the plant and its equipment. Yet such was the fear of some that any legal steps would be a “union of Christ with Caesar,” that R. F. Cottrell could write that those investing money in the office “lend it to the Lord, and they must trust the Lord for it. If he sees fit to let them lose it here, if they are faithful he will repay them hereafter.”

Such arguments tended to rouse James White's ire: “. . . we regard it dangerous to leave with the Lord what he has left with us, and thus sit down upon the stool of do little, or nothing,” he wrote. White was willing to leave the operation of nature with the Lord, “But if God in his everlasting word calls on us to *act the part of faithful stewards* of his goods, we had better attend to these matters in a legal manner—the only way we can handle real estate in this world.”

At the end of that summer, while most Americans were preoccupied with the presidential election campaign, James White called delegates to Battle Creek for a conference regarding the legal future of the publishing office. On September 29, 1860, representatives from at least five states began the most important business session sabbatarian Adventists had yet held. With Joseph Bates as their chairman, and Uriah Smith as secretary, they plunged into a full-scale discussion of organization. All agreed that whatever

was to be done must be biblical, but some refused to approve anything not specifically sanctioned in Scripture. Here was the trouble, for as James White wryly remarked, "I have not yet been able to find in the good book any suggestion in regard to [a] power press, running tents, or how Sabbath-keepers should hold their Office of publication."

Legal Status

After extended discussion, consensus developed that organization of believers into a legal association to hold property and transact business could be defended, even if organization as a church could not. Following the passage of a resolution recommending legal organization to congregations already constructing, or planning to construct, church buildings, Bates, as chairman, appointed a committee of three to bring in recommendations relative to the publishing office and a church name. Bates, who favored organization, astutely named two moderates, Andrews and Waggoner, along with T. J. Butler, a vigorous opponent of organization and name taking. This placed responsibility for suggesting a course of action directly on the hesitant.

Although unable to agree on any name to recommend, the committee did propose that the conference elect seven men to apply to the state legislature for an act enabling them to organize an Advent Review Publishing Association. After discussion clarified the delegates' expectations that the organizers would arrange for broad participation in the ownership and control of the office, the plan was

unanimously adopted. The conference named James White, J. H. Waggoner, J. N. Loughborough, G. W. Amadon, Uriah Smith, George Lay, and Dan Palmer to organize the association.

The Name Problem

By October 1 the delegates were ready to wrestle with the name problem. Some felt that choosing a name would make them just "another denomination." They were already classed as a denomination, James White replied, "and I do not know how we can prevent it, unless we disband and scatter, and give up the thing altogether." And White was right. Any group having a minimum amount of cohesion is looked upon by nonmembers as a separate entity. Convenience dictates that some name be applied to such a group. Sabbatarian Adventists had had many applied to them: "Seventh day people," "Seventh-day Doorshutters," "Sabbath-keeping Adventists," and "Shut-door Seventh-day Sabbath and Annihilationists," to name but a few. They even referred to themselves as "the remnant," "the scattered flock," or "the Church of God."

When the decision was at last made to recommend a name, "the Church of God" had many advocates. J. B. Frisbie had been promoting it since 1854; James White revealed it as his choice in the summer of 1860. T. J. Butler pressed for it, refusing to accept any other. But many others felt that "Church of God" sounded too presumptuous. Also it was already in use by other groups. The delegates favored a name that would quickly identify the major doctrines held. What better name than

Seventh-day Adventist? It had been applied to them as much as any other and had the virtue of clearly identifying the chief biblical truths they proclaimed.

David Hewitt finally seized the initiative and moved the adoption of the name Seventh-day Adventist. Only T. J. Butler opposed it to the bitter end, although several refused to vote either way. Throughout the conference Ellen White had kept in the background. Now, however, she gave a hearty endorsement to the name chosen. "The name Seventh-day Adventist carries the true features of our faith in front, and will convict the inquiring mind," Ellen wrote. "Like an arrow from the Lord's quiver it will wound the transgressors of God's law, and will lead toward repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."

The Structure

The roadblock to organization had been breached. From this point onward the movement toward a perfected denominational structure was steady. Not that all opposition collapsed; some persons remained so firmly convinced that any organization was Babylon that they severed their connections with Seventh-day Adventists. But most, like R. F. Cottrell, perhaps the most influential critic of organization, gracefully accepted the decisions made at the Battle Creek Conference.

It was in the opening days of the American Civil War that a small group of Seventh-day Adventists, gathered in Battle Creek, requested the nine ministers present to prepare recommendations for a plan of church organization. The minis-

ters' report, which appeared in the *Review* in June 1861, suggested three levels of organization: local churches, "State or district conferences," and finally, a general conference to represent all the churches and speak in their behalf.

Even before these recommendations appeared, the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association had been formally incorporated. The organizers decided to identify it clearly under the denominational name rather than that of the Advent Review as originally contemplated. The Association was a nonprofit corporation owned by all Adventist shareholders that subscribed ten dollars for a share. Each share entitled the holder to one vote, which might be exercised by proxy. Officers were elected annually. For the next twenty years, until his death in 1881, James White served as president and general manager of the Association.

The summer of 1861 saw federal troops repulsed by Southerners at Bull Run. For a time the Whites feared that the anti-organization forces would likewise repulse the onward move toward church organization. Returning from a trip through New York, Elder White reported that he was "stung with the thought that the balance of influence is either against, or silent upon, the subject of organization." Reports from the west indicated a coolness toward organization in that area as well.

First Conference Organized

But there was still support in the Adventist heartland. At a conference of Michigan believers in Battle Creek,

October 4-6, under the leadership of White, Loughborough, and Bates, steps were taken resulting in the formation of the Michigan Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. After carefully spelling out that the churches were to have no creed but the Bible, the conference participants recommended that in each congregation members sign a covenant that they were associating together, "as a church, taking the name Seventh-day Adventist, covenanting to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ." This signing of the covenant was long a major feature in the organization of a new church.

After a minimum of discussion, a simple state organization was recommended. To be known as a conference, a term already employed by the Methodists, its annual sessions were to be composed of ministers and delegates from all the churches in the state. Conference officials were kept to a minimum: a president, a clerk, and a three-man executive committee. The organizers directed their chairman, Joseph Bates, and clerk, Uriah Smith, to serve until the first annual meeting of the conference the following year. Loughborough, Cornell, and Hull were named as the first executive committee. The conference decided to issue credentials annually to the ministers serving within its boundaries so that congregations could be sure that a traveling preacher was what he claimed to be.

The example of the Michigan brethren proved contagious. Within a year six other conferences were organized. When churches in some areas hesitated, vigor-

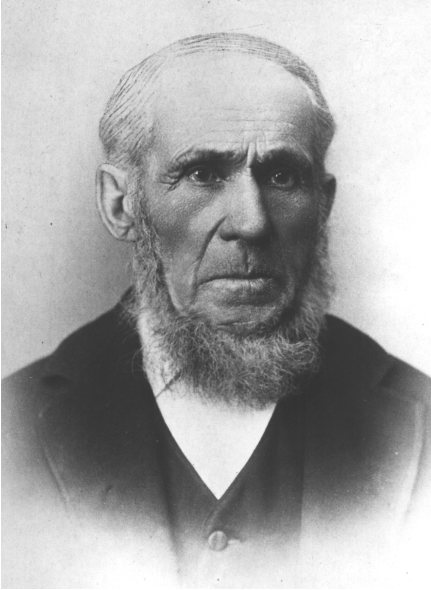
ous laymen prodded them into action. One such, Joseph Clarke, of Ohio, could not understand the hesitation of anti-organizationists. "Why don't you come up, to a man, in this business?" Clarke wrote in the *Review*. "When I think, after all that has been said and done on this matter, how Bro. White is tantalized, how the testimony is trampled on, how the church is trammelled, how the good Spirit is slighted, oh, it is provoking, it is sickening, it is discouraging, it is positively flat, nauseous as the lukewarm water from the stagnant pool."

The Michigan organizers had recognized that ministers and laymen had somewhat different roles to play in church organization. They had requested the ministers among them to carefully study Bible principles relative to organizing local churches and publish their recommendations in the *Review*. Like Michigan's organizing conference, this report set the pattern for the developing church. It recognized several different types of leaders. Once organized, the church should elect at least one elder and a deacon or deacons from among its membership. The local elder was to conduct baptisms and the Lord's Supper when no ordained minister was available. Deacons were to care for the temporal affairs of the church.

Laymen played an important role in these early years. At the first annual meeting of the Michigan Conference, layman William S. Higley was elected president for the ensuing term. This conference session also decided to pay ministers a regular salary and require regular reports of their activities.

The General Conference

Probably the most significant step taken by these Michigan brethren in 1862 was to invite the other newly organized state conferences to send delegates to meet with them during their 1863 annual conference, so that a general conference could be organized. This was an invitation to *conferences*, not individual churches. Thus the pattern was set for the indirect hierarchal structure adopted by the denomination. Representatives from five other states joined with Michigan



After serious soul-searching, Adventists decided in 1860 to organize themselves into a formal denomination and adopt the name Seventh-day Adventist. John Byington (1798-1887), a sixty-five-year-old former New England Methodist minister who also had been an abolitionist, became the first president of the General Conference in 1863.

delegates May 20-23, 1863, to adopt a constitution and elect officers for the General Conference. The constitution provided for a three-member executive committee, including the president, to have general supervision over all ministers and see that they were evenly distributed. It was commissioned also to foster missionary work and to authorize general calls for funds.

The conference nominating committee recognized James White's preeminent role in bringing Seventh-day Adventists into existence by inviting him to become General Conference president. James refused. He feared that having so long advocated organization, he would now be charged with having promoted it simply to gain power. The committee then turned to John Byington, who served two one-year terms as the denomination's first chief executive. Uriah Smith became General Conference secretary, with E. L. Walker, active in the cause of organization in Iowa, as treasurer. James White and John Loughborough were named to serve with Byington on the executive committee. Shortly thereafter this committee was enlarged to include J. N. Andrews and George W. Amadon, a pioneer publishing-house worker.

After a decade of debate the final step in organization had been completed in an atmosphere of optimism and good will. "Perhaps no previous meeting that we have ever enjoyed," Uriah Smith wrote, "was characterized by such unity of feeling and harmony of sentiment." It was well that this was so. Seventh-day Adventists were still only a tiny minority among American Christians, and the estimated

3500 members in 1863 were to be found all across the northern United States, from Maine to Minnesota and Missouri. With no more than thirty ministers to shepherd this scattered flock, many churches were not likely to see a minister from one year to the next.

Civil War

These were perilous times for a church to be born. Since the spring of 1861 the United States had been involved in the greatest crisis it had faced since assuming nationhood. The long debate over slavery had come to a climax in 1860, when Abraham Lincoln, pledged to stop the expansion of slavery into the territories, was elected President by a free-state majority. Fearful of what the future might hold, the states of the Deep South followed South Carolina in seceding from the Union. Lincoln and the Northern members of Congress refused to recognize the legality of such a course. The result was civil war: bloody, divisive, and tensely controversial.

Just how should Seventh-day Adventists relate to the war and the slavery controversy? Regarding slavery, Millerites in general had been reform-minded: Himes was a close associate of William Lloyd Garrison, and Joseph Bates had helped to organize an antislavery society in his hometown. The *Review* taught that "slavery is pointed out in the prophetic word as the darkest and most damning sin upon the nation." This attitude led to the exclusion of Adventist publications from the slave states.

Yet preoccupation with the immi-

nence of the Advent made it difficult for Adventists to devote time to abolition or other social reforms. Certain that Christ was coming soon, they believed that discarding slavery, intemperance, and other sins was part of becoming ready for that event. Yet they had no hope of eradicating sin prior to the Advent, and so expected slavery to exist right down to the end. They deplored the increasing political controversy, which distracted men from what was more important: preparation for the Second Coming.

Three months before hostilities actually began, Ellen White warned Adventists that secession would lead to a fearful war involving "large armies on both sides." She spoke of death and misery, both on the battlefield and in prisons, and identified church members who would lose loved ones in the war. These insights, given her during a vision at Parkville, Michigan, on January 12, 1861, contrasted with the view of most Northerners, who at this time expected a short-term rebellion. Lincoln's first call for 75,000 troops envisioned only a ninety-days' enlistment.

Attitudes Toward Conscription

In spite of their antislavery views, Seventh-day Adventists did not rush to volunteer for army duty. Among several reasons for this was their continuing understanding of Revelation 6:12-17 and Revelation 13. The United States was coming to its end, they believed, and this would also mean the end of the world. This was irrevocable; no one could delay God's prophetic timetable. Secondly, as

soldiers they would find it virtually impossible to keep the fourth and sixth commandments; their duty to obey God's law took precedence over a hatred for slavery and rebellion.

Some two weeks after the first battle of Bull Run, Ellen White received further enlightenment concerning the war. In an exciting vision of the battle she observed how angelic intervention prevented the Union forces from falling into a disastrous Confederate trap. By defeat God punished the North for so long tolerating slavery; yet He would not allow either side to triumph quickly, she believed.

As the war dragged on, more and more soldiers were needed. The hesitancy of Seventh-day Adventists to volunteer caused comment and suspicion among their neighbors. Within Adventist ranks three groups developed: a few warhawks favored vigorous participation in the war in order to end slavery; some pacifists maintained their willingness to accept martyrdom or imprisonment rather than to participate in any war effort; a third group would serve, but only if spared the necessity of bearing arms and killing.

By the fall of 1862 government conscription was considered the solution for the army's manpower needs. This led James White to publish an extended exposition of the Adventist viewpoint in the *Review*. He pointed out that Adventists who had voted in 1860 had "to a man" supported Abraham Lincoln; they detested slavery and had no sympathy for rebellion. Having thus demonstrated Adventist loyalty to the government, he explained why they felt unable to

participate in military life.

National conscription, James White suggested, might alter the situation somewhat, for "in the case of drafting, the government assumes the responsibility for the violating of the law of God." To resist a possible draft was "madness" and would go "too far, we think in taking the responsibility of suicide."

Elder White's editorial precipitated a deluge of letters to the *Review*. Both extreme abolitionists and extreme pacifists denounced his stand. Others questioned the idea of state responsibility for individual acts in violation of conscience. White soon admitted that a possible draft law was a "most perplexing subject." In actuality, White seems during the fall of 1862 to have been feeling his way toward a position of noncombatancy; his initial *Review* article can be viewed as a kind of "trial balloon" to elicit public discussion on this controversial topic. Stung by the severity of his pacifist critics, he felt they were determined to "get up a little war" of their own on this issue.

A middle-of-the-road position gradually emerged out of the debate. Prominent ministers like J. H. Waggoner and J. N. Loughborough fell into line to support Elder White's emerging position that (1) Seventh-day Adventists should not resist being drafted, but (2) they should also not take up arms. Throughout the discussion Ellen White remained silent. Many church members hoped she would speak out authoritatively; instead she confined herself to warnings against fanatical positions and a statement that "God's people . . . cannot engage in this perplexing war, for it is opposed to every principle of

their faith.” To participate would lead to a “continual violation of conscience.” At the same time she sternly rebuked pacifistic Adventists in Iowa, who had petitioned the legislature to recognize their position. They should petition the Lord instead and trust Him to work out their problems.

As the Civil War dragged on, the government found it increasingly difficult to recruit enough soldiers to meet the army’s needs. In an effort to avoid resorting to conscription, federal, state, and local governments stepped up the bounty campaign promoted since early in the war. By the offer of cash inducements for enlistment many men were persuaded to volunteer. Seventh-day Adventist leaders cooperated in the bounty campaign in Battle Creek. James White and John P. Kellogg served on a local committee charged with soliciting funds to pay for bounties; in at least one instance Merritt Cornell allowed the use of his evangelistic tent for rallies designed to encourage enlistment. Such actions did not escape criticism within Adventist ranks, but the leaders felt justified in giving as much support as possible to the government.

On March 3, 1863, Congress passed the nation’s first conscription law. All able-bodied males from age twenty to forty-five were made liable for military service. No provision was made for conscientious objectors or for noncombatant service. Congress did provide two loopholes: a draftee might escape service through furnishing a substitute or by purchasing an exemption, which cost \$300. To Adventists this was providential.

Raising the \$300 exemption money

was far from easy for most Adventists, drawn as they were from among farmers, craftsmen, and small-time merchants. James White and other leaders actively encouraged all members to share the financial load of brothers who found it necessary to raise the commutation fee. Better to mortgage your property, White wrote, than to be drafted or to use the necessity of raising exemption money as an excuse to decrease financial support of the church.

Largely through the efforts of the Quakers, Congress finally amended the conscription law in February 1864. Henceforth, conscientious objectors who were drafted might be assigned duty in hospitals or in caring for liberated former slaves. While Seventh-day Adventists welcomed this new development, most of them continued to take advantage of the commutation provision. Suddenly, in July of 1864, this option was jeopardized when Congress eliminated commutation except for recognized conscientious objectors. Would Seventh-day Adventists, an infant church actually organized during the war years, be so recognized?

A trio of Adventist ministers presented Governor Austin Blair of Michigan with an official statement, prepared by the General Conference Committee, containing the reasons why Seventh-day Adventists should be recognized as noncombatants. They carried letters of commendation from prominent Battle Creek citizens testifying to Adventists’ loyalty and Christian integrity. Blair’s courteous reception and his willingness to acknowledge that Seventh-day Adventists were “entitled to all immunities

secured by law to those who are conscientiously opposed to bearing arms, or engaging in war,” caused similar petitions to be presented to the governors of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Friendly confirmation of Adventists’ eligibility in these states also helped set the stage for an appeal to the Federal Government.

John N. Andrews was chosen by the General Conference Committee to carry the case to Washington. There, on August 30, 1864, he met with Provost Marshall General James B. Fry. Andrews carried a pamphlet entitled “The Draft,” which the General Conference had recently published as an explanation of Seventh-day Adventists’ non-combatant position. He also presented Governor Blair’s endorsement of Adventist views. After examining these and supporting documents, General Fry assured Andrews that he would issue orders to his subordinates to recognize all Seventh-day Adventists who established proof of church membership as noncombatants. Andrews considered his mission a success.

But Andrews’s optimism was premature; many local commanders had no sympathy for conscientious objectors of any kind. Adventist draftees frequently found themselves threatened with the guardhouse or immediate assignment to a front-line position, with or without a gun. Fortunately, the war was approaching its end, although this was not readily apparent at the time. Lincoln’s call for 300,000 additional draftees in early 1865 “appalled” Adventist leaders. To purchase commutations for all Adventists who might be called would be a real

problem. Yet the experiences of recent draftees did not augur well for Adventist noncombatants.

At James White’s suggestion the General Conference Committee appointed the second Sabbath in February 1865 as a day of special fasting and prayer both for Adventist soldiers and the speedy termination of the war. Realizing that \$25,000 might be needed to pay commutation fees for members of the Battle Creek Adventist congregation alone, church officials feared the virtual suspension of their work. A further call was made that March 1-4 be devoted to “earnest and importunate prayer” for an improvement in the situation. Church members needed no further urging. The days designated became a period of genuine spiritual revival. Within six weeks Lee had surrendered, and the war was over. With the nation, Adventists rejoiced; many felt they had seen a direct answer to prayer.

During the final tense months of the war several Adventist soldiers who enlisted voluntarily found themselves deprived of church membership. One of these men had been a member of the headquarters church in Battle Creek. Notice of their dismissal was boldly published in the *Review*. Quite likely church officials had decided that the status of the majority of Adventists, who preferred noncombatant service, should not be questioned by government officials who might learn that some Adventists were enlisting in the regular service.

The decade following the relocation of the *Review* office in Battle Creek had been a tumultuous one for Seventh-day

Adventists. Their long suspicion of organization had at last been overcome. They had thrashed out a common position relative to military service in the most difficult of days and in the midst

of a war about whose issues they felt strongly. In the process they became convinced that the Lord had much more for them to do before His return than they had at first imagined.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Organizational issues:

C. C. Crisler, *Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place, and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (1938), pp. 11-110, accents the views of Ellen and James White on the matter of organization.

Godfrey T. Anderson, "Make Us a Name," *Adventist Heritage*, vol. 1, no. 2 (July 1974), pp. 28-34, discusses the debate over adopting a denominational name.

_____, "Sectarianism and Organization, 1846-1864," in *Adventism in America* (1986), Gary Land, ed., correlates the development of doctrine and the need to organize.

J. N. Loughborough, *The Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1892), pp. 210-254, includes what the author, as a participant in denominational organization, recalls about the movement.

Arthur White, *The Early Years* (1985), vol. 1 of *Ellen G. White*, chaps. 28, 30, 31, and *The Progressive Years* (1986), vol. 2 of *ibid.*, chaps. 2, 3 discuss the struggles of initial denominational organization and its relationship to the American Civil War and noncombatancy.

Noncombatancy:

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 1 (1961), pp. 279-33, gives an excellent flavor of both the organizational movement and the issue of noncombatancy.

P. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States* (1968), pp. 843-861, is a brief but useful account of this issue.

Becoming Health Reformers

“You have lost your baby, I hear,” said one gentleman to another.

“Yes, poor thing! It was only five months old. We did all we could for it. We had four doctors, blistered its head and feet, put mustard poultices all over it, gave it nine calomel powders, leeches its temples, had it bled, gave it all kinds of medicines, and yet, after a week’s illness, it died.”

Although the foregoing account makes nineteenth-century American medical practice look worse than it generally was in 1875, it is a fair picture of the primitive measures in use a quarter century earlier. If a mid-century physician had formal professional education, it was limited to a few months of lectures that included little or no laboratory or clinical experience. More frequently he simply apprenticed himself to an established practitioner. Lacking any

real knowledge of the causes of disease, how it spread, or of the value of sanitary procedures, doctors freely prescribed a wide variety of dangerous drugs on a trial-and-error basis. Meanwhile the average American consumed huge quantities of patent medicines and old Indian remedies.

In antebellum times Americans suffered widely from a host of diseases virtually unknown to their late-twentieth-century descendants: typhoid fever, diphtheria, malaria, tuberculosis. With the science of nutrition still decades away, they were almost constantly plagued with dyspepsia and other stomach complaints. How could they know that excessive grease, pastries, fried foods, meat and refined flours were the culprits?

It was against this background that Sylvester Graham and William Alcott had in the 1830s called for a reformed diet

and reliance on bathing, exercise, rest, and the abandonment of alcohol, tea and coffee to improve health. In such circumstances Dr. Joel Shew's *Water Cure Journal*, launched in 1845, did not seem unreasonable to many, especially after the facile pen of Russell T. Trall began to promote the wonders of hydropathy.

By 1850, however, the debate over slavery so preoccupied Americans that health reformers found it increasingly difficult to gain a hearing. Problems of Civil War and Reconstruction dominated the next decades. Coincidentally, American medical care began to improve while many poorly administered "water-cures" faltered. Health reform appeared to be on the way out.

Joseph Bates

One could hardly expect early sabbatarian Adventists to be interested in the virtues of vegetarianism, cold- and hot-water packs, exercise and sunshine. They were too busy proclaiming the imminence of the Advent, studying the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, and groping their way toward a formal organization. Yet one of their patriarchs, Captain Joseph Bates, had discovered the value of altered habits in promoting better health during his Millerite days. His elastic step, straight back, and the energy with which he roamed from Massachusetts to Wisconsin must have caused some of his Adventist friends to wonder if there might not be some connection between the captain's dietary practices and his youthful vigor.

It was during his days on the sea

that Bates began to abandon practices he found harmful to health and moral character. Although for several years he lapsed from an early resolution not to drink strong liquor, in 1821 he forsook it permanently. Bates found that he was anticipating the single glass he allowed himself daily at dinner with more longing than he felt for food. This he recognized as dangerous. The next year wine was added to his proscribed list. Shortly thereafter Bates and a colleague decided to free themselves of tobacco.

All of this preceded Captain Bates's surrender of his life to Christ. Bates became a member of the Fairhaven, Massachusetts, Christian church. Following his baptism he suggested that the pastor join him in organizing a local temperance society. Although this proposal received a cool reception, Bates began canvassing friends and acquaintances and in 1827 helped to organize one of the first temperance societies in the nation. The captain's final voyage was made memorable by his refusing to provide the usual grog rations for his crew.

Shortly after retiring from the sea at the age of thirty-five, Joseph Bates and his wife attended a social function at which tea stronger than they were used to was served. That night Joseph could not sleep until after midnight. As a result, he stopped using both tea and coffee. A decade later Bates was caught up in the Millerite movement. As the year Christ was expected to return approached, Bates modified his diet drastically. He renounced the use of meat, butter, cheese, grease, pies, and rich cakes. Just what precipitated this change is not clear. It

may have come from his reading of Sylvester Graham; or perhaps he came into contact with Dr. L. B. Coles, Adventist physician and lecturer, who was a leading synthesizer of health-reform doctrine.

For a brief time in 1845 Captain Bates restricted his diet solely to bread and water. Although he later again included fruits, vegetables, nuts and cereals, water remained the only beverage he drank. This abstemiousness seemed to improve rather than impair his health. Although the Whites, Loughborough, Uriah Smith, and most of the other Seventh-day Adventist leaders were plagued with frequent poor health, Bates largely avoided this fate for most of his eighty years. While he made no point of urging his dietary practices until Ellen White received her health visions, his quiet witness must have impressed his associates.

Alcohol and Tobacco

Although the body of health reform teachings had not been widely accepted by Adventists in the 1840s and 50s, it was a different story when it came to temperance. No one would want to meet Christ in a drunken state; thus, hard liquor was banned. A somewhat different attitude was taken toward homemade beverages of small alcoholic content. John Harvey Kellogg remembered that during his boyhood a keg of ale, for a “weak stomach,” was kept in the family basement. “Domestic wine” was also allowed in small amounts for medicinal purposes and for use during Communion. This was at a time preceding a common knowledge of

how to preserve grape juice free from fermentation. But even domestic wine could lead to drunkenness, as an embarrassing case at the Health Reform Institute in 1873 demonstrated. Gradually Adventists learned that the “teetotal” way was the only safe one.

As early as the fall of 1848 Ellen White had been shown the harmful effects of tobacco, tea and coffee. Although the Whites did not launch a vigorous crusade against these items immediately, Ellen did not hesitate to characterize tobacco as “a filthy weed” that “must be laid aside or given up.” Elder Bates did press believers to abandon tobacco, and with considerable success. Reporting on his travels in 1849, the captain wrote, “The pipes and tobacco are traveling out of sight fast. . . . Nothing must be too dear or precious to let go in aid of the cause now.” This last sentence touches on a point made during those early years even more frequently than the health dangers of tobacco, tea and coffee. How could Adventists, with limited means, waste money on items that did them no good, when the need for funds to spread the three angels’ messages was so great?

By late 1853, the *Review and Herald* began to take a strong position against tobacco, and only a slightly more moderate stance toward tea and coffee. In addition to economic and health arguments, a religious one was added. Tobacco impaired the mental faculties; thus “the person that uses tobacco, cannot be as good a Christian as he could be without it.” A little later, James White characterized the tobacco habit as a “God-dishonoring practice.” Yet when in 1855

the sabbatarian Adventists in Vermont voted to withdraw “the hand of fellowship” from tobacco users, this action caused considerable resistance. The following year they modified their stand to one of laboring “in the spirit of meekness” to persuade those who indulged in tobacco “to abstain from this evil.”

Dietary Reform

Even before the battle against tobacco, tea and coffee was won, Ellen White began to broaden her call for Adventists to make changes to improve their health. In vision she was shown that Sabbath keepers were to exhibit a higher standard of cleanliness and to refrain from making “a god of their bellies.” Mrs. White recommended more “coarse food, free from grease,” in place of the rich foods too frequently eaten.

Making recommendations as to what church members should or should not eat was to move into a delicate area. Food preferences are strongly, and not always rationally, held. The pattern of a person’s diet grows gradually from childhood. To upset it precipitously can trigger strong objections. The Whites themselves had demonstrated this when some of the “little flock” had begun to suggest as early as 1850 that swine’s flesh be abandoned as food. James did not object to individuals following such a course. He even agreed that “too free and abundant use” of pork or other animal foods “clogs and stupefies the mind,” but he did not favor making an issue of the matter. When the issue of pork eating was revived by several in the late 1850s, Ellen White took

a similar position. “If it is the duty of the church to abstain from swine’s flesh,” she wrote, “God will discover it to more than two or three. He will teach His *church* their duty.”

Hydrotherapy

During the early winter months of 1863 events within their own family helped to prepare the Whites for another advance in healthful living. A diphtheria epidemic was sweeping the nation. Two of the White boys suddenly developed all the symptoms of the disease: sore throat, hoarseness, and a high fever. Coincidentally, someone called Elder White’s attention to a newspaper item in which Dr. James C. Jackson, one of the most prominent health reformers and hydrotherapy advocates, outlined a treatment for diphtheria. Instead of drugs, it relied on a system of hot baths and cooling packs, a moderate liquid diet, plentiful drinking of water and thorough ventilation of the sickroom, all combined with rest and careful nursing. The Whites decided to follow Jackson’s prescription. Their sons made a satisfactory recovery, and when Ellen was called to assist a neighbor’s child with the same symptoms, she found the procedures again successful. Here was a vivid demonstration of the usefulness of natural remedies.

From this time on, Elder White showed increased interest in practices for improving health and combating disease. He reprinted Jackson’s article in the *Review*. In subsequent weeks it was followed by others from reformers Dio Lewis and W. W. Hall stressing the role of proper

dress, diet, rest and ventilation in maintaining health.

Light From Above

During the spring of 1863, however, James White was mainly interested in perfecting the organizational structure of the church. Shortly after this was accomplished, with a group of other Battle Creek believers, the Whites drove to Otsego, Michigan, to lend support to the tent effort being conducted there by R. J. Lawrence and M. E. Cornell. The Whites spent the weekend with the Hilliard family several miles out of town. During family worship on the evening of June 5, Ellen was invited to lead out in the prayer service. In the midst of her prayer she was suddenly given a vision which was to have tremendous implications for the work and teachings of Seventh-day Adventists.

It was during this Otsego vision, lasting some forty-five minutes, that the “great subject of Health Reform” was sketched in broad outline before Mrs. White. She saw that temperance included far more than the simple abandonment of liquor. It extended to working and eating as well. Pure, soft water was revealed to be a much better medicine than the many drugs in general use. A meatless diet was the most healthful. Of basic importance was the idea that “it was a sacred duty to attend to our health, and arouse others to their duty.”

As with the seventh-day Sabbath and the heavenly sanctuary, the health reform vision did not reveal an entirely new and unique viewpoint. All the major points

emphasized had been discovered by persons like Graham, Coles, and Trall. The vision did convey to Seventh-day Adventists the divine approval of natural remedies over drugs and of a balanced health program including diet, exercise, fresh air, rest, sunshine and the curative powers of water. James White’s interest was so stimulated that he sent to Dr. J. C. Jackson in Dansville, New York, requesting that up to twenty-five dollars’ worth of health literature be sent him.

Ellen White was eager to share the ideas revealed at Otsego as she traveled throughout Michigan, New York and New England that summer of 1863. Soon, observant listeners began commenting on the similarities between her views on health and the ideas expressed in books by Drs. Trall, Jackson and others. She was asked if she had read Jackson’s paper *The Laws of Life* or any of the major health reform treatises. “No!” Ellen replied. Nor did she intend to until she had written out the major ideas seen in vision. She was determined that no one would say “that I had received my light upon the subject of health from physicians and not from the Lord.”

Part of the Otsego vision had been devoted to specific counsel to James and Ellen relative to their own health problems. They were to curb their intemperate labors in speaking and writing. James was not to let his mind dwell on the uncooperativeness of some of his associates. Gloomy thoughts were having an adverse effect on him physically. As the Whites attempted to heed these instructions, Ellen also was busy reforming her family’s diet. Two meals per day—at

seven and one—were instituted. Whole wheat bread, fruit, and vegetables replaced the flesh foods upon which they had depended so heavily. All this was not accomplished without a struggle. Mrs. White, until now a great meat eater, at first could not persuade her stomach to tolerate bread in its place. But persistence paid off; soon “plain food” was “enjoyed with keen relish.”

In the fall of 1863, Mrs. White’s concern as a mother was shown in a small published pamphlet, “An Appeal to Mothers.” Phrased in delicate Victorian language, its theme was the physical and moral dangers inherent to children who practiced “solitary vice” and masturbation. Ellen clearly indicated that according to the light the Lord had given her there was a relationship between diet and the spiritual and moral life. She appealed for her readers to “dispense with animal food, and use grains, vegetables and fruits . . .” in their place.

It was not always easy to put the new reform ideas into practice. During the fall of 1863, while the Whites with their sons were visiting family and friends in Maine, Henry was stricken with pneumonia. Conventional treatment by a trusted local physician proved unavailing. The boy died. Hardly had the grieving parents buried their firstborn, when Willie, the youngest, also contracted pneumonia. This time James and Ellen decided to try simple water treatments rather than rely on a drug-prescribing doctor. For five days they battled. Willie’s life hung in the balance. When the exhausted mother attempted to snatch a few hours of sleep, she found herself feeling stifled

and oppressed. After opening the door to her chamber, she fell into a quiet sleep and received a reassuring dream. Willie would recover. He needed fresh air just as she had before she could sleep. Upon awakening she followed what she considered divine promptings. Willie did recover. Soon Ellen was being called upon to nurse ill friends and neighbors. And she found that the natural agencies she had been instructed to use in June proved very effective.

With the press of church and family responsibilities, it was more than a year before Ellen White found opportunity to write a fairly extensive account of the health principles revealed in her Otsego vision. At the end of the summer of 1864 a thirty-two-page chapter on health appeared in volume four of her *Spiritual Gifts*. Here was found the first published condemnation of pork as a food, along with counsel advising the substitution of a “plain, wholesome diet” of vegetables, fruits, nuts, grains and legumes for meat, condiments and rich pastries. Readers were urged to consider a two-meal-per-day plan as superior to the usual three. Mrs. White concluded the article with a strong condemnation of drugs.

Visit to Dansville

Now that Ellen had sketched out the major points of health reform, the Whites were ready to visit Dansville, New York, to observe the reforms being practiced there in Dr. Jackson’s “Our Home on the Hillside.” Other Adventists had already provided glowing accounts of the Dansville establishment. The Whites

spent three weeks at Dansville. Since their health was then better than usual—the fruitage of the reforms they had adopted—they took no treatments but listened to Jackson’s health lectures, observed the variety of baths and packs prescribed, and tasted the hygienic food served.

Since the harmful effects of the prevailing styles in women’s dress had been called to her attention in the June 5, 1863, vision, Ellen was particularly interested in the reform dress in use at “Our Home.” She believed that, with some modifications, it could be recommended to her Adventist sisters as much more healthful than the heavy skirts, tight waists, and hoops then in fashion. The Whites, however, did not endorse the entire program at Dansville. The dances, card-playing, and amateur theatricals, which formed a large part of Dr. Jackson’s recreational program, seemed too “worldly.” “Those with religious principles,” Ellen wrote later, “must carry along with them at all times the gospel sieve and sift everything they hear that they may choose the good and refuse the bad.”

Upon their return to Battle Creek the Whites began preparing a series of six pamphlets entitled *Health or How to Live*. Each contained an article from Ellen’s pen devoted to a specific topic: diet, water treatments, the dangers of drugs, fresh air, healthful clothing, or proper exercise. By now James and Ellen had familiarized themselves with the writings of earlier health reformers. In each of the *How to Live* series they included lengthy extracts from the works of Graham, Coles, Dio Lewis and other advocates of a “natural”

health program. Ellen had been surprised to find many of the ideas of these men “so nearly in harmony with what the Lord has revealed to me.”

Women’s Dress

In the early 1850s, Elizabeth Miller, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Amelia Bloomer pioneered in developing a radically new style of dress for women. In place of hoops or a multiplicity of long skirts they suggested trousers and a short skirt. This costume was in some respects similar to the pantsuits American women accepted enthusiastically a century later. In the 1850s, however, the reform costume was viewed by most as too radical. Wearers were subject to ridicule and scorn. Nevertheless, it was adopted by the more dedicated women’s rights leaders and health reformers like Dr. Harriet Austin, an associate of Jackson at Dansville.

The particular style of reform dress adopted by Dr. Austin came to be known as “the American costume.” Its tailored top, sometimes accompanied by a vest, appeared too masculine to Ellen White. She also feared that Seventh-day Adventist women who adopted this style might be mistaken for Spiritualists, many of whom were wearing it. In Ellen’s view the skirt part of the American Costume was too short. Clearly, modifications must be made before it could be acceptable for Adventist sisters.

As early as 1861 Ellen White had written Mary Loughborough that hoops were “one of the abominations of the land that God would have us utterly discard.”

Now, in 1865, with the help of friends in Battle Creek, Ellen set out to prepare patterns for an acceptable reform dress. It must retain its femininity while at the same time freeing the hips and waist from the dragging skirts. The dress part should be modest, reaching about midway between knee and ankle. Below this, trousers, extending to the shoe, would provide warmth for the legs. After simple patterns had been constructed, they were advertised in the *Review*; and Ellen carried a supply with her on her travels.

During the last half of the 1860s this reform dress was a lively topic of discussion in Adventist circles. Many found their health improved after adopting it. Others reported violent opposition from friends and family. There was endless quibbling over the exact length of the dress. In later years Mrs. White remembered that the reform dress had been “a battle at every step,” and a cause of “dissension and discord”; “that which was given as a blessing was turned into a curse.” Ellen stopped promoting any particular style, urging only that Seventh-day Adventist women “adopt a simple, unadorned dress, of modest length.” There were more important things for which to battle.

James White's Illness

In Ellen White's case one of these more important things was her husband's health. During the spring of 1865 James White had agreed to become president of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference. In preceding months he had stretched himself to help Ellen prepare the

How to Live series. Unfortunately, James found it difficult to practice his wife's instruction regarding moderation in work. On August 16, 1865, he suffered a severe paralytic stroke.

During the next few days there was much earnest prayer, but only slight improvement in Elder White's condition. For nearly five weeks Ellen utilized hydro-pathic and mild electrical treatments, with little apparent success. Finally, too weak to continue, Ellen decided to take James to Dansville for treatment by Dr. Jackson. She was accompanied by two other ailing Adventist leaders, J. N. Loughborough and Uriah Smith.

Dr. Jackson was hopeful that Elder White would recover completely after six to eight months of treatments. But after a few weeks of faithfully following Jackson's prescribed baths, exercises, and diet, there was little noticeable improvement. Frequently only prayer helped the elder to relax enough to sleep. Since Jackson considered that James's stroke had been precipitated by excessive attention to religious matters, he decided his patient should not participate in the thrice-daily prayer services the Adventist group were conducting. Instead, he should be diverted by carefree amusements and complete inactivity.

Ellen White disagreed with this Jackson prescription. After three months at Dansville she decided to remove the still-ailing James to the home of friends in nearby Rochester. There, during a Christmas night prayer service, Ellen experienced another important vision. In it Adventists were reproved for having been too slow in following earlier counsel rela-

tive to changes in diet, hygiene and health care. She saw that the health teachings were to be as closely incorporated in the Adventists' religious witness "as the arm and hand with the human body." The time had come for the church to cease relying on popular health institutions and develop its own. In such an establishment the Adventist sick could receive proper treatment, and all could learn how to care for their bodies so as to prevent illness.

In spite of many prayers for his recovery, James White experienced no miraculous, sudden healing. Back in Battle Creek once more, Ellen encouraged him to visit friends and to participate in week-end services in the small towns of central Michigan. Her associates feared she was pushing James too hard; but, as a result of her visions, Ellen believed some activity was necessary in her husband's case. Very slowly his health improved. Yet when Ellen urged the 1866 General Conference to develop its own health institution and make an earnest effort to inform the church concerning proper health habits, James, although still General Conference president, was not able to assume responsibility for implementing the conference's decisions. This role had to be taken over by others who would lead out in a great era of expansion.

The Health Reformer

By the end of the summer of 1866 two major results were traceable to Ellen White's appeal that the General Conference become actively involved in educating Adventists along health lines. In August, a new sixteen-page monthly

journal, *The Health Reformer*, appeared. The following month the Western Health Reform Institute opened its doors in the former residence of Judge Graves in Battle Creek's West End. Dr. H. S. Lay, fresh from several years' service on Jackson's staff, was a key figure in both.

The major problem facing *Health Reformer* editor Lay was securing contributors. With few Adventist physicians, he had to rely primarily on Adventist ministers for copy. Necessarily, they wrote on the basis of experience and faith in divine revelation rather than from professional competence. Lay assured any nervous readers, however, that all articles were "examined professionally and endorsed, before they are laid before the reader."

Western Health Reform Institute

Since James White, Adventism's most experienced and efficient fund raiser, was virtually out of action, J. N. Loughborough rather hesitantly set out to canvass Battle Creek Adventists for funds to start the Western Health Reform Institute. Strategically, he chose to approach John P. Kellogg first. Kellogg had been a major financial backer of both tent evangelism and the relocation of the publishing plant in Battle Creek. He proved ready to help the health institute as well. Taking Loughborough's subscription list, he boldly inscribed his name and after it \$500. That contribution, Kellogg avowed, was "a seed to start the institution, sink or swim." Ellen White also pledged \$500, and soon others in Battle Creek raised the total to \$1825. Over in New York state J. N. Andrews secured another \$800 in pledges.

BECOMING HEALTH REFORMERS

When the institute opened, it had “two doctors, two bath attendants, one nurse (untrained), three or four helpers, one patient, any amount of inconveniences and a great deal of faith in the future.” The two doctors—H. S. Lay and Phoebe Lamson—were both alumni of Dansville. Two months later Lay reported that patients from nine different states and Canada were at the institute. It was necessary to rent additional rooms in the neighborhood to house ambulatory patients.

Even before incorporation was accomplished in the spring of 1867, the institute’s managers were developing expansive plans for the future. Dr. Lay called for the subscription of \$25,000 to construct a large, new building. Soon, he was being echoed by Elders Loughborough and Uriah Smith. The latter pressed

Ellen White to publish a call for believers to back the institute. Reluctantly she complied.

Reluctantly, because Ellen feared too rapid expansion. She was already concerned over the tendency for Dansville-type amusements to creep into Battle Creek. She knew that many other hygienic institutions had enjoyed brief success only to go down in failure. She also had strong reservations about profiting from people’s illnesses. The Whites believed any institute profits should be set aside to support treatment for those unable to pay. In the spring of 1868 they persuaded most institute stockholders to sign agreements assigning their share of future profits for charitable use.

While the institute directors were beginning to dream expansive dreams, Ellen



Led by the Whites, J. N. Loughborough, J. H. Kellogg, and other leaders, Adventists founded the Western Health Reform Institute in 1867 in Battle Creek. This 1868 photo shows women wearing the Adventist version of the reform dress.

White was again engaged in her own personal struggle for the complete recovery of her husband. He had improved during the spring and summer of 1866, but with the onset of winter and confinement indoors, he once more sank into despondency. Ellen decided he should visit the churches of northern Michigan, and in mid-December they embarked in an open sleigh in the midst of a heavy snowstorm. Activity helped to dispel James's depression. By spring Ellen was convinced that outdoor labor would benefit him even more. So the Whites purchased a small farm near Greenville, Michigan. There, sometimes only with great ingenuity, Ellen kept James engaged in physical labor in the fresh air and sunshine. By summer's end he was more nearly his old, vigorous self.

During the summer of 1867, work began on a large, new building for the Health Reform Institute. Then suddenly it was stopped. Counsel from the Whites prevailed, and the directors dismantled what had been done and sold the construction materials previously secured. At the time it seemed to many a strange business; in retrospect it appears fortunate that this sudden expansion did not take place. The institute lacked both the medical and business personnel to manage an establishment with the 300 patients Dr. Lay envisioned. Lay and his associates were self-trained physicians with little or no professional medical education. Among Seventh-day Adventists James White was virtually the only one with any experience in managing a large financial enterprise. In 1867 he was in no condition to assume such burdens.

The financial picture at the institute became quite bleak during its second and third years of operation. In part this was traceable to a decision to accept needy Seventh-day Adventists at half rates. Soon this class flooded the institute to the virtual exclusion of other patients. After three years of operation the institute was \$13,000 in debt.

An end to the decline of the institute coincided with the election of James White as president of its Board of Directors in the spring of 1870. Several Adventist businessmen, including J. P. Kellogg, were also added to the board at this time. Dr. Lay, rendered increasingly ineffective by family problems, returned to private practice in Allegan, Michigan.

Although both the financial picture at the institute and its patronage gradually improved, growth was not dramatic. Elder White was convinced that the problem lay in securing a more energetic and better-trained medical staff. At the same time, the doctors must be fully committed to the reform program, for Mrs. White had received instruction that health reform was "one branch of the great work which is to fit a people for the coming of the Lord."

For a time Elder White thought that J. P. Kellogg's eldest son, Merritt, might be just what the institute needed. Merritt had settled in California in 1859, and as a layman raised up the first Seventh-day Adventist congregation in that state. In an attempt to increase his effectiveness, he later returned east to take a six-month medical course at Dr. R. T. Trall's Hygieo-Therapeutic College.

But Merritt Kellogg was not in Battle Creek long before he decided that his

medical education was not equal to the challenge of directing the institute's program. He proposed returning to Trall's for a repeat course. Already forty, he also recognized the advantage of taking younger students with him. James White saw light in this. He was willing to send his own two sons, Edson and Willie (Edson had for some time thought of becoming a doctor) and Jennie Trembley, an editorial assistant on *The Health Reformer*. But both Kellogg and Elder White had their eyes primarily on another recruit—Merritt's twenty-year-old half brother, John.

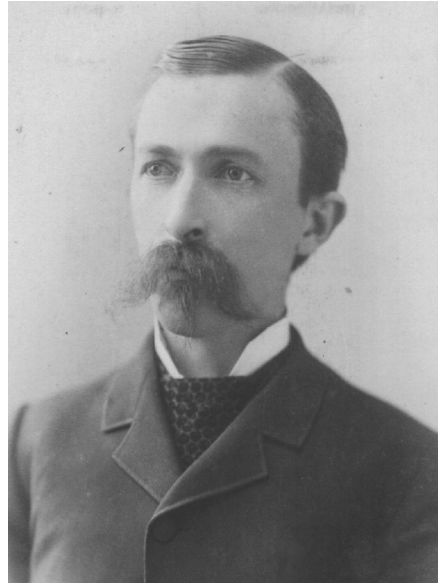
John Harvey Kellogg

John Harvey Kellogg had long been a favorite of James White. At the elder's suggestion young John learned the printing business at the *Review* office when only a lad of twelve. While there he helped set type for the *How to Live* series and in the process became a dedicated convert to health-reform principles. Later he spent several months at the White farm in Greenville. By 1872, however, John had decided to become a teacher and was enrolled in the normal course at the State Teachers' College in Ypsilanti. Yet when urged by Merritt and the Whites, he agreed to accompany the group headed for Trall's. He had no intention of practicing medicine, intending instead to become a health educator.

Although the few months at Trall's failed to launch the White boys on medical careers, it was a different story with John Kellogg. From these early medical studies he glimpsed how much there was yet to know. With the Whites' encouragement

and financial backing he spent a second year studying medicine at the University of Michigan and a final year at New York's Bellevue Hospital Medical School, then perhaps the most advanced medical college in the nation.

During this time young Kellogg also became a key editorial assistant on *The Health Reformer*. In the summer of 1868 Dr. Trall had visited the Western Health Reform Institute and had given a series of health lectures in Battle Creek. Impressed with the Adventist commitment to the reform program, Trall agreed to turn over to *The Health Reformer* a list of the subscribers to his *Gospel of Health*. He also agreed to provide the *Reformer* with a regular column. For a time this seemed advantageous; the *Reformer* subscription list



J. H. Kellogg (1852-1943) was the brightest light in the Adventist health movement during the nineteenth century.

expanded in a gratifying way.

Unfortunately this happy situation did not last. Trall was by nature a controversialist. Soon he began taking extreme positions against any use of salt, sugar, milk, butter, and eggs. The lay editors of the *Reformer* were carried along by his eloquence and long leadership in health-reform circles. But Adventist readers, especially those in the rural western states, took a dim view of the *Reformer's* crusade. Many had answered the call to abandon meat, tea, coffee and tobacco, but living where fruit was not plentiful and only a few vegetables were available much of the year, they were not enthusiastic about the additional limits on their diets which Trall was advocating. Subscriptions declined rapidly.

In an effort to rectify this situation James White assumed editorship of *The Health Reformer* in 1871 and immediately inaugurated a more moderate position. But Elder White's heavy church responsibilities would not allow him to continue long in this editorial role. When John Kellogg returned from Trall's in the summer of 1873, White pressed him to become, at twenty-one, his chief editorial assistant. A year later Kellogg was editor. In the interim he had persuaded Elder White to end Trall's connection with *The Health Reformer*. Kellogg did not intend to share the spotlight on his paper with a cantankerous old reformer, with whom he had already had sharp disagreements as a student.

Upon his return from Bellevue, Dr. Kellogg was invited to join the medical staff at the institute. Soon Elder White was promoting the idea that the youthful doc-

tor be named chief physician in place of Dr. William Russell. Kellogg demurred. He was still only twenty-three and quite content with his role as editor. Already he was planning a series of pamphlets and books on various aspects of healthful living. Besides, Ellen White did not share her husband's enthusiasm at this time.

The knowledge that James White wanted him replaced made it difficult for Dr. Russell to lead effectively. The institute began another period of decline. During this time John Kellogg was being drawn into a closer relationship with the Whites and several other Adventist leaders: *Review* editor Uriah Smith and Sidney Brownsberger, president of Battle Creek College. Fearing a repeat invitation to take charge of the institute, Kellogg escaped in the summer of 1876 to establish a health literature display at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. Then he went to Delaware to write in solitude.

It was here that White and Brownsberger found him. They carried a renewed invitation to head the institute. This time there was also the word that Ellen White agreed. Reluctantly, John capitulated—but with the understanding that his term of service would be for one year only. Little did he realize that he would hold this same position until his death sixty-seven years later.

When Kellogg took over on October 1, 1876, there were twenty patients at the institute. Six left to continue treatment with Dr. Russell, who opened a rival "water cure" in Ann Arbor. Two more took one look at the boyish chief physician and packed their bags for home. That left twelve. Kellogg was not discouraged. By

astute publicity and careful personal attention to patient needs he enrolled twice the usual number of patients that winter. A few months after taking charge he changed the Western Health Reform Institute's name to the Battle Creek Sanitarium. The word *sanitarium*, Kellogg proclaimed, would come to mean a "place where people learn to stay well." He would be a teacher after all.

Not that his editorial duties ceased. Soon, however, *The Health Reformer* also had a new name—*Good Health*. In

Kellogg's view, people no longer took kindly to the idea of being "reformed," they were willing to be "improved." A periodical with a positive name like *Good Health* was more likely to be read. Soon he had 20,000 subscribers.

The Whites had found a vigorous and resourceful advocate to take the lead in transforming Adventist health habits and spreading the health reform gospel to the world. With confidence they could turn their attention to other lines of church endeavor.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Basic reading on the health message:

D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message* (1965), chapters 1-17, applies to the period through 1876.

George W. Reid, *A Sound of Trumpets* (1982), places the Adventist health movement in its American context.

Rennie Schoepflin, "Health and Health Care," in *The World of Ellen White* (1987), Gary Land, ed., pp. 143-158, describes the status of health care in the United States contemporary with the beginning of the Adventist health movement.

Arthur White, *The Progressive Years* (1986), vol. 2 of *Ellen G. White*, chaps. 6, 7, 9, 14, 20 describes the personal experience of the White family in developing the health reform program.

Specific aspects of the health message:

Richard Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M. D.* (1970), chapters 1-6, gives background of the health movement with special emphasis on Kellogg's involvement.

Ronald Numbers, "Dr. Jackson's Water Cure and Its Influence on Adventist Health Reform," *Adventist Heritage*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January 1974), pp. 11-16, 58, 59, portrays the influence of the Dansville establishment on Adventists.

Richard A. Schaefer, *Legacy* (1990 ed.), chapters 10-16, is a very readable narrative of the beginnings of the Adventist health movement.

Starting an Educational System

The reform spirit invigorating American society during the years of the Millerite movement did much to advance the cause of free public elementary education. Its effects were felt in better teacher preparation, an expanded basic curriculum, and a lengthened school term. Some of the reform-minded were also interested in integrating manual labor with theoretical instruction, particularly at schools operating above the primary level.

European Educational Reformers

This latter group drew inspiration from leading thinkers of the eighteenth century “Enlightenment.” John Locke included instruction in mechanical and agricultural skills in his suggested scheme of popular education. Such instruction, he believed, helped to fit boys for “practical life.” On the European continent Jean

Jacques Rousseau in 1762 described the ideal education in *Emile*. To Rousseau, instruction in agriculture was basic in preparing children for simple, happy lives in an ideal society. Scarcely less important was a knowledge of blacksmithing and carpentry.

An early attempt to carry out Rousseau’s ideas in Switzerland was made by the educational reformer Johann Pestalozzi. An even more extensive program, emphasizing the integration of farming and mechanical arts with more traditional studies, was developed on 600 acres outside Berne by Phillip von Fellenberg and Jacob Wehrli. The five schools operated by these two men were noted for close teacher-student relationships and for their religious tone.

Later Wehrli founded a normal school to prepare students for teaching peasant children throughout Switzerland. Here he

promoted (1) the importance of the family circle and instruction within it; (2) the superiority of direct observation to book learning; (3) a rural location for schools; and (4) compulsory agricultural labor for boys regardless of their social status. Wehrli constantly emphasized that teachers should be more concerned with developing a student's character than in imparting facts.

American Reformers

Manual labor in connection with formal education was not exactly a stranger to the American environment. During the eighteenth century the Moravian Brethren in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, had taught agriculture to boys attending their school. And at Cokesbury College in Maryland the Methodists stressed the recreational advantages of gardening and woodworking in place of sports.

Such programs, however, but dimly anticipated the American Manual Labor Movement, which began in the mid-1820s, peaked around 1834, and faded rapidly during the subsequent decade. The utilitarian Americans stressed two particular benefits from manual labor: (1) its aid in improving health and (2) its contribution to meeting the students' school expenses.

Probably the most successful early experiment with manual labor occurred at Andover Theological Seminary, where each student was required to work a minimum of one and a half hours per day in the school box factory or furniture shop. In upstate New York, Reverend George W. Gale eventually made the Oneida Institute

of Science and Industry the most famous of the manual-labor schools. By 1831 there were 500 applicants for the sixty places available at Oneida.

It was in 1831, with the backing of New York merchants Arthur and Lewis Tappan, financial "angels" to so many of the reform groups, that the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions was formed. Theodore Weld was named the society's general agent and sent to tour some of the more than sixty schools experimenting with manual-labor programs. But both Weld and the Tappans soon became committed too deeply to the antislavery cause to have time for manual-labor promotion. The society languished, and so did interest in the idea in most seminaries and colleges.

Yet out in Ohio the manual-labor idea had caught on at Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, where all students were required to spend three or four hours per day in useful employment. Its effects were also felt farther north at Oberlin College, although that reform institution was primarily preoccupied with antislavery and women's rights.

Forty years later a new wave of interest developed, this time in the Scandinavian "Sloyd system of handwork," and the manual-training exhibits of Russian educators at Philadelphia's Centennial Exhibition. In the 1880s the emphasis turned to vocational training at the high school level and stressed acquainting students with woodworking and machine-shop tools.

When, in 1872, Ellen White wrote her first extensive essay on education, she emphatically stated, "We are reformers."

Yet there is no evidence that Seventh-day Adventist pioneers were interested in the manual-labor movement as they had been in antislavery and temperance. Their Millerite experience had predisposed them to be skeptical toward higher education in general. It was among the learned doctors of divinity that some of their most caustic critics were found.

To many Adventist parents the imminence of the Advent made even a basic, common school education for their children relatively unimportant. By the 1850s this attitude began to change. Ellen White had indicated that they could not look with certainty to any specific date for Christ's return. Children needed basic skills to cope with the secular world around them. They also needed to be shielded from the ridicule expressed by classmates toward their peculiar religious beliefs lest peer pressures cause them to depart from their fathers' faith.

School in Homes

Under these circumstances sabbatarian Adventists turned to an old remedy: the home school, taught by one of their own number. Church leaders made no apparent systematic effort to encourage development of such schools. Rather they appeared, and as suddenly disappeared, as believers perceived a need and were willing to bear the costs involved.

The Whites, with young children of their own, did remind other parents of the responsibilities they bore toward their children. During the 1850s Ellen wrote in the *Review* of the "Duty of Parents to Their Children," while James prepared a

three-part series on "Sabbath Keepers' Children," in which he commented on the immorality present among many attending public schools. Exposure to vulgar language, quarrels and bickering, Elder White suggested, inevitably had a bad effect on Sabbath keepers' children since "children are the most successful teachers of children." Although public schools were better than a "street education," he believed it would be better still for children to be trained at home by parents or a Sabbath-keeping tutor.

Plagued by the lack of central direction or sponsorship, frequently housed in cramped facilities, possessing little if any standard equipment, and too often taught by persons without skill in discipline or knowledge of good instructional methods, it is not surprising that these early home schools lacked permanence. Even the increasing colony of Adventists in Battle Creek found it difficult to support a permanent school.

Early SDA Schools

Early in 1858 James White announced that Battle Creek Adventists had invited John Fletcher Byington to open a school for their children. Elder White even invited believers in areas where a home school was not available to send their children to Battle Creek, promising to help them find "boarding places with brethren at reasonable terms." The charge for tuition seemed reasonable: \$2.25 per student for a twelve-week term. But Byington was no more successful than the three teachers who had preceded him. After a couple of terms lack of support

forced him to abandon his venture. Meanwhile the city had constructed a new public school in the West End. And now even Elder White took a pessimistic view of a church-sponsored school in Battle Creek.

In effect James White was reverting to his first reaction to a suggestion made a decade earlier that, just as Sabbath-keeping Adventists had developed their own printing business, so they must develop their own schools. At that time Elder White had viewed such a proposition as impractical. The Advent was too near; there was neither time nor money to spend on an educational system. Besides, such a project would be a virtual denial of their belief in the “Soon Coming.” It was not that James White was uninterested in the salvation of children and youth. He merely believed that this could be accomplished more expeditiously through other means. This was why he had started *The Youth’s Instructor* and devoted such a large portion of its pages in the early years to specially prepared Sabbath School lessons.

The Sabbath School

There can be little doubt but that James White intended the Sabbath School to be a place of indoctrination in “Present Truth” for believers’ children. Of the first four lessons published in *The Youth’s Instructor*, two were on the Sabbath, a third on the Law of God, and the fourth on the “Ark of the Testimony.” Later lessons covered the prophecies of Daniel and the doctrine of the sanctuary.

Throughout the 1850s the scattered Adventist bands gradually developed

Sabbath Schools, generally patterned after the one begun by M. G. Kellogg in Battle Creek shortly after the publication office located there. In this school, molded consecutively by G. W. Amadon and G. H. Bell, almost the entire hour was spent in Bible study. Those attending were divided into classes of six to eight “scholars,” who were thoroughly quizzed and drilled on the assigned lesson.

Here was a way to plant seeds of truth in young minds at minimum cost. It was a mystery to Adventist leaders why some congregations were slow to develop Sabbath Schools. To plead an insufficient number of children was not a valid excuse. If there were but two children in a congregation, D. M. Canright wrote, there should be a Sabbath School for them.

G. H. Bell

Renewed interest in a distinctively Seventh-day Adventist school awaited the arrival in Battle Creek of a master teacher. Such a person was recognized in 1867—Goodloe Harper Bell, a patient at the Western Health Reform Institute. Bell was the eldest child in one of those large migratory families who were seeking better opportunities in the West during the mid-nineteenth century in America. When Goodloe was in his mid-teens, the Bells left northern New York for northern Ohio. Here they settled near Oberlin, where the intellectually ambitious boy had opportunity for a brief exposure to the reform-oriented education offered at Oberlin College. Soon, however, the Bells were once more on the move—this time northward into Michigan. After a brief



Reform in education had been part of the American scene since the early part of the nineteenth century. Goodloe Harper Bell (1832-1899), whom Adventists regard as the father of Adventist education, organized the first officially-sponsored Seventh-day Adventist school in Battle Creek, Michigan in 1872. The first Adventist church school was taught by Martha Byington, John Byington's daughter, in Buck's Bridge, New York, about twenty years earlier.

residence at Hillsdale they finally settled in Grand Rapids.

The early death of his father prevented Goodloe from returning to Oberlin College as he had planned. Suddenly thrust into the role of chief provider for the family, he turned at nineteen to teaching country school. Both studious and innovative, young Bell soon became one of the ablest teachers in the area, but by the time he was thirty-four, overwork and a failure to follow principles of healthful living

turned Bell into a dyspeptic. He came to the Western Health Reform Institute to seek a cure.

Bell was a religious man. A Baptist in his youth, he later joined the Disciples of Christ. He had come to Battle Creek to restore his health, not to change his religion. At the institute he was placed with an Adventist roommate. This man's deep interest in his spiritual welfare disarmed Bell's prejudices. Study convinced him of the truth of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines, and as he convalesced, he also completed his spiritual migration by joining the Adventist Church.

Either as part of the outdoor work therapy frequently assigned to institute patients, or to help meet expenses, Mr. Bell began sawing wood for the *Review and Herald* boilers. One day J. Edson White, James and Ellen's eldest surviving son, took a break from the type room, where he was employed, and strolled outside to make the stranger's acquaintance. Finding that Bell was a teacher, Edson shared with him his educational deficiencies and desires. He particularly commented on his hatred for grammar. Bell's response was that this need not be, as grammar "properly taught, was one of the most interesting studies in the world."

Edson White was greatly impressed by his new friend's engaging manner. He inquired if Bell would be willing to teach grammar and writing to a few of the young men at the *Review* office. Bell agreed, and an evening class was arranged. Soon the new teacher's skills were praised so highly that the Battle Creek church hired him to hold a school for members' children that winter. The church, however, was unready

to accept responsibility for sponsoring a school on a regular basis. When Bell's school continued the next year, it was as a private venture.

With the help of friends Goodloe Bell persuaded the management of the publishing house to grant him the use of the original building erected to house the *Review*. Moving his family into the first floor, he outfitted the second as a classroom. James White became so enthusiastic that he began to promote the formation of an educational society to raise money and build a respectable denominational school as a fit companion to the printing office and health institution.

Upon closer consideration the Whites decided that this was not the time to bring an influx of young people into Battle Creek. Too many of the local church members had not given careful enough supervision to their children. As a result a number of local youth were infected with a variety of sexual and other vices, which they were communicating to others. At the same time a spirit of pride, criticism and worldliness was prevalent among the older generation. No school could be effectively promoted until the Battle Creek church was put in order.

These local difficulties made it impossible for Professor Bell to make a financial success of his school, although he continued to give private lessons to small groups on a sporadic basis. But Bell's talents were not allowed to stagnate. In recognition of his literary skills, he was made editor of *The Youth's Instructor* in 1869. One of his first innovations was to provide two sets of Sabbath School lessons: a series in Old

Testament history for the children, and one for the youth on the book of Daniel. By 1872 he had developed a series of eight Bible-study lesson books for Sabbath School use. Simultaneously Bell introduced administrative improvements in the Battle Creek Sabbath School, which he superintended during the next decade. So successful were these that he became a roving consultant to churches desiring to improve the effectiveness of their Sabbath Schools.

By 1870 there were a number of young Adventists employed at the publishing office and the health institute. Many of them were anxious to secure more education. Concurrently James White was becoming aware of the need for many ministers and prospective ministers to improve their facility in speaking and writing. Searching for a way to accomplish this, he and Uriah Smith launched the Minister's Lecture Association of Seventh-day Adventists in the spring of 1870. For an annual fee of five dollars for men and three dollars for women the sixty initial members were entitled to attend a series of Bible lectures and receive instruction in grammar and penmanship.

There is no evidence that the Minister's Lecture Association survived beyond 1871. That same year White launched another abortive self-improvement organization: the Review and Herald Literary Society. Its goal was to upgrade the quality of Seventh-day Adventist publications by encouraging the reading, discussion, and writing of choice moral and religious literature.

Testimony on Education

While denominational leaders sought to develop better-trained church workers, they suddenly heard from a voice of special importance to them. In January 1872, Ellen White received her first detailed vision on proper principles of education. Shortly thereafter she wrote thirty pages of printed matter covering what she had seen. Although this was not published until near the end of the year, its contents were surely known to the major leaders soon after it was written.

The final sentences of this first “testimony” on education must have started James White, George I. Butler, J. N. Andrews, and other leaders considering ways in which they might be implemented. “We need a school,” Mrs. White wrote, “where those who are just entering the ministry may be taught at least the common branches of education and where they may learn more perfectly the truths of God’s word for this time. In connection with these schools [sic], lectures should be given upon the prophecies. Those who really have good abilities such as God will accept to labor in His vineyard would be very much benefited by only a few months’ instruction at such a school.”

Although much of this “Proper Education” testimony was addressed to parents, who were instructed to serve as their children’s only teacher until they were eight or ten, many basic principles were also enunciated. The right kind of education, Ellen White stated, should pay attention to the physical, mental, moral, and religious life of students. Teachers were not

to control the mind, will, or conscience of students. While teaching students to respect and follow experienced counsel, they were also to teach them to act on the basis of reason and principle. To Mrs. White a prospective teacher’s habits and principles were of more importance than literary qualifications. Teachers should not hold themselves apart from “scholars,” but learn to socialize with them, demonstrating clearly that all their actions were based on love.

Ellen wanted students instructed in commodious and well-ventilated classrooms. Because of the close relationship between mind and body, she considered instruction in physiology and hygiene vital. The ideal educational program would combine study and physical labor. For this purpose schools should have industrial departments where all students, regardless of financial need, should be taught to work. By instructing young men in agricultural and mechanical lines they would fit them for the “practical duties of life.” Young women were to be schooled in the domestic arts, while young men who desired to be preachers should get a thorough grounding in Bible study. In embryo, Mrs. White had outlined what others in later years refer to as a “blueprint” for Christian education.

Early in the spring of 1872 the Whites began discussing with members of the Battle Creek church the establishment of a denominationally sponsored school. A school committee was formed, and the officers of the General Conference were brought into the planning.

The next step was to lay the matter before the entire body of Adventists

through the *Review*. Members were asked to express their opinions and, if they approved the school idea, to pledge funds to get it under way. A month later, a second article requested prospective students to let the committee know their educational background and the subjects, especially in the area of language, which they desired to study. They were specifically asked if their goal was “to fit yourself to take some part in the work of God?”

Bell's Select School

By mid-May the General Conference committee had agreed to assume administrative and financial responsibility for a school scheduled to begin its first twelve-week term on June 3. This made the school a denominational rather than a local church project. The committee solved teacher and site problems quickly; it simply reconstituted and adopted Bell's Select School. Twelve students were present on opening day, and two more enrolled a bit later. It seemed a small beginning. Yet the promoters professed satisfaction; a grain of mustard seed was also tiny.

Elder George I. Butler, called from Iowa to become General Conference president a few months earlier, gave strong support to the infant school. It was needed, he told *Review* readers, as a place “where influences of a moral character may be thrown around the pupils.” Adventist scholars must not only be shielded from intemperance, card playing, and similar mischief, but they should also be provided with proper motives for study.

Too often methods used in public schools fostered pride and vanity rather than virtue and religion. Butler expected the school to train denominational workers and to engender some mental discipline in the farmer-preachers that formed the bulk of the Adventist ministry. He had no patience with the idea that ignorance was a help to spirituality. Yet he was definitely *not* proposing a long theological course of study. There was “no time for such a course, neither is it necessary.”

As the summer progressed, church leaders became more and more enthusiastic about the services the new school might render. Teachers could be trained to conduct primary schools for Adventist congregations with sufficient children to support a private “church school.” Training could be given in languages, for “this truth must go to all the nations around us.” The school could serve as a place of instruction for persons from abroad, such as Adhémar Vuilleumier, recently arrived from Switzerland to learn about Seventh-day Adventist doctrines.

While agreeing that the newly established school was “doubtless right,” James White continued to have reservations about the condition of the Battle Creek church. More men of character, ability and strong spirituality were needed at headquarters.

School Finances

He proposed that the state conferences seek out at least twenty such families and encourage them to move to Battle Creek. Such an influx would provide stability and would “constitute a sort of Congress,

as far as our institutions . . . are concerned.” These families could interpret the feelings of their old home area relative to denominational policies. If this were done, Elder White pledged himself ready to help raise \$50,000 to build a worthy school. He would contribute \$1000 himself and help call hundreds of young people in to train for service to the church.

Attendance in Bell’s school more than doubled during the fall term. In addition to forty regular scholars another fifteen, primarily press workers, attended an evening grammar class. While Professor Bell was ill with malaria, John H. Kellogg taught the school temporarily. About half the students also attended special biweekly Bible lectures given by Uriah Smith. Growth continued; by the start of the winter term the quarters had been outgrown. Arrangements were made to use the church, with drop shelves fastened to the backs of some pews to convert them into desks.

When the General Conference met in formal session in March 1873, it passed resolutions approving formation of a denominational school. Although these did not mention the school currently under conference sponsorship, the thrust seemed to be that the delegates were looking forward toward a more advanced and permanently housed institution—in essence, toward a college. President Butler contended that better-educated workers were needed in order to meet the rich and the “learned.”

A few weeks later, the General Conference committee recommended the establishing of a Seventh-day Adventist

Educational Society to own and operate the proposed school. For legal purposes it must be a stock society. The officers called for \$20,000 immediately so that land could be purchased and a proper building erected. By the time the General Conference met again in November 1873, \$52,000 had been pledged for the school.

A School on the Land

Now the pressing consideration was location. The Whites, influenced by Ellen’s education vision, desired an ample tract of land where students could learn proper agricultural methods and where workshops could provide vocational training. At first they favored the 160-acre Foster farm on Goguac Lake, several miles south of town. But Foster wanted \$50,000; so the Whites turned to the fifty-acre fairgrounds on the west edge of Battle Creek. It was available for one-fifth Foster’s price.

Before any purchase could be made, the Whites headed for California. With their influence gone Butler and his associates drew back from the fairgrounds site. They failed to see why so much land was needed, and out in the country too. Would not the Erastus Hussey estate, consisting of twelve acres on the highest spot in the West End and just across the street from the health institute, be ample? They decided that it would be. Its proximity to the *Review* office, the church, and to the institute seemed in their minds to increase its desirability; and so, just as 1873 ended, for \$16,000 the deal was closed. Not everyone was happy. Out in California

Ellen White sensed that a mistake had been made. Divine counsel had been spurned. She bowed her head and wept.

During the summer of 1873 the school's promoters decided that a school such as they envisioned needed to be headed by a thoroughly trained man. Bell, alas, had no college degree. So he was replaced that fall by Sidney Brownsberger: bright, personable, a teacher of several years' experience, with a B.A. from the University of Michigan. Bell continued as head of the English department, where with one or more assistants he taught the "common" subjects: grammar, rhetoric, penmanship, mathematics, geography, and bookkeeping. Brownsberger, assisted by translators from the *Review* office, offered Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, philosophy, and physiology. Eventually it was arranged for Uriah Smith to offer a series of Bible lectures to supplement the Bible lessons given "in all departments."

By the start of the winter term in 1873 the church was no longer adequate for the increased number of students and the multiplicity of classes. Fortunately a new building recently completed for the publishing house had not been occupied. For a year it housed the burgeoning student body, more and more of whom were coming from outside Battle Creek. It was the responsibility of such scholars to locate their own boarding facilities in the West End.

Battle Creek College

At last, in the spring of 1874, the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society became a legal entity. Imme-

diately plans were made to construct a three-story building capable of holding 400 students. Like the *Review* buildings, it would be Greek cross in shape. By the start of the fall term construction was proceeding well. It was decided the building should be ready for occupancy and dedication early in 1875.

Several major decisions were made before that event occurred. Of special significance was a meeting between the school board, the Whites and Principal Brownsberger. As the others listened carefully, Ellen read her 1872 testimony on Proper Education. All recognized that their property was too small to carry on the agricultural and mechanical departments recommended. Their original twelve acres were now down to seven. In what would become a common procedure



Battle Creek College as it appeared in 1874. Later additions to the building more than doubled its capacity.

in the founding of later schools, the directors had decided to sell part of the property for residential lots to help finance the school building.

Someone asked Brownsberger what could be done. He shook his head. "I do not know anything about the conducting of such a school, where industries and farming are a part of the whole," he replied. Under the circumstances it was decided to go ahead and run a school with a traditional education based on the classics. The board would keep under study the inaugurating of industries at a later date.

It was also decided to give the still-nameless school a name: Battle Creek College. Admittedly, personnel and finances were lacking to make it a full-fledged college at once, but it was hoped that it would soon grow up to its name. With these basic decisions made, January 4, 1875, was set for the official dedicatory services. Now twenty years after the publishing office had moved from Rochester and nearly a decade after the Health Reform Institute had been launched, a third major Seventh-day Adventist institution was firmly planted in Battle Creek. Probably with only a dim realization of what they were doing, Seventh-day Adventists had inaugurated an educational system which would profoundly affect their future.

Some had wanted to name the college after James White in recognition of his efforts in its behalf. Although he would not agree to such a suggestion, Elder White did serve the college as president down to 1880. As principal, however, Brownsberger carried day-by-day responsibility

for the school's direction and for shaping its curriculum. Brownsberger desired solid academic work in his school. "When the Lord comes," he said, "Adventists expect to leave their farms, their businesses, and their homes and take their brains with them."

And so a five-year classics curriculum led to the B.A. degree, while those finishing the shorter three-year English course (later expanded into a scientific curriculum) were awarded the B.S. degree. Diplomas could be earned for completing commercial and normal courses. Admission to a program was determined by the student's interest and by faculty evaluation of the proficiency examinations he had written.

The normal course was by far the most popular, perhaps because teaching seemed the easiest way to finance college expenses. Graduates from this program taught largely in the public schools. The great growth in church schools was still nearly two decades away. In view of the sponsors' desire to see the college train denominational workers, one would expect the ministerial program to have been strong and distinctive. This was not so. It consisted principally of biblical languages and courses designed to increase facility in speaking and writing correctly. Uriah Smith's Bible lectures, attended on a voluntary basis, were considered valuable but "dry." In prophetic interpretation Smith used his volumes on Daniel and Revelation as textbooks and developed another on basic Seventh-day Adventist doctrines entitled *Synopsis of Present Truth*.

Denominational leaders had high

hopes that many of the college students would learn foreign languages in order to carry the three angels' messages to other lands and peoples. But the considerable initial interest in modern languages declined rapidly. By 1880, only German was taught.

The decline of language study was not symptomatic of a general decline in the college. Enrollment reached nearly 500 by 1881. Brownsberger, now president in name as well as in fact, had built an academic program, which won the respect of the community as well as his church. At times during these early years fully one fifth of the student body came from non-Adventist families. More could have been accepted had there not been the fear that too large a concentration of non-Seventh-day Adventists would encourage a worldly atmosphere.

Agewise the early student body was certainly a heterogeneous group. Scholars from seven to forty-five were enrolled. Sometimes parents and children sat in the same class. Although coeducational from the start, the college strictly regulated social contacts with the opposite sex. Campus organizations, such as the literary and debating clubs, were exclusively for men or women. No courting was countenanced by the faculty.

Student Housing

The college board deliberately decided against constructing dormitories for student housing. Instead a "Locating Committee" helped incoming students find rooms in approved homes. Here, school authorities maintained, they had

the advantages of "family" living. Students either cooked their own food or ate at their landlord's table—at higher rates, of course, or each paid a weekly sum to one of their number, who purchased supplies and contracted with an obliging housewife to prepare the group two meals per day.

The college faculty expended little energy in providing recreational activities for the student body. Spontaneous games could be played on college grounds only at approved times and places. Students were left to themselves to arrange simple Saturday-evening amusements such as candy pulls, skating parties, spontaneous spelldowns, or singing classes in the homes of friendly church members. There was usually good participation in religious services, be it the Wednesday-night prayer meeting or the 2:00 P.M. Sabbath social meeting, with its songs and personal testimonies. The "Dime Tabernacle," built in 1878-79, became a hallowed spot in the memory of many students. With seating for over 3000 the tabernacle was for years Battle Creek's largest auditorium. Here students joined workers from the Review, the sanitarium, and the growing Adventist community to listen to James and Ellen White or Adventist workers from all parts of the field who flocked in for General Conference sessions.

By 1880 significant changes had taken place in the membership of the college board. Perhaps the most influential new member was Dr. John Harvey Kellogg. The doctor was a firm believer in the type of practical instruction in vocational lines, which Ellen White advocated.

Elder G. I. Butler concurred. They began pressuring Brownsberger to make changes in these areas. Instead, the president seemed to move in the opposite direction by advocating granting master's degrees to Battle Creek students who gave evidence of satisfactory progress during several years of individual study beyond the bachelor's degree. Old fears of too highly educated scholars were reawakened.

Changes in Leadership

Growing criticism proved too much for President Brownsberger. In late spring 1881 he resigned and retired to northern Michigan to rebuild his frayed nerves while logging in the woods.

Faced with a need to change the administration, the college board sought a president with views of education more nearly parallel to Ellen White's vision-based counsels. But who would this be? Of the current faculty only G. H. Bell, with his brief Oberlin experience, was enthusiastic about combining vocational and academic education. And Bell lacked a degree. Besides, many of the younger faculty resented what they considered his harsh and arbitrary actions.

A seeming solution to the problem appeared in the person of Alexander McLearn, D.D. A cultured Baptist preacher trained at Newton Theological Seminary, Dr. McLearn seemed on the verge of accepting Adventism when he came to the attention of denominational leaders in the summer of 1881. Without stopping to inquire how well McLearn's educational philosophy accorded with that

which Ellen White was trying to promote, the board elected him president, even before he joined the church.

It was a sad mistake. That summer James White died, and Ellen departed shortly afterward for the West. President Butler was forced to be away from Battle Creek much of the time. There was no firm old hand to guide McLearn. Soon he became embroiled in an acrimonious struggle with Bell. At first this involved instructional matters, but later changed to student conduct as, in an attempt to curry favor with the student body, McLearn began to relax the social regulations. To Bell it seemed that the distinctiveness of "his" school was being undercut.

Ellen White's testimony at the December General Conference confirmed Bell's fears. At the same time she urged Bell to curb his "unkindness, harshness, and severity," while counseling his critics not to forget Bell's long years of service and their own imperfections. When the board asked Bell to add a new required daily Bible class to his teaching load, the professor would agree only if he was granted virtual autonomy in the management of his department.

The early weeks of 1882 saw a series of board investigations followed by public accusations by President McLearn and some of the faculty against Bell, and finally, against the board. When the trustees requested resignations from critical faculty members, their request was refused. In a scuffle McLearn's son knocked Bell down the college stairs. Overworked and underpaid, Bell could take no more of such indignities. Students

STARTING AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

coming to classes on February 20 found that he had left the college.

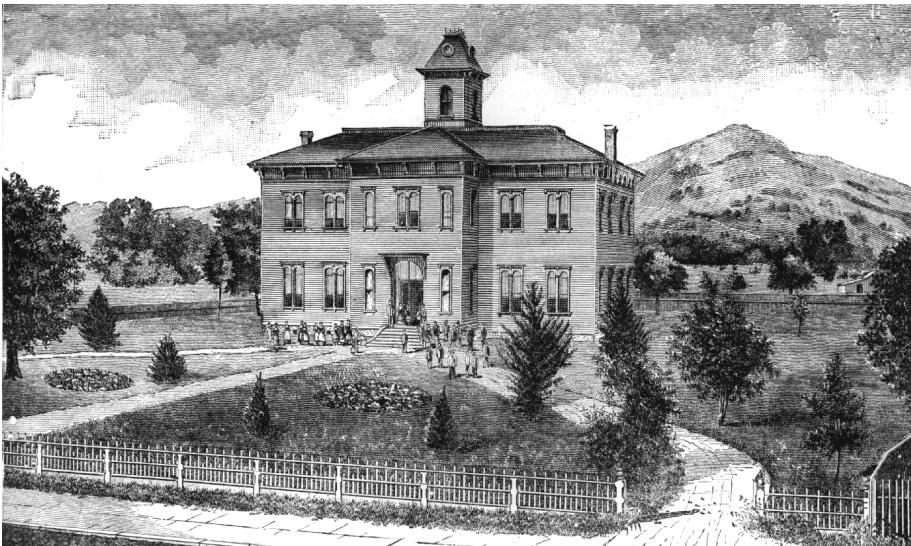
During the remainder of the school year the college proceeded virtually independent of its governing board. These gentlemen were desperately hoping that the Battle Creek church, which had jumped into the dispute with more enthusiasm than good judgment, would get “sober second thoughts” concerning the school’s real purposes and Ellen White’s counsels. When this was slow in happening, they regretfully decided to temporarily close Battle Creek College. Deprived of a school, McLearn departed, still not a Seventh-day Adventist, to join the Seventh Day Baptists.

To some it might have appeared that the Seventh-day Adventist experiment in higher education was coming to an untimely end. In reality the crisis contributed

to the immediate expansion of Adventist education. Even before the doors of Battle Creek College were locked, two new schools on opposite coasts had come into being. Each was headed by one of the two men with the most experience at Battle Creek, and each profited from mistakes made there.

Healdsburg College

During their fall camp meeting in 1881, California Adventists had decided to begin a school to meet needs in their home area. W. C. White, a leading proponent of this move, was dispatched east to get Sidney Brownsberger to come and head the new enterprise. Within a few weeks a satisfactory building on an admittedly unsatisfactorily small piece of land was discovered at Healdsburg, California,



An old line drawing of Healdsburg College, founded in 1881, which later developed into Pacific Union College.

sixty-five miles north of San Francisco. There, on April 11, 1882, with only his wife to help him, Brownsberger began instructing thirty-three students, of all ages and degrees of preparation, in Healdsburg Academy. Twelve weeks later, in response to pressure from local residents, it was officially decided to change the school's name to Healdsburg College.

Brownsberger had learned from his Battle Creek experience. He was determined to develop a program that would combine the religious, vocational, and physical aspects of learning with the mental. Soon, he was ably assisted by W. C. Grainger, who joined his faculty in time for the fall term. When Brownsberger left Healdsburg in 1886, Grainger continued the development of school industries and dormitory facilities. Again learning from Battle Creek's mistakes, the college guarded students against the unsettling influences of fixing their own meals and adjusting to varying patterns of home discipline. Grainger became not only president, but "dean, business manager, dormitory dean, teacher, counselor, secretary, bookkeeper, and father" as well.

South Lancaster Academy

On the opposite coast another school was developing under the encouragement of Elder S. N. Haskell. Battle Creek's troubles provided this infant school with a head: Goodloe Harper Bell. Haskell wanted this new school primarily to prepare workers to spread the Adventist gospel. He was not worried about what it should be called. At first it was simply

known as "that New England School." Eventually it was named South Lancaster Academy after the little New England town where it was located, a town already something of an eastern nucleus for Adventism.

Bell, too, was determined to profit by his observations at Battle Creek and by Ellen White's counsels. Teaching at this school was to be very practical. Students were to have their interests broadened and be trained to think rather than to rely on rote memory. Bell wanted them to learn to care for their bodies and to understand the value and dignity of labor. Within two years he had instituted training in tent-making, harness-making, broom-making, shoe repair, and printing. But above all, attention was to be given to Bible study. "This book," Bell wrote, "which is worth more than all others combined, deserves more than an hour's study in a week."

The eight students with which South Lancaster Academy opened, April 19, 1882, had trebled by the end of the term. Although it failed to develop in both numbers and scholastic level as rapidly as did Battle Creek and Healdsburg, the New England school persisted. It demonstrated that Ellen White's counsels, when adopted by imaginative leaders, were sound, especially if people were not too worried about college "status."

The birth of Healdsburg (later Pacific Union College) and South Lancaster Academy (eventually Atlantic Union College) demonstrated that from the crisis which had threatened to destroy Seventh-day Adventist higher education would grow a more diverse,

imaginative and useful system. It also showed that Seventh-day Adventists were no longer a small group, confined largely to New England, New York,

and the old Northwest. They had spread from shore to shore, leaped the Atlantic, and would soon do the same to the Pacific. The church was on the move.

Suggested Topical Reading:

General accounts:

M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), chapter 16, is an old but valuable description of the beginnings of Adventist education.

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 1 (1961), has three relevant chapters: 3, 5, and 6.

E. M. Cadwallader, *A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education*, 3rd ed. (1956), in a limited mimeographed form is the most comprehensive view of Adventist education.

Specific schools and individuals:

E. K. VandeVere, *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 11-47, recounts the events of Battle Creek College and its move to Berrien Springs.

Rowena E. Purdon, *That New England School* (1956), pp. 11-40, tells the story of founding South Lancaster Academy.

W. C. Utt, *A Mountain, A Pickax, A College* (1968), pp. 11-41, relates the beginnings of Pacific Union College at Healdsburg.

Allan Lindsay, "Goodloe Harper Bell: Teacher," in *Early Adventist Educators* (1983), George Knight, ed., is a valuable reflection on the life of an early Adventist teacher.

Joseph G. Smoot, "Sidney Brownsberger: Traditionalist," *ibid.*, recounts Brownsberger's impact on early Adventist education.

Worldwide Outreach, 1868-1885

Throughout the bitter Civil War years most Americans were so preoccupied with military and political matters that Adventist evangelists found it difficult to gain a hearing. In the preceding decade sabbatarian Adventists had made their greatest gains in western New York and the states of the old Northwest Territory. Even here they remained numerically insignificant. The first reliable statistics, dating from 1867, indicate only 4,320 Seventh-day Adventists nationwide.

Yet these statistics are significant, for they include members from west of the Mississippi, primarily from Minnesota and Iowa. Adventism was continuing its westward march. In 1856 Washington Morse, a Millerite preacher from Vermont, resettled his family in Deerfield, Minnesota. In 1862 a frontier Indian war brought scores of refugees to seek shelter in the Deerfield area. Morse shared his religious views with

many “and some became so interested that we made appointments to come and hold meetings in their houses, and in the coming winter we walked long distances to fill such appointments with marked success. Thus it was that even through the great trouble with the savages the seeds of present truth were sown.”

Snook and Brinkerhoff

The first active evangelistic endeavors in Iowa began in the 1850s. Lectures by Moses Hull, M. E. Cornell, and J. H. Waggoner resulted in the formation of a number of Adventist bands across the state. In 1863 these organized into a state conference under the leadership of two relatively new Seventh-day Adventists—B. F. Snook, a former Methodist minister, and W. H. Brinkerhoff, a former lawyer and teacher. Soon becoming critical

of the leadership of James and Ellen White, this pair spread their disaffection throughout the state. A surface reconciliation in 1865 quickly turned sour. The dissidents, particularly strong in the Marion congregation, eventually formed the Church of God (Adventist). In a short time Snook and Brinkerhoff abandoned the Marion party, whose leadership then passed to H. E. Carver.

George I. Butler

Troublesome as it was, the Marion rebellion helped to propel a bright new star into the firmament of Adventist leaders. The 1865 Iowa conference session elected a sturdy Vermont farmer, then serving as local elder of the Waukon church, as conference president. During the next few months George I. Butler drove his team from church to church thoroughly instructing the members in orthodox Seventh-day Adventism. Order was restored. Growth followed. Butler's administrative abilities soon moved him into the top echelon of Seventh-day Adventist leaders. Along with the Whites, S. N. Haskell, J. N. Loughborough, J. N. Andrews, and J. H. Waggoner, Butler played a dominant role in the expansion of Adventism.

It was George Butler, just finishing his first period of service as General Conference president, who revealed part of the secret of Adventism's rapid expansion. A minister's duty, Butler maintained, was to evangelize new fields. He could not be bogged down in pastoring local churches. These must learn to care for themselves and at the same time serve as a hothouse for an ever-increasing supply of new workers.

Evangelistic Advance

And Adventist ministers did evangelize—far and wide. In several instances husbands and wives formed successful teams. Notable examples were John and Sarah A. H. Lindsey and Elbert and Ellen Lane. The Lindseys' activities were largely confined to western New York and Pennsylvania; the Lanes worked in Ohio, Indiana, Virginia, and Tennessee. During a series at Pleasant Valley, New York, Sarah Lindsey spoke twenty-three times on the Second Advent. Ellen Lane not only had "excellent success" in house-to-house visitation, but she was a powerful preacher as well. One Sabbath morning in Virginia, Elder Lane attracted only thirty-five listeners; the next day 650 turned out to hear Ellen preach.

Another Ellen, remembering that the first preacher to tell of a risen Christ was a woman, expressed the view that "the refining, softening influence of Christian women is needed in the great work of preaching the truth." "Zealous and continued diligence in our sisters," Ellen White continued, "... would astonish us with its results." J. N. Andrews agreed that women had a definite role to fill in spreading the gospel message. But what kind of role? An enthusiastic delegate to the 1881 General Conference saw qualified women as a logical resource to employ in meeting the ever-increasing need for workers. He offered a resolution, "That females possessing the necessary qualification . . . may with perfect propriety, be set aside by ordination to the work of the Christian ministry." Referred to the General Conference committee, the

resolution was not heard of again.

The fifty evangelistic tents in the field during the summer of 1876 were presided over by men, as they would continue to be in the future. During the 1870s Seventh-day Adventist membership nearly tripled. Thanks to increasing acceptance of responsibility for gospel finance—first of systematic benevolence and later its refinement as seen in the tithing system—funds became available for evangelism. Sometimes preachers, especially in frontier areas, found it necessary to help finance their work by means other than preaching. Sale of books and pamphlets was a standard way. Probably few evangelists were able, like Elder Lane, to install a camera in the big tent and turn it by day into a photographic studio.

The Far West

Many times interest in Seventh-day Adventist doctrines was sparked when a dedicated layman moved into a new area and fearlessly talked and lived his beliefs. Such was the case in 1859 when M. G. Kellogg and his family arrived in San Francisco from Battle Creek after an arduous six-month trip by railroad, wagon, and oxcart. As Kellogg earned a living through carpentry, he came in contact with B. G. St. John, a lumber tallyman at the wharves. St. John had been a Millerite in 1843. Intrigued by Kellogg's Saturday Sabbath, he proved willing to listen to an explanation of the "third angel's message." Soon there were two families of Sabbath keepers in San Francisco.

Encouraged by St. John's action, Kellogg began public lectures. When fourteen

individuals accepted Adventist doctrines, he organized a Sabbath School in his home. Several years later an Adventist cobbler, J. W. Cronkrite, arrived in San Francisco. He hung a prophetic chart and placard of the Ten Commandments on his shop wall. When customers made inquiries about the strange beasts, Cronkrite gave them a study on the prophecies. So much interest was aroused that in the fall of 1865 the little Adventist company decided to send \$133 in gold to Battle Creek to pay the travel expenses of a minister to labor in California. Alas, the General Conference had no one to send.

Isolated Adventists found the *Review and Herald* a precious link to fellow believers. In the 1860s the *Review* also carried several articles by Ellen White on healthful living. These gripped Merritt Kellogg's interest. He decided to attend Dr. R. T. Trall's Hygieo-Therapeutic College in New Jersey and learn to be a reform physician. While visiting Battle Creek, Kellogg attended the 1868 General Conference and entered a strong personal plea that a minister be dispatched to California.

At first it seemed his plea would again go unheeded. Then when only two workers remained to be assigned, one of them, J. N. Loughborough, arose. He spoke of recent dreams that had left him with a strong impression that he should hold tent meetings in California. "Should Elder Loughborough go alone?" James White queried. After all, Christ had sent his disciples out two by two. That seemed a good plan to follow for so distant a field. D. T. Bourdeau thought so too; he would gladly accompany Loughborough.

Immediately White set about raising

\$1000 to purchase a new tent for California and to finance passage for the Loughboroughs and Bourdeaus by way of Panama. No time was wasted. Less than a month after making their decision, these “missionaries” boarded a ship in New York City. Twenty-four days later they were in San Francisco. Here they were warmly welcomed by the St. Johns and other members of the Adventist company.

James White’s call for funds for the California tent had unexpected results. A New York newspaper picked up the story from the *Review* and reprinted it. A copy of this paper found its way into the hands of one of a congregation of Independent Christians in Petaluma, California. This devout little band began to pray that if the ministers coming with the tent were God’s servants, they would have a safe journey.

Some time later one of the leaders of the Petaluma group had an impressive dream in which he saw the two tent evangelists and was told to help them. The Independents sent one of their number the forty miles to San Francisco to try to locate the tent company. Within a half hour after his arrival in the city, he was inviting Loughborough and Bourdeau to Petaluma. Difficulties in locating a place to pitch their tent in San Francisco predisposed them to accept his offer.

A recent smallpox epidemic limited attendance at the first, but soon the tent’s sides had to be rolled up to accommodate the crowds. Californians proved more generous than the New Englanders with whom Bourdeau and Loughborough were familiar. At this time the smallest coin circulating in the state was a ten-cent piece. Since most of their tracts normally

sold for one or two cents, the evangelists expected to give them away. To their surprise they were frequently handed a dollar or fifty cents, with the injunction, “Give away that many tracts for me.” A mystified James White could not understand what was happening as he shipped four successive orders of books to California. “You are selling more books than all the tent companies east of the Rocky Mountains,” he wrote.

After several weeks of meetings, opposition to the Adventists developed among Petaluma’s ministers. Leaders of the Independents, who had done so much to smooth their way originally, turned against them. Still, at the end of the series, a band of twenty was gathered out. And so it went in other villages throughout the Sonoma Valley, even though the local clergy persisted in labeling Bourdeau and Loughborough as Mormons.

During one of these series Adventist literature roused the interest of a transient woodchopper. Abram La Rue attended the meetings and decided to become a Seventh-day Adventist. Burning with the desire to share his new faith, he requested the General Conference to send him to China as a missionary. Not discouraged when he was refused because of age, La Rue eventually took a short course in Healdsburg College then worked his way to Hawaii. Here he supported himself by selling Adventist literature in Honolulu and on the ships that came into Pearl Harbor. In 1888 he proceeded to Hong Kong, where he established a seaman’s mission and repeated his Hawaiian colporteur experience. He also visited other parts of the Far East scattering

books and tracts as he went. It was La Rue who arranged for the first Adventist tracts to be published in Chinese.

William Hunt

Sometimes the scorn and ridicule voiced by other Christians against the advent preachers backfired. During the summer of 1869 the *California Christian Advocate* published an article deriding the tent preachers as ex-Millerites selling books on Daniel and Revelation. The *Advocate* predicted that their work would fail as surely as the predictions of William Miller had failed.

Several weeks later the driver of the mail stage brought Loughborough a letter addressed simply "To the Elders at the Tent in Healdsburg, California." It was written by William Hunt, a miner in Gold Hill, Nevada. Hunt had read the article in the *California Christian Advocate* and wanted whatever book the preachers had on Revelation. He indicated that he had been sending all over for such a book for twenty years but had not succeeded in getting one.

Loughborough packaged up a copy of Uriah Smith's *Thoughts on Revelation* along with some tracts and sent them to Hunt. Thus began a correspondence which saw Hunt become a subscriber to the *Review and Herald* and the owner of nearly everything Adventists published. More than a year later William Hunt appeared at Loughborough's meetings in Bloomfield. He was on his way to New Zealand and eventually to the South African diamond fields. Before he left, he wanted to buy Loughborough's prophetic and Law-of-God charts. He promised

with the Lord's help to be faithful. And so he was. We will hear of him again in South Africa.

Evangelism in California

In the spring of 1870 the Bourdeaus returned east to work for the French-speaking people of New England and Canada. Soon Loughborough was joined by M. E. Cornell, and the evangelistic thrust continued. In 1871 meetings were held in San Francisco. The previous year a prominent Advent Christian evangelist, Miles Grant, had stirred up considerable interest in the prophecies. Loughborough carried many of this group into a full acceptance of the Sabbath and of the heavenly sanctuary doctrines. Then the evangelists moved into Yolo County and the beautiful Napa Valley.

James and Ellen White arrived in California for their first visit in the fall of 1872. Poor health had recently forced Elder White to relinquish the presidency of the General Conference. Thinking that the mild California climate might help him recover more rapidly, the Whites decided to accept the California Adventists' invitation to live and labor among them for a time.

It was a visit with far-reaching consequences. The Whites were impressed with the friendliness and generosity of the people. James White's entrepreneurial spirit was stimulated. Why not a Seventh-day Adventist press in the West? During summer and fall of 1873 the Whites recuperated in the bracing air of Colorado's mountains. They thought, talked, and prayed much concerning the advisability

of starting an evangelistic paper somewhere along the Pacific Coast. The next spring, back in California, as they were on the San Francisco Bay ferry, Ellen turned to James and said, "Somewhere in Oakland is the place to locate the paper."

With the Whites' encouragement, Cornell and a recuperating D. M. Canright decided to hold tent meetings in Oakland. The time seemed propitious. Mysterious ghosts had recently been reported in one of the city's prominent mansions. Newspapers were filled with speculation as to the cause. The evangelists saw a golden opportunity. "Haunted Houses, the Mystery Solved! Or the Devil Unmasked!" screamed their newspaper advertisements. From the start the tent was filled.

At this same time the temperance forces in Oakland were engaged in a vigorous campaign to persuade the citizens to ban the sale of liquor. Cornell and Canright won many influential friends by placing their tent at the disposal of the temperance cause. When success crowned the effort to ban "Demon Rum," much credit was given to the Adventists. Their help was solicited in a similar campaign in San Jose, thus providing an opening for an evangelistic campaign in that city.

Founding of Pacific Press

While Cornell and Canright preached in Oakland, James White planned the birth of a new religious journal. On June 4, 1874, it made its debut. As editor and publisher, James White intended *The Signs of the Times* to be a periodical with special appeal to Westerners. It was, he reported, "designed to be not only an expositor

of the prophecies, a reporter of the signs of the times, but also a family, religious, and general newspaper for the household." Elder White's publishing experiences stood him in good stead. Within a year he had purchased type and organized the Pacific Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association.

After a quarter of a century Adventist publishing activities were no longer to be confined in one "office." The principle was established that if Adventism were to build solidly for expansion in a new area, it must have a local press to support it. Soon this idea was expanded to include the health and educational activities of the church as well. On June 7, 1878, the Rural Health Retreat opened in St. Helena, and California had its first sanitarium. Four years later, with the establishment of Healdsburg College, provision was made to meet western Adventists' educational needs as well.

The Northwest

Even before the discovery of gold in California, word of the fertile river valleys of the Pacific Northwest had lured mid-western farmers to follow the Oregon Trail to the Walla Walla and Willamette valleys. A handful of persons interested in Adventism were among those who followed in the 1850s and 1860s. In the Walla Walla valley an Adventist sister, Augusta Morehouse, on several occasions shared her Sabbath convictions with neighbor Franklin Wood. Partially convicted, but unwilling to follow his convictions, Wood moved his family south to California's Sonoma Val-



The Pacific Press Publishing Association in 1885. Establishing Adventism on the western coast of North America was part of the church's trend to reach out to the world even though California was part of the United States.

ley to avoid further discussion of the matter. He arrived shortly before Loughborough and Bourdeau began their second tent effort in the area. Wood attended, accepted the full Seventh-day Adventist teachings, and immediately began to send literature to his wife's father back in Walla Walla. This was not enough. After only nine months in California the Woods were back in Walla Walla to share their new faith with family and friends.

Teaching school for a living, Wood gradually won a few converts, and a small Adventist company was established. Repeatedly they requested the California Adventists and the General Conference to send a regular minister to aid them. It was five years before their request could be met. In the spring of 1874, Isaac and

Adelia Van Horn arrived with a tent and began evangelistic services in Walla Walla. They were a talented couple. Adelia had served Ellen White as a literary assistant and for several years had edited *The Youth's Instructor*. Isaac, a convert of Joseph Bates, had been the second treasurer of the General Conference and an active evangelist in Minnesota.

One of the converts from Van Horn's first series of lectures in Walla Walla, Sergeant Alonzo Trevier Jones, then stationed at Fort Walla Walla, was to loom large in later Adventist history. A voracious reader, Jones devoured all the Adventist books Van Horn could lend him. That summer (1874) he was baptized, exclaiming dramatically as he emerged from the water "Dead to the world, and alive to thee, O my God!"

Upon receiving his army discharge, Jones married Adelia Van Horn's sister and for nearly a decade preached throughout Oregon and Washington. In 1884 he joined the Pacific Publishing Association in Oakland. Here he came in close contact with Ellet J. Waggoner, son of J. H. Waggoner, editor of *The Signs of the Times*. The names of Jones and Waggoner were to be linked with some of the most stirring theological discussions the Adventist Church was ever to hear.

Laymen established the first Adventist companies in California and Washington; the same was true back on the Great Plains. At the end of the Civil War an Iowa Adventist, Solomon Myers, settled in Decatur, Nebraska. Here he opened a general store and began making friends. Soon he was giving Adventist lectures in a nearby schoolhouse. With no ministerial help he built up a company of two dozen Sabbath keepers.

Home-Foreign Endeavor

Much of the early evangelistic endeavor in Iowa, Minnesota, and the Great Plains states was aimed at Scandinavian and German immigrants. No one showed more interest in this direction than did John G. Matteson. From the time of his conversion to Adventism in Wisconsin in 1863, Matteson burned with the urge to present his newfound hope to fellow Danes, and Norwegians and Swedes as well. Matteson was a versatile man, equally at home preaching to Kansas farmers or Chicago tradesmen. But preaching was not enough. Between lectures Matteson translated literature for

Danish and Norwegian readers; he wrote tracts and pressed his English-speaking brethren until they let him start (1872) to edit *Advent Tidende*, a monthly Danish-Norwegian religious journal and the first regular Seventh-day Adventist foreign-language periodical.

What Matteson was to early Seventh-day Adventist work among Scandinavian-Americans, Louis R. Conradi was to the German-Americans. Young Conradi had immigrated to America to seek his fortune following his father's death. After brief stops in several of the largest cities, he secured a contract to clear land for an Iowa farmer. While engaged in this work, he boarded with a neighboring Adventist family. Conradi was impressed with their sincere religious faith. The simple prayers offered for him by the children especially moved him. Soon he was attending Sabbath services. Uriah Smith's *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation* helped to establish the young German's faith. With great self-sacrifice and a bit of backing from his Iowa friends, he went off to complete the literary course at Battle Creek College.

After a short period of working at the Review and Herald, Conradi was back in Iowa. In 1881 he answered a call to work among the German-Russian Mennonites in Dakota territory. From there it was on to campaigns along the Nebraska and Kansas frontiers and back among the old German communities in Pennsylvania.

For the first quarter of a century following the Great Disappointment Seventh-day Adventists had only a limited concept of proclaiming their message to the entire world. It was such a huge task. Time was so short. The missionary endeavors of

much larger and better-financed churches had proven woefully disappointing. And so they rationalized that their distinctive truths need be presented to all the world only through token contacts with all the races and languages of mankind. Could not this be done right in America, where God in His providence had collected persons of all religions and nationalities? With this in mind James White was willing, yes anxious, to publish tracts in French, German, and Dutch; to start monthly journals in Danish and Swedish; to see Adventism preached to American Indians, former African slaves, and the occasional Hindu or Chinese.

Some Adventists were vaguely uneasy over Ellen White's descriptions of certain early visions. These seemed to indicate that believers in the three angels' messages would be found in all parts of the world at Christ's coming. But was this *really* necessary? Was it possible with their small numbers, limited resources, and the shortness of the time?

Yet Adventists were early aware that the printed page could go with ease where human messengers could not. It was only natural that those who received "present truth" with joy should want to share it with friends and relatives in their former homelands. By 1861 the *Review* was receiving messages from England and Ireland telling of decisions to keep the Sabbath and an eager awaiting of the Lord's soon return—all because of literature mailed from America.

To Europe

By 1862, in spite of the pressures of

Civil War, James White began to point out the need to send an Adventist preacher to Europe. Perhaps B. F. Snook should be the one. When one considers how soon Elder Snook was to be in opposition to the church leadership, it seems indeed fortunate that he was not sent out as the first overseas missionary.

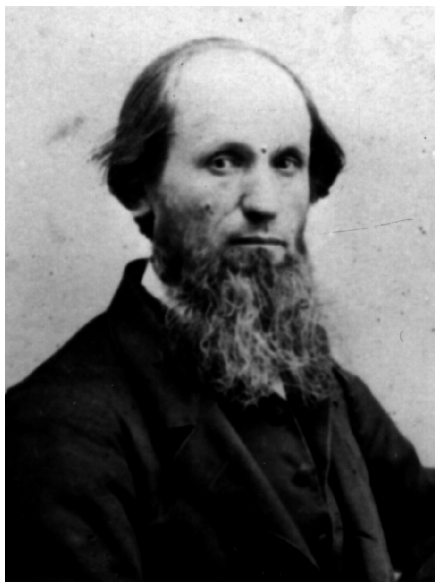
As it turned out, the first Seventh-day Adventist minister to go abroad with the idea of carrying on active evangelism was not sent by the church or with its blessing. Yet his preaching resulted in the first Seventh-day Adventist congregations in Europe and through them convinced the General Conference to send out its first overseas worker a decade later. This unofficial agent was M. B. Czechowski, the former Polish priest who had become a Seventh-day Adventist in 1857.

After several years of preaching Czechowski developed a strong desire to carry the Adventist message to Europe. He was particularly drawn to the descendants of the Waldensians, who still lived in the Alpine valleys of northwest Italy. In 1864 Czechowski asked J. N. Loughborough, then conducting a series of meetings in New York City, to intercede with the General Conference to send him as a missionary to Italy. But church leaders did not see their way clear to honor Czechowski's request. They questioned his financial judgment, his willingness to take counsel, the thoroughness of his devotion to "the Third Angel's Message," and his volatile temperament.

Unwilling to see his desired mission thwarted, Czechowski went to Boston, where he had recently published a moving account of his years as a priest and his

conversion to Protestantism. There he persuaded Advent Christian leaders to sponsor his mission to Italy. Thus in 1864, accompanied by his wife and Annie E. Butler (an Adventist Christian sister of G. I. Butler), Czechowski sailed for Europe.

Czechowski spent over a year preaching in the Piedmont valleys before opposition from both Catholic and Protestant clergy caused him to relocate in Switzerland. Focusing on the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation, he taught the seventh-day Sabbath as well as the imminent return of Jesus. Czechowski promoted his religious views through publishing a paper, *L'Evangile Eternel*. He also prepared tracts and a prophetic chart in both French and German.



M. B. Czechowski (1818-1876), although not officially sponsored by the church, spent much of the 1860s and 1870s evangelizing in central and eastern Europe.

In the course of his travels and lectures he found a receptive audience in the Swiss village of Tramelan. There he organized a church of nearly sixty members. Czechowski did not reveal to these believers, however, the existence of either the Advent Christians who had sponsored his mission to Europe or of the Seventh-day Adventists, whose doctrines he was teaching. When asked where he had secured his beliefs, he would simply reply, "From the Bible." As far as his converts were concerned, they were the only persons in the world who understood the Scriptures as they did.

A fire that damaged his partially completed home and printing office brought Czechowski's weakness in financial matters to view. Soon it became evident that he was in real difficulty. It was at this time that one of the Tramelan believers, Albert Vuilleumier, discovered a recent copy of the *Review and Herald* in a room that Czechowski had occupied during a visit. He understood enough English to realize that a religious organization existed in America holding the same views Czechowski was teaching.

A correspondence which Vuilleumier initiated with editors of the *Review* eventually led Seventh-day Adventist leaders to invite a Swiss representative to attend the 1869 General Conference in Battle Creek. The Swiss sent James Erzberger, a young theological student, who arrived too late for the General Conference session but remained in the United States to become fully grounded in Seventh-day Adventist beliefs. When he returned to Switzerland, he went as an officially ordained Seventh-day Adventist minister.

Czechowski became quite disturbed when he learned of the contacts between Tramelan and Battle Creek. The convergence of this event with an intensification of financial and personal problems led him to leave Switzerland abruptly. After sojourns in Germany and Hungary he eventually settled in Romania. Here he labored alone for several years, hampered by his lack of knowledge of the language. In spite of this he was able to win about a dozen converts in Pitesti. One of these later made contact with Seventh-day Adventists through reading the French-language journal J. N. Andrews established in Switzerland in 1876.

Worn out by his travels and troubles, Czechowski died in a Vienna hospital on February 25, 1876. His stubborn persistence had resulted in the introduction of Seventh-day Adventist beliefs into Italy, Switzerland, and Romania years before his more cautious brethren were ready to send a living herald of the third angel's message to Europe. Just how much Czechowski contributed to the success of its acceptance there is not clear. Writing a year after his own arrival in Europe, J. N. Andrews could see mainly the "pain and sadness" which the former priest's conduct had brought to "the people of God." In Andrews's eyes the good accomplished by Czechowski "was largely due to the wise counsel and valuable assistance of Sister A. E. Butler, at that time a member of his family. . . . Her services as a translator and general assistant were such that he could not have done without them. Indeed, when her labor ceased and other helpers took her place the work of Eld. C. soon ended in sorrow to the people

of God." Yet whatever the weakness of the human instruments involved, Seventh-day Adventism had crossed the Atlantic and had made the first step toward becoming an international rather than just an American church.

Although Erzberger did not attend the 1869 General Conference, the subject of sending missionaries to other lands was considered by the delegates. One result was the formation of a Seventh-day Adventist missionary society under the presidency of James White. Its goal was to promote "the third angel's message by means of missionaries, papers, books, tracts, etc." All Seventh-day Adventists were invited to join the society by paying a five-dollar membership fee. Elder White called for additional donations "all the way from ten cents to one hundred dollars" so that the society might meet the "almost daily" applications. General Conference headquarters was receiving to send publications to other lands.

In subsequent months reports of Erzberger's activities in Switzerland began appearing in the *Review*. There were also frequent calls from the Swiss for an experienced worker. They also sent Adhémar Vuilleumier to Battle Creek for study, and perhaps to serve as a perpetual reminder of their needs.

Late in 1871 Ellen White received a vision indicating a need for more dedication in presenting Adventism to others. As a result she called for young men to learn other languages "that God may use them as mediums to communicate His saving truth to those of other nations." Foreign language publications were needed in more abundance, Mrs. White wrote. But

that was not enough; men and women must be sent abroad to bear a personal witness.

J. N. Andrews, First Official Overseas Missionary

Two years later James White began promoting broader plans for spreading Adventism. Illness had kept White from exercising active leadership in the General Conference for several years; but as his health returned, so did his concepts of what needed to be, and could be, done. He suggested that Elder Andrews should be sent to help the European brethren. This could be done by taking advantage of the nearly \$2000 available in the General Conference's European Mission Fund.

White also called for a much larger work in the big cities of America. Tent meetings should be held in places like New York, Chicago, and Boston with "tons of our publications" being distributed. Why not start a daily paper in each city to advertise the meetings much as Himes had done during the Millerite movement? Perhaps it might be wise to establish new denominational presses on the East and West coasts. "We have altogether too long made child's play of the message which God has committed to us to give to the people," White maintained.

Others were beginning to catch the wider vision. George Butler could look forward to the day when "scores and hundreds of missionaries will go from this land to other lands," many of them having been educated at Battle Creek College. In the summer of 1874, a year after James White had initially proposed it, the General Conference voted that J.

N. Andrews should go to Europe "as soon as practicable." Elder White was already looking further ahead and asking, "who will go to England? Do we have a better man than Loughborough?"

Just a month after the official action to send him to Europe, Elder Andrews, accompanied by his motherless son and daughter and Adhémar Vuilleumier, sailed from Boston. Andrews's scholarly and linguistic abilities, his long experience in the cause, his service as a *Review* editor, and his years from 1867 to 1869 as General Conference president gave credence to Ellen White's statement that the American Adventists were sending their European brethren "the ablest man in our ranks." After a brief stop in England and Scotland to visit Seventh Day Baptist brethren, Andrews's party arrived in Switzerland to be greeted with rejoicing by the Swiss believers.

Elder Andrews immediately set about learning French, at the same time visiting the little companies Czechowski had established. He also inserted advertisements in several of the newspapers having the widest circulation in Central Europe. In these he invited correspondence from those who were either keeping the Bible Sabbath or were interested in investigating the obligation to do so.

Early in 1875 the Swiss believers learned through an itinerant beggar of a Sabbath-keeping company in southern Germany. They dispatched Andrews and Erzberger to visit this company led by J. H. Lindermann. Through Bible study Lindermann had come to interpretations of the Sabbath, baptism, and the Second Coming that closely paralleled Seventh-day Adventist views. His disagreement

over the millennium kept him from becoming a Seventh-day Adventist, but some of his congregation formed the nucleus of German Adventism. While Andrews soon returned to Switzerland, Erzberger stayed on in Germany until the summer of 1878. During this time he visited and lectured from the Rhine to East Prussia.

Back in Switzerland, Elder Andrews continued his language study while engaging in correspondence with those who answered his newspaper advertisements. He also began planning a French-language evangelistic journal. Then early in 1876 D. T. Bourdeau arrived in Switzerland to help Andrews. That summer they issued the first number of *Les Signes des Temps*. This journal was circulated extensively, not only in Switzerland, but also in France and Italy. In October the Bourdeaus settled in southern France to engage in evangelistic endeavors. Al-

though unable to secure public halls for meetings, and hampered by French laws restricting gatherings in private homes or the distribution of religious literature that had not been approved by a Catholic bishop, Bourdeau nevertheless won a few converts before returning to Switzerland and eventually to America.

Meanwhile, Andrews had begun correspondence with Herbert Ribton, an Irish physician who had settled in Naples, Italy. Ribton had become convinced of the Sabbath through reading an English Seventh Day Baptist periodical. These same English Seventh Day Baptists directed Ribton to Andrews as one closer at hand who could give him further instruction. In 1877 Andrews visited Italy and baptized Ribton, his wife, and his daughter. Dr. Ribton was anxious to promote his new beliefs and, in spite of opposition, he was able to recruit a small company in Naples.



This chapel in Tramelan, Switzerland was the first Seventh-day Adventist church building outside North America. Ellen White dedicated it on Christmas day, 1886.

The Neapolitan Adventists in turn kindled the first Seventh-day Adventist light in Moslem lands. They began to send *Les Signes des Temps* to friends in the Italian colony in Alexandria, Egypt. To follow up the interest that had been aroused, Ribton moved to Alexandria in 1879. He began work among the many sailors in this busiest of Mediterranean ports, opened a small school, tried house-to-house visitation, and had several tracts translated into Arabic. Tragically, during the Anti-European riots fostered by Arabi Pasha in 1882, Ribton and several of his Italian converts were assassinated. This deprived Adventism of its most enthusiastic and talented proponent in Egypt.

Elder Andrews's failing health made it essential that he be reinforced by experienced workers from America. The B. L. Whitneys were dispatched to help with the publishing work; while D. T. Bourdeau, accompanied by his brother, returned to work in Italy and France. Andrews continued his editorial work from his sick bed until a few days before his death in 1883. He laid good foundations for the publishing work; in the year following his death a monthly German evangelistic paper and quarterly journals in the Italian and Romanian languages were begun.

J. G. Matteson

While Andrews and his associates were busy in central and southern Europe, J. C. Matteson was energetically lighting Adventist fires throughout Scandinavia. In response to requests from readers of the *Advent Tidende*, which had been mailed to Denmark and Norway by Matteson's

American converts, the General Conference in 1877 approved sending Matteson to Denmark. Although hampered by legal restrictions, opposition from the state church, and a disinclination on the part of the majority of Danes to be much interested in religion, Matteson was soon selling and giving away tracts and holding meetings in barns and private homes.

After a year in Denmark Matteson went to Norway, where he found substantially more interest in both religion and temperance. Capitalizing on this, he launched public meetings in Christiania (Oslo), first in a theater, later in a gymnasium. Often audiences of more than a thousand turned out to hear him. Liberal offerings covered all Matteson's expenses for advertising and rent.

In his eagerness to print Adventist literature in Danish Elder Matteson had taught himself to set type. This experience now stood him in good stead, for in 1879 he organized a publishing house in Christiania and began to publish the monthly *Tidernes Tegn* (*Signs of the Times*). Among Matteson's converts in Norway were two Swedes, Jonas Rosquist, a cobbler, and Olaf Johnson, a farmer. Matteson urged them to return to Sweden and begin to preach. This they did, and Matteson followed. The work in Sweden progressed slowly, in part because of the opposition of the state church and in part because of the hard times that made it difficult to find employment which did not involve work on Sabbath. By 1884, however, interest had become great enough to warrant the publication of a semimonthly magazine in Swedish.

Work in England

Although Andrews had visited England on his way to Switzerland in 1874, it was four years later before permanent work was begun there by William Ings, an Englishman who had grown up in America. Ings, a long-time employee in the *Review* office, was sent to Europe to aid in setting up the Swiss publishing house. On a two-week holiday to his native land he distributed literature and succeeded in winning several to the Adventist faith. When Andrews heard this, he arranged for Ings to return to England as a regular worker. Soon he was joined by the J. N. Loughboroughs.

Loughborough attempted tent evangelism in England. Hundreds came to hear, but few were willing to abandon their traditional churches for an upstart American denomination. By the 1880s, however, the pattern of establishing a local publishing house and printing an evangelistic paper had been set. *Present Truth* was inaugurated in 1884, and M. C. Wilcox came from America to edit it.

Hannah More

Their tardiness in accepting the idea of a worldwide ministry led Seventh-day Adventists to miss an opportunity to develop mission work in Africa a decade before Andrews went to Europe. While Miss Hannah More—a missionary serving for another denomination in West Africa—was home in Massachusetts on furlough, she was exposed to Seventh-day Adventist doctrines, which she accepted. Yet she returned to Africa as superintendent

of an orphanage operated by an English missionary society. Miss More's acceptance of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines led to her eventual discharge, whereupon she journeyed to Battle Creek seeking employment. With Ellen and James White absent due to James's poor health, there were none to recognize the opportunity for utilizing an experienced missionary. Miss More was forced to accept employment in the home of a former colleague, then residing in northern Michigan. She died a few months later.

While still in Africa Miss More had shared her new belief with a fellow missionary, a native of Australia, Alexander Dickson. Mr. Dickson returned to Australia and was the first to preach Seventh-day Adventist doctrines there. Although he stirred up considerable interest, he failed to establish permanent contact with Adventist headquarters, became discouraged, and eventually renounced the Sabbath.

Australia

The Whites had begun to express an interest in Australia as early as 1874. Even before Andrews left for Europe, James White had written that, "a mission must very soon be opened in Australia." About this time Ellen had a vision in which she saw printing presses in many countries turning out Adventist literature. When her husband asked if she could remember the countries involved, Australia was the only one she could recall.

Yet it was ten years before the General Conference officially voted to send S. N. Haskell, J. O. Corliss and a party of

helpers to establish a mission “down under.” They arrived at the start of the Australian winter, in June 1885. Much interest was awakened by William Arnold, an experienced colporteur, who immediately began to sell books, tracts, and magazine subscriptions. True to the pattern developed elsewhere, Haskell’s party began tent meetings in the Melbourne area. Seven months after their arrival they also launched a sixteen-page monthly, *The Bible Echo and Signs of the Times*. Haskell introduced the plan of visiting from house to house until persons interested in religious matters could be

found and encouraged to study the Bible with their Adventist visitors.

Twenty years after Czechowski had sailed on his unauthorized mission to Europe, Seventh-day Adventists launched a substantial drive to herald their message on the other side of the world. Although the first years in Australia were difficult ones, Adventism would take healthy root on the smallest of the continents. Here a vital base for evangelizing much of the Southwest Pacific was established, and in time Australian Adventism proved to be a powerful influence in the worldwide outreach of the church.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Specific countries and individuals:

H. O. McCumber, *Pioneering the Message in the Golden West* (1946), relates the move of Adventism across the United States.

G. D. Hagstotz, *The Seventh-day Adventists in the British Isles, 1878-1933* (1936).

L. H. Christian, *Sons of the North and Their Share in the Advent Movement* (1942), chronicles Adventism in Scandinavia.

C. M. Maxwell, *Tell It to the World* (1976), chapter 21, is a human interest account of M. B. Czechowski.

Harry Leonard, ed., *J. N. Andrews: the Man and the Mission* (1985), is a collection of seventeen papers presented at a symposium on Andrews at Collonges, France, in 1983.

Standard accounts:

M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), chapters 13, 14, 17–20, is a general account of Adventist missions as seen in the 1920s.

Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of Seventh-day Adventists (1886), no author, is a detailed account of the beginnings of Adventist missions, including reports of the European Councils of 1883, 1884, and 1885.

E. K. VandeVere, *Windows* (1975), pp. 179-198, quotes and comments upon statements by Adventists in actual mission work during this period.

Organizational Developments, 1864-1887

During its first quarter century the Seventh-day Adventist Church membership grew sevenfold. In place of an estimated 3500 church members when the General Conference was organized in 1863, there were 26,112 by mid-1888. These were spread over thirty-two local conferences and five mission fields and organized into 901 churches. In 1888 one of every six Seventh-day Adventists lived in Michigan. California, the local conference with the second largest constituency, numbered less than half the membership of the Adventists in Michigan. Yet these members were more affluent and more liberal, contributing 25 percent more in tithes than did those in the larger conference.

The church's Midwestern base in these years is clearly shown by the fact that, after Michigan and California, the four strongest conferences numerically

were Kansas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. It was also in these states that major efforts had been made to evangelize Scandinavian and German-speaking Americans. Outside the United States, Seventh-day Adventist numbers were still counted in the hundreds in any one country or area: less than 400 in Australia and New Zealand; about 150 in Great Britain, perhaps the same in Canada, some 700 in all of Germany, Switzerland, France, and Italy, and a few more than that in Scandinavia.

By 1890, only two of the Adventist denominations to emerge from the Millerite movement had developed significant memberships: the Advent Christians and Seventh-day Adventists. Of these two, the Advent Christians attracted more of the prominent Millerite leaders, but the Seventh-day Adventists had 10 percent more members. In succeeding years,

while Advent Christian membership remained relatively constant, that of Seventh-day Adventists grew rapidly.

Tract and Missionary Societies

Several factors contributed to the successful growth of Seventh-day Adventists. As noted previously, Seventh-day Adventist ministers were regarded primarily as evangelists rather than as pastors. Church leaders also set out to mobilize lay members and turn them into lay evangelists. During the 1870s the tract and missionary societies developed from a group of four women who, in late 1868 or early 1869, began meeting for weekly prayer in the South Lancaster, Massachusetts home of Mary and Stephen Haskell. Concern for their children first drew these women together; this soon broadened to include non-Adventist neighbors and those in whom the advent hope had dimmed. Activity followed concern. The small group, which soon doubled in number, began writing letters, making religion-oriented visits to neighbors, and lending or giving away dozens of Adventist tracts, books, and pamphlets.

Haskell's enthusiastic vision of the work to be done had by 1869 brought him to the position of preeminent leader among New England Seventh-day Adventists. He never forgot that it had been a tract which first focused his attention on the Sabbath. Haskell was also deeply moved by recent appeals from the Whites to increase the distribution of Adventist literature. He sensed that, with a little direction, the group of women meeting in his home might be encouraged

to expand their activities. On June 8, 1869, Elder Haskell helped these women establish a formal organization, the Vigilant Missionary Society.

These busy housewives met each Wednesday afternoon to pray and plan. Systematically they divided up the village territory and began regular visits to discover the poor and ill in need of aid, the spiritually weak and hungry to whom they could bring the good news of the three angels' messages. With Haskell's skillful encouragement they began mailing tracts to hundreds of persons whose names they secured from a variety of sources, including commercial directories. These recipients were encouraged to begin corresponding about spiritual matters.

The Vigilant Missionary Society ladies gained a valuable recruit when Maria Huntley moved to South Lancaster from the old Washington, New Hampshire, church. Recognizing her abilities, the women made Maria their president. Soon she had them looking far beyond the confines of South Lancaster. Correspondence with foreign lands was begun, with Maria herself learning French in order to handle inquiries in that language.

One of Elder Haskell's first actions after being elected president of the New England Conference in 1870 was to organize the New England Tract and Missionary Society. Its aim was to establish groups like the Vigilant Missionary Society in every church. Haskell divided the conference into districts, a move which helped to establish an organizational pattern within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Over each district he appointed



Maria Huntley (1847-1890), president of the Vigilant Missionary Society in South Lancaster, Massachusetts, during the 1870s. She organized and directed many women in distributing denominational literature among foreign language groups as well as English-speaking persons.

a director who was to organize a tract and missionary society in every church in the district. Local societies selected a librarian who directed and kept a record of activities and ordered literature from state headquarters. Before long these local societies expanded the activities begun by the Vigilant Missionary Society women. They began systematic efforts to place Seventh-day Adventist books in local public libraries and took responsibility for soliciting new and renewal subscriptions to Adventist periodicals.

James White was alert to the potential of this fledgling New England organization. After a quick on-the-spot inspection

he advocated similar societies throughout the denomination. With General Conference blessing Stephen Haskell was soon traveling from conference to conference organizing tract and missionary societies. Throughout 1874 Elder White published a new monthly journal, *The True Missionary*, to promote the interests of the tract societies.

The General Conference session that voted to send J. N. Andrews to Europe also organized a General Conference Tract and Missionary Society to coordinate the work of local and state societies. James White became both its president and president of the General Conference. As business agent, S. N. Haskell served as chief promoter of Tract and Missionary Society activities, while Secretary Maria Huntley handled routine business from 1874 until her death in 1890.

In 1876 Elder Haskell succeeded James White as president of the General Conference Tract and Missionary Society. Until he left to open Adventist work in Australia, Haskell's principal efforts were devoted to expanding Tract and Missionary Society activities. During this same time he served simultaneously as president of several state conferences, sometimes as widely separated as Maine and California!

The statistics gathered so faithfully by society officers at Haskell's urging provide a good picture of the success achieved in mobilizing the church for lay-evangelistic endeavors. Although the 1884 report indicated that fewer than half of the church members belonged to tract and missionary societies, these members were active. They reported making over

83,000 missionary visits that year, writing more than 35,000 missionary letters, and obtaining more than 19,000 subscriptions to the *Review*, *Signs of the Times*, *Good Health*, or one of the foreign-language periodicals. Most impressive were the totals of Seventh-day Adventist literature given away: nearly 1,750,000 individual periodicals and tracts.

Growth of the Publishing Work

The program of literature distribution sponsored by the tract and missionary societies greatly increased the demand for Adventist tracts and books. By 1880 the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association had twenty hardbound books for sale, with more than thirty other titles available in paper covers. Some of the latter were condensations of larger volumes. The major Adventist author at this time was Uriah Smith. In addition to his commentaries on Daniel and Revelation Smith wrote books on the sanctuary and 2300 days of Daniel 8:14, the United States in prophecy, the nature and destiny of man, and a general treatise on the principal biblical doctrines as understood by Seventh-day Adventists. Ellen White's four *Spirit of Prophecy* volumes were an early version of her later Conflict of the Ages series. Other major authors were J. N. Andrews, James White, D. M. Canright, and J. H. Waggoner.

More than fifty tracts, ranging in size from eight to thirty-two pages and costing one to four cents each, covered major Seventh-day Adventist doctrines, with heavy emphasis on the Sabbath, the state of the dead, and last-day events. A

special group of health books and tracts, most authored by Dr. J. H. Kellogg, also were published. Even the youth were not forgotten. In addition to four volumes of *Sabbath Readings for the Home Circle* there were the *Sunshine* and *Golden Grain* series.

Gradually the missionary societies assumed responsibility for collecting the subscription price for church journals, as well as for persuading dozens of non-church members to take trial subscriptions to one of the Adventist periodicals. Local tract and missionary societies subscribed to *The Signs of the Times* in bulk for free distribution. In some instances they even underwrote the initial cost of tracts, periodicals, and small books so that a church member might initiate a canvassing career. This led to the appearance of a new group of Adventist workers—the colporteurs.

Literature Evangelists

About this time Ellen White placed her influence behind the call for putting colporteur evangelists to work “in all parts of the field.” “If there is one work more important than another,” she wrote, “it is that of getting our publications before the public, thus leading them to search the Scriptures.”

It took the introduction of subscription book sales, however, to get colporteurs operating full time on a regular basis. Selling books on subscription was big business in late nineteenth-century America. Sales agents went door to door taking orders for later delivery for everything from county histories to

the latest book by popular authors such as Mark Twain. In 1880 Dr. John Harvey Kellogg decided to test the subscription market for his recently completed, lavishly illustrated, 1600-page *Home Hand Book of Domestic Hygiene and Rational Medicine*. He personally instructed a small group of young men before sending them off to take orders. Kellogg's book eventually went through several editions and was sold by the hundreds of thousands.

One of those whom Kellogg sent out was George A. King, a young Canadian who had come to Battle Creek with the desire to become a Seventh-day Adventist preacher. King's lack of education and stumbling speech convinced James White that he had no gift for preaching. Still, Elder White wished to see the young man use his talents in spreading the advent message. With this in mind White persuaded "Uncle Richard" Godsmark, who farmed near Battle Creek, to take King home and let him work for room and board until summer, when he might be assigned as an assistant with a tent company.

With Godsmark's encouragement King spent his free moments preaching to empty chairs in the big parlor. At last arrangements were made for him to give a trial sermon one Sabbath afternoon before the Godsmark family and visiting church friends. The sermon was a disaster. At its close Mrs. Godsmark tactfully suggested that perhaps King should try a less conventional way of preaching—selling and distributing Seventh-day Adventist tracts and booklets from house to house. Uncle Richard agreed to finance

his initial supply. The first week King sold only sixty-two cents' worth of tracts, but he loved the work and soon became a successful salesman of tracts and subscriptions to *Good Health* and *Signs of the Times*.

This colporteur that wanted to preach was not satisfied with selling only a health book. He wanted to see the entire three angels' messages placed before the people. In the fall of 1880 George King began to lobby with Seventh-day Adventist leaders. He suggested that they bind Uriah Smith's two smaller books, *Thoughts on Daniel* and *Thoughts on the Revelation*, into one volume. If such a book were given dramatic illustrations of



George King (1847-1906) was one of the most successful nineteenth-century colporteurs. He promoted the idea of subscription books for house-to-house sale.

the beasts and symbols discussed, he was sure he could sell copies easily. At last the publishing house managers agreed to bind up a limited number of this combination to see what George King could do.

King was successful enough so that the following year the Review and Herald Publishing Association decided to bring out a handsomely illustrated new edition. When the first copy was ready in the spring of 1882, George King rushed off to show it to the employees of a Battle Creek broom factory where he was temporarily employed. Enthusiastically he persuaded fellow worker D. W. Reavis to buy this first copy for "good luck." Within four days King took orders for twenty-five copies of Elder Smith's book. This was just the beginning. Soon others were in the field selling *Daniel and the Revelation*. King proved an excellent recruiter of colporteurs as well as an expert salesman. For the next quarter century, until his death in 1906, he sold thousands of dollars' worth of Adventist literature.

As canvassers went to territories farther away from Battle Creek, they found it more convenient to secure the books they sold from the state Tract and Missionary Society rather than to order directly from the publisher. Gradually the state societies took direction of all subscription sales in their territory, and the state agent became a recruiter and trainer of colporteurs. Just as the state societies themselves gradually evolved into book and Bible houses and then into today's Adventist Book Centers, so the state agent was gradually transformed into today's publishing director.

A new way had been found to present

Adventist beliefs to an ever-widening audience at little expense to the church. Since colporteurs could sell the large subscription books for a substantial amount while buying them from the Tract Societies at half their retail price, they were able to make a living even if they sold modest numbers in any one day or week. Soon students were finding canvassing an excellent way to finance their education. Colporteurs swarmed into the field in increasing numbers. By 1886 the tract and missionary societies reported over 400 canvassers in the field.

One other development within Adventism is directly traceable to the tract and missionary societies: the first systematic attempt to penetrate the large American cities with Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. Years earlier, in 1873, James White had suggested that the time had come to pay more attention to the big cities. However, Elder White, along with most Adventist preachers, appeared more comfortable in small towns and villages. It was in these areas that Adventist evangelists most easily attracted crowds and gained converts.

City Evangelism

City evangelism seemed to be waiting for an effective method of contacting people in a way that would identify those with religious interests. It was Stephen Haskell who saw the possibility of doing this through house-to-house visitation by canvassers, persons distributing tracts, and visitors who would offer to "hold a Bible reading" and examine pertinent texts on any religious topic.

Haskell's enthusiasm for the tract and missionary societies and their sponsorship of tract distribution and canvassing made them logical organizations to launch city evangelistic missions. Beginning in 1883 these societies worked closely with the state conferences in this project. By 1886 they had permanent missions operating in twenty-five major American cities and temporary ones in ten others. Among the cities were New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

The missions consisted of living quarters for the workers and, if possible, a lecture hall for public meetings, a reading room, and a storage area for books and tracts. In 1886 some 102 experienced workers were employed in the city missions, and an additional 224 assisted them in order to learn methods of house-to-house evangelism. These workers conducted more than 3100 public meetings and gave more than 20,000 Bible readings that year. Their efforts led to 568 persons' accepting Seventh-day Adventist doctrines and joining the church. One of the more unusual aspects of the city missions was the work of the eleven ship missionaries who operated in eight port cities. These persons visited more than 5700 ships in 1886 and left with the crews literature totaling 259,777 pages.

During the 1880s the evangelistic mission helped Adventism take root in the large centers of population. The heavy costs involved, however, and the difficulty experienced in finding qualified managers for such work, eventually convinced the conferences to discontinue city missions; but they played a vital role at a crucial

period of denominational growth.

It was all very well to free Seventh-day Adventist ministers for public evangelism and to train church members to be lay missionaries, but it was also necessary to instruct, encourage, and preserve in the faith those who accepted Adventist doctrines. If this traditional pastoral role were not to be filled by Adventist ministers except through occasional visits, other persons or institutions had to do the job. One means, dating back to the earliest days of organization, was the quarterly meeting. Once every three months the churches in an area gathered together for Sabbath services. Usually a minister, perhaps a conference official, was present to preside. Each member attending was called upon to evaluate his or her present spiritual state during a "social meeting." Those church members who found it impossible to attend a quarterly meeting were expected to give their testimony by letter. Failure to attend or send a letter was generally assumed to indicate spiritual problems. This alerted local church officers to visit and encourage the wavering member.

Camp Meetings

As membership grew, some conferences expanded the late-summer quarterly meeting into a conference-wide convocation, which might extend to four or five days. In September 1867 one such convocation in the Illinois-Wisconsin Conference attracted 300 church members, most of whom were housed in twelve tents pitched in a grove a few rods from the home of conference president Isaac Sanborn. This Johnstown Center

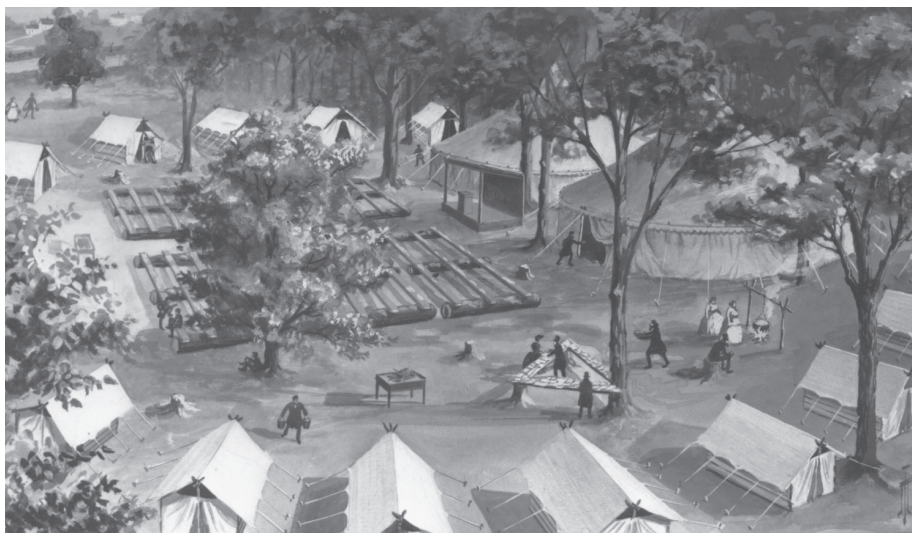
ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1864-1887

meeting featured a number of sermons by James and Ellen White.

It was just a year later, September 1-7, 1868, that the first officially designated camp meeting was held by Seventh-day Adventists on the farm of E. H. Root near Wright, Michigan. Camp meetings were a product of the American frontier, dating back to the early nineteenth century. They had been especially popular with the Methodists and had been used with good effect during the Millerite movement. Once Seventh-day Adventist numbers increased sufficiently to warrant such meetings, it was natural for leaders to initiate camp meetings as a means for bringing their scattered flock together for religious instruction and encouragement. Yet it was with some misgivings and fear of the emotionalism and disorder which had frequently marred the spiritual tone

of the frontier camp meetings, that the 1868 General Conference session voted to recommend such gatherings.

The fears proved groundless. The Wright meeting, which attracted as many as 2000 at some services, was a model of decorum. More than 300 persons camped throughout the week in twenty-two tents provided by the various churches. Two of the tents were occupied by believers from Wisconsin; another by members who had journeyed from New York. Nearly a dozen ministers were present to bring encouragement to those in attendance, but the principal sermons were given by the Whites and J. N. Andrews. Although the big Michigan and Ohio evangelistic tents were pitched for use in case of rain, most meetings were held under the trees, with the congregation seated on rough log benches.



An artist's rendering of the first general Seventh-day Adventist camp meeting in Wright, Michigan, 1868. Camp meetings became an Adventist institution, sometimes attracting thousands to weekend meetings.

Fellowship with believers of like faith, a chance to share experiences and compare spiritual insights—these were prime features of the camp meeting. Two or three social meetings were held each day, and there was more time for sharing around the campfires and during the common meals. J. O. Corliss presided over a book stand composed of three rough planks arranged in a triangle. Here he sold over \$600 worth of literature.

Later that same season other camp meetings were held in Illinois and Iowa. The next year seven states, from New Hampshire to Minnesota, followed the pattern established at Wright. All wanted the Whites to attend. This they attempted to do for many years in spite of the heavy strain this placed on them each year from August through October. The campers, too, sacrificed many conveniences for the sake of the spiritual benefits derived. Sleeping quarters were crowded as the members of a church shared one tent that had been partitioned down the middle to provide separate areas for women and men. Regular beds were not available, and the straw ticks provided did not always cushion the ground to the sleeper's complete satisfaction. Cooking was done around an open fire or cold foods were secured from the provision tent. Yet throughout the 1870s and 80s the popularity of camp meetings increased.

The camp meetings were more than just a time to confirm Seventh-day Adventists in the faith. They had a definite evangelistic purpose as well. For this reason, as well as to make them more available to all members in a conference, they were originally

pitched at different sites each year. Sometimes, when there was a good publicity agent adept at approaching newspapers in the right way, huge crowds turned out for weekend services. The most impressive example was the Groveland, Massachusetts camp meeting of 1876 when an estimated 20,000 persons came on Sunday afternoon to hear Ellen White, thanks in no small part to the excellent contacts Mrs. White's niece, Mary Clough, had made with the press. Later that same year at the Lansing, Michigan camp meeting more than 1600 persons camped in 120 tents on the grounds. On Sunday an additional 6000 arrived in more than 1200 wagons and buggies.

The Sabbath School

Although quarterly and camp meetings were valuable in keeping Seventh-day Adventists established in the faith, a more constant method of indoctrination was needed, especially for the young—this was provided by the Sabbath School. The use of Sunday Schools to bring religious instruction to children dates back to Martin Luther and John Knox. In America the Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, had begun Sabbath Schools as early as 1739. This Sabbath School introduced the plan of using small cards on which Bible verses were printed as part of the weekly instruction. Some forty years later Robert Raikes began the modern Sunday School movement in England among children exploited all week in the nation's factories. His goal was to teach the basics of reading and writing along with the elements of Christianity.

As in so many other things it was James White who gave Sabbath Schools the first impetus among Seventh-day Adventists. His concern for children of believers led him to launch *The Youth's Instructor* in 1852. A series of Sabbath School lessons was one of this journal's chief ingredients. White set the example for other sabbatarian Adventist companies by starting a Sabbath School in Rochester in 1853. John Byington soon followed in Buck's Bridge, as did Merritt Kellogg in Battle Creek.

Yet many Seventh-day Adventist companies did not bother to form Sabbath Schools, and there was considerable variety among those that did. Some placed heavy emphasis on the memorization of numerous Bible texts. Others kept careful records both of attendance and the quality of pupils' recitations. Most schools early divided into two classes: children and adults. Each class decided what it would study. The majority followed the lessons in *The Youth's Instructor*, but sometimes these were missing for months at a time. At such times a class might decide to study the Sermon on the Mount, the book of Genesis, or the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation.

During these first decades there was no central organization to give guidance to Sabbath School teachers and officers. There were no lesson aids for teachers or papers for students. Some of the larger churches did have small libraries of a dozen or so books in which those interested could do further study. Generally, however, all were dependent upon their own resources. There were no offerings, no mission appeals. Outside of the

recitation period, during which students answered questions posed by the teachers, singing, prayers, and perhaps an introduction to the following week's lesson made up the rest of the program.

A partial attempt was made in 1863 to provide material more suitable to the varying age groups when Adelia Patten began lessons especially designed for children in *The Youth's Instructor*. Contemporaneously Uriah Smith published a series for adults in the Review. But neither of these lasted. A more successful and sustained effort came in 1869, when G. H. Bell, as editor of the *Instructor*, prepared and published separate lessons for children and youth. Collected into eight different yearly series, and later published as small books, Bell's lessons were used for a quarter century.

Professor Bell's connection with *The Youth's Instructor* proved a boon to the Sabbath Schools. Not only were lessons improved, but Bell shared with his readers the organizational plans that had contributed, under his leadership, to the success of the Battle Creek Sabbath School. Unfortunately, many Seventh-day Adventist churches lacked persons with Bell's dedication and abilities. Too frequently those in charge were more than willing to cancel the Sabbath School, especially on days when a visiting minister was available for the church service.

How could all the churches be led to strengthen their Sabbath School programs? At a Battle Creek Sabbath School teachers' meeting one evening Bell suggested that a state association of Sabbath Schools might enable the strong schools to encourage and help the weaker ones.

The idea drew a favorable response, a committee was formed, and plans for a state Sabbath School Association were drafted and circulated among interested church leaders. Soon word came back from California that there, in August of 1877, representatives of the state's Sabbath Schools had organized a state association. Similar action was taken in Michigan a few weeks later. The next March delegates to the General Conference session established a General Sabbath School Association under the presidency of D. M. Canright, to tie together the various state Sabbath School organizations.

With contributions received from local schools the state and general associations began a systematic campaign to promote better Sabbath Schools. Among the first association accomplishments were the conducting of model Sabbath Schools at each camp meeting and the promotion of weekly offerings for use in purchasing necessary supplies such as songbooks, record books, maps, and *Youth's Instructors*. Some objected to offerings on Sabbath, but Ellen White approved the idea. At the General Association's initiative small, brown tin safes were made available to each school for a dollar. These were fastened securely near the door, and all who attended were encouraged to bring a penny with them each week to place in the box.

In 1885 Sabbath School members began to take an increased interest in missions. During the first quarter of that year the Oakland, California, school decided to give all its weekly offerings to help establish Adventism in Australia. A few

months later the Upper Columbia and California associations voted to do the same. The idea caught on rapidly. When, in 1887, the General Association asked all the schools to give their offerings to help establish the first Seventh-day Adventist mission station in Africa, \$10,615 was collected.

The General Association, also in 1885, arranged for the publication of a small quarterly entitled the *Sabbath School Worker*. This contained articles on organizational and teaching methods. Several years later an economy drive relegated this material to an *Instructor* supplement. In 1890, however, the *Worker* returned, this time as a monthly that included mission articles and lesson helps as well as promotional materials.

Work for the Youth

With improved Sabbath Schools and the founding of Battle Creek College in 1874 most adult Seventh-day Adventists seemed to feel that they had adequately provided for the spiritual needs of their children and youth. Not all youthful Adventists shared this view. In the summer of 1879 fourteen-year-old Luther Warren and seventeen-year-old Harry Fenner of rural Hazelton, Michigan, began to discuss how they might help their less-spiritual friends. Soon they devised the idea of a boys' missionary society.

The six or eight boys persuaded to attend the first meetings in Luther's bedroom were somewhat shy about praying, singing, and planning literature distribution together. They persisted, however,

and before long some of the girls in the church desired to join their society. Meetings were moved into the parlor under the eye of a friendly adult. Soon activities broadened to include picnics, taffy pulls, sleigh rides, and other social events. But Hazelton was too far from the main centers of Adventism. The youth society there remained a local affair. It would be another quarter of a century before the General Conference would see the advantages of systematically promoting organizations such as the one Warren and Fenner had begun for the young people of their hometown.

Temperance Work

Apparently it took prominent and energetic leaders such as James White, Stephen Haskell or G. H. Bell to move Seventh-day Adventists into organizing a particular new endeavor. Such a figure appeared in the late 1870s in the youthful head of the Battle Creek Sanitarium: Dr. John Harvey Kellogg. Just as Haskell envisioned turning all church members into active lay evangelists, so Kellogg proposed making them into health and temperance propagandists. But first it was necessary to make certain that they, themselves, were practicing health reform principles. Kellogg suspected that many were not. During the winter of 1878-79 Dr. Kellogg stimulated considerable interest among Battle Creek Adventists in the possibility of organizing a national health and temperance society. With the active cooperation of the Whites and G. I. Butler the projected association became an actuality on January 5, 1879.

Kellogg was elected president. The doctor, perhaps influenced by the recently organized Women's Christian Temperance Union, insisted that membership not be limited to Adventists, but be open to all "of good moral character" who would pay a modest twenty-five-cent initiation fee, annual dues of ten cents, and who would sign one of three temperance pledges. The American Health and Temperance Association encouraged its members to subscribe to a "teetotal pledge," agreeing to abandon the use of *any* narcotic or stimulant. This included alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee. Lesser pledges renouncing alcohol alone, or both alcohol and tobacco, were available for those not ready for a complete ban on stimulants, but the association contemplated a broader view of temperance. To promote all aspects of health, state and local chapters actively distributed health literature and promoted temperance lectures.

The 1879 General Conference session supported Kellogg by voting that it was "the duty of all members of this denomination to become members of the American Health and Temperance Association, and to use their influence in inducing others to unite in this reformatory effort." Two years later the General Conference authorized meetings of the American Health and Temperance Association at each camp meeting. In ten years Kellogg's travels and lectures did much to swell the association to 20,000 members who distributed 1,500,000 health and temperance tracts. Kellogg was certain that the association could claim credit for staying a denominational tendency to drift away from health reform principles.

Growth of Institutions

Once Seventh-day Adventists conquered their original fears of organization, they were willing to establish a wide variety of institutions to fulfill the work they felt called to do. In all these ventures, James White played a leading role. In 1874 he was not only president of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference, but of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, the Western Health Reform Institute, the General Tract and Missionary Society, and the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society as well. Several years earlier he had been elected president of a newly formed Seventh-day Adventist Benevolent Society. This organization, designed to care for “the relief of widows and orphans and of such other persons as may be worthy of assistance,” never became active.

Some of the objectives of the Benevolent Society were later fulfilled in the transformation of the Battle Creek Church Maternal Association at the start of 1880. The mothers, who originally gathered together weekly for prayer and study, decided to devote three out of their four monthly meetings to mending clothes for Battle Creek College students. Gradually they assumed responsibility for helping their poor and unfortunate neighbors. Changing their name to the Maternal and Dorcas Association, they led Adventist women to a continuing interest in welfare activities.

Not all of James White’s ideas materialized. In 1872 he had suggested organizing an Adventist-owned mercantile busi-

ness to provide “hat, bonnets, and shoes, of the right style . . . at reasonable prices.” He believed that such a store would “pay well” and be patronized “by a large portion of the more sensible part of the community.” Yet such an establishment failed to get beyond the idea stage.

James White Leadership Ends

In spite of the heavy responsibilities he carried during the 1870s James White never fully recovered from the severe paralytic stroke suffered in 1865. The dedication, imagination, and concern of earlier years remained; the physical abilities did not. “They who knew him only since that time,” J. H. Waggoner wrote, “cannot realize with what strength and energy he labored . . . previous to that time.”

It was hard for Elder White to relinquish the burdens he had carried so long. But attempts to keep up the old schedule simply resulted in his becoming irritable and at times petulant. His wife noted that he had a tendency to become “suspicious of almost everyone, even of his own brethren in the ministry.” Still his talents had been depended upon for so long that it was difficult for his brethren to let him lay the warrior’s armor aside even as they noted his increasing tendency to become confused and forgetful.

Toward the end of his final term of service as General Conference president, Elder White came to realize that he was in danger of becoming “soured” and “worthless to any cause as a laborer, or as a counselor.” He determined to retire and grow old gracefully. It was easier said than done. Shortly after George Butler

replaced him in 1880, James began to fret over what he felt were Butler's and Haskell's wrong actions as leaders.

Mercifully the denomination was spared a bruising conflict between its principal founding father and the younger men who replaced him in leadership. In mid-summer 1881 Elder White contracted a virulent fever following a chill brought on by changing weather he and Ellen experienced as they returned from a speaking engagement. The best efforts of Dr. Kellogg and the sanitarium staff were unavailing: on August 6, 1881, James White's earthly pilgrimage ended.

Although only sixty, he had worn himself out through vigorous service. His wife, also ill with a fever, was at first prostrated. Yet she found strength in the faith that God would sustain her. She determined "to take the work where he left it and in the strength of Jesus carry it forward to completion."

And the doctrines that James White had helped to study out and promulgate gained increasing numbers of adherents. The old general was dead, but the mighty army marched on with eyes still fixed on the heavenly Canaan to be opened before them at the Second Advent.

Suggested Topical Reading:

General reading:

J. N. Loughborough, *The Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1892), pp. 232-234, offers a first-hand account of these critical years of Adventism.

M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), chapters 12, 15, 21, and 22.

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 2 (1961), chapters 1, 3, and 4.

E. K. VandeVere, "Years of Expansion, 1865-1885," in *Adventism in America* (1986), Gary Land, ed., discusses the basic questions of church administration and expansion.

Biographical views:

E. Robinson, *S. N. Haskell, Man of Action* (1967), pp. 24-47, describes the Tract and Missionary Society work.

E. K. VandeVere, *Rugged Heart* (1979), pp. 38-75, offers a biographical view of the administrative problems faced by General Conference president George I. Butler.

Virgil Robinson, *James White* (1976), pp. 164-316, is a treatment of church administration in a biographical context.

Doctrinal Developments, 1849-1888

Seventh-day Adventists were not surprised at the continued growth of their church following James White's death. Although they recognized the major role that he had played in their organization, they saw their successes not as the result of human effort but of God's decision to present a last warning message to the world. Intensive Bible study following the Great Disappointment led them to identify themselves as the divinely commissioned heralds for the messages of the three angels pictured in Revelation 14:6-12. They were a people of prophecy; God was on their side. "We have the truth," Ellen White could write with confidence in 1850. "We know it."

Formal Creed Rejected

At the same time Seventh-day Adventist leaders had learned from their Millerite experience the dangers of spelling out their

beliefs, at least as they applied to time, with too much precision. In the years following 1844 their concepts of Christ's work of atonement and the events preceding the Second Advent broadened considerably. Although by the end of 1848 they had agreed upon basic doctrines, which would always be regarded as the pillars of their faith, they also recognized that continued study could lead to a more complete understanding of these "truths." Thus they steadfastly resisted the formulation or the appropriation of a specific, comprehensive doctrinal creed.

Several other factors predisposed Seventh-day Adventists to be suspicious of formal creeds. On a number of occasions during the final phase of the Millerite movement Adventists had been disfellowshipped from their churches because of their millennial views. These had been interpreted as running contrary to

established denominational creeds. The Christian Connection backgrounds of Joseph Bates and James White undoubtedly reinforced a suspicion of creeds. Early in the nineteenth century this denomination had taken the position that the Bible would be its only creed, Christian character its only test of fellowship. A similar position was taken by Seventh-day Adventist leaders during the organizational struggle of 1861. When finally more than a decade later Seventh-day Adventists did publish a statement of fundamental beliefs, they carefully announced that they had “no articles of faith, creed, or discipline aside from the Bible.”

A small pamphlet categorizing basic Seventh-day Adventist beliefs in twenty-five articles was published in 1872 not to “secure uniformity,” but rather “to meet inquiries,” “to correct false statements,” and “to remove erroneous impressions.” Seventh-day Adventist leaders were particularly anxious to differentiate their views from those held by other Adventist bodies, “some of which, we think, are subversive of plainest and most important principles set forth in the Word of God.” These twenty-five fundamental principles, later reprinted in both the *Review* and the *Signs of the Times*, form a convenient springboard for discussing developments within Seventh-day Adventist theology during the formative first quarter century of the denomination’s organized existence.

Trinitarian Concepts

The first two propositions in the 1872 *Fundamental Principles* proclaimed a

belief in “one God” and “one Lord Jesus Christ,” but there was no affirmation of the Trinitarian concept of God common to most Christian creedal statements. The omission appears deliberate rather than accidental. In fact, when one considers the strong language used by most prominent early Seventh-day Adventist ministers, it is surprising that an outright condemnation of Trinitarianism did not appear.

Again, perhaps, the Christian Connection backgrounds of Joseph Bates and James White may explain their rejection of Trinitarianism. The general belief in Christian Connection circles was that Christ was God’s Son and man’s Saviour but not co-eternal with God the Father. The Holy Spirit was regarded as a “holy influence,” rather than as a person of the Godhead. As early as 1848 James White had referred to the Trinitarian concept as “unscriptural.” Loughborough, Uriah Smith, J. H. Waggoner, and D. M. Canright were only the more prominent Seventh-day Adventist theologians who agreed with White and Bates that Trinitarianism was contrary to common sense and of pagan origin. They considered it simply another instance, comparable to the Sunday sabbath and the natural immortality of man, where the Catholic Church had perverted the clear teachings of Scripture. During his comparatively brief sojourn among sabbatarian Adventists, J. M. Stephenson promoted strongly Arian views of the Godhead. The very use of the terms “Father” and “Son,” Stephenson held, pointed out the absurdity of co-eternality; sons were always younger than their fathers.

In part the Seventh-day Adventist pioneers' position was determined by the variety of Trinitarian views then current. Men like White, Bates, and Canright objected to any Trinitarian concept that interpreted the three members of the Godhead as being devoid of individual personalities and "without form or shape." To strict interpreters of the Bible such notions were "nauseating." Uriah Smith reasoned that the Bible references to the Holy Spirit's appearing as a dove or as cloven tongues of fire showed that it could not be a person. As late as 1891 he defined the Holy Spirit as "that divine, mysterious emanation through which they [the Father and Son] carry forward their great and infinite work."

By the end of the century the Adventist ministry had largely swung over to viewing the Trinity as three co-equal, co-eternal members of the Godhead, united in substance, purpose, and character, but each with His own personality and work. This change of viewpoint appears attributable largely to sentiments Ellen White expressed with increasing frequency. Her statements became quite specific during the 1890s. There never had been a time when Christ did not exist, she wrote in her biography of Jesus, *The Desire of Ages*. As to the Holy Spirit, He was both a "person" and "in every sense God."

The Atonement

The Seventh-day Adventist pioneers held a distinctive view of the atonement. Most believed contemporary theologians were wrong in emphasizing that the

atonement had taken place at the cross. This to them was simply "the offering of the sacrifice." Their study of the Levitical types convinced them that atonement took place only when the priest presented the blood of the sacrificial victim before God. Thus, they reasoned, the atonement did not take place on the cross but in the heavenly sanctuary following Christ's ascension.

It was O. R. L. Crosier who, in his *Day-Star Extra* article in 1846, began the sharp differentiation over the time of the atonement. Although sabbatarian Adventist leaders profited greatly from Crosier's exposition on the heavenly sanctuary, they drew back from his "age-to-come" interpretation of the atonement's being finished only at the end of the millennium. The shut-door views of Joseph Bates and James White inclined them to think that Jesus was no longer interceding for the masses after He moved, on October 22, 1844, into the Most Holy Place. The only exceptions they recognized were for those who had not knowingly rejected, and would later accept, the messages of Revelation 14. Such persons had their names borne into the Most Holy Place on the breastplate of righteousness.

As increasing numbers were added to sabbatarian Adventist ranks during the 1850s, additional study of the Levitical system convinced Hiram Edson and J. N. Andrews that the start of the great antitypical day of atonement did not limit those who might accept God's last messages and be covered by Christ's atoning blood. They noted that the regular sin offerings continued even on the tenth day of the seventh month.

It remained for J. H. Waggoner and Uriah Smith to spell out a detailed Seventh-day Adventist theology of the atonement in numerous articles in the *Review* and in extensive monographic works. Smith was particularly adamant in denying atonement at the cross. Such a view, he held, led either to Universalism (salvation for all) or extreme Calvinism (salvation only for the predestined elect). Smith saw the cross as the sacrifice that met the demands of a broken law. Atonement came when sinners consciously accepted that sacrifice in their behalf and changed their lives by obeying God's commands. This could take place only when Christ, following His resurrection, began His work in the Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary.

An examination of Ellen White's writings indicates that during the course of the 1850s and 60s her concepts of the atonement were gradually broadening. She was moving beyond her contemporary Adventists in many respects. In 1864 she referred to Christ's sacrifice on the cross as atonement for sin; His work in the heavenly sanctuary "shed upon His disciples the benefits of His atonement." More and more the cross of Christ came to occupy a central place in her writings. She saw Christ's sacrifice as "the great truth around which all other truths cluster." Every doctrine quarried from the Word of God needed to "be studied in the light that streams from the Cross of Calvary."

Ellen White's increasing emphasis on the Cross did not eclipse Seventh-day Adventists' interest in the heavenly sanctuary or their understanding of the importance

of the work going on there. Proposition 10 in the 1872 statement of *Fundamental Principles* covered the sanctuary doctrine. It was the longest of the twenty-five propositions. This seemed particularly fitting because, together with the closely related proposition dealing with the investigative judgment, the concepts affirmed here present the most distinctive Seventh-day Adventist contribution to Christian theology.

The Heavenly Sanctuary

Their faith in the validity and importance of October 22, 1844, confirmed by Crosier's explanation of Christ's change of work in the heavenly sanctuary on that date and by Ellen White's visions, sabbatarian Adventists still had to explain just what was now happening in the Most Holy Place. Crosier pointed out that Christ would complete His atoning ministry with the "blotting out of sins." This he described as a process which included cleansing both the sanctuary and God's people and ended with the placing of the penalty for confessed sins upon the head of Satan, the author of sin. In general this idea was accepted by Joseph Bates and others.

Bates was one of the first sabbatarian Adventists to see the post-1844 period as a time of investigative judgment, a period when the cases of all who had ever professed Christ as Savior would be examined. During this process the heavenly records would provide the universe with clear evidence that Christ was acting justly when He handed out the rewards and punishments at His Second Advent.

Bates did not see all this clearly, and James White at first flatly rejected the idea of an “investigative” judgment. Throughout the 1850s, however, first J. N. Loughborough and then Uriah Smith systematized this doctrine on the basis of a close examination of the cleansing of the earthly sanctuary on the typical Day of Atonement. They also linked this concept with the message of the first angel of Revelation 14, who proclaimed, “the hour of His judgment is come.” By 1857 James White had accepted this line of reasoning, including the belief that the cases of the righteous dead had been opened for consideration first. At any time judgment might pass to living Christians. It was White who apparently coined the term “investigative judgment.” R. F. Cottrell later applied the term “executive judgment” to the actual giving of rewards and punishments at the Second Advent.

What of the “blotting out of sins” which Crosier had written about as a major aspect of Christ’s work in the Most Holy Place? During the late 1840s the prevalent sabbatarian Adventist opinion seemed to be that Christ was “blotting out” the “sins of ignorance” which His people had unknowingly committed. These, of course, were to be sought out and confessed. During the 1850s the concept was broadened; the blotting out of sins was seen as a judicial act in which an individual’s responsibility for confessed sins was placed to Satan’s account just prior to the Second Advent. This heavenly transaction would occur at the same time God’s Spirit was poured out in the “latter rain,” enabling the saints to endure the final conflict. It would occur

after Christ had ended His mediatorial work in the sanctuary.

With the refining of the concept of the investigative judgment during the 1850s the blotting out of sins was reinterpreted as a progressive work occurring contemporaneously with this judgment. By the end of the 1860s some Adventist writers were broadening their understanding of the blotting out of sins to include the elimination of sin in the lives of the saints awaiting the Advent. This was something Joseph Bates had hinted at twenty years earlier.

The Sabbath

Sin, as every good Adventist knew, was a breaking of God’s law of the Ten Commandments. Adventists saw the fourth or Sabbath commandment as the one most flagrantly violated, even by professed Christians. In the Seventh-day Adventists’ view, a major part of their work was to call attention to the true Sabbath. In this way its observance would become a clear test of an individual’s complete loyalty to God during earth’s final hour.

It took time for pioneers like Bates and White to work out this complete view of the central importance of the Sabbath. At first their Sabbath views did not differ greatly from those of the Seventh Day Baptists, whom they long continued to regard as more truly their brethren than were members of other Christian denominations. By connecting Revelation 11:19 with October 22, 1844, Bates concluded as early as 1847 that after 1844 new attention was to be called to the law of

God and especially to the Sabbath commandment. This would provide a new test of the love and loyalty of God's people. Gradually, particularly influenced by the writings of Bates, James White, and J. N. Andrews, Adventists came to see the Sabbath as the climax of the messages of the three angels of Revelation 14.

During the late 1840s sabbatarian Adventists had viewed the three angels' messages as successive proclamations of specific truths: (1) the imminence of the Second Advent, (2) the apostasy of "nominal" Christian churches, and (3) the need to keep *all* of God's commandments. They saw the first two messages as being completed by 1844; the third it was their specific duty to proclaim. Thus the Sabbath was logically the main burden of James White's *Present Truth*. Yet believers must not lose the first messages; hence the *Advent Review's* appearance to recall the importance of their advent experience.

With the combining of these two early journals into the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, we see the beginning of an understanding that the three messages were progressive and cumulative rather than successive. This position was more clearly defined, especially by Ellen White, during the 1850s. Yet primary attention continued to be accorded to the third message, which was believed in effect to include the preceding two. Thus "the third angel's message soon became their greatest concern and the field of their most earnest study."

To these early sabbatarian Adventists the final clause of the third message (Revelation 14:12) provided a dramatic portrayal

of themselves. They were keeping *all* of God's commandments and patiently awaiting Christ's return. This last event, they now saw clearly, could not be pinpointed to occur on a specific date; but rather it would follow the completion of the investigative judgment.

A full proclamation of the third message required identification of "the beast," "his image," and "his mark." These were all clearly pointed out as destined to feel God's wrath and final destruction. By inference they could be linked to Babylon, from which the second angel had called God's people. It also appeared logical that those receiving the beast's mark were in sharp contrast to the group mentioned in Revelation 7 as being sealed with the "seal of the living God," the group who would join Christ in glory after His return.

Both Bates and James White had early identified the true Sabbath as God's seal. During the 1850s Uriah Smith demonstrated the fourth commandment's similarity to an earthly monarch's seal by pointing out that it not only identified the Ruler of the universe but also His office and dominion. While recognizing the Sabbath as God's seal, James White rejected the idea that all Sabbath keepers had received this seal and were automatically sure of heaven. The Sabbath, White pointed out, was of no avail apart from a recognition of, and dependence upon, the merits of Christ's atonement for one's sins.

Study during the early 1850s convinced J. N. Andrews that the beast the third angel was warning against was that mentioned in the first part of Revelation

13. This he, along with many early commentators, identified as the papacy. Andrews then went on to conclude that the “image” was corrupt Protestantism backed by civil power. To him the Sunday laws of some states demonstrated that the image was already in the process of formation. It would be completed at a later date with a universal Sunday law.

The Mark of the Beast

As early as 1847 Joseph Bates had identified Sunday observance as a “mark of the beast.” James White agreed. He felt, however, that since the third angel’s message was a warning against receiving the beast’s mark, it had not yet been placed on men and women. This would come later, when Sunday observance was made obligatory by law. Then the issue of obedience to God or the “beast” would be clearly drawn. At that time, according to Uriah Smith, all humanity would be divided into two classes: Sunday keepers and Sabbath keepers.

From the start both Bates and White had seen the restoration of the true Sabbath as the work of “repairing the breach” in God’s law referred to in Isaiah 58:12, 13. Their love for God and their desire to please Him in restoring honor to the Sabbath led the early Seventh-day Adventists to be concerned over the proper time for beginning and ending this day of rest. Influenced by his nautical backgrounds, Captain Bates advocated the view that the Sabbath commenced at 6 P.M. Friday and ended at the same time on Saturday. The captain’s prominence as a Sabbath advocate led most of his associates to accept

his views. Yet some, including James White, found Bates’s arguments not entirely satisfactory. In the mid-1850s J. N. Andrews was asked to study the matter thoroughly. His scriptural investigations led Andrews to argue persuasively for starting and ending the Sabbath at sunset. For a short time Bates and Ellen White clung to 6 P.M., but Ellen’s late-1855 vision endorsing the sunset position led to unanimity on this point. A decade later the *Review* office, as an aid to church members, produced the first Seventh-day Adventist calendar giving Sabbath sunset times.

The Latter Rain

During their formative years sabbatarian Adventists had no idea that the duration of their “last message of mercy” to the world would extend beyond a few years. Eagerly they awaited a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit in that latter rain foretold by the prophet Joel, together with a great revival of missionary activity—the loud cry of the angel of Revelation 18. As early as 1851, and again in 1856, they were certain that they were on the verge of this experience. Yet time lingered; the great spiritual outpouring connected with the “loud cry” failed to materialize.

The failure of the “latter rain” to come as expected led to introspection on the part of some sabbatarian Adventists. As early as 1853 a *Review* correspondent suggested that it would be well for his fellow believers to heed the counsel given to the Laodicean church in Revelation 3:18. Although James White echoed this

suggestion, it fell largely on deaf ears. Sabbatarian Adventists were sure that they were depicted as the Philadelphia church in Revelation. They saw the Laodicean message as applying to the other adventist bodies. Thus it came as a shock when in 1856 Ellen White, on the basis of a recent vision, emphatically advised her fellow believers to heed the counsel of the True Witness to the Laodiceans.

Soon the pages of the *Review* were ablaze with readers' reevaluations of their experiences; dozens acknowledged that they had become "lukewarm." With dramatic suddenness sabbatarian Adventists completely revised their interpretation of the prophetic periods covered by the Philadelphia and Laodicea churches. They now saw the Philadelphia church as representative of the Millerite movement, while Laodicea pictured the last phase of the true church—in other words, themselves. In retrospect it is easy to see that the acceptance of the Laodicean message in 1856-57 was incomplete and temporary. At the time it seemed to many to herald the "loud cry" of the third angel.

Although Seventh-day Adventists were early delivered from the snare of setting specific dates for the Second Advent, they continued to expect that event in the very near future. And they assiduously examined the prophetic portions of Scripture, especially the books of Daniel and Revelation, for clues as to the nature of coming events that would herald the approaching kingdom of Christ. As spelled out in Proposition 6 of their 1872 *Fundamental Principles*, Seventh-day

Adventists affirmed that "a blessing is pronounced upon those who study" prophecy and that "it is to be understood by the people of God sufficiently to show them their position in the world's history, and the special duties required at their hands." Proposition 7 expressed faith that all biblical prophecy had been fulfilled "except the closing scenes."

Final Events

As early as 1847 James White, perhaps influenced by Josiah Litch, parted company with most Protestant and Millerite expositors of prophecy by suggesting that the seven plagues of Revelation 16 did not run parallel to the seven churches and trumpets of earlier chapters, but were still in the future. These plagues, White reasoned, would come after Jesus finished His work in the Most Holy Place and immediately preceding the final deliverance of the saints from the time of trouble foretold in Daniel 12:1.

By 1850 the small bands of sabbatarian Adventists had largely accepted Elder White's views of the seven "last" plagues and the time of trouble. Even before this time there was a tendency to see certain world events then in process as leading naturally into the time of trouble. Joseph Bates so interpreted the revolutions of 1848 in Europe. Bates set a pattern followed by later Seventh-day Adventist commentators. In 1866, for instance, the *Review* speculated that the Seven Weeks War, then raging between Prussia and Austria, might turn into the last great battle of Armageddon.

Of all the seven last plagues none

proved so intriguing to Seventh-day Adventists as the sixth, which mentioned the drying up of the river Euphrates and a great battle of Armageddon. There was little in the description of the five earlier plagues to provide clues as to their imminent onset. Not so with the sixth. Mention of the Euphrates suggested specific events in the Near East. During the early 1850s Seventh-day Adventists generally believed that the Euphrates River would literally be dried up during the sixth plague. Then in 1857 Uriah Smith advanced the thesis that the Euphrates represented the territory through which the river flowed—the Turkish Empire. Later,



Uriah Smith (1832-1903), nineteenth-century Adventist scholar, author, and editor; heavily influenced Adventists' interpretation of prophecy and the development of denominational doctrines through his articles and books.

in a series of *Review* articles on Revelation, Smith argued that the sixth plague's drying up of the Euphrates was symbolic of the "consumption of the Turkish empire which would then completely disappear."

Smith's stature as the chief Seventh-day Adventist interpreter of prophecy became established with the publication of his *Thoughts on Revelation* (1865) and *Thoughts on Daniel* (1873). By 1867 Smith had switched his earlier view that the king of the north in the last verses of Daniel 11 represented the papacy, to a belief that it, too, symbolized Turkey. Thus this king's coming to his end with none to help him (Daniel 11:45) coincided nicely with the view that the Turkish Empire was destined to disappear under the sixth plague. James White remained skeptical of Smith's new position and continued to view the king of the north as the papacy. Yet Smith's influence as a prophetic interpreter and his role as editor of the *Review* carried most Seventh-day Adventists along with him. For decades Adventists would be fascinated by events in the Ottoman Empire.

The United States in Prophecy

Another prophetic passage to which Seventh-day Adventists paid special attention was Revelation 13:11-17. By the early 1850s J. N. Andrews's identification of the two-horned beast mentioned here as the United States had been accepted. With a mixture of wonder, apprehension, and anticipation Adventists watched for events in the United States which would herald its support of the

image of the beast (Protestantism) and its enforcement of the beast's mark (Sunday observance). Adventists were certain that much of the prophecy about the two-horned beast had already been fulfilled. Were not the wonders it was to perform evident in such things as the great American railroad network, American industry's harnessing of steam power, and the territorial growth of the nation itself? Some even suggested that the "fire come down from heaven" was the telegraph invented by American Samuel F. B. Morse!

Throughout the 1850s Adventists saw clear evidence that the United States was deserting its earlier lamblike innocence for the role of the dragon. American Protestantism was becoming corrupt, deserting the Bible for man-made creeds, and rivaling Catholicism in its devotion to laws designed to enhance Sunday observance. Basic principles of American democracy were also corrupted by the slave system. Support of slavery by many American churches was simply another evidence of Babylon's fallen condition. Since this was the course God predicted events would take, there was little purpose in Seventh-day Adventists' participation in the political processes. Moreover, there was absolute danger in cooperating with other Protestant groups in revivals or intercommunal activities. Any such cooperation might lead into incorporation in fallen Babylon. Were not the supposed revivals within American Protestantism but a prelude to the churches' engaging in persecution of those who failed to worship the beast or its image or receive its mark?

"This Generation"

Adventists did not entirely confine themselves to looking to the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation for signs of the imminent end. The great prophecy of Christ in Matthew 24 provided material for speculation. In 1874 R. F. Cottrell continued to express assurance in the view, common since Millerite days, that "this generation" referred to in verse 34 could mean only that some who had seen the sun and moon darkened in 1780 and the stars fall in 1833 would be alive to see Christ's return. Two years later R. M. Kilgore had no doubts but that those then living would see the Second Advent. So sure were Adventists of the imminence of that event that it was hard for them to accept James White's admonition that in the exposition of unfulfilled prophecy "where the history is not written, the student should put forth his propositions with not too much positiveness."

The Millennium

In addition to their convictions concerning the imminence of the Advent, the believers' Millerite experience was reflected in a number of other Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal positions. They staunchly declared the popular Protestant view of the world's conversion and a temporal millennium preceding the Advent to be a "fable of these last days."

All of the early Seventh-day Adventist leaders found George Storrs's explanation of death as an unconscious sleep biblical. An immortal soul already in heaven or hell seemed to obviate the need for the

pre- and post-millennial resurrections they found taught in Scripture. Thus from the start Seventh-day Adventists taught conditional immortality, to be received by the righteous, living and dead, at the Second Advent. The increased interest in spiritism during the 1850s and 60s and the filtering of spiritualist concepts into Protestant circles were to Adventists more signs of the progressive fall of Babylon.

The final three propositions in the 1872 declaration of Seventh-day Adventist beliefs touched on events that were to follow the Second Advent. All would have been quite acceptable to the Millerite forebears. Adventists expected the righteous to spend 1000 years in heaven with Christ, “judging the world and fallen angels.” During this time Satan would be confined to a desolated earth. Following the millennium the righteous, along with the New Jerusalem, would descend to earth; and the wicked would be raised to receive final sentence of annihilation in the fires that would purify the earth from the curse of sin. Then new heavens and a new earth, with the New Jerusalem as its capital, would be the everlasting inheritance of the saints.

Baptism

With most Christians, Seventh-day Adventists considered baptism a basic Christian ordinance which gave visible evidence of repentance for sin and acceptance of Jesus Christ as Saviour. From the start Seventh-day Adventists held immersion to be the only biblically approved mode of baptism. This was only natural

for the many Adventists who had earlier been Baptists. Immersion was taught also by the Christian Connection fellowship and was the method of baptism Ellen Harmon had chosen following her youthful conversion.

Throughout the 1850s and 60s there was considerable discussion of the need for rebaptizing those from other Christian communions who had accepted Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. There was general agreement that those who had simply been sprinkled in infancy should be immersed, as sprinkling was really no baptism at all. But what of those who had been immersed as adults? In a long *Review* article in 1867 James White suggested that a new baptism was called for when a person who accepted “the truth” (distinctive Adventist views), had been immersed by an “unholy minister,” or had apostatized. At the 1886 General Conference formal action was taken allowing an individual who had been immersed when joining another denomination to decide for himself whether or not to be rebaptized. Ellen White counseled that rebaptism should not be made a test question for those who had been immersed but was to be left to such a person’s individual decision.

Adventists expected the new-birth experience, publicly proclaimed through baptism, to result in a moral change in each convert’s life. They recognized that the new life would be a growing experience, with a church member’s conduct becoming gradually more and more like that of Jesus. This was not a uniquely Adventist view, but Seventh-day Adventists went farther than most Christians

in condemning worldly adornment, such as the wearing of gold, pearls, or items of “fancy” clothing. All such were held to give clear evidence that the wearer’s heart was fastened upon things of this world rather than upon heaven.

Health Reform

In the early 1850s tobacco, tea, and coffee were seen as injurious not only to health, but to an individual’s spirituality as well. How could a sincere Christian waste money on such harmful items when it might better be used to spread the gospel? In 1867 the Whites and J. N. Loughborough even asked public forgiveness for selfishly spending money on photographs of themselves!

During the years immediately following Ellen White’s health-reform vision, healthful living became almost a moral crusade for Adventists. To disregard the laws of health was considered tantamount to breaking the sixth commandment, hence, a sin. Yet legislating lifestyle was a touchy thing. The 1872 *Fundamental Principles* were silent on specifics of dress, decorum, and health habits.

Church Finance

This statement of beliefs was also silent on another sensitive area: the financing of the work of the church. Adventists had been somewhat slow in developing a doctrinal position on church finance. In the earliest days ministers largely supported themselves by part-time farming or engaging in a trade. James White occasionally worked in the hayfield or on

the railroad to secure money to travel and to preach the third angel’s message in person and through the press. Some Adventist laymen gave generous help to the slowly increasing number of advent preachers. For years Dan Palmer, the Jackson blacksmith, pressed a five-dollar gold piece into the hand of any minister who accepted his hospitality while passing through southeastern Michigan.

Believers’ liberality seemed to increase with the onset of active tent evangelism in 1854. Then came the Panic of 1857, and funds dwindled to the point where many preachers abandoned the ministry and turned to secular employment in order to support their families. It was during this period of financial crisis that a group of Battle Creek members under the leadership of J. N. Andrews engaged in Bible study with the goal of discovering correct principles for supporting the ministry. The result was “Systematic Benevolence,” adopted by the Battle Creek church in 1859 and recommended by them to other advent companies.

Within the next several years Systematic Benevolence, based on Paul’s instruction to the Corinthian church to lay aside offerings each first-day morning (1 Corinthians 16:2), gained wide acceptance. Members were encouraged to pledge weekly offerings proportionate to their income and property holdings. In 1861 James White suggested that believers estimate their income as 10 percent of the value of their property and give one tenth of this amount to Systematic Benevolence. The tithing principle was being introduced.

Throughout the 1860s and '70s the *Review's* columns carried numerous articles in support of systematic benevolence; gradually more precise tithing concepts developed. In 1876 the General Conference in session formally resolved that it was the duty of all brothers and sisters, "under ordinary circumstances, to devote one-tenth of all their income from whatever source, to the cause of God." This was at a time when the United States was deep in the Panic of 1873, the worst financial depression the country had yet experienced. The average church member was slow to respond to the General Conference resolution. In 1878 a specially appointed committee produced a pamphlet giving Old and New Testament evidence in favor of reckoning the tithe on income rather than on property holdings. This pamphlet's wide circulation, coinciding as it did with an economic upturn, resulted in gratifying increases in tithes paid into what was still called the Systematic Benevolence Fund.

It was not easy at first to limit Systematic Benevolence funds to the support of the ministry although Seventh-day Adventist leaders believed this was a clear biblical doctrine. Local churches frequently appropriated these funds for church repairs or maintenance. The *Review* took a strong position against such actions. Church maintenance was to be financed from free-will and thank offerings. Yet an individual's use of his income was recognized as a highly personal matter, better left in the long run to the promptings of the Holy Spirit. The conferences stopped short of making payment of an honest tithe a matter of church discipline.

One final area from the 1872 *Fundamental Principles* deserves comment: Upon what authority did Seventh-day Adventists base all their doctrines? This was clearly a vital area because opponents freely charged them with following the visions of a deluded woman in preference to the Bible. To meet this charge the third proposition clearly affirmed Seventh-day Adventist belief "that the Holy Scriptures . . . contain a full revelation of his [God's] will to man, and are the only infallible rule of faith and practice."

The Prophetic Gift

Yet Adventists could not, and would not, deny that they were specially benefited by the ministry of Ellen White. Without mentioning her by name, Proposition 16 sought to put her work into proper perspective. After affirming that spiritual gifts (one of which was prophecy) were specifically promised the church, the point was made that "these gifts are not designed to supersede, or take the place of the Bible which is sufficient to make us wise unto salvation." Rather the gifts of the Spirit, especially in the last days, were designed "to lead to an understanding of that word which it had inspired, to convince of sin, and work a transformation in the heart and life." By the 1870s most Seventh-day Adventists were willing to argue that this was exactly what Ellen White had done and was doing.

Nearly a quarter of a century after Ellen's first vision her husband described the role he believed God designed for her to fill. Some critics had cast doubt on the

idea of Mrs. White's being divinely led because for years she had agreed with Captain Bates that the Sabbath started at 6 P.M. Friday evening. "It does not appear to be the desire of the Lord," Elder White reasoned, "to teach His people by the gifts of the Spirit on the Bible questions until His servants have diligently searched His word." God had not set the gifts "in the very front and commanded us to look to them to lead us in the path of truth, and the way to heaven." Elder White saw God as using the gifts "in the time of His choice [to] correct you, and bring you back to the Bible and save you."

From the earliest days of her ministry Ellen White's colleagues had seen her as an instrument through whom God provided direct encouragement, counsel and reproof, but not as the source of some new belief or doctrine. Such came from the Bible alone. As General Conference president George I. Butler wrote, "If the Bible should show the visions were not in harmony with it, the Bible would stand and the visions would be given up."

Recognizing the prejudice many of his peers had against visions and dreams, James White decided in 1851 not to publish any of his wife's visions in the *Review*. Sabbatarian Adventists were just beginning to gain a hearing among some who had previously mocked them because of their Millerite backgrounds. Elder White wanted nothing to stand in the way of honest people's examining Bible truths. He proposed to publish the visions in a *Review Extra* "for the benefit of those who believe that God can fulfill His word and give visions 'in the last days.'"

Yet the failure of the *Review* over the

next few years to publish more than a handful of Ellen White articles, and these of a general inspirational nature, did not free the emerging church from the criticism that it followed a prophet, not the Bible. In 1855 Elder White exploded. "There is a class of persons who are determined to have it that the *Review* and its conductors make the views of Mrs. White a test of doctrine and Christian fellowship. . . . What has the *Review* to do with Mrs. White's views? The sentiments published in its columns are all drawn from the Holy Scriptures. No writer of the *Review* has ever referred to them as authority on any point."

If failure to publish Ellen White's visions did not spare sabbatarian Adventists from criticism, it did seem to decrease their own interest in this supernatural method of God's leading. At the same time the visions became "less and less frequent." Ellen decided that her work was almost done. Not so. At a conference in Battle Creek in November 1855 the participants became convinced that the languishing condition prevailing in the infant church was due to a failure to properly appreciate divine leading through Mrs. White's visions. Confessions were made, and the Battle Creek church endorsed a new plan to publish the visions in pamphlet form. A few hundred copies of a sixteen-page tract entitled *Testimony for the Church* appeared before the end of 1855. It was the first of a series that would eventually extend over fifty-five years and encompass nearly 5000 pages.

Objections to the visions continued. They were too hard to understand. The Bible said nothing about women's re-

ceiving visions. Paul taught that women should not speak in public. The Bible was good enough. The visions were the result of mesmerism or disease; all these and many more. Adventist leaders felt it necessary to answer these charges over and over again in subsequent years. Perhaps the most effective argument they ever

developed was that the instructions given (1) led readers and hearers to the Bible and to Christ, (2) exhorted to the highest moral standards and fuller consecration to God, and (3) “brought comfort and consolation to many hearts.” Did not such good fruits proclaim a good source? They were certain that they did.

Suggested Topical Reading:

The theology of the Spirit of Prophecy:

Uriah Smith, *The Visions of Mrs. E. G. White* (1868), is an early defense of the prophetic gift.

E. G. White Estate, *Witness of the Pioneers Concerning the Spirit of Prophecy* (1961), is a compilation of articles dating from 1851 to 1946 expressing belief in and the use of Ellen White’s visions.

Doctrinal development:

P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (1977), is the most comprehensive treatment of Adventist theology.

James White, *Bible Adventism* (1877), is a view of Adventism from one of the founders of the church.

C. M. Maxwell, “Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology,” in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (1982), Kenneth A. Strand, ed., pp. 352-363, is a scholarly treatment of this doctrine and one of the founders of the church.

J. N. Andrews, *The Three Messages of Revelation 14: 6-12* (1860), treats a basic element in Adventist theology.

Appendix 1 A, *Adventism in America* (1986), Gary Land, ed., pp. 231-237, is a copy of the first organized statement of Adventist doctrine, issued in 1872.

E. K. VandeVere, *Windows* (1975), pp. 25-34, 66-73, 82-88, discusses early Adventist struggles over basic doctrines.

Jerry Moon, “Heresy or Hopeful Sign,” *Adventist Review*, Apr. 22, 1999, narrates the struggle by early Adventists over the doctrine of the Trinity.

Righteousness by Faith: Minneapolis and Its Aftermath

Many readers glancing through the 1872 statement of basic Seventh-day Adventist beliefs might well have received the impression that Adventists were “legalists.” The emphasis seemed to be on what man must do rather than on what Christ had done and would do in and through His followers. Hidden away in the center of the statement was the acknowledgment that no people could “of themselves render obedience” to God’s just requirements, but were dependent on Christ both for justification and for “grace whereby to render acceptable obedience to his holy law in time to come.” Yet these words were followed by several propositions emphasizing one’s duty to keep the Ten Commandments. They came far short of a ringing assertion that it was Christ’s righteousness alone, lovingly offered and appropriated through faith that made the believer acceptable to God.

The founders of Seventh-day Adventism had not intended to move in this direction. It was their love for Jesus, their appreciation of what He had done for them that had made them so eager for His return in 1844. But then, in their bitter disappointment, they had become conscious of a work to be done before Christ’s return. The breach in God’s law must be repaired—the seventh-day Sabbath restored. Here was a test, divinely ordained, to demonstrate whether or not those who professed to love God actually did so.

By the 1870s and 80s a new generation of Seventh-day Adventists had arisen. Ridiculed as legalists and Judaizers by fellow Christians, persecuted in some areas, these Seventh-day Adventists searched the Bible to sustain their Sabbath beliefs. They found it a veritable arsenal of proof texts, which could

be marshaled with crushing logic to demonstrate the perpetuity of the Sabbath. They courted debate and, imperceptibly to themselves, tended to become just what they were charged with being: legalists looking to their own actions for salvation rather than to Jesus Christ.

Had Seventh-day Adventists listened carefully and applied all that Ellen White was saying during these years, the story might well have developed differently. In 1856 Mrs. White had shocked her fellow believers by pointing out their Laodicean condition. Contrition and repentance followed. But then came preoccupation with the necessity for denominational organization, the American Civil War, new light on healthful living, and advancing the third angel's message in distant places. In all of these it was so easy to let the attention focus on what the *individual* must *do*. (Americans were, after all, known as a nation of doers).

Ellen White tried valiantly to counteract the tendency of Adventists to flatter themselves on their good moral character and obedience to God's laws. "We must renounce our own righteousness," she wrote in an article prepared for the 1882 camp meetings, "and plead for the righteousness of Christ to be imputed to us. We must depend wholly upon Christ for our strength. Self must die. We must acknowledge that all we have is from the exceeding riches of divine grace." As Ellen saw it, faith in Christ's sacrifice and merits should be followed by love, "and love by obedience." Then the Holy Spirit would provide the power to transform the believer into "the divine image." Sadly Mrs. White expressed the belief that "this

experience is understood by but few who profess the truth."

The Message of Waggoner and Jones

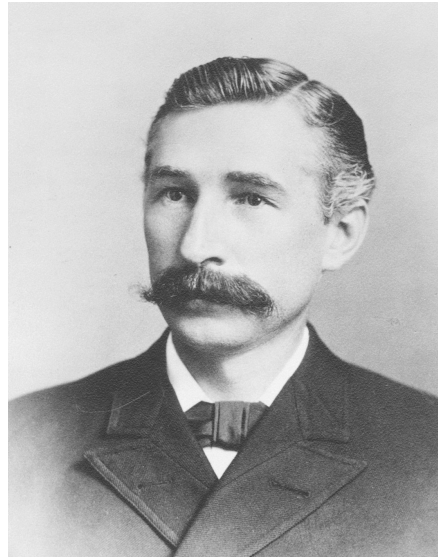
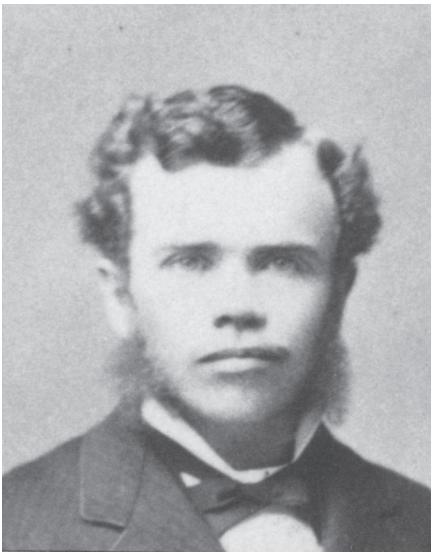
What would it take to make Adventists understand? Perhaps a new voice? A challenge from within their ranks to some firmly held interpretation? Both were in the making. The very summer of Ellen White's appeal a twenty-seven-year-old physician was sitting on the edge of the Healdsburg, California, camp meeting crowd. Just what triggered the unique insight he was about to experience is unknown, but suddenly Ellet J. Waggoner seemed to see a vivid representation of Christ hanging on the cross. As never before the realization flooded over him that this act of love was for *his* sins. God the Son was freely offering to him, E. J. Waggoner, His righteousness in place of a life of sin. Deeply moved, the young doctor resolved that all his future study of the Scriptures would be directed toward more fully comprehending this glorious truth and making it intelligible to others.

Ellet Waggoner was a second-generation Adventist. His father, "J. H.," had been one of the first to join the sabbatarian Adventists from outside Millerite ranks. Elder J. H. Waggoner soon became well known in Adventist circles; he was highly respected for the cogent reasoning evident in his sermons and *Review* articles. At James White's invitation Joseph Waggoner had moved from Michigan to California to help in editorial work at the Pacific Press. In 1881 he succeeded Elder White as editor of the *Signs of the Times*.

The next year another young man, Alonzo T. Jones, also became an assistant editor of the *Signs*. Jones differed markedly from young Waggoner, who was “short, stocky, somewhat diffident,” “a product of the schools, with a leonine head well packed with learning, and . . . a silver tongue.” Alonzo Jones had spent three years in the United States Army. Becoming convinced of the truth of Seventh-day Adventist doctrine while serving at Fort Walla Walla, he “studied day and night to amass a great store of historical and Biblical knowledge.” In spite of a “naturally abrupt” manner, “uncouth posturing and gestures,” and “a singularity of speech and manner,” the tall, angular Jones became a

powerful preacher who won many persons to the advent cause. These two young men, physically and temperamentally so different, were soon closely associated in a campaign that would shake Adventism like an earthquake.

When J. H. Waggoner left in 1886 to help strengthen the Adventist publishing work in Europe, his son and Jones became coeditors of the *Signs*. Both men also taught occasionally at Healdsburg College. Intensive individual study, especially of Romans and Galatians, had turned both young men into enthusiastic preachers of “righteousness by faith” in the merits of Jesus Christ. Seeking to correct what they regarded as an unbalanced viewpoint



Left, E. J. Waggoner (1855-1916), a physician and the son of an Adventist minister, preached vigorously about righteousness by faith both preceding and during the 1888 General Conference session.

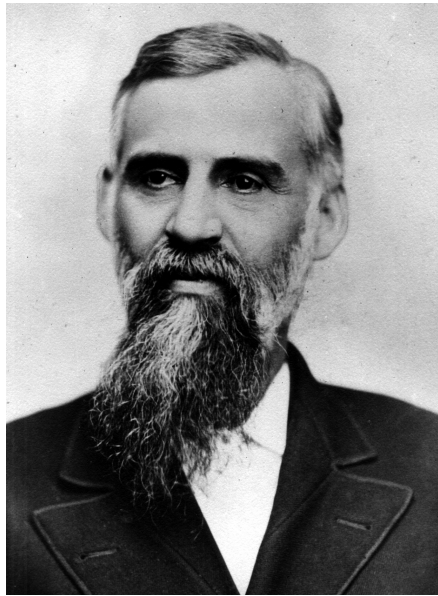
Right, A. T. Jones (1850-1923), a former member of the United States Army, whose forceful preaching about righteousness by faith helped Adventists to gain new insights about salvation, but whose assertive, abrasive personality also contributed to the polarization at the 1888 General Conference session.

within Adventism, the duo set out to convince readers of the *Signs*, students at Healdsburg, and members of the San Francisco and Oakland churches that righteousness by faith must become much more than an abstract doctrinal theory. It must be a living reality, a precious experience transforming the life of believers.

Official Reaction to the Message

It would seem that such a campaign would have called forth the hearty approval of Adventism's world leaders. Not so. Back at denominational headquarters in Battle Creek two respected elder statesmen became increasingly agitated over the new wind blowing out of the west. They were General Conference president George I. Butler and *Review* editor Uriah Smith. These men took particular exception to the exegesis of Galatians 3 promoted by Waggoner and Jones. The Westerners had reverted to the early Seventh-day Adventist position that the law Paul here referred to as the "schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ" (verse 24) was the whole body of moral law including the Ten Commandments. This position Adventists had almost entirely abandoned during the 1860s and 70s; the "schoolmaster" law was reinterpreted to mean the ceremonial and sacrificial laws of Moses, which pointed forward to the Messiah. This reinterpretation had developed largely as a reaction to Protestant clergymen who interpreted Paul's statement in Galatians 3:25 ("we are no longer under a schoolmaster") to mean that the Ten-Commandment law had been abrogated; thus, the seventh-day Sabbath was no longer viable.

To President Butler, Waggoner and Jones's teaching on Galatians 3 would play directly into the hands of enemies of the Sabbath. And this just at the time when persecution of Seventh-day Adventists for Sunday-law violation in Arkansas and Tennessee seemed to herald the long-expected final test of loyalty to God. In addition Smith was concerned because Jones, on the basis of extensive historical study, was pointing out that Seventh-day Adventists had erred in listing the Huns as one of the ten kingdoms described prophetically in Daniel 7. Jones believed that the Alemanni should be substituted



G. I. Butler (1843-1918) twice served as General Conference president—1871-1874 and 1880-1888. Butler found himself presiding over a polarized church as the debate over righteousness by faith mounted prior to the 1888 General Conference session.

for the Huns. Although Smith earlier had encouraged Jones to investigate these details closely, he now had qualms about accepting anything that would indicate error, however insignificant, in Seventh-day Adventist interpretation of the prophecies.

Of particular concern to Elder Butler was the fact that Waggoner and Jones had given their views such wide publicity before bringing them before the church's "leading brethren" for approval. This course of action could lead only to division and controversy, hence Butler felt it his "duty to bring the subject before the General Conference . . . the only tribunal in our body where such questions can be properly considered and passed upon."

In the summer of 1886 Butler appealed to Ellen White, then on a two-year mission to Europe, for any light which she might have on the subject of the law referred to in Galatians 3. Receiving no immediate answer, Butler persuaded the 1886 General Conference to establish a nine-member theological committee to consider the divergent viewpoints. After hours of debate this committee, which included Butler, Smith and Waggoner, divided five to four in support of the view that it was indeed the ceremonial law that was referred to in Galatians 3. Fearing that this close division, if revealed, would only intensify the controversy, Butler settled for a conference vote expressing disapproval of any doctrinal discussion in church schools or journals that might cause dissension. On this point he had the backing of eight of the members of the theological committee. Only E. J. Waggoner continued to press for freedom of discussions.

The next spring the major participants in the debate all received words of censure from Ellen White. Waggoner and Jones were reproved for their overconfident attitude and for publicly agitating matters Mrs. White deemed of secondary importance. Seventh-day Adventists, she told these young men, must present a united front before the world. Butler and Smith were reminded that they were not infallible. They should be careful not to take an overly sharp attitude toward younger workers. Ellen White refused to state her opinion as to which law was referred to in Galatians or to take a position in the Huns-Alemanni controversy. Instead, she declared that an open and frank discussion of the entire matter was now imperative.

Eighteen months passed before the discussion Ellen White requested took place. During the interim Waggoner and Jones did not push their views openly and vigorously. Both, especially Elder Jones, became active in the movement to oppose Sunday laws. Jointly they edited *The American Sentinel*, a new journal the Pacific Press had begun in 1886 to foster the cause of religious liberty. In 1888 Dr. Waggoner did prepare a small tract entitled *The Gospel in the Book of Galatians* as a response to Elder Butler's earlier *The Law in Galatians*. These were distributed upon request to those who had received Butler's pamphlet and to those interested in a more thorough exposition of Waggoner's position.

Some time before the 1888 General Conference was called to convene on October 17 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the decision was made to let Waggoner

and Jones present their views before the church leaders there assembled. Jones was invited to present his research on Daniel 7, especially the ten kingdoms that succeeded the Roman Empire, at a special Bible Institute called for the week preceding the conference. Waggoner was scheduled for a series of devotional talks during both the institute and the conference. It was expected that in these he would present his understanding of the relationship of Christ and His righteousness to distinctive Adventist doctrines.

Malaria and nervous exhaustion caused by years of overwork kept Elder Butler from attending the Minneapolis Conference. But from his sickbed in Battle Creek the General Conference president wired his chief supporters, men like Uriah Smith and J. H. Morrison, president of Butler's old home Iowa Conference, to "stand by the old landmarks." Butler's suspicions had been aroused by a letter from California reporting that Jones and Waggoner had enlisted W. C. White, James and Ellen's younger son, and others from the West Coast to stampede the General Conference into accepting their views.

The 1888 Conference

Many of the delegates to the Minneapolis Conference came with strong prejudices against the young Westerners, who were looked upon as challenging both the church leadership and basic tenets of the denomination. These prejudices were in some instances strengthened during the course of Elder Jones's exposition of the great historical prophecies. Jones had done

his homework well. No one was able effectively to dispute the historical evidence he cited in favor of the Alemanni's right to supplant the Huns as one of the ten kingdoms succeeding Rome.

Uriah Smith, Adventism's most noted prophetic expositor, was placed on the defensive. On one occasion he modestly disclaimed originality for the list of kingdoms he had given in *Thoughts on Daniel*. Smith admitted having simply followed Millerite and earlier interpreters on this point. In reply Jones remarked rather caustically, "Elder Smith has told you that he does not know anything about this matter. I do; and I don't want you to blame me for what he does not know." Ellen White immediately rebuked this rash statement but its impact on many delegates remained. Although they could not controvert Jones's reasoning, they were appalled by his brashness and retreated to the security of the familiar and traditional list. A sharp division developed, with delegates calling themselves "Huns" or "Alemanni" after the interpretation they accepted. Thus did a dispute over a minor point set the pot of controversy boiling before the really significant theological presentation began.

As Dr. Waggoner's studies on Romans and Galatians progressed, many delegates found his views to be far different from what they had expected. Waggoner refused to be drawn into debate over the law in Galatians 3. The real point, he affirmed, is that all any law can do is to demonstrate man's sinfulness and inability to justify himself before God. But Waggoner was enthusiastic over the divine remedy available to all who

have faith to believe. Christ, in whom dwelt “all the fulness of the Godhead bodily” (Colossians 2:9), stood anxious to cover the repentant sinner with His own robe of righteousness, thus making him acceptable before God. Christ also stood just as ready to impart victory over future sins as to forgive those that were past.

The traditionalist camp was surprised at the impact of Waggoner’s studies. Many delegates later maintained that “their true Christian experience in the gospel” began at this time. Particularly disconcerting to Smith, Morrison, and their supporters was Ellen White’s strong endorsement of the thrust of Elder Waggoner’s messages. In the ten formal presentations she made during the course of the institute and conference, Mrs. White challenged the delegates to a deeper study of God’s Word and a genuine heart conversion to Christ. She confessed to seeing “the beauty of truth” in Dr. Waggoner’s presentations “of the righteousness of Christ in relation to the law.” In simple words she repeatedly directed the delegates to consider Christ, His sacrifice, and what He wanted to do for His people.

At one point in the proceedings Elder R. M. Kilgore, a member of the General Conference Committee, moved that any further discussion of “righteousness by faith” be postponed until some later time when Elder Butler could be present. Ellen White was immediately on her feet, protesting that the Lord’s work was not to wait on any man. Waggoner’s presentations continued.

The main formal attempt to “answer”

Waggoner’s line of reasoning was made at the conference by Elder J. H. Morrison. He began by maintaining that Seventh-day Adventists had always believed and taught justification by faith—which was technically true, although Morrison failed to recognize that this vital doctrine had become obscured by the heavy Seventh-day Adventist emphasis on obedience to the law. In fact, Elder Morrison expressed the fear that Waggoner’s messages were directing attention away from the special message Adventists had been commissioned to give during earth’s final hour: the need to return to explicit obedience to the Sabbath commandment! Sincere as Morrison’s presentation was, it seemed to some that “His fodder ran short” and “that he was in the dark.”

Waggoner and Jones presented a unique rebuttal. They confined themselves simply to reading alternately and without comment sixteen passages of Scripture. To one observer this made “an everlasting impression . . . that time can never efface.”

Apparent Rejection of Message

Yet the opposition refused to admit defeat. In what was without doubt the saddest aspect of the conference, prejudice and jealousy degenerated into open criticism and jesting in the halls and boardinghouses where the delegates stayed. “The servants whom the Lord sent,” Ellen White reported, “were caricatured, ridiculed, and placed in a ridiculous light.” The criticism extended to Ellen White herself. It was intimated that she was becoming slightly senile and had been completely

“taken in” by Jones and Waggoner. To a correspondent Mrs. White wrote: “My testimony was ignored, and never in my life was I treated as at the conference.” Ever after she would remember this quarrelsome, unchristian conduct; to her it was a “*terrible experience . . . one of the saddest chapters in the history of the believers in present truth.*”

No formal vote either approving or rejecting any of the controverted points was taken by the 1888 conference. If such a vote had been planned, Ellen White effectively blocked it by a message read to the delegates shortly before they dispersed for home:

“The messages coming from your president at Battle Creek, are calculated to stir you up to make hasty decisions and to take decided positions; but I warn you against doing this. You are not now calm; there are many who do not know what they believe. It is perilous to make decisions upon any controverted point without dispassionately considering all sides of the question. Excited feelings will lead to rash movements. It is certain that many have come to this meeting with false impressions and perverted opinions. They have imaginings that have no foundation in truth. Even if the position which we have held upon the two laws is truth, the Spirit of truth will not countenance any such measures to defend it as many of you would take.”

Political Outcome

Some idea of the deep division among the Minneapolis delegates may be inferred from the problems that arose over selecting

those who would lead the denomination during the coming year. Elder Butler had announced that his health would not allow him to continue in the presidency. Ellen White approved Butler’s decision to step down. To a family member she confided that he had already been in office three years too long and had come to think of himself as virtually infallible. But who should succeed him? When Mrs. White’s advice was asked, she suggested Elder O. A. Olsen, then working to broaden Adventism’s base in Scandinavia. Not having been present in Minneapolis, Olsen was not clearly identified with either faction. His previous experience as conference president in four Midwestern states had brought him into close association with Elder Butler, and he proved acceptable to the latter’s partisans.

Although Uriah Smith was allowed to retire as conference secretary, he was replaced by D. T. Jones, a Butler supporter. By a remarkably close vote of forty to thirty-nine the delegates decided to retain Elder Butler on the General Conference Executive Committee. He declined this assignment, however, and a few weeks later retired to Florida to nurse his sick wife and regain his own health. W. C. White was then selected by the executive committee to serve as acting president until Elder Olsen could return to the United States.

As the delegates left Minneapolis, W. C. White observed that they went “with a great variety of sentiments. Some felt that it had been the greatest blessing of their lives; others, that it marked the beginning of a period of darkness, and that the evil effects of what had been done at the conference could never be effaced.”

Years later A. T. Jones remembered that those present at Minneapolis had divided into three camps: (1) those who wholeheartedly accepted the presentations on righteousness by faith, (2) those who rejected them, and (3) those who were undecided in the matter.

Ellen White Counsel

Ellen White was sadly distressed at the prejudice and pride of opinion that had kept many of the leading ministers from engaging in prayerful and open-minded study of the Scriptures. For herself, she recognized in Dr. Waggoner's studies the same glorious truths that had been repeatedly presented by God's Spirit to her and which she had tried for forty-four years to pass on to her church. This was not new light, she maintained, but "old light placed where it should be in the third angel's message." The conference had been "the hardest and most incomprehensible tug of war we have ever had among our people," and Ellen "tremble[d] to think what would have been" if she had not been there. Minneapolis shook Ellen White's confidence in many of her former close associates, but she had found two new allies there who could present with power just the messages from God that she believed the people needed. She was determined that they would be heard.

If church leaders could not hear, Ellen White would go direct to the people. But first she would make one more attempt to reach those at the top. Thus the month following the conference saw her in Battle Creek, where others had arrived before her. Their reports, along with let-

ters from Minneapolis, confirmed Elder Butler's prejudices and suspicions. Ellen White tried to impress Butler with her desire for unity, that all she desired was "to see the matter as it is, and make things straight"; but she felt he virtually ignored her, one he had repeatedly acknowledged as the Lord's special messenger. Sadly she decided that she could do nothing to help him at this time.

Others in Battle Creek also treated Mrs. White coolly. Always before when in this city, so long her home, she had been urged to speak in the tabernacle. Now, although the customary invitation was given, two of the local elders called to inquire what her topic would be. The hint was not very subtle, and Ellen firmly told them that this was a matter best left between her and the Lord. She also urged them to invite A. T. Jones to speak in the tabernacle. They hedged, saying they would need to check first with Uriah Smith. Then do so quickly, Ellen urged, because Elder Jones has a message from God for the people. Jones did get to preach, and many were benefited.

Rebuffed at headquarters, Mrs. White began a wide swing throughout the East: South Lancaster, Washington, D.C., Chicago. South Lancaster was S. N. Haskell country, and Haskell had sided with Waggoner on the 1886 Theological Committee. Ellen's reception here was all that she had hoped for. To her it seemed that the message she brought rekindled the spirit and power of the 1843-44 movement. In Washington she "saw the work of God. His spirit was poured out in rich measure."

Chicago proved another triumph. Ellen was greatly encouraged by the first

major break from the ranks of those church leaders who had closed their ears and hearts to the Minneapolis message. Elder R. M. Kilgore, Illinois Conference president, caught the joy of depending “entirely upon Christ’s righteousness, and not upon works of merit.” Confessing his wrong attitude at Minneapolis, Kilgore telegraphed Seventh-day Adventist congregations throughout the area to join the spiritual feast they were enjoying as they listened to Ellen White and Alonzo Jones.

But it was not always this way. At the invitation of Michigan Conference President Isaac Van Horn, a doubter at Minneapolis, Ellen White journeyed to Potterville to meet with the ministers of his conference. She hoped for great things, only to be disappointed. The leaders in the church’s largest conference stood by Elders Butler and Smith. It was much the same at Des Moines, where she met the Iowa Conference workers. Although Ellen felt the Spirit of the Lord working, there were no thorough confessions of wrong attitudes by leaders who had been so active in the opposition at Minneapolis.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1889 Ellen White, Jones, and Waggoner fanned out across the nation, speaking at camp meetings and ministerial institutes. Sometimes they went together, sometimes separately. Ellen would not go to all the places to which she was invited. If she perceived that a local leader was still holding adamantly to the opposition role he had assumed at Minneapolis, she felt it would be more profitable to go elsewhere. In general she was gratified by the people’s response. At the Pennsylvania camp

meeting many “testified to the fact that they had never before attended meetings where they had received so much instruction and such precious light.” Years later A. T. Jones remembered that the activities of this summer had “turned the tide *with the people*, and apparently with most of the leading men.”

Most, perhaps, but not all. Utilizing his position as editor of the *Review*, Uriah Smith expressed the fear that Waggoner and Jones were directing Seventh-day Adventists toward antinomianism (the belief that under the gospel dispensation, faith alone is sufficient, obedience to the moral law is unnecessary). “The law is spiritual, holy, just, and good, the divine standard of righteousness,” Smith proclaimed. “Perfect obedience to it will develop perfect righteousness, and that is the only way anyone can attain to righteousness.” Of course, Smith continued, all Seventh-day Adventists knew that perfect obedience could be rendered only with Christ’s help.

Smith’s article drew a vigorous protest from Ellen White. So much so that he felt it necessary to back down a bit, claiming his position had been misunderstood. All he wanted was for equal prominence to be given to Christ and “the law of righteousness,” anything less provided only an “imperfect and incomplete view.” Having said this, Smith dropped discussion of justification by faith in the columns of the *Review*. It was a different story in the *Signs*, where E. J. Waggoner was editor.

A year after Minneapolis another General Conference session rolled around, this time in Battle Creek. Ellen White noted a major difference: “The spirit that was in

the meeting at Minneapolis is not here.” The summer’s work had been effective. So had Elder Olsen’s leadership. Ellen found him standing “well, firm and free, and boldly on the right side.” Instead of the ridicule and jesting which had characterized the 1888 conclave, there were many testimonies “that the past year has been the best of their life [sic]; the light shining forth from the Word of God has been clear and distinct—justification by faith, Christ our righteousness.”

Ministerial Institutes

As the next few months passed, Adventist audiences continued to hear much about the need to trust solely in Christ. During the two winters that followed the 1889 General Conference special institutes were held in Battle Creek especially for Seventh-day Adventist ministers. Mrs. White and both Elders Jones and Waggoner served as instructors at the first institute, and Waggoner aided in the second as well. At the 1891 General Conference, Dr. Waggoner presented a series of sixteen lectures on Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, an outstanding biblical source for enlightenment on justification by faith.

All of this, along with continued emphasis in the *Signs*, helped quicken the religious experience of many Seventh-day Adventists. Ellen White rejoiced as she saw “how wonderfully the Spirit of God wrought.” Yet she also continued to mourn the failure of key men to see fully the significance of the Minneapolis message. She was distressed at the personal rancor they continued to bear toward Jones and

Waggoner, men whom she was positive had been sent of God at this time to herald a vital truth. Ellen was particularly concerned over the continued covert opposition of Uriah Smith. His position as editor of the *Review* and his long role as a denominational spokesman gave him wide influence. She saw him as a roadblock preventing other key leaders such as D. T. Jones, R. C. Porter, J. H. Morrison and LeRoy Nicola from coming into the light.

Confession and Contrition

During the closing days of 1890 Ellen White was especially burdened for Elder Smith. She wrote several earnest appeals to him. These, coupled with her moving Week of Prayer call for church members to *truly* repent and *really* come to Christ, had a deep effect on Uriah Smith. Only a few days later he requested a personal interview with Mrs. White, during which she noted a much different attitude on Smith’s part. This was followed by his meeting with a small group of church leaders two days later to confess his wrong attitudes and mistaken opposition to the messages presented in 1888. He repeated and expanded these confessions on several occasions before large audiences in the Battle Creek Tabernacle.

Ellen White rejoiced that Elder Smith had “fallen on the Rock and was broken.” Once more his influence would point in the right direction. Others would follow his example, but not at once. And their delay, Mrs. White was certain, hindered the cause she loved from advancing as it should. She saw the work of revival begun with “the revelation of the righteousness

of Christ” in 1888 as “the beginning of the light of the angel whose glory shall fill the whole earth” (Revelation 18:1-3). This was the “Loud Cry” that was immediately to precede the Second Advent. But the “blindness” of many had “hindered the advancement of the very message God meant should go forth from the Minneapolis meeting” and as a result Adventists were “years behind” where God intended them to be.

Statements such as these must have caused a great deal of soul-searching among those who still harbored doubts as to whether or not Waggoner and Jones’s messages were really of God. In the early months of 1893 several prominent actors in the Minneapolis debate changed sides: I. D. Van Horn, LeRoy Nicola, and J. H. Morrison. Of Morrison Elder Jones later wrote that he “cleared himself of all connection with that opposition, and put himself body, soul, and spirit into the truth and blessing of righteousness by faith, by one of the finest and noblest confessions that I ever heard.”

That June the “old general” who had felt repudiated at Minneapolis joined the group who now recognized that “additional light of great importance” had begun to shine at that historic convocation. It was not easy for George I. Butler to admit mistakes, but he did so manfully. The years since 1888 had been hard ones for him, full of “affliction, weakness, sorrow, perplexity, temptation, and trial, but not,” he stirringly affirmed, “of apostasy.” The next year he joined A. T. Jones in bringing the major addresses to the Florida camp meeting. Following the death of his invalid wife Butler returned

to active leadership, first as president of the Florida and later the Southern Union Conference.

Not all of those who had jeered at Minneapolis followed the example of Smith, Butler, and Morrison. One group especially, made up of leaders in the business management of the *Review* and Herald Publishing Association, were particularly obdurate. They included Clement Eldridge, A. R. Henry, Harmon Lindsay, and Frank E. Belden. Their “malarious” influence spread throughout Battle Creek and proved a snare to O. A. Olsen in the later years of his General Conference presidency. All but Henry eventually severed connections with Adventism, and Henry’s declining years were spent in quarrelsome litigation with the church and its institutions. One scoffer, Louis R. Conradi, did much to build up Adventism in Germany, only eventually to turn openly against it in the 1930s. His doctrinal deviations began in 1888.

The 1890s

Throughout the 1890s the image of the two young men, widely regarded from 1886-89 as mavericks out to break the unity of the church, changed radically. They became virtual heroes. Elder Jones led the fight for religious liberty, became a respected Bible teacher at Battle Creek College, was a member of the General Conference Committee, and from 1897 to 1901 was editor of the *Review*. Uriah Smith, his old antagonist, was demoted during those years to associate editor. Jones made major presentations at the General Conferences of 1893, 1895, and

1899. During the entire decade his voice was frequently and effectively heard proclaiming the need to trust in the sanctifying righteousness of Christ.

Dr. Waggoner continued in editorial work at the Pacific Press until 1891. The next year he went to England to edit *Present Truth*, the Seventh-day Adventist evangelistic paper there. He remained for a decade, returning briefly to America to play major roles in the General Conferences of 1897, 1899 and 1901. His pen stayed active in the cause he had begun in 1886.

But undoubtedly the most active pen during this decade was that of Ellen White. During the 1890s she published five books, which had woven through their pages in simple but effective form, the great truths of man's need to depend completely upon Jesus for both justification and sanctification. These books were *Patriarchs and Prophets*, *Steps to Christ*, *The Desire of Ages*, *Thoughts From the Mount of Blessing*, and *Christ's Object Lessons*. Their continuing influence has prevented Seventh-day Adventists from ever again falling into quite the same danger from legalism that existed in the 1870s and 1880s.

A Faltering Reform

And what of the spiritual awakening which had followed Minneapolis and seemed during the next several years to herald the onset of the "latter rain" and the earth's final hours? It faltered, wavered—and got sidetracked for a quarter of a century. The reasons were many. Pockets of resistance to the 1888 message, especially as it related to the law in Galatians,

persisted, especially in the Great Plains states, Texas, and sections of the Far West. As late as 1902, Ellen White reported that there were some "not yet healed of their defection" in this matter, but who were ready to "plunge into this subject once more."

Then, sadly, during the early years of the twentieth century, those two messengers of 1888, Jones and Waggoner, faltered in their belief in some aspects of the advent message. Their lights dimmed and all but went out. Ellen White had foreseen this possibility. "It is quite possible that Elder Jones or Waggoner may be overthrown by the temptations of the enemy," she wrote in 1892; "but if they should be, this would not prove that they had had no message from God, or that the work that they had done was all a mistake." Ellen recognized that some who had opposed the 1888 message all along would use any such defection by the messengers as proof that the message was faulty. Such a position she termed a "fatal delusion." Yet the faltering of the messengers unquestionably helped to sidetrack the revival of the early 1890s.

There were other reasons. Too much of the "spirit of Minneapolis" continued in the church—the spirit of criticism, faultfinding, and controversy. Other men and issues were involved, but the spirit was there—and it was *not* the Spirit of Christ. Doctrinal heresy threatened early in the twentieth century in the form of pantheism, insidiously promoted by leading figures of long standing in the church. Church leaders became preoccupied with the building of institutions, and more time was spent in planning schools, sanitari-

ums, and publishing houses than in making Christ central in all Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. A heavy burden of debt accompanied the building of these institutions, adding its strains to the load carried by harried administrators. There were problems of reorganization,

transfer of church headquarters, a sudden explosion into dozens of mission fields. All these, and more, tended to center Seventh-day Adventist administrators' eyes on problems of organization rather than on Jesus, *the* solution to all problems. But that story is to come.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Views of participants in the 1888 General Conference:

Ellen White, *Selected Messages*, vol. 1 (1958), pp. 350-400, is a compilation of EGW statements about righteousness by faith, including a letter to A. T. Jones in pp. 377-379.

E. J. Waggoner, *Christ and His Righteousness* (1890), and *The Glad Tidings* (1890), explain what the author presented at the 1888 Minneapolis conference.

E. K. Vandevere, *Windows* (1975), pp. 204-210, comments on several statements by Ellen White about the personalities and issues in the controversy.

Other reading about the doctrine and the continuing controversy:

E. K. Vandevere, *Rugged Heart* (1979), pp. 82-104, tells the story of General Conference president George I. Butler's involvement in the 1888 crisis.

A. V. Olson, *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901* (1966), discusses the aftermath of the 1888 controversy.

L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 148-374, 518-540, 673-686, presents the viewpoint of a leading twentieth-century Adventist theologian.

A. G. Daniells, *Christ Our Righteousness* (1926), is a pioneer study of the doctrine written nearly forty years after Minneapolis.

N. F. Pease, *By Faith Alone* (1962), chapters 8-10, defends the church's position on righteousness by faith about eight decades following Minneapolis.

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 2 (1961), chapter 15, details the role various personalities played in the controversy.

George Knight, *From 1888 to Apostasy* (1987), leads readers along the stormy path of A. T. Jones's career during and after Minneapolis.

Arthur White, *The Lonely Years* (1984), vol. 3 of *Ellen G. White*, chaps. 30-32, explains Ellen White's participation in the debate over righteousness by faith.

PART TWO

YEARS OF GROWTH AND REORGANIZATION, 1888-1945

Growth and reorganization were preeminent for Seventh-day Adventism from 1888 to 1945. After the storm at Minneapolis in 1888 a sobered church set about to accomplish its purpose with a new vision. In 1891 Ellen White began nearly a decade of residence in Australia to give that small Adventist community the same kind of guidance she had given in the United States. She spent the last years of her life in California, writing several books. From a literary standpoint, these were some of her most productive years.

Membership growth, 75,000 at the end of 1900, aroused questions about church organization. In 1901 the church decentralized itself by clustering conferences together into unions and creating a level of middle managers. At the same time the church centralized itself by discontinuing semi-independent associations and corporations and reorganizing them as departments under the General Conference. Later, the General Conference organized unions into world divisions. In 1903 the church moved its headquarters from Battle Creek to Washington, D. C.

For a time only one aspect of church administration remained outside this new organizational arrangement—the medical work. From Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, the recognized leader of Adventist medicine and related activities, came a serious doctrinal and organizational challenge that resulted in his departure from the church, probably the most widely known defection in Adventist history.

The first generation of Seventh-day Adventists died during the years of reorganization and growth. Ellen White's death occurred in 1915. Leadership passed to persons who had not known the struggles of the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s. After Ellen White's death they no longer had the security of relying on her personal counsel. For some it produced a time of groping for self-reliance. As the church grew to more than a half million members Adventists learned to make decisions without her guidance, except as they derived it from her writings. Questions arose about the role she had played in the church. Denominational leaders dealt with these issues quietly, but the same questions would rise again to haunt a later generation.

During the years of reorganization and growth Adventists struggled with the beginnings of globalization in the face of mounting world problems. Two world wars forced the church to deal with hostilities and division. The church endured the Great Depression, the most serious financial dislocations the world had seen. Adventist leaders came to grips with the hard reality that while the church was not of the world it was still in the world, and they had to devote progressively more of their time in dealing with mundane matters. Issues that were once known primarily in the United States were encountered commonly around the world. Church policy formulators and decision makers had to learn to deal with the complexities of world politics and world economy. With greater intensity all of these problems carried over into the period beyond 1945.

In 1945 the church still bore its original features, but pragmatically, it was a different organization, both institutionally and influentially.

The Expansion of Institutions, 1877-1900

During the twentieth century Seventh-day Adventists became widely known for their many excellent institutions: publishing houses, hospitals, schools. The number, variety, and geographic distribution of these institutions would amaze the early pioneers, for during Adventism's first several decades institutions developed slowly. Yet the last two decades of the nineteenth century were already marked by the beginnings of what now appears as an "institutional explosion."

Colleges

No area provides better evidence of the growing denominational commitment to institutions than the rapidly expanding Seventh-day Adventist educational system. Although "system" is undoubtedly too strong a word for these early decades, yet by 1900 the outline of a system

was clearly visible. In the spring of 1882 the denomination's first officially sponsored school, Battle Creek College, seemed on the verge of collapse. Simultaneously, South Lancaster Academy and Healdsburg College were struggling to get underway. Both had the opportunity of learning from some of the mistakes made at Battle Creek.

Lacking a large Seventh-day Adventist community with whom students might board, Healdsburg was forced to inaugurate a school home or dormitory. So successful was this experiment that Battle Creek College committed itself to the same system shortly after reopening in the fall of 1883.

Healdsburg also pioneered in implementing Ellen White's counsel to combine intellectual activity with a program of manual labor. All students spent two hours each school day working under the

direct supervision of a teacher. This innovation succeeded while the student body remained relatively small. It proved a different story when attendance surpassed 100. Healdsburg's limited campus (seven acres) prevented the development of extensive self-sustaining industries; as a result the work-study program suffered. Still, what was to become a distinctive characteristic of Seventh-day Adventist education had been given its first serious trial run.

Battle Creek College

The trustees of Battle Creek College determined not to fall behind in any good thing. Sparked by Dr. Kellogg, they set out to introduce practical courses in printing, tinsmithing, tent manufacture, and broom and shoe making. Young women might learn millinery, dressmaking, and hygienic cookery. Plans were made to rent land on which students could be trained to cultivate fruits and vegetables.

Unfortunately the trustees' enthusiasm was not shared by most of the Battle Creek College faculty and students. President W. W. Prescott proved a key figure. Although he sincerely wanted to follow Ellen White's counsels, Prescott was not the manual-labor type. He did believe in mixing physical activity with study, but preferred to do this in the gymnasium. The students heartily agreed. A "monster debate," occupying most of one Sunday afternoon, effectively demonstrated student opposition to making vocational classes an integral part of their educational program.

Other factors were lessening many a

trustee's interest in manual labor. With enrollment passing 500, the vocational facilities were badly overtaxed. To expand them would require substantial expenditures. Then, too, most of the vocational departments seemed always to operate at a loss, and the college was already in debt. One industry alone appeared to make money—the printshop. But was not this competing with the Review and Herald Publishing Association? The *Review* managers thought so and added their influence to those desiring to "shelve" vocational education and manual labor.

By 1889, with the virtual demise of the work-study program at Battle Creek College, lively students sought other ways for expending their energies. Baseball, football, soccer, and tennis became popular. Soon teams formed and competitive matches were arranged. One football game between American and British students produced unusual excitement. A local press report of the game came to Ellen White's attention in far-off Australia. "She was aghast" and soon directed a sharp rebuke to President Prescott. A Seventh-day Adventist school was not to be a place for students "to perfect themselves in sport," Ellen White wrote. This would be to follow the worldly plan of recreation and amusement and would result "in loss every time." Prescott and his faculty saw the danger; matched games were prohibited.

But soon a new diversion hit the campus: the "bicycle craze" reached Battle Creek. "One evening in May 1894, some 250 cyclists paraded from the college campus through the suburbs and city, their wheels decorated with flags

and Japanese lanterns.” Again Ellen White felt impelled to sound a warning, this time against unnecessary and excessive expenditure for what was fast becoming more a “status symbol” than a mode of efficient travel and healthy exercise.

One should not assume that Battle Creek College students merely played and rode bicycles. There was much solid study and plenty of work at the sanitarium or *Review* to earn funds for expenses. President Prescott and his faculty promoted a strong spiritual atmosphere that included required attendance at daily chapel and worship periods. Rules were strict, but this did not seem to discourage attendance. By 1888, Battle Creek College enrollment was pressing 600. This included students at all levels from primary grades through college. With smaller constituencies to draw from, Healdsburg that year had about 175 students; South Lancaster Academy, 100.

Many Adventist children and youth who desired an Adventist education found it difficult to attend any of the three schools in existence. This was particularly true of those living on the Great Plains and in the Pacific Northwest. The expense of traveling the long distances involved and the thought of sending younger students so far from home led to a demand that local conferences organize their own schools. By 1888 new schools had appeared in Minnesota, Kansas and Oregon.

Elder Prescott, who in 1887 added the responsibility of serving as the first General Conference education secretary to the presidency of Battle Creek College, took a rather dim view of this sudden

mushrooming of new schools. He feared so many would be started that it would be impossible to staff and equip them properly. This would lead to a poor quality of education, the disillusionment of parents and students, and a collapse of the entire endeavor.

Union College

At Prescott’s suggestion, the state conferences lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains agreed to combine in supporting one strong, centrally located school. In turn, the General Conference accepted responsibility for building and operating the proposed school and contributed \$20,000 for dormitories. The remainder of the building fund was to be contributed by the conferences involved. Responsibility for selecting a school site was delegated to a committee composed of Prescott and the presidents of the area conferences.

After studying prospective locations in Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, the committee decided to start the new school near Lincoln, Nebraska. It was heavily influenced by the offer of 280 acres of free land southeast of the city. Construction began in the spring of 1890, with school opening in the fall of 1891. When the local conferences proved dilatory in contributing their shares of the funds for building, it was only the financial genius of A. R. Henry, the General Conference representative, that kept enough money available to pay for materials and labor. Henry sold a large part of the original land grant and bought, subdivided, and resold neighboring land at a profit in order

to finance the construction.

The new school was named Union College at the suggestion of Prescott, who added the job of serving as its first president to those he already carried. The name grew out of the fact that the school was the result of the united efforts of eight state conferences.

From the start church leaders planned that Union College should serve as the school to train German-American and Scandinavian-American workers. These students were immersed in their own culture. Housed in separate dormitory areas, they attended separate classes and church services conducted in their respective languages. This plan continued for nearly twenty years.

Walla Walla College

A visit to the Pacific Northwest in 1890 convinced Prescott that it would be wise to consolidate the educational efforts of church members in that area as well. At this time there were three Seventh-day Adventist academies operating in Oregon: at Coquille on the Pacific Coast, in Portland, and in Milton. Local Adventists at first opposed consolidation but were eventually won over to the idea. The school-locating committee decided on a site just west of Walla Walla, Washington, where a wealthy fruit grower offered them forty acres of land.

Classes at Walla Walla College began in December 1892. While Prescott added the presidency of the new school to those he already carried at Battle Creek and Union, direction was really in the hands of E. A. Sutherland, principal. A man of

strong convictions, Sutherland convened his faculty for a week or more prior to opening day in order that its members might jointly study Ellen White's counsels on education. From the start Walla Walla College demonstrated its commitment to health reform by serving only a lacto-ovo-vegetarian diet; it was the first Seventh-day Adventist school to take this step.

Sutherland, officially promoted to the presidency in the school's second year of operation, was not a believer in traditional curricula or degrees. Instead he launched a short one-year course designed especially to prepare mature students as effective church employees.

By the spring of 1895 Professor Prescott reported that Seventh-day Adventists were operating "five colleges, five academies, and from fifteen to twenty preparatory schools." This budding educational network was no longer confined to North America. In 1893 South African Seventh-day Adventists had launched the Claremont School (forerunner of Helderberg College); the following year saw the founding of Avondale College in Australia. Several of the schools operating as academies in 1895 would mature into colleges: Keene Industrial Academy, Oakwood Manual Training School, and Graysville Academy.

Avondale College

In preparing his 1895 report Prescott could hardly have recognized the impact that the Avondale school was to have on Seventh-day Adventist education. Yet, more than any other Seventh-day Adventist college, Avondale was closely

THE EXPANSION OF INSTITUTIONS, 1877-1900

associated with Ellen White; it bore the clearest imprint of her philosophy of education. One of the first things Mrs. White did upon arriving in Australia late in 1891 was to tell the local Adventists that God wanted them to start a school for their youth. It was too expensive to send students to America for training; more important, Mrs. White was certain that even American Seventh-day Adventist education would not provide the best preparation for the pioneer work that needed to be done in Australia and the islands of the Pacific.

Some Australian Adventists had been discussing their need for a school for several years. With fewer than one thousand church members in all of Australia, however, this idea seemed premature to many. Nevertheless they rented several houses in Melbourne and began a Bible school,

primarily to train colporteurs and Bible workers. Ellen White was far from satisfied; she continued to press for a rural location with plenty of land on which industries could be developed as an integral part of a coordinated work-study program.

In response to Ellen White's urgings those attending the first Australian camp meeting in 1893 appointed a committee to locate a rural school setting. After months of searching these men discovered a 1450-acre estate approximately seventy-five miles north of Sydney and bordering the little village of Cooranbong. Priced at only three dollars per acre and set in beautiful, natural surroundings, the estate seemed just what they were seeking.

Ellen White was invited to join the locating committee for an on-the-spot inspection. Before reaching Cooranbong,



Partly because of its miraculous beginnings and partly because of its curriculum, the school in Australia became a model for Adventist educational centers. At the time of this aerial view, circa 1950, it was known as Australasian Missionary College.

Mrs. White had an impressive dream. She seemed to be walking over the estate when suddenly, in the midst of nowhere, she observed a neatly-turned furrow nearly a foot deep and two yards long. As she watched, two of the committee approached and commented that the soil was poor. She then heard an angel say, "False witness has been borne of this land."

Later as Mrs. White traversed the Cooranbong property, she saw the neat furrow of her dream. There was no indication as to how it had been turned; but there were the men, examining it and making adverse criticisms. Mrs. White's dream and the sudden healing, following special prayer, of one of their number, convinced the committee that God was leading them to establish a school at Cooranbong. Nevertheless the soil's appearance, so different from what some of them had known in the Midwestern United States, continued to trouble them. It was decided to get an expert from the state agricultural service to test the soil. His report was devastating. The land, he reported, would not produce enough to support a bandicoot (a rabbit-sized Australian marsupial).

Although a down payment had been made on the Cooranbong property, some of the men now began to vacillate; not so Ellen White. She was certain that God would "spread a table in the wilderness." Mrs. White demonstrated her faith by purchasing a few acres of the property, building a home there, and planting a number of fruit trees. She personally borrowed \$5000 to loan to the school so that building construction might begin. Money came in slowly. Only a few days before school

was scheduled to open in April 1897, the buildings were still uncompleted; there was no money to hire workers! Ellen White met the emergency by calling for volunteers and by releasing her own staff to help carry brick, nail flooring, and paint walls. The school opened as scheduled, but with only four teachers and ten students. By the end of the term enrollment had increased to sixty.

Avondale was literally hewn out of a forest as trees were felled and sawed into lumber, stumps were grubbed out and fruit trees planted. A few years later students reaped a bountiful harvest of peaches, oranges, lemons, mandarins, and nectarines. With deep plowing and scientific management the farm produced many types of vegetables and grains. A dairy and health food factory were begun. The faculty joined students in a work program on Sundays and in the afternoons.

Recognizing that many eager students could not attend Avondale for lack of funds, the Australian conferences early developed a successful student-loan fund to supplement work in the school industries. By 1899 a modest hospital had been started adjacent to the Avondale school. It not only served the nearby community, which had formerly lacked such facilities, but also carried on a program of health education and served as a place where students could learn to give simple treatments and care for the sick.

Avondale School for Christian Workers set a pattern that heavily influenced the development of future Seventh-day Adventist schools. Among other things, it demonstrated (1) the practicability and advantages of an ample campus located

in a rural environment, (2) the feasibility of a strong work-study program, (3) the value of school industries both as a source of student labor and as a help to the school's operating budget, (4) the need for systematic "student aid" funds, (5) the success of student involvement in welfare and missionary activities in place of extensive recreational and sports programs, and (6) the practicability of Ellen White's counsels on education. Perhaps the strongest testimony to the value of the type of education pioneered at Avondale is that during the seven decades following its founding more than 80 percent of its graduates entered denominational service.

Church-wide Education

Back in the United States Professor Prescott saw possibilities for more efficiently utilizing the large number of Seventh-day Adventists teaching in public schools. Why not convene them in a special training institute and inspire them to teach in local church schools? The plan might have worked, except—the denomination had no system of church schools. As a substitute, Prescott organized the first church-wide educational convention for teachers within Seventh-day Adventist schools. Meeting at Harbor Springs, Michigan, in the summer of 1891, this group spent six weeks studying basic principles of Christian education and trying to decide how Seventh-day Adventist education should differ from that available elsewhere.

Prescott, Ellen White, and Elders E. J. Waggoner and A. T. Jones led out in the Harbor Springs discussions. P. T.

Magan, then teaching history at Battle Creek College, remembered that most of the time was devoted to discussing "the elimination of pagan and infidel authors from our schools, the dropping out of long courses in the Latin and Greek classics, and the substitution of the teaching of the Bible and . . . history from the standpoint of the prophecies." Although no great curriculum changes were immediately forthcoming, the next few years saw a definite attempt to incorporate more formal Bible and history study, along with a reduction of time spent on classical languages. Manual labor and school industries, however, seem to have been largely ignored.

In spite of Prescott's hopes and a resolution from the 1887 General Conference session recommending that local congregations establish church schools, primary education got off to a slow and sporadic start among Seventh-day Adventists. Although the various academies and colleges all included pupils in the primary grades, this was of benefit principally to families living in the Adventist communities surrounding these schools. Few parents wanted to send their preteenagers many miles from home to attend school.

Shortly after the founding of South Lancaster Academy its promoters had tried to demonstrate the advantages of church schools. The academy offered a short three-week course in the spring for persons desiring to conduct demonstration church schools for interested congregations during the summer. Elder Haskell's hope that this would lead to a system of permanent church schools was not realized at this time. Few of the

schools started in scattered areas maintained the quality or continuity of the South Stukely, Quebec, school which continued for over three decades following its founding in 1884 and attracted many non-Adventist students.

Educational Reform

The real breakthrough in the establishment of Seventh-day Adventist church schools came during the final years of the nineteenth century. In part the sudden expansion of those years (from eighteen schools in 1895 to 220 in 1900) was a by-product of the education-reform movement that hit Battle Creek College in 1897. By March of that year a number of articles in the *Review* had described the development of Avondale after the pattern advocated by Ellen White. These articles struck a responsive chord in the hearts of several reform-minded Seventh-day Adventist leaders, principally Dr. J. H. Kellogg and Alonzo T. Jones. They, in turn, took the initiative in securing a reform-minded president for Battle Creek College—Edward A. Sutherland of Walla Walla College. Kellogg liked Sutherland's devotion to vegetarianism and his willingness to sponsor vocational and manual labor programs. Jones was attracted by Sutherland's attempt to make the Bible the basis for instruction in all academic areas.

Aided by Percy T. Magan and M. Bessie De Graw, President Sutherland set out to revolutionize Battle Creek College. Extensive periods of revival were encouraged among students and staff. The reformers had no fear that increased interest in spiritual matters would impair

academic excellence. A call to Christian service—to make every vocation simply an adjunct to evangelistic missionary activity—was sounded with enthusiasm. The classical curricula virtually disappeared; classes were restructured to fit into reform departments devoted to teacher preparation, canvassing, medical missionary work, a commercial course, music, and manual training.

The wave of reform activity at Battle Creek College coincided with Ellen White's increased emphasis on the need to develop, "Wherever there are a few Sabbath-keepers . . . a day-school where their children and youth can be instructed. They [church members] should employ a Christian teacher, who, as a consecrated missionary, shall educate the children in such a way as to lead them to become missionaries." Sutherland emphatically concurred. When in the fall of 1897 calls came to Battle Creek for teachers for five new church schools, Sutherland's faculty decided to appeal to students in the teacher-training program to sacrifice completion of their education in order to begin these schools at once. More than enough volunteers responded; the church-school boom had begun. The dedication of these young teachers, some still in their late teens, did much to convince local congregations of the value of church schools.

Sutherland's evangelistic fervor not only stimulated the growth of church schools, but also contributed to the growth of Seventh-day Adventist secondary schools. In the process Cedar Lake Industrial Academy in north-central Michigan, and Wisconsin's Woodland Industrial School at Bethel, drew some of the

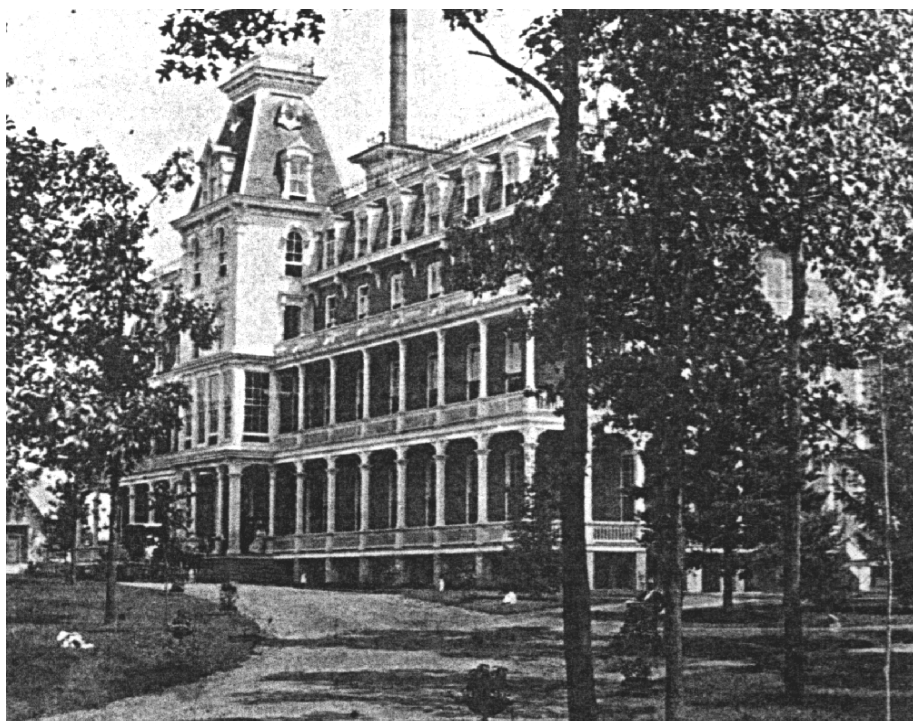
younger students away from Battle Creek College. Coincidentally a considerable disenchantment among many students with what they regarded as Sutherland's extremism, and his urge to shorten courses, speed students into evangelistic endeavors, and end the granting of "papal" degrees led to a sharp decline in the Battle Creek College enrollment. Other schools, notably Union College, benefited; but they too were plagued with difficulties.

Not the least of these difficulties was a growing burden of debt, much of which resulted from a commendable effort to keep tuition low in order to

attract students. The severe economic depression of the early 1890s was also a factor. Even under financial stress the number of Seventh-day Adventist colleges and academies seemed to increase more rapidly than the supply of experienced administrators. This led to a constant, and sometimes wasteful, shuffling of personnel. Problems there were, but there was growth as well.

Medical Institutions

Adventist medical facilities also grew, nowhere more dramatically than in



Probably the most imposing of all nineteenth-century Adventist institutions was Battle Creek Sanitarium, directed by J. H. Kellogg who gave it an international reputation. It appears here as it was during the 1880s.

Battle Creek. Here energetic Dr. Kellogg kept up an almost continuous building program. The modest sanitarium he had inherited in 1876 had, a quarter century later, become a giant complex capable of accommodating 700 patients. A staff of nearly 1000 catered to the whims of the wealthy who had “discovered” Battle Creek. The resulting “grand hotel” atmosphere was a keen disappointment to Ellen White.

As the sanitarium grew, Kellogg tried a variety of methods to assure its becoming the great educational force he envisioned. In the fall of 1877 he launched a special School of Hygiene at the sanitarium. Some denominational leaders urged him to seek state approval for conferring the M.D. degree on students who satisfactorily completed the twenty-week course this school offered, but the doctor firmly declined. He wanted simply to provide basic instruction in nutrition and hygiene for those interested in medicine as a career and to others who were content to spread the gospel of healthful living through lectures, demonstrations, and personal example.

Dr. Kate Lindsay

Kellogg also recommended that Adventists begin a school of nursing, perhaps in connection with Battle Creek College. When the college trustees proved reticent, Kellogg and Dr. Kate Lindsay convinced the sanitarium board to take this step. In 1883 two young women answered a public call to enroll in a three-month course in nursing procedures and the art of massage. That fall

the course was lengthened to six months, shortly thereafter to two, and then three, years. The popularity of the nursing course increased dramatically. By the 1890s several hundred were enrolled in the program.

A major part of the success of the Battle Creek Sanitarium School of Nursing was due to Dr. Lindsay. The product of a Wisconsin farm, “Dr. Kate” early developed an appetite for learning that mystified her parents. At twenty-five she left home to work at the Western Health Reform Institute. Finding no program for training would-be nurses in Battle Creek, Kate soon moved on to New Jersey to study nursing for two years at Dr. R. T. Trall’s Institute. Back in Battle Creek as a trained nurse, she was next



Dr. Kate Lindsay (1842-1923) pioneered the first Adventist school of nursing at Battle Creek College around 1875.

urged to enroll in a medical course, a daring thing for women in the early 1870s. Admitted to the second class that accepted females at the University of Michigan Medical School, Kate studied diligently and won the desired M.D. in 1875. Then it was back to Battle Creek and agitation for an Adventist nurses' training program. Once it was established, she did much of the teaching until she left Battle Creek in 1897 for mission service in Africa.

The Kellogg Expansion

Although the School of Hygiene lapsed after several years, Dr. Kellogg reactivated it in 1889 under a new name: the Sanitarium Training School of Medical Missionaries. Throughout the next decade this school offered a variety of courses ranging in length from one month to two years. Many were designed especially for ministers and their wives, foreign missionaries, and teachers in Adventist schools. It was Kellogg's goal to prepare all Adventist workers to be knowledgeable in physiology, nutrition, and the simple treatment of illness through the use of hydrotherapy, massage, exercise, and dietary reforms.

In addition to being a vigorous advocate of educational and health reforms, Dr. Kellogg had a tender regard for individuals in need. This was dramatically evidenced during the 1880s when he and Mrs. Kellogg opened their home to a variety of orphans. Unfortunately the doctor's resources were not sufficient to care for the many orphans who came

to his attention. He became convinced that this was a problem for the entire church. Why not establish an orphans' home in Battle Creek under Seventh-day Adventist supervision and control? With Ellen White's approval Kellogg began to suggest such a possibility in the columns of *Good Health* and *The Medical Missionary*, a journal he began in 1891 as the voice of the Health and Temperance Association.

At the 1891 General Conference session Kellogg made a stirring appeal in behalf of both the church's orphans and the aged. He sufficiently impressed the delegates so that they voted to establish "a home for orphans and destitute aged persons" to be named, at the doctor's suggestion, after James White. Kellogg was elected president of the projected institution's board. Immediately he engaged in a fund-raising campaign—and found it much easier to locate needy orphans and old people to occupy the proposed home than to secure funds to construct it.

When funds for building an orphans' home were eventually secured, they came through the generosity of a wealthy non-Adventist sanitarium guest. Mrs. Caroline Haskell agreed to donate \$30,000 provided that the orphans' home was named for her late husband (no relation to Elder S. N. Haskell) and was operated on a nonsectarian basis. Her offer was accepted, and the Haskell Home officially opened early in 1894. Plans for a home for the aged to be known as the James White Memorial Home were temporarily shelved. Once the orphans' home, which was capable of sheltering 200 children,

was running smoothly, Kellogg led out in developing a more modest home for the aged. Both the Haskell and James White homes received funds for operating expenses from offerings received periodically in Adventist churches across America.

Some Seventh-day Adventist leaders wanted Dr. Kellogg to become General Conference medical secretary and assume responsibility for all church charitable activities. This would have corresponded with Elder Prescott's role as educational secretary. Kellogg rejected this idea as centering too much power in one individual. Instead he convinced the 1893 General Conference to organize the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association to do this job. Kellogg did agree to serve as the association's president. This organization not only supervised the Haskell and James White homes and the various Seventh-day Adventist sanitariums springing up in the United States and abroad, but also helped during the following decade to launch more than a dozen vegetarian restaurants and thirty hydropathic treatment rooms.

Work for the Poor

During the later 1890s the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association promoted welfare missions to serve the poor and unemployed in a dozen large American cities scattered from New York to San Francisco. This work was the outgrowth of an experiment Kellogg had begun in a small way in Chicago in 1892. That year a prosperous Chicago banker

agreed to his dying daughter's request that he provide funds for a Battle Creek Sanitarium nurse to work among Chicago's poor. The enthusiastic reports this initial nurse gave of the opportunities for service soon led others to join her; some did private-duty work among the wealthy and used their income to support the work of colleagues among the poor.

When in 1893 Kellogg received an offer of \$40,000 for philanthropic work from two relatively new Adventists, he envisioned a much larger work in Chicago, but operated in somewhat the same manner. The money was invested in a sanitarium catering to the rich, and its earnings supported work for the poor. Within the next half dozen years, the Chicago Medical Mission developed a wide range of social services, including a free medical dispensary, free baths, a free laundry, a visiting-nurses' service, a free kindergarten for working mothers, nutritional and child-care classes, a penny lunch counter, a cheap rooming house, an employment agency, a program for reclaiming prostitutes and drunkards, and a number of boys' clubs. The mission even operated a 160-acre farm outside the city, where alcoholics could receive temporary employment far from the temptations of city life.

All of this cost money, much more than the meager profits the Chicago Sanitarium provided. Kellogg next hoped to utilize the profits from his cereal and vegetable-protein creations to support city mission work, but they, too, proved insufficient. There was no choice but to appeal for general church support. Meanwhile, Ellen White became alarmed at the direction this

welfare work was taking. It seemed likely to absorb a major portion of the denomination's finances and was diverting members from heralding the three angels' messages in a strong way. Local conference administrators shared Ellen White's concern. In the face of growing opposition the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association gradually phased out the city welfare missions.

The Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association's resources were already badly strained as a result of the decision in 1895 to launch a medical school. Adventist leaders had long been concerned with the problem of providing quality medical education for their interested youth without seeing distinctive Seventh-day Adventist health reform principles sacrificed. The School of Hygiene had been one attempt to inculcate sound principles before exposing prospective medical students to the more traditional drug-oriented therapy of the medical schools. But by 1890 good medical schools were no longer willing to accept courses taken in unrecognized schools as fulfilling part of their requirements.

For a few years it seemed to Kellogg and his associates that the Battle Creek Sanitarium might carefully select good prospects and sponsor their education at the University of Michigan Medical School. A boarding house in which to accommodate these students was secured in Ann Arbor. They spent summers in Battle Creek working at the sanitarium in order more fully to absorb Adventist health principles. Yet much of what was taught in Ann Arbor proved contrary to the practices at Battle Creek. Some students,

like David Paulson and Daniel and Lauretta Kress, could take the best Ann Arbor had to offer without forsaking the insights of Battle Creek. Many could not, and it was this fact that led to the decision to begin a Seventh-day Adventist medical school.

An Adventist Medical School

American Medical Missionary College started its first class of forty medical students in the fall of 1895. Classes were given principally at Battle Creek, but the facilities of the Chicago Medical Mission were also utilized for clinical work. Unlike many medical schools of the day, the American Medical Missionary College began clinical experience during the student's first year of study. By the end of the century the American Medical Missionary College had secured membership in the Association of American Medical Colleges and could proudly announce that its graduates were acceptable to the major medical examining boards in the nation.

Launching a medical school during a period of economic depression proved no small task. This was particularly true because Kellogg was determined not to charge tuition. Instead, students were expected to work two hours daily for the sanitarium; additional hours of work might be exchanged for board and room. Thus the sanitarium became the principal financial support for American Medical Missionary College. Kellogg, in his multiple roles as medical superintendent of the sanitarium, president of the American Medical Missionary College, and

president of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, was obviously the linchpin in the entire Seventh-day Adventist medical program.

Approximately half of Dr. Kellogg's time during the 1890s was spent in traveling to the Adventist sanitariums that were being established in various parts of the country. He aided these institutions by providing advice on patient care and building construction and by performing surgery in difficult cases. During these same years Kellogg also played a major role in developing a Seventh-day Adventist sanitarium at Guadalajara, Mexico. His advice was sought on all manner of details as Adventist medical work got underway in Scandinavia, Switzerland, Germany, England, South Africa, Australia, and South America.

Publishing Expansion

Unlike the success in the medical work, the expansion which took place in Seventh-day Adventist publishing during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was not dramatically linked with one individual. Publishing had no Dr. Kellogg, yet its growth was also substantial. The two major printing plants begun by James White formed the backbone of Adventist publishing activities. By 1881 the Review and Herald press was said to be "the most complete in the State of Michigan." In the years that followed, C. H. Jones built the Pacific Press into "the largest and best-equipped publishing plant in the West."

Such excellence had its price: accepting contracts for regular commercial

printing in order to keep the new presses operating economically. This type of work, of course, had to be ready on the dates promised, even if this meant delay for church publications. Growth in size also led to managers' becoming concerned with showing a better profit on their operations each year. Increased commercial contracts appeared to be the answer. By 1899 the General Conference president estimated that 80 percent of the printing done at the Review was of a commercial nature. Not surprisingly, press workers began to think of their activities as a business operation for which they should be compensated more liberally. The evangelistic dedication shown by workers of an earlier era seemed to be fading away.

Much of the profit made by the two major publishing houses was used to secure better equipment or to expand facilities. Pacific Press, for example, opened a branch office in New York City in 1888 and one in London the following year; in 1893 a Kansas City, Missouri, branch was added. In other cases publishing-house profits were used to provide loans for hardpressed Seventh-day Adventist institutions or to get a new publishing house started overseas.

And during the last two decades of the nineteenth century Seventh-day Adventists established publishing houses in more than a dozen countries outside the United States. The first permanent one, that in Oslo (then Christiania), Norway, had its origin when J. G. Matteson began publishing the Norwegian *Signs of the Times* in January 1879. Two years later the first book, a small hymnal including

a number of songs Matteson had composed himself, came from this press.

Publishing Abroad

In 1885 publishing activities began in both Switzerland and France and also half a world away in Australia. The first party of Adventist missionaries to Australia included a printer, Henry L. Scott, and a colporteur, William Arnold. The next year an Adventist publishing house was established in Sweden, followed in 1887 by one in London and in 1889 by one in Hamburg, Germany. The worldwide expansion of Adventism during these years comes through clearly in the publishing offices established during the 1890s: South Africa (1890), Denmark and Finland (1893), Canada (1895), India (1896), and Argentina (1897).

The multiplication of publishing houses in distant parts of the world was not without problems. One of the most dramatic of these came during the severe economic recession that hit Scandinavia at the end of the century. The Norwegian Publishing House had borrowed heavily from local banks, in part to secure money for other denominational needs in Scandinavia. Its managers had also cosigned notes for persons who had earlier done this same favor for them. Now the banks suddenly demanded approximately \$70,000 in outstanding loans. Already hardpressed financially, some General Conference officials felt bankruptcy proceedings for the Norwegian office was the only way out. This brought violent protests from former General Conference president O. A. Olsen, then in charge of

Adventist work in Scandinavia. Eventually a plan was arranged for repaying the debt over a three-year period. The publishing house was saved and the reputation of Seventh-day Adventists in Scandinavian financial circles vindicated, but at the price of many hours of study, labor and concern on the part of top denominational leaders. The Christiania case is a classic example of the problems that frequently came with the operating of institutions deemed necessary to the cause.

Publishing in Braille

As the century closed, the General Conference was gingerly inaugurating a new type of publishing—producing materials for the blind. In 1897 the International Tract Society, a General Conference subsidiary, purchased a stereotype machine which could be used to prepare plates for Braille duplication. A few tracts were produced; but it was not until Austin Wilson, a twenty-seven-year-old blind student at Battle Creek College, began a campaign among church leaders that the General Conference Committee decided to start a ten-page monthly journal for the blind. Wilson was given the task of printing the magazine. He and his wife used a common clothes wringer to make the impressions of seventy-five copies of the first issue of the *Christian Record*, which was dated January 1900. It was a small but significant beginning.

New schools, new sanitariums, new programs, new publishing ventures, new lands in which all of these activities were taking place. Small wonder that O. A. Olsen wrote despairingly, “It is utterly

impossible to give proper care and attention, and to follow up and successfully develop so many different enterprises.”

That was 1896, and the geometric growth of Adventist institutions and activities was really only beginning.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Education:

George Knight, “The Transformation of Education,” in *The World of Ellen G. White* (1987), Gary Land, ed., provides a sweeping, nineteenth-century view of change in secular education as a background for Adventist education in the United States.

E. Cadwallader, *A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education* (1956), pp. 61-70, 78-97, 110-128, 229-238, 259-266, and 285-303, provides information about the period from 1882 to 1900.

E. K. VandeVere, *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 48-91, covers the central role of Battle Creek College in Adventist education.

E. N. Dick, *Union: College of the Golden Cords* (1967), pp. 1-100, presents the early days of Union College.

Sixty Years of Progress (1952), no author, pp. 87-130, offers pertinent material about Walla Walla College.

Gilbert M. Valentine, *The Shaping of Adventism* (1992), chapters 4, 5, and 7, recounts the contributions of W. W. Prescott to Adventist education.

Medical:

D. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message* (1965), pp. 183-241, focuses on the period when the Health Reform Institute was founded.

Richard Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M. D.* (1970), describes the era as it revolved around Kellogg.

Kathryn Nelson, *Kate Lindsay, M. D.* (1963), is an account of one of the major participants in the medical school at Battle Creek.

Jerome Clark, “The Crusade Against Alcohol,” in *The World of Ellen G. White* (1987), Gary Land, ed., provides background for Adventist attitudes toward alcohol consumption.

Publishing:

Carol Hetzell, *The Undaunted* (1967), presents snatches of interesting anecdotal material about the Adventist publishing enterprise.

Mission Advance, 1887-1900

From 1885 onward Seventh-day Adventist mission activities expanded dramatically. To some extent Adventists reflected the general Protestant interest in foreign missions at this time. Stirred by men like Dwight L. Moody and John R. Mott, hundreds of American youth pledged to carry the gospel to earth's remotest corners; to evangelize the world "in this generation."

Adventists had their own particular promoters of missions; none more influential than S. N. Haskell and Ellen White. These two wrote and spoke with the conviction of firsthand witnesses to the challenge and opportunities of distant lands. In 1882 Haskell made his first visit to Europe. Three years later he pioneered the advent message in Australia and New Zealand. During 1889-90, accompanied by young Percy Magan, he circled the globe, surveying the opportunities and

problems awaiting Seventh-day Adventist missionaries in Africa, India, and the Orient. Magan's picturesque reports in *The Youth's Instructor* captured the interest of hundreds.

Beginning in the summer of 1885, Ellen White spent two years in Europe. Visits to England, France, Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia, and Italy deepened her concern that the three angels' messages be proclaimed widely. From 1891 to 1900, with her son William, Mrs. White labored in Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania. During these years her letters constantly reminded American Adventists of their global responsibilities.

Many other Adventist leaders also became personally exposed to the world outside America. In 1884 George I. Butler became the first General Conference president to visit Europe. Four years later O. A. Olsen was called back from

Scandinavia to become the church's chief executive. His successor, G. A. Irwin, visited Australia in the midst of his term of office. J. H. Waggoner gave the last three years of his life to strengthening the publishing work in Europe.

Literature Evangelism

Membership growth in Europe, the first area outside North America to have officially organized Seventh-day Adventist churches, was steady, but not dramatic. Canvassing and tent evangelism, so successful in reaching thousands in America, appeared less effective in Europe.



S. N. Haskell (1833-1922), an influential Adventist leader of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, served the church in Europe, Australia, and Asia. He circled the globe in 1889 in the interests of world missions.

As for canvassing, the first periodicals and books sold in England were imported from America. Peculiarities of style and spelling irritated many Britons, already suspicious of foreigners, especially Americans. To remedy this difficulty the *Present Truth* was begun as a monthly magazine in 1884 and by 1888 sold 10,000 copies per issue. Young women canvassers were its most successful promoters. Under E. J. Waggoner's editorship during the 1890s *Present Truth's* circulation climbed to 17,000.

Although Ellen White recognized the value of public meetings and encouraged tent evangelism in Europe, she stressed also the prime importance of door-to-door visitation. Individual contacts, she believed, would prove the most fruitful when those making the visit did not press Adventists' peculiar views too strongly at first. Stephen Haskell preferred this method and determined to put it into practice in England when, in 1887, he arrived to direct Seventh-day Adventist work.

Bible Workers

One of Haskell's first moves was to transfer the Seventh-day Adventist headquarters and printing activities to London. Previously Adventists had largely avoided the capital city. Next, Haskell started three female Bible workers on a visitation program. Before the year was over, this corps of visitors had trebled. The Adventist workers found a warm welcome among a few London Seventh Day Baptists, but their leader, Dr. William M. Jones, warned Haskell not to expect the English to accept the Sabbath as

readily as had Americans.

Although Seventh-day Adventists were slower in sending workers to Great Britain than to the European continent, once they committed themselves, successively top leaders were dispatched to England: Loughborough, Haskell, Prescott, E. J. Waggoner. Special emphasis was placed on training colporteurs; by 1896 there were seventy-seven in the field. Evangelistic campaigns throughout England and Wales led to the organization of a few small churches, but Scotland remained virtually untouched until the twentieth century. Ireland did not fare much better, with only a few believers “gathered out” in Ulster.

England

In spite of its small membership, England became a center for spreading Adventism to the four corners of the world. In large measure this was due to the dedicated efforts of Liverpool “ship missionary” George Drew, who placed literature in scores of ships visiting this busy port and convinced captains to leave Seventh-day Adventist literature at many of their ports of call.

Scandinavia

Probably nowhere else in Europe did Seventh-day Adventists enlist as many adherents initially as in Scandinavia. This was due largely to the energy and vision of J. G. Matteson, a firm believer in the literature ministry. Matteson launched both an evangelistic and a health journal for Denmark and Norway and authored

and printed a variety of books and tracts. In 1880 he organized the Danish churches into the first conference outside North America. Seven years later, at Moss, Norway, during the first camp meeting held in Europe, the Norwegian Conference was formed. By this time a succession of American workers had joined Matteson, including two brothers, O. A. and E. G. Olsen.

Matteson trained an effective corps of canvassers from among his early converts. By 1884 they had pierced the Arctic Circle, and a few years later a small company of Sabbath keepers existed in Hammerfest, “the world’s northernmost city.” Before the end of the century Adventists baptized their first member from among the nomadic Laplanders.

Although the population of Sweden was larger than that of Norway and Denmark combined, Adventists found it more difficult to gain adherents there. The powerful Swedish state clergy proved bitterly antagonistic, securing the temporary imprisonment of one of the first evangelists. Yet Matteson was able eventually to attract 1000 listeners to a tent meeting in Stockholm in 1887.

In spite of their own difficulties the Swedish Seventh-day Adventists determined to answer the call of a Finnish ship captain who had accepted Adventism as the result of purchasing books from George Drew in Liverpool. Conference president Olaf Johnson took two female Bible instructors and began work in the Finnish capital of Helsinki in 1892. In spite of threats from the Russian officials who then governed Finland, a colporteur work developed gradually; and by the end

LIGHT BEARERS

of the century there were three tiny Finnish churches.

Danish Adventists also determined to launch a missionary endeavor of their own. In 1897 they dispatched David Östlund to the Danish colony of Iceland. On his way Östlund encountered an Icelandic Adventist couple returning from America. They had read of his proposed mission and had sold their farm to return to their homeland and help him. Like Matteson, Östlund knew the printing trade. He established his own press and in 1900 began a semi-monthly magazine,

Fraekorn ("The Seed").

By 1900 Scandinavian Adventists had developed secondary schools in Denmark and Sweden and operated a number of private treatment rooms. In 1898 Dr. J. C. Ottosen had launched what would become the most famous Adventist sanitarium in Europe: Sködsborg. Located a few miles north of Copenhagen, Sködsborg began with only twenty patients; but its combination of hydrotherapy with massage, exercise, and special diets soon won influential patrons, including members of the royal family.



Basel, Switzerland was the location of the early headquarters for European Seventh-day Adventists. Here were housed not only administrative offices, but editorial and printing facilities as well. The important 1885 European Council took place here, attended by Ellen White.

Central Europe

In central Europe, where Adventism had first taken root, progress seemed pitifully slow. There were few American Adventists who spoke French easily, none having a mastery of Italian or Romanian. The Bourdeau brothers were hardly sufficient for the job of warning France and French Switzerland, yet they were also dispatched to Italy and Romania. Unable to speak to the people in these last two countries except through interpreters, they won few converts. Gradually the Romanian believers became scattered, and Adventism almost disappeared there. D. T. Bourdeau expended considerable effort in the Waldensian valleys of northwest Italy but with little noticeable result.

With help from W. C. White and H. W. Kellogg the Review, a strong publishing program was established in Basel, Switzerland in a building erected in 1884. This press produced French, German, Italian, and Romanian literature, but because of Sunday law difficulties, publishing stopped, and later the building became a sanitarium. German printing transferred to Hamburg in 1895. With no one to promote and train colporteurs, the program languished in France and Italy until the twentieth century.

Russia

Meanwhile Adventist literature was arousing interest in southern Russia, particularly in the Crimea. Generations earlier the Czar's government had encouraged German farm families, many of them Mennonites, to settle in this area.

Later some from these families emigrated to the United States, settling on the Kansas and Dakota plains. By the late 1870s Adventism had taken root in several of these German-Russian communities, and soon Seventh-day Adventist tracts were being sent to relatives and friends in the "old country."

One day in 1882 a Crimean neighbor confided to Gerhard Perk that he had some interesting, but dangerous, tracts which he had received from America three years earlier. His curiosity aroused, Perk asked to see some of the tracts. After much pleading the neighbor agreed to loan him one entitled *The Third Angel's Message*. In the seclusion of his haymow Perk read the tract three times then sent to the American publishers for additional literature. From the liberal supply of German tracts received, Perk learned virtually all the distinctive Seventh-day Adventist doctrines.

About this time Perk also became an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. As he traveled throughout Russia, selling Bibles, several incidents occurred which he considered clear evidences of divine care for him. He decided God would continue that care if he accepted what he was certain was Bible truth. His decision made, Perk added Adventist literature to the Bibles he was selling. This made his work much more dangerous, as Adventist tracts and papers were an open invitation to readers to leave the Orthodox state church. Proselytizing was strictly forbidden by Russian law, and in these years following the assassination of Alexander II there was stern repression of all Russian dissidents. Perk was

not the only agent scattering Adventist ideas in south Russia, for among the German-Russian Seventh-day Adventists in Milltown, South Dakota, an octogenarian longed to return to Russia to share his newfound faith. His age and a speech impediment made this seem foolish to his fellow believers, yet the old man would not be dissuaded. Arriving in Odessa virtually penniless, he sold his boots to secure transportation to the Crimea. Once there, he developed an ingenious way to witness. He would take several tracts to the village marketplace and request persons to read to him, pleading poor eyesight. If the reader seemed interested, he was promptly presented with the tract. When the local priest wanted to have the old man arrested, the people in the community shamed him for thinking a nearly blind old man could be harmful. For over a year seed was sown in this way; it bore a harvest.

When L. R. Conradi arrived in Switzerland from the United States in 1886, he was almost immediately confronted with an appeal from Gerhardt Perk to visit Russia. Conradi accepted, and that summer he and Perk traveled throughout the Crimea preaching openly. A public baptism and the organization of a Seventh-day Adventist church proved too much for the authorities. Conradi and Perk were ordered to appear before a local judge, who promptly ordered them imprisoned for teaching Jewish heresy.

For forty days the two men endured the privations of a cramped cell, meager food, and intimidating threats. At last, through the intervention of the American minister in St. Petersburg, Conradi and

Perk were released. Undaunted by their experience, the two men continued to visit interested persons in south Russia and among the German colonists in the Volga River basin, but they were much more cautious in their public activities.

During the next few years several German-Russian Adventists from Kansas returned to the Caucasus and Volga regions. They found it relatively easy to work among the German colonists but more dangerous to speak to native Russians about religious matters. Yet the growing number of German Adventists in Russia did share their beliefs. Imprisonment and banishment to remote areas, including Siberia, followed. The only result was the spread of Adventist companies in new areas.

Germany

The spread of Adventism in Germany proper seemed to stagnate after James Erzberger returned to Switzerland in 1878. For the next eight years, until Conradi arrived, there was no Seventh-day Adventist minister working in the land of Luther. A dynamic executive and thorough organizer, Conradi was the main pillar of German Adventism for the next thirty-five years. After carefully preparing a number of tracts he set out in 1888 to organize an effective canvassing work in Germany. Gerhardt Perk, constantly in danger of persecution in Russia, was recruited to sell Seventh-day Adventist literature in the German Rhineland.

Aided by several German-American evangelists, Conradi in 1889 established headquarters for the German church in

Hamburg. Within five years he had organized a training institute for colporteurs and Bible workers, a city mission, and a publishing plant that eventually prepared literature in a dozen languages besides German. By 1894 Conradi had nearly fifty colporteurs working in Germany and among German-speaking persons in Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, and the Netherlands.

Prospects in Hamburg for an Adventist school were poor, thus in 1899 a country estate near Magdeburg was purchased. Here Friedensau Missionary Seminary developed. Its bakery and health-food factory helped students earn while they learned. Soon a smithy, locksmith shop, and a woodworking plant were added. By 1900 Adventist membership in Germany approached 2,000—more than three times the number in France, Switzerland, and Italy combined.

Compulsory military service in Germany proved a problem. How would draftees relate to labor on Sabbath? Courteously, but firmly, they refused to engage in it, even when threatened with death. One young man explained to a court-martial that he could cite a hundred Bible texts for Saturday observance, but if shown one text calling for Sunday observance, he would work. A confrontation with the military chaplain ended in the young Adventist's favor, and the court simply decided to dismiss him from the army. Others were not as fortunate; they spent months and years in prison, until finally army medical examiners began to find all manner of excuses for rejecting Seventh-day Adventist recruits.

Imprisonment was also often the lot

of Adventist believers who failed to send their children to school on Saturdays. On this point the most government authorities would compromise was in allowing Adventist children to study their Bibles rather than regular lessons in school on Saturday, but they must attend.

In contrast to procedures in the United States, where Seventh-day Adventists had worked first in the villages and rural areas, German evangelistic efforts were directed toward the cities. Sometimes considerable ingenuity was demonstrated. When colporteurs could not gain permits for house-to-house selling, they hired a room to serve as a bookshop and then were able to solicit orders for the shop. If complaints led to the banning of a particular book, it was rebound under a new title and sales continued.

Southeastern Europe

In southeastern Europe Seventh-day Adventist teachings entered the Turkish Empire through the labors of a self-supporting Greek shoemaker. Theodore Anthony, a recent immigrant from Constantinople, accepted Adventism in California in 1888. Almost immediately he determined to return to his birthplace to spread his newfound faith. Anthony's initial contacts with Greek and Armenian Christians aroused antagonism within the registered Christian churches; soon some Quakers complained of his activities and secured his arrest. After he spent two weeks in prison, the puzzled Moslem authorities released Anthony, who began work at his cobbling trade, discreetly sharing religious thoughts with customers

in whom he discerned a spark of interest in matters of church doctrine or of world affairs.

Before long this humble shoemaker located an energetic young Armenian, Z. G. Baharian, and convinced him of the truthfulness of Adventist doctrines. Baharian spent the next two years in Basel becoming more thoroughly established in his new beliefs. When he returned to Turkey, he and Anthony held evangelistic services and contracted with a local printer to print tracts. The printer suggested that it would probably be necessary to bribe officials for the necessary permit to publish such material. This Baharian and Anthony refused to do, but they did leave their manuscripts with the printer. During slack periods in the shop, typesetters were put to work on the Adventist tracts. Soon the printer had so much invested in the Adventists' job that he took responsibility for getting the publishing permit himself.

The Near East

During the 1890s Baharian and Anthony raised up several small companies of Sabbath keepers throughout Asia Minor. Always they worked under extreme difficulties, threatened by authorities and mobs; frequently imprisoned, yet never discouraged. By the start of the twentieth century there were several hundred believers in Turkey.

The murder of Dr. Ribton and several others during the riots of 1882 brought a temporary end to Adventist work in Egypt. Then around 1900 several Armenian Seventh-day Adventist families from

Turkey settled in Cairo and Alexandria; and an Italian believer, J. Leuzinger, began ship missionary work in bustling Port Said. Shortly thereafter Louis Passebois, his wife, and Ida Schlegel started a health home and restaurant in Cairo. Cautiously they combined religious teaching with their medical ministry. In 1901 Elder Conradi organized the first Seventh-day Adventist church in Egypt.

Australasia

Half a world away Adventist activity in Australia and New Zealand progressed steadily. Initial opposition to "American" literature was largely overcome through organizing the Echo Publishing Company to produce local papers, tracts, and books. Two of the early converts in Australia were printers who abandoned their private business to develop the Echo office. Pioneer colporteur William Arnold discovered a good market for Adventist literature. For the first six weeks Arnold did not sell one book, but dedicated persistence paid off. Suddenly he began to sell a dozen or more copies of *Daniel and the Revelation* each day. During the three years he spent in Australia he sold over 2000 books. From his profits Arnold donated \$1200 to purchase the first press for the Echo Publishing Company.

In 1895 American E. R. Palmer arrived in Australia from Oklahoma to organize the canvassing work. By 1900 he had seventy colporteurs in the field from among a Seventh-day Adventist membership of 2000. For the next decade Australia served as "the model field for the book work."

Early Adventist efforts in Australia centered around the suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney, where tent efforts and camp meetings proved effective among middle-class individuals from the professions and small businesses. A notable feature in Australia was the tendency for entire families to join the church. This was true also in New Zealand, which S. N. Haskell visited in the fall of 1885. Haskell persuaded Edward Hare, with whom he boarded in Auckland, of the truth of Adventist doctrine and was immediately urged to visit Hare's father some 150 miles away. Haskell complied and was well received by "Father" Joseph Hare, a local Methodist preacher. The elder Hare, along with other members of his family, also accepted Adventism. Edward's brother, Robert, was soon on his way to Healdsburg College to prepare for the ministry. He returned to labor more than thirty years in Australia and to rear two sons whose names would add luster to the Adventist cause in later years.

The Australasian field was blessed with particularly good help from America. In 1886 the Arthur Daniells family was sent to New Zealand for evangelistic work. Later Daniells became president of the New Zealand Conference. In 1892 he moved to a similar position in Australia, where he became closely associated with Ellen and Willie White. During the next eight years this trio helped lay the foundations for an effectively coordinated publishing, educational, and medical work directed toward evangelistic outreach.

The Pacific Islands

The same year that Daniells left for New Zealand, an Adventist layman and ship carpenter, John I. Tay, arrived off a tiny Pacific island whose history had intrigued Americans and Britons for decades: romantic Pitcairn. Here nearly 150 descendants of *Bounty* mutineers and their Tahitian wives lived in a simple, devout society. James White and John Loughborough had heard of Pitcairn in 1876 and managed to send a box of Adventist literature to the islanders by one of the ships that called there infrequently. The strange titles of some of the tracts coupled with ignorance of Seventh-day Adventists aroused the suspicion of the island leaders. The box was stowed away without its contents being read. Ten years later it was discovered, and some of the younger islanders read the tracts and noticed how heavily the doctrines presented were buttressed by biblical quotations. They were surprised to find evidence that Saturday was the true Sabbath.

It was at this juncture that John Tay arrived. For years he had dreamed of visiting Pitcairn; now he requested permission to stay on the island until the next ship called. After considerable discussion the islanders agreed. Tay soon won their hearts with his gentle Christian ways. When he spoke by invitation at the first Sunday service following his arrival and used this opportunity to discuss the true Sabbath, many were convicted. Further study convinced the doubtful; and by the time the American left the island five weeks later, all its adult inhabitants had accepted the full range of Seventh-

day Adventist doctrines.

The news of the conversion of the Pitcairn Islanders sent a thrill throughout Seventh-day Adventist ranks. Was not this a clear signal from God to open work in the islands of the Pacific? True, steamship connections were irregular; yet a way must be found. Why not build a small missionary ship to carry personnel and supplies from island to island? The 1887 General Conference authorized spending \$20,000 to build or buy such a vessel to be in operation by the next year.

Closer consideration convinced Adventist leaders that a suitable ship could not be readied that quickly; so they decided to send John Tay back to Pitcairn

to strengthen his converts. Elder A. J. Cudney of Nebraska was to accompany him and baptize the new believers. The two set out to reach Pitcairn by different routes; Tay by way of Tahiti, Cudney via Hawaii. But no ships planning to stop at Pitcairn were located in either place. Impatiently, Cudney decided to purchase an old schooner offered for sale at a bargain price. After hiring a crew he started for Tahiti to pick up Tay, but with craft and crew he was lost at sea. John Tay finally returned to San Francisco alone.

This experience confirmed the General Conference's decision to build a seaworthy vessel for inter-island service. Sabbath Schools across the United States enthusiastically agreed to contribute their offerings for the first half of 1890 to build a mission ship. Children sold candy, cakes, and popcorn balls so that they might have a part in buying the needed nails, boards, and canvas. And Sabbath School members were invited to suggest a name for the ship. Many names were proposed; at first *Glad Tidings* seemed to be the choice, but eventually the vessel was christened the *Pitcairn*.

It was October 1890 before the two-masted, 100-foot-long schooner *Pitcairn* was ready to sail with its crew of seven and three missionary couples: the John Tays, the E. H. Gateses, and the A. J. Reads. It took thirty-six days to make the 4000-mile trip from San Francisco to Pitcairn, where their arrival brought great rejoicing. Elders Gates and Read baptized eighty-two of the islanders and organized a church and Sabbath School. After several weeks' stay the mission ship moved



The grave of John I. Tay (1832-1892), a North American layman, who spent the last six years of his life in mission service among the Pacific islands—including pioneer work on Pitcairn Island. His grave is located in Suva on the island of Fiji where he died in 1892.

on to Tahiti, Rarotonga, Samoa, Fiji, and Norfolk Island. At each of these stops, and others as well, the workers held meetings, sold books, and awakened interest.

Two years later the *Pitcairn* returned to San Francisco, her voyage a success. Elder and Mrs. Gates had been left at Pitcairn, the Reads at Norfolk Island. But a price had been paid, a price that would be all too common in the future. John Tay, who had stayed to pioneer the work in Fiji, died there only months later; the same fate had befallen Captain J. O. Marsh while the *Pitcairn* was being refitted in New Zealand.

Throughout the remainder of the decade the *Pitcairn* continued to carry missionaries to light gospel fires in islands that had names strange to American ears: Roiatea, Rurutu, Rarotonga. But by 1900 maintenance expenses were too great and steamship schedules were more regular and dependable: the *Pitcairn* was sold.

South Africa

A cobbler introduced Seventh-day Adventism into Turkey, a ship carpenter to the Pitcairn islanders, and it was through a diamond-pro prospector that the three angels' messages first came to South Africa. As early as 1878 William Hunt, who had learned the Adventist faith from Loughborough in California, shared Adventist literature with J. H. C. Wilson, former Wesleyan Methodist preacher in the Kimberley diamond fields. This led Wilson and several others to announce their intentions to become Seventh-day Adventists.

It was, however, seven years later that

a chain of events began which resulted in the arrival of the first Adventist missionaries in the Cape Colony. At this time two Dutch farmers independently became convinced from their study of Scripture that Saturday was the true Sabbath. George van Druten had his interest aroused through a remarkable dream; Pieter Wessels's study of the subject came as the result of a stepbrother's chance remark meant to discourage his serious interest in biblical religion. On a Saturday afternoon stroll van Druten and his wife came across miner Hunt studying the Bible rather than working his claim. He became the avenue through which first the van Drutens and then the Wessels learned of Seventh-day Adventists.

Excited to learn that there was a church organization in America keeping the seventh-day Sabbath, the two South Africans sent off an appeal to Battle Creek for a Dutch-speaking minister to come and teach them more. They accompanied their letter with a draft for £50 (approximately \$250 U.S. at that time). When this "Macedonian call" was read at the 1886 General Conference, the audience was so moved that it spontaneously rose and sang the Doxology. The next July a missionary party of seven led by D. A. Robinson and C. L. Boyd, including two colporteurs and a Bible instructor, arrived in Cape Town. None of the group spoke Dutch.

Meanwhile, Wessels and van Druten had not been idle. When he reached Kimberley, Boyd found some forty persons interested in becoming Seventh-day Adventists. While Boyd proceeded to Kimberley, most of the mission party

remained in the Cape Town area. When tent meetings failed to attract much of a crowd, these workers turned to house-to-house visitation and tract distribution. Particularly effective at this method of labor was young David Tarr, a former Methodist lay preacher who had learned basic Adventist doctrines from Pieter Wessels. In sharing his new faith convincingly with his brothers, Tarr began a chain reaction that was to provide Adventism with nearly a score of full-time workers in South Africa.

Gradually several small Seventh-day Adventist churches were organized throughout the Cape, all among persons of European descent. Elder Boyd became interested in presenting the message of salvation to the African tribal peoples in the area, but his "individualistic temperament" kept him from gaining support among his fellow workers. Before he could develop a program for native Africans, he was recalled in 1890 to America.

In 1891 discovery of diamonds on the farm of Johannes Wessels, Pieter's father, injected a new and, among Adventists, unusual element into the South-African picture. Father Wessels received over one and a quarter million dollars from the de Beers' Mining interests for his farm. Impressed by the denominational institutions they had observed in Battle Creek, the Wessels brothers advocated a similar complex for South Africa. Within a short time, and with the Wesselses' liberal support, the Cape area could boast an Adventist college, sanitarium, publishing house, and orphanage. A benevolent home, providing food, lodging, and medical help for the increasing number of destitute

persons, was begun in the Kimberley area.

Unfortunately Seventh-day Adventist membership growth did not keep pace with the size of the church institutions established. This was not such a problem as long as the Wessels family continued to underwrite the costs of the institutions, but the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) adversely affected many of their investments. Some of the family also became estranged from certain of the American workers. When in the early twentieth century the Wesselses' contributions were drastically reduced, it became obvious that the few hundred Adventists in South Africa could not support Battle Creek-style institutions. Nor could the General Conference give financial aid. It, therefore, proved necessary to dispose of the orphanage, sanitarium, and benevolent home. The college and press were continued, but in a much more modest manner.

Rhodesia

Meanwhile the General Conference, at the prompting of the Wessels family, had decided to try to obtain land for a mission station in the territory north of the Cape Colony, land recently occupied by the British South Africa Company. At the close of what they feared was a rather unsatisfactory meeting with Cecil Rhodes, Adventist representatives A. T. Robinson and Pieter Wessels received a sealed letter which they were instructed to deliver to Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, Rhodes's representative in Bulawayo, Rhodesia. The letter granted them all the land they could use. Overjoyed, they re-

quested 6,000 morgen (slightly more than 12,000 acres), for which they were to pay a nominal \$60 quitrent annually.

Development of Solusi Mission on the Rhodes grant began in 1894 and proved no easy task. At first there was considerable opposition among some Adventist leaders back in America to accepting a grant of land as a governmental favor. A. T. Jones feared that this violated Seventh-day Adventist principles of church-state separation. A letter from Ellen White admonishing them not to “withdraw themselves from the help that God has moved men to give, for the advancement of His cause,” convinced the Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Mission Board to proceed with the project. Hardly was the settlement of the mission begun before a tribal revolt forced the missionaries to withdraw for five months. Famine and an outbreak of rinderpest, destroying all the mission cattle that had survived the war, followed in quick succession. Shortly thereafter the missionaries’ ranks were decimated by a virulent malaria epidemic. For a time it seemed the station would be closed, but conversions among the Africans in the area led the missionaries to disregard a Mission Board directive to move elsewhere.

During the year that Solusi was founded an attempt was also made to open Seventh-day Adventist work along the west African coast in present-day Ghana. Here interest in Adventism had been aroused through tracts left by a visiting ship’s captain. Two nurses arrived in 1895, and a medical work was instituted. Within two years’ time the constant scourge of fever, which earned the area

the title “the white man’s grave,” forced the abandonment of the mission until early in the twentieth century.

Middle America

The story of Seventh-day Adventist entry into the tropical lands of the Caribbean is the story of tracts, colporteurs, and dedicated women determined to share a new-found faith with old friends and relatives. In 1883 a Seventh-day Adventist ship missionary in New York City persuaded a ship captain to deliver a bundle of literature to Georgetown, British Guiana. The captain fulfilled the promise by flinging the parcel on the wharf; a bystander gathered a few of the papers as they scattered, read them, and lent them to neighbors. Several began to keep the Sabbath, and one woman forwarded copies of *Signs of the Times* to her sister in Barbados. Here they fell into the hands of descendants of an old slave mother who years before had alerted her children to be on the watch for the restoration of true Sabbath observance.

In response to inquiries from British Guiana, veteran canvasser George King accompanied Elder G. G. Rupert to Georgetown in 1887. During three months King sold \$800 worth of books. Over the next few years William Arnold followed up his earlier successes in Australia by making five trips through the Caribbean islands, selling over \$8000 worth of books.

Even before Rupert and King’s visit to Georgetown, Mrs. E. Gauterau, an Adventist converted in California, returned in 1885 to her native Bay Islands

off the coast of Honduras to share her new faith. Six years later Elder Frank Hutchins, the first permanent missionary, arrived to follow up the interest she had created. The Sabbath Schools provided funds for Hutchins to build a fifty-foot mission schooner, the *Herald*, to work among the Bay Islands and along the Central American coast. Across the Caribbean Mrs. A. Roskrug, who had been introduced to Adventism in far-off England, returned in 1888 to Antigua. Soon she had a small Sabbath School meeting weekly.

A book sold by William Arnold in Antigua (ca. 1890) was forwarded to the purchaser's son in Jamaica. This man, James Palmer, wrote to the publishers in Battle Creek for more literature. Some of the tracts he received, including "Elihu on the Sabbath," Palmer gave to a local doctor. Having no interest in them, the doctor passed the leaflets along to Mrs. Margaret Harrison, an English socialite who did charitable work at the hospital. Mrs. Harrison was convicted by the Sabbath truth but hesitated for some time to keep the day. In 1893 she went to the Battle Creek Sanitarium for treatment. While there she attended the General Conference session, during which she appealed for a minister to be sent to Jamaica. Again through Sabbath School offerings her plea was answered. A good number of young people were among the early converts in Jamaica; many became energetic colporteurs. By the time the Jamaica Conference was organized in 1903, there were 1200 Seventh-day Adventists on the island.

Mexico

It was an Italian-American tailor turned colporteur named Marchisio who in 1891 first spread Adventist literature in Mexico. With no Spanish-language publications available, Marchisio sold English copies of *The Great Controversy* in Mexico City. Two years later Dan T. Jones led a group of medical workers in establishing a sanitarium and school at Guadalajara. When G. W. Caviness was nudged out of the presidency of Battle Creek College in 1897, he was sent to Mexico to help in a new interdenominational Bible-translation project. Assisted by several Mexican-American families, Caviness in 1899 launched permanent Seventh-day Adventist work in Mexico City through the avenue of an English-language school.

South America

An enthusiastic attempt by Frank C. Kelley to introduce Adventism into Colombia during the late 1890s ended after three years when his wife's health forced him to return to America. Kelley had gone as a self-supporting missionary, selling photographic equipment and giving English lessons to earn a living. Unfortunately, for two decades there was no one to further Kelley's pioneer work.

Although Spanish and Portuguese are the principal languages spoken in South America, Seventh-day Adventists gained their first converts from among German- and French-speaking immigrants to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. In large part this was due to the lack of Seventh-day

Adventist literature in Spanish or Portuguese until the very last years of the nineteenth century.

The first Seventh-day Adventists to reach South America were Claudio and Antonieta de Designet, who had learned the Seventh-day Adventist message from D. T. Bourdeau in France. They immigrated to Chile in 1885. Simultaneously two families in different areas of Argentina learned of Adventists from newspapers they had received from Europe. In northern Argentina Italian emigrants Pedro Peverini and his wife read a scoffing article in a Waldensian journal mentioning the teaching of *Les Signes des Temps* that the end of the world was near. Mrs. Peverini obtained a subscription to *Les Signes* through her brother in Italy. It led the Peverinis to become Sabbath keepers. Farther south Julio and Ida Dupertuis, members of a Swiss-French Baptist colony, had a somewhat similar experience.

Julio and Ida Dupertuis convinced several other families in their group of the new doctrines they were discovering. Around 1889 they also began corresponding with the International Tract Society in Battle Creek. Their inquiries started Seventh-day Adventist leaders thinking about opening work in South America. Funds, of course, would be necessary for such a project, and so the Sabbath School Association agreed to assign the offerings it collected during the last half of 1890 to the "South American Mission." These totaled a little over \$8000.

Argentina

Early in 1890, before any regular Ad-

ventist workers could be sent to Argentina, four German-Russian farm families from Kansas, led by George Riffel, decided to go there as self-supporting workers. Riffel had spent several years in Argentina earlier but had been driven out by grasshoppers. In Kansas he learned of Adventism through L. R. Conradi's evangelistic meetings. Thrilled, he wrote of his new faith to friends in the German-Russian colonies in Argentina. When one wrote back that he believed in the Sabbath and would keep it if someone would keep it with him, Riffel decided to return to Argentina. On the day the Riffel party arrived in the Entre Rios area of Argentina they met a fellow-countryman, Reinhardt Hetze, who had heard the advent message before leaving Russia but was not following Seventh-day Adventist teachings. As the newcomers eagerly shared their beliefs with Hetze, he was convicted, kept the next Sabbath, and became a staunch Seventh-day Adventist.

Late in 1891 the first three official Seventh-day Adventist representatives to South America arrived in Montevideo, Uruguay. They were colporteurs sent to make their own way selling German and English books among a population that was largely Spanish-speaking. None of the three spoke Spanish. Discouraged by the small English and German communities in Montevideo and by a stiff import duty on books, they quickly decided to move on to Buenos Aires. The first six months were hard ones, but they made one important convert, twenty-one-year-old Lionel Brooking, to whom one of the trio had sold *The Great Controversy*. Unable to continue in his job and keep Sabbaths, Brooking

gladly began canvassing. Here was a Spanish-speaking canvasser, but with no Spanish books; so he began selling French books to French Protestant immigrants.

The calls of Dupertuis, the reports of the colporteurs, and requests from the Riffel colony finally led the General Conference in 1894 to send Elder F. H. Westphal to superintend the development of Adventist work in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil. By that time colporteurs had sold over \$ 10,000 worth of literature in Argentina and southern Brazil, and there were probably 100 Adventist believers in Argentina.

There were no direct steamship connections between the United States and Argentina in those years. The Westphals traveled via England, accompanied by Mrs. Westphal's brother and sister-in-law, the W. H. Thurstons, who were headed for Rio de Janeiro to open an Adventist book depository. Thurston spoke no Portuguese and had no Portuguese literature; so he supported himself by selling English and German books. The first months were hard ones for the Thurstons; at one time they were saved from extreme hunger when a missionary of another denomination gave them an unsolicited loan.

Brazil

The first advent seeds in Brazil had been sown when some Seventh-day Adventist missionaries sent literature to the father of a young German whom they had met on board a ship bound for Europe. Copies of the Adventist German periodical, *Stimme der Wahrheit* ("Voice of Truth") stirred up an interest among

the German colonists in southern Brazil's Santa Catarina state. In 1893 the trio of American colporteurs, joined by Brook- ing, moved into southern Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro they converted Alberto Bachmeyer, a young German sailor, who began canvassing before he was baptized.

In 1895 Jean Vuilleumier of Switzerland was dispatched to aid Westphal in Argentina. The new recruit's familiarity in languages proved extremely useful. In one report Vuilleumier recalled that in thirty-three different areas of Argentina in which he had worked, he had used French in sixteen places, German in nine, Spanish in six, and English in two.

Chile

The same year Vuilleumier arrived in Argentina, two American colporteurs, Fred Bishop and Thomas Davis, began the first serious Adventist endeavor in Chile. The two had come with several suitcases of books but very little money; in fact, after paying the boatman to row them ashore, they landed in Valparaiso with exactly one Chilean peso! Bishop immediately attempted to sell some English *Bible Readings* but could find no one who could understand him until on the second day a sailor pointed him to a section of the city where a number of English settlers lived. That day he sold six *Bible Readings*.

Bishop and Davis attempted to learn Spanish by using the Bible as a textbook. One day as they were standing on the street reading Psalm 103 aloud, young Victor Thomann overheard them. Previously in a dream he had seen these two

men doing this very thing; now he readily accepted them as messengers from God. With his brother Eduardo, Victor was soon selling the few small Adventist tracts available in Spanish. Eduardo became the first editor of the Spanish *Signs of the Times*, which the brothers launched in January 1900 in Valparaiso. Two and a half years earlier the Argentinian believers had begun the monthly *El Faro* ("The Lighthouse") in Buenos Aires.

From Argentina the Adventist faith was spread by colporteurs into Uruguay and Paraguay. A group of self-supporting believers moved from Chile into Peru in 1898. During 1897-98 a former Presbyterian canvasser, not yet a Seventh-day Adventist, first sold *Patriarchs and Prophets* and *Steps to Christ* in Bolivia. He suffered persecution and imprisonment that ended in a miraculous delivery. Without a doubt, colporteurs were the heroes of the initial Adventist attack on South America, "the bastion of Catholicism."

India

Seventh-day Adventist colporteurs were also the pioneers in India, beginning work among the English-speaking population of the large cities in 1893. Two years later Miss Georgia Burrus, a young Bible instructor from California, arrived as the first Mission Board appointee. The board paid her transportation to Calcutta, but thereafter she was on her own. For a year she scrimped along learning Bengali, before an unknown patron in South Africa sent money. Reinforcements arrived at the end of the year. The next spring Miss Burrus and Mae Taylor opened a

small school for Hindu girls. This opened an avenue for them to visit in the zenanas (women's quarters) of the large Hindu families. It was through these contacts that the first Seventh-day Adventists came from Hinduism.

Through public lectures in English, the opening of treatment rooms, and the printing of a few tracts in Bengali, the Adventist message spread. After two years' work, there were perhaps four or five Bengali families and as many Europeans who had accepted the Adventist faith. In 1898 W. A. Spicer arrived in Calcutta and a few months later began an evangelistic monthly, the *Oriental Watchman*. As the century closed, the foundations of Seventh-day Adventist work in India were in place, but as yet sustained work was confined to only a few locations.

The Far East

Along the eastern coast of Asia Adventism by the end of the century had managed only a pitifully small toehold. Abram La Rue was continuing the self-supporting ship-colporteur work he had begun in Hong Kong in 1887, but his converts were largely British seamen. Too old to master Chinese and able to pay for only a few small tracts to be translated into that language, La Rue could not touch the millions for whom he yearned to labor.

In 1896 President W. C. Grainger, an early convert of La Rue's in California, inspired by the work in Hong Kong, left Healdsburg College to open work in Japan. T. H. Okohira, a young Japanese

who had accepted Adventism in California, accompanied him. They established an English-language school in Tokyo and soon had sixty young men attending. The first two Japanese converts were soldiers, one an army doctor. Within nine months of their arrival Grainger and Okohira began a small Japanese-language monthly, *The Gospel for the Last Days*. Its cost was paid from profits derived from the sale of health foods to the non-Japanese community in Tokyo. Three years after his arrival in Tokyo Elder Grainger died. The work he helped to initiate would be copied and expanded

decades later by enthusiastic young student missionaries.

As the twentieth century dawned, Seventh-day Adventists had initiated work on all of the continents and in most of the major nations of the world. The last quarter of the nineteenth century had seen the Adventist concept of missions dramatically expanded. Yet in 1901 Adventists were still largely an American church; four out of every five Seventh-day Adventists still lived in the United States. These members had only recently discovered that they had a very real mission field right in their own midst.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Reading for overview:

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 2 (1961), chapters 12, 16, is a concise treatment of mission advance.

M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), chapters 19, 20, 23, 25-30, 32, is an old but detailed account of mission progress.

W. A. Spicer, *Our Story of Missions* (1921), furnishes an abundance of mission anecdotes from the golden age of Adventist missions.

Specific locations:

D. A. Delafield, *Ellen G. White in Europe, 1885-1887* (1975).

Gideon Hagstotz, *The Seventh-day Adventists in the British Isles, 1878-1933* (1936).

Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, vol. 1 (1992), chapters 1, 2.

Alwyn Fraser, "The Australian 1890s," in *The World of Ellen G. White* (1987), Gary Land, ed., is excellent background for Ellen White in Australia.

Arthur White, *The Lonely Years* (1984), vol. 3 of *Ellen G. White*, chaps. 23-28, is an account of Ellen White's years in Europe.

_____ *The Australian Years* (1983), vol. 4 of *ibid.*, scattered chaps. tell the story of early Adventism in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand.

Entering the American South: A Neglected Field

It was not until the 1890s that substantial Seventh-day Adventist penetration of the southern United States began. Early Seventh-day Adventists followed the general American trend of migrating westward from their first bases in New England and New York. Even if they had wanted to move South, their abolitionist beliefs would have made them unwelcome in an area wedded to a slave economy.

With the end of slavery Adventists might have joined other evangelical churches during the late 1860s and 70s in sending teachers south to open schools for the freedmen. The 1865 General Conference did recognize that “a field is now opened in the South for labor among the colored people and should be entered upon according to our ability.”

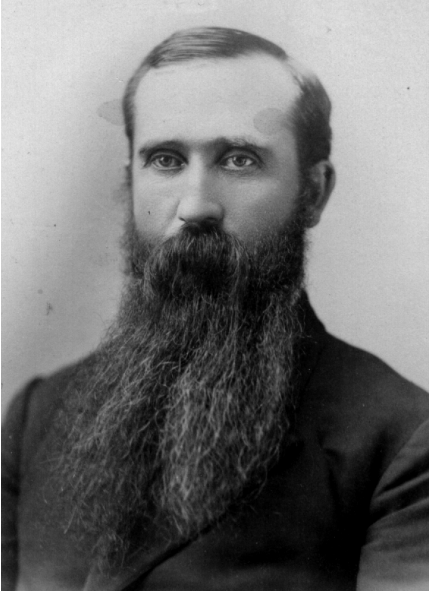
Unfortunately during these years that ability was not very great. Both ministers

and funds were in short supply.

Early Efforts in the South

During the 1870s several individual Seventh-day Adventists made transitory efforts to help former slaves obtain a basic education. In Texas, Eddie Capman began a night school, which met three times a week in a small twelve-by-fourteen-foot cabin. Twelve Blacks, ranging in age from eight to forty, attended. Some months later two experienced teachers from Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Clarke, went to Texas with General Conference blessing, but at their own expense, to expand Capman’s work. Soon Clarke was calling for a licensed preacher to come and organize churches.

In 1877 Elder R. M. Kilgore responded to this plea. Kilgore’s eight years of labor in Texas were not without difficulties;



R. M. Kilgore (1839-1912), was a captain in the United States Army during the American Civil War. He returned to the American South in 1877 to spearhead Adventist evangelism in this neglected part of the United States that Adventists regarded as a mission field.

several times he was threatened with lynching, and on one occasion his tent was burned down. Public opposition may have led to the curtailing of the church's unofficial educational work for Blacks. As an ex-Union officer, Kilgore was sensitive to the charge that Adventists were "Yankees" come "to preach nigger equality"; a charge he denied. Opposition from prejudiced Whites may also have contributed to the early demise of a school for freedmen begun in 1877 by Mrs. H. M. Van Slyke in Ray County, Missouri.

From the start Seventh-day Adventist preachers were puzzled over how to relate

to Southern attitudes toward race. It was E. B. Lane who in 1871 answered the first call from the South for an Adventist minister. During his initial evangelistic series, held in a railroad station, Lane acceded to local custom by preaching from the doorway between separate, adjoining, waiting rooms for Blacks and Whites. Only one church was organized at the close of this series, in Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, however, and it included about a dozen Black believers. Similar procedures took place in Kentucky and Virginia.

During the General Conferences of 1877 and 1885, the question of bowing to prejudices by establishing segregated work and churches was debated. Most speakers believed that to do so would be a denial of true Christianity since God was no respecter of persons. In 1890, however, R. M. Kilgore, the Adventist leader with the most experience in the South, argued for separate churches. D. M. Canright had urged this policy as early as 1876 while working briefly in Texas. Eventually their recommendations prevailed, but the policy was never defended on grounds other than those of expediency.

Charles M. Kinney

Charles M. Kinney, the first African-American ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister, had rather definite convictions on the relationships that should prevail between Black and White Adventists. Although Kinney looked upon separate religious services for the two groups as "a great sacrifice" on the

part of Blacks, he believed this preferable to segregating African-Americans in back pews of churches. If there were only a few Black believers in an area, Kinney favored their integration into a church with Whites. But as soon as numbers warranted, he believed Blacks might well be organized into a separate church. Eventually all Black churches should join in a conference that would “bear the same relation to the General Conference that White conferences do.”

Kinney was an interesting person. Born a slave in Richmond, Virginia, he worked his way west after the Civil War. In 1878, at the age of twenty-three, he attended an evangelistic effort conducted by J. N. Loughborough in Reno, Nevada, and became a charter member of the small church organized there. Kinney’s service as secretary of the Nevada Tract and Missionary Society convinced conference leaders he had the potential to become a valuable church worker. They sponsored him for two years of study at Healdsburg College. From Healdsburg Kinney went at General Conference request to labor among the Blacks who had begun migrating to Kansas in substantial numbers in 1879. Later Kinney worked in St. Louis, Missouri, where he apparently encountered his first taste of racial prejudice among fellow Adventists. For more than two decades he labored across the upper South, organizing Black churches and becoming the first major Adventist spokesman of African-American aspirations.

It was nearly two decades after Lane’s initial series of meetings at Edgefield Junction that Kinney became pastor of

the first separately organized Black Seventh-day Adventist church in this same village. During the intervening years Adventist work in the South had largely been confined to Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas, and Texas. In 1873 a feeble flicker of interest appeared in Alabama as the result of the work of J. M. Elliot, a Southern White who had been blinded while fighting in the Union Army. Elliot had accepted Adventism during a stay in the North, but returned to Alabama at war’s end. His sharing of his new faith with old friends led them to call for the services of an Adventist minister, but there seemed to be no one to send.

C. O. Taylor

The call to Alabama was finally answered four or five years later when Elder C. O. Taylor, an old Millerite preacher, spent the years from 1876 to 1879 roving through the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Taylor went primarily to areas where interest in Adventism had been aroused by literature sent by friends.

During the 1880s interest in Adventism throughout the Southern States was promoted largely by laymen, some newly arrived from the North, and by itinerant colporteurs. Regular preachers appeared only spasmodically. The New Orleans Exposition of 1884-85 seemed an opportunity to gain publicity for Seventh-day Adventist views; so R. M. Kilgore and H. W. Cottrell spent some weeks in the city preparing a display of literature. A city mission followed. Similar city missions were opened in Atlanta, Georgia,

and Birmingham, Alabama. In each, colporteurs played a key role. Their income came entirely from sales commissions, although when the General Conference approved of C. W. Olds's moving his family to join him in Birmingham, they did promise that if he "got into a tight place, we will try to help him some."

Ellen White Counsel

It took an earnest admonition from Ellen White to jolt Adventists into realizing their duty toward African-Americans. Even then the jolt was a delayed-action one. On March 21, 1891, she read a "testimony" before thirty church leaders assembled for the General Conference session. Although recognizing that her message would be controversial, she felt impelled to speak about race relations. She implied that the preceding General Conference had erred by capitulating to White prejudices against integrated churches.

"The color of the skin does not determine character in the heavenly courts," Mrs. White affirmed. Blacks were to have "just as much respect as any of God's children." She stated that Jesus made no difference between Whites and Blacks "except that He has a special, tender pity for those who are called to bear a greater burden than others." To slight a brother because of color was the same as to slight Christ. She applied her call for more missionary work among all classes in the South, particularly to the Blacks. "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made a greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people,"

she declared. Both Whites and Blacks were to be trained to educate the millions of African-Americans who had been so long oppressed.

James Edson White

Although Mrs. White's appeal was soon printed in tract form, it took nearly three years for anyone to pay much attention to it. Then suddenly its message found a very receptive audience in Ellen's oldest living son, James Edson White. Edson, as he was customarily called, had many of his father's characteristics although he lacked his acumen. "Creative, resourceful, and energetic" in the various enterprises that enlisted his interest, he was also somewhat undiplomatic, unpredictable and, at times, "a bit eccentric." Trained as a printer in his youth, Edson had worked at both the Review and Herald and the Pacific Press before launching his own printing business.

During the late 1880s, Edson transferred his printing business to Chicago. Success in business eluded him; his debts increased, and at the same time his spiritual condition deteriorated. Then in the late summer of 1893 he went through a spiritual crisis during which he determined to reenter denominational service. At this opportune time he chanced to hear a talk by Professor C. C. Lewis on the needs of Black Americans in the Southern States. Edson thought of offering himself for evangelistic service in Tennessee. Before he could act on this tentative plan, however, he met Will Palmer, an old friend and associate who had also recently experienced a spiritual rebirth

and was back in Battle Creek attending a Bible Institute at the college. At Palmer's urging Edson and his wife, Emma, decided to return to Battle Creek and enter the Bible Institute.

A contact during the Institute with Dr. J. E. Caldwell, who had been laboring among Blacks in Knoxville, Tennessee, increased Edson's interest in such work. Caldwell told Edson about his mother's 1891 appeal, but later inquiries concerning it among General Conference officials failed to uncover anyone who seemed aware of its existence. Then a casual discussion with a painter in the Review and Herald plant revealed that this man had observed some of the forgotten tracts in an unused office. Reading his mother's appeal thoroughly confirmed Edson's determination to begin educational and evangelistic work among Southern Blacks.

Steamship Evangelism

After Edson persuaded Will Palmer to join in his plans, Edson's entrepreneurial instincts blossomed. The two men speedily put together a simple religious reader, entitled *The Gospel Primer*. Such a book had been envisioned by the General Conference officers for use among Blacks nearly five years earlier but had never been produced. *The Gospel Primer* was an instant success, and White and Palmer immediately commissioned the building of a river steamer to use as headquarters for their projected work in the South.

By this time the two men had learned enough about Southern society to know that teaching Blacks what were regarded

as "strange" religious ideas might well make it difficult for them to secure accommodations among Whites. Yet lodging with Blacks would be considered a major breach of social mores and probably would lead to their being forced out of the area. Having their own living accommodations on a boat seemed an ideal answer. Since Edson had worked for a time on riverboats on the upper Mississippi River, he was doubly drawn to such a solution for their needs.

Ironically, it almost proved easier to build the boat, soon christened *Morning Star*, than to get the blessings of the General Conference on their plans. Both White and Palmer possessed mechanical skill. Now they built their own boiler while a local church member donated his labor in putting together the ship's engine. Within five months the steamer was completed. After considerable misgivings the General Conference Committee agreed to send the two men with missionary credentials and the promise of eight dollars per week salary for each, but with no money for the expenses of the *Morning Star*. The Committee also appointed another worker, H. S. Shaw, to have general supervision of the work for Blacks throughout the South. White and Palmer were to work in an assigned area and engage in "no new schemes . . . without their plans being first submitted to the General Conference Committee."

It took another six months to get the *Morning Star* down the Kalamazoo River, across Lake Michigan in a storm, and down the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers to Vicksburg, Mississippi, where the party was to begin labor in an area where

Blacks outnumbered Whites by a substantial margin. In the process White recruited several additional crew members, secured government approval of the ship's construction, and providentially managed to have dismissed a \$500 fine for navigating the Mississippi with an unlicensed Black pilot.

About a year before the January 1895 day when the *Morning Star* steamed into Vicksburg, an independent Black preacher who had learned some Adventist truths from reading *Bible Readings for the Home Circle* had come to the city from Arkansas. He proved a powerful preacher, but his fearless denunciation of sin led community leaders to turn the people against him. Before falling martyr to an angry mob Alonzo Parker warned that God would give them “just

one more chance” by sending messengers with a “stricter message.” His prophecy made a deep impression on Vicksburg's Black community, many of whom saw its fulfillment in the arrival of Edson White and his party.

The *Morning Star* group received a cordial welcome from the Black Mt. Zion Baptist congregation. Katie Holston, one of the members, invited the newcomers to attend a prayer group in her home; soon they were visiting Sunday Schools in a variety of churches. Sensing the eagerness of Black adults to learn, Edson and his helpers began an evening school two nights per week. More than fifty attended the first night; soon this number had doubled. Fearful of arousing prejudice, Edson held back from introducing the Sabbath, but the little band of missionar-



James Edson White's paddle-wheel steamboat, the Morning Star, tied up at Vicksburg, Mississippi, a site in the deep South where one of the most bitter sieges of the Civil War occurred.

ies met each Saturday for services on the *Morning Star*. Before long there were questions concerning this practice. Some of the Black leaders, finding White's explanations satisfactory, changed days of worship. This aroused the hostility of local pastors, and before long the *Morning Star* group were not welcome in any of the area churches.

Edson's troubles multiplied. The closing of the churches meant that he would have to hire a hall to continue the night school. At the same time the Review and Herald manager decided to discontinue publishing *The Gospel Primer* in favor of a similar work upon which they could gain larger profits. This was catastrophic, as royalties from the *Primer* paid the operational expenses of the *Morning Star*. Palmer was dispatched to Battle Creek to reason with General Conference leaders. Rather grudgingly, the General Conference, which published some materials independently, agreed to back one edition of 20,000 of the *Primer*.

A Chapel in Vicksburg

A church of their own in Vicksburg seemed vital to the small band of missionaries and their recent converts. With much sacrifice and the help of friends in the North, their dreams became a reality. For \$160 they constructed a small unpretentious chapel, twenty by forty feet in size. At first local authorities seemed determined to prevent the building of this church; but persistence and prayer paid off, and on August 10, 1895, General Conference president O. A. Olsen was on hand to preach the dedicatory sermon.

Olsen's interest in work for Blacks seemed to be increasing, perhaps because of Ellen White's extensive series of articles in the *Review* during late 1895 and early 1896. In this series she repeatedly called for greater efforts in evangelizing the South, particularly its Black population. Forced by the difficult climate of Vicksburg to spend at least some of the summer months in Battle Creek, Edson likewise actively promoted work among the Southern Blacks. He also completed arrangements for some of his mother's writings on the life of Jesus to be published in simplified book form as *Christ Our Saviour*. Mrs. White assigned the royalties from this book to help support Edson's work. Such financial aid was vital to the expanded plans Edson envisioned.

When Edson and Emma White returned to Vicksburg, it was without the help of the Palmers; Will had been asked to promote the publishing interests of the General Conference Association. Before expanding his operations geographically Edson determined to strengthen his Vicksburg base. The night school was reactivated in the new church; an evangelistic series, advertised by colorful handbills printed on the little press the Whites had brought from Battle Creek, was begun. Yet the people seemed reticent to attend until prejudice was dispelled through the kindly ministrations of Dr. and Mrs. W. H. Kynett and nurse Ida Wekel, who arrived to support Edson's program through medical missionary work.

As an aid in organizing and promoting their expanding operations, Edson

and his associates organized the Southern Missionary Society. Sale of stock in this new organization would help to provide funds for its work. It could also receive and disburse gifts and hold title to any properties acquired. Acutely aware of the economic difficulties facing African-Americans, Dr. Kynett, the society's first vice-president, planned to begin a laundry, a bakery, and a weaving business. Meanwhile Edson White, as president, was appealing to Northern Adventists to share serviceable used clothing with his needy Black friends. He also collected a one-thousand-volume library for church members and night-school students. Continued growth of the school made an addition to the building necessary.

Up the Yazoo River

With the work in Vicksburg progressing nicely, Edson prepared to move up the Yazoo River, which flowed through a heavily populated Black area before joining the Mississippi a few miles north of Vicksburg. He first refitted the *Morning Star* by enlarging the living quarters and adding a chapel, reading room, and printing office.

Deterred by fever and shortage of funds, he did not head up the Yazoo until December 1897. Accompanying him was G. A. Irwin, the newly elected General Conference president. At Yazoo City they held services with a woman who had accepted the advent message in Alabama. On the next trip up the Yazoo the *Morning Star* was detained a week by mechanical difficulties. Both Whites and Blacks

attended services on the boat but sat separately. At first the Blacks were assigned back seats, but Edson hung a curtain down the center of the chapel and preached simultaneously from the front.

Edson disliked segregated services but felt that getting Whites even to attend services with Blacks was an accomplishment. Later, even though he unwillingly switched to separate services, he was threatened with possible lynching if he continued educational work for the Blacks living on the plantations. Such prejudice continued to be difficult for Adventist leaders to understand. In a letter to W. C. White in 1895, O. A. Olsen had indicated disapproval of separate work for the two races in the South. He believed the gospel should overcome prejudice.

Malaria, yellow fever, and preoccupation with financing his projects took Edson White away from Mississippi for months at a time. Yet capable assistants remained behind, and the work prospered. New schools were begun; a portable chapel was built in Battle Creek and shipped south for use along the Yazoo. Since the financial distress of the General Conference (along with a latent distrust of some of Edson's ventures) limited the official support given to Edson's work, he appealed to rank-and-file church members. Soon two small power presses on the *Morning Star* were turning out the first issues of the *Gospel Herald*. It advertised the work in the South and carried liberal selections from Ellen White's testimonies favoring work among Blacks. Ten thousand copies of the first issue were sent out along with a call for regular

subscriptions. Gradually the *Herald* changed into a regular evangelistic journal for the South and was finally absorbed into *These Times*.

Financial pressures continued to plague the work in Mississippi. As a result of Ellen White's articles in the *Review*, the Sabbath Schools collected nearly \$11,000 in the first half of 1896 to forward the work in the South. Yet Edson's group failed to receive any of this amount. Again the entrepreneurial side of his father's character appeared in the son. The *Herald* advertised a variety of goods for sale, from sewing machines to rubber stamps. Profits were used to build churches and schools and to provide the expenses of Edson's associates

and of operating the *Morning Star*. Interested Adventists who could not buy, or donate cash, were encouraged to send grains, dried fruits, or canned vegetables and fruit to Vicksburg and Yazoo City.

Edson's solicitation of food and used clothing was not for himself and his helpers alone; he was constantly aware of the pitiable conditions under which thousands of Black sharecroppers existed. With a near failure in the cotton crop during 1898 a bad situation became worse. The crew of the *Morning Star* distributed over seventy-five barrels of clothing as well as free cornmeal, flour, and molasses.

Late in 1898 the arrival in Yazoo City



A portable chapel which James Edson White (1849-1928) used in Lintonia, Mississippi (near Vicksburg) for school and worship services.

of F. R. Rogers and his family from Walla Walla, Washington, provided Edson with the strong and imaginative support he had missed since Will Palmer returned to Battle Creek. Rogers gave the next fourteen years of his life to teaching and preaching among Southern Blacks.

Rogers arrived none too soon. Both Edson and Emma White were seriously ill that winter. Edson lost twenty-five pounds in a few weeks. Funds continued to be in short supply. As if this were not enough, White vigilantes threatened to blow up the *Morning Star* and close the schools the Southern Missionary Society had begun throughout the Yazoo delta.

A leave of absence in Battle Creek improved the Whites' health, but scarcely had they returned to Mississippi before violence erupted. Dan Stephenson, a native White Mississippian teaching in one of the Adventist schools for Blacks, was escorted out of town by determined men. One of the Black Adventist leaders, N. W. Olvin, was viciously whipped; his wife shot in the leg. The books, maps, and supplies of the Calmar school were burned and a threatening notice affixed to the schoolroom door. As Edson wrote his mother, it was "Ku Klux days all over again." Small wonder that Ellen began to suggest more caution in avoiding antagonizing the racial prejudices of the Southern power structure. It would scarcely be wise to jeopardize the lives of workers and face the possibility of being entirely shut out of the area.

In an effort to diffuse antagonism toward the Southern Missionary Society's education work Edson made F. R. Rogers

superintendent of education and depended almost entirely upon Black teachers to staff the growing number of schools. By the early years of the twentieth century the society had nearly fifty schools in operation. But for Edson White the front-line days in Mississippi were virtually over. The Yazoo City newspapers kept inciting opposition to his projects. And then N. W. Olvin was imprisoned on a trumped-up murder charge. As he considered these facts and also the adverse effect of the malaria-infested lowlands on his health, Edson decided to move the headquarters of the Southern Missionary Society to Nashville. In this city were a number of educational institutions for Blacks, and racial prejudices were not so virulent as they were farther south.

In 1901, not long after Edson transferred the Southern Missionary Society headquarters to Nashville, Adventist leaders in the Southern States organized the Southern Union Conference. The society became the branch of the union conference specifically charged with educational, evangelistic, and medical work among Blacks. In 1909 its activities were transferred to the newly created General Conference Negro Department. By that time it was sponsoring fifty-five primary schools with more than 1800 pupils in ten of the Southern States. It had also opened medical facilities for Blacks in the Nashville and Atlanta areas and had succeeded in increasing the number of Black Adventists in the South to more than 900. There had probably been less than fifty when Edson White had con-

ceived his “mission to Black America” some fifteen years earlier.

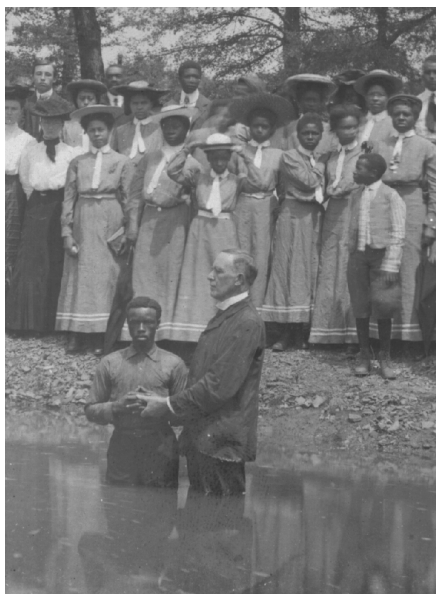
Oakwood College

A few months after the *Morning Star* first arrived in Vicksburg, the leading officers of the General Conference decided to develop an industrial school for Blacks that would draw in the best students from primary schools like those Edson White was inaugurating. Following counsel from Ellen White, they began a search for land in the area of Nashville, Tennessee, or northern Alabama. The locating committee, composed of General Conference president O. A. Olsen, treasurer Harmon Lindsay, and George Irwin, superintendent of

the Southern district, paused in their search at Chattanooga. There in a special prayer session they pled with tears for divine direction. Proceeding to Huntsville, Alabama, they learned of an old 360-acre plantation for sale. The mother of the agent handling the property had been a patient at the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Through this favorable contact the committee secured the estate for only \$6700, a thousand dollars less than the original asking price.

Impressed by the large number of huge oak trees on the estate, Olsen and Irwin decided to name the new school “Oakwood.” The early months of 1896 were spent in clearing brush from the run-down land and in attempting to get the dilapidated manor house, barn, and nine old “slave” cabins in usable shape. S. M. Jacobs, a successful Iowa farmer, came down to manage the property. A visit by Irwin and others to Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute helped confirm the founders’ views that Oakwood should place heavy emphasis on vocational training.

The top Adventist leadership was eager to get the Oakwood property in shape for school to open in the fall of 1896. Elders Olsen and Irwin spent several weeks helping repair the manor house; Olsen plastered, while Irwin acted as “tender, mixing mortar and carrying it upstairs.” Later, Olsen spent some time in plowing the fields, while Irwin wielded a paintbrush. Several would-be students had already arrived and were quickly put to work. From the start Olsen had decided that Oakwood would run a year-round, rather than just a nine-month, school



An unidentified White minister conducts a baptismal service for Blacks in Huntsville, Alabama.

program; only in this way could the school make proper use of the farmland and give the practical instruction in agriculture, which he felt was vital.

During the first summer there was considerable prejudice among surrounding farmers, not just against the idea of having a Black school in the area, but because Mr. Jacobs was regarded as another know-it-all Yankee who had come down to teach them how to farm. When Jacobs marshaled his small farm crew to help several neighbors through periods of difficulty, a more favorable image was created—one that was to last.

Even before school opened officially in November 1896, Mr. Jacobs's son and daughter held evening classes for the eager students. The sixteen boarders who were present on opening day increased to twenty-three in two months' time; another fifteen attended as day students. By the start of 1898 there were facilities to accommodate fifty boarding students at Oakwood. These young people studied half of each day and worked the other half to pay for board and tuition. In addition to agriculture the boys at Oakwood learned masonry and carpentry, while the girls received instruction in cooking, sewing, laundering, and gardening.

Over the next two decades a wide variety of buildings were added to the campus, with most of the building being done by the students themselves. Even so, facilities could not be enlarged rapidly enough to meet the demand. When the century closed, fifty-five students jammed the dormitories, while half that many were turned away for lack of room. Because the first students had had so little opportunity

for education, instruction at Oakwood during the initial decade was given at the secondary level. In 1917 the school was elevated to junior-college status.

Madison College

Less than a decade after the founding of Oakwood for Blacks, another school for Whites was established as the result of Ellen White's continued calls for Seventh-day Adventists to devote more attention to the neglected Southern States. The key personalities were Edward A. Sutherland and Percy T. Magan, who in 1901 had led in the relocating of Battle Creek College at Berrien Springs, Michigan. Both men were educational reformers and firm believers in the guiding messages continually issuing from Ellen White's pen. They determined to resign their posts in Berrien Springs and establish a school in the South where students could be trained to serve as self-supporting missionary teachers. They would prepare their students to combine evangelism with better farming methods and correct health principles. Thus they could minister to all the needs of the deprived hill people of the South.

Sutherland and Magan intended to locate their school in the mountains of eastern Tennessee or in the western section of the Carolinas, but at Mrs. White's urging they agreed to explore the area around Nashville. After unsuccessful weeks of hunting for a site the two men accepted an invitation from Edson White to cruise up the Cumberland River on the *Morning Star* with his mother and some others. About ten miles north of Nashville the *Morning*

Star broke down. While waiting for repairs, Ellen White and Will Palmer went ashore. As they began walking over a run-down farm, Ellen suddenly became excited; the place resembled an area she had seen in vision. She urged Sutherland and Magan to buy the property.

Dismay filled the hearts of the would-be-school developers. They pointed to the run-down buildings, the eroded land, and the asking price for the farm, which they were sure was much too high. Mrs. White was unperturbed. Whom were they expecting to help? she asked. The answer was “the poor farmers in the hill regions.” Then, Mrs. White replied, would it be well for your demonstration farm to be on good-quality land so much different from that of the people you propose to help? As far as funds were concerned, they should trust the Lord to meet their needs. She would call upon the people to help them. She urged Mrs. Nell Druillard, Sutherland’s aunt and a woman who had shown pronounced financial abilities through the years, to join these “boys” in their new enterprise.

Still Sutherland and Magan hesitated, but finally they decided Ellen White’s urging was a clear test of their belief in her divine inspiration. Sensing a chance to make more money from these “Yankees,” the farm’s owners suddenly raised their price by \$1000. All but Mrs. White interpreted this development as a way out of a situation they had been hesitant about from the first. She insisted they still should buy the place, and buy it they did. By the time they obtained possession, October 1, 1904, the founders had incorporated the new enterprise as the Nashville Agricultural

and Normal Institute; its proximity to Madison, Tennessee, soon led it to be known as the “Madison School.” Ellen White further demonstrated her support by accepting a position on the institute’s board of directors, the only time she served in such a capacity.

There were only eleven students on hand when the first term of the Madison School began in the fall of 1904—idealistic young people who had followed Magan, Sutherland, Mrs. Druillard, and M. Bessie De Graw down from Berrien Springs. The school was operated as a big family, with students and teachers joining together in morning and evening worship. Throughout the day all participated in the work necessary to make the farm pay. It was not unusual for the dean [Magan] to drive the mule team for plowing while one of the lady teachers set off to town in a cart to market “the butter made by the president [Sutherland] in the lean-to creamery.” In the evening, around the big fireplace, there were “mingled discussions of folklore and pedagogy and balanced rations with needlework and knitting and administration of bran poultices to chapped hands.

Only the simplest furnishings were provided at Madison; plank tables and dry-goods-box dressers were the rule. Food was largely restricted to what could be produced on the farm. The philosophy of the founders was that the more closely conditions in the school approximated the conditions students would face when they went out to teach, the more easily would they adjust to their vocations. There was no steam heat, no electricity, and no expensive farm machinery

of the kind not used by the Southern farmers the school hoped to serve. As the numbers of students increased, they were put to work constructing simple residence halls; thus the art of building was added to the science of farming.

There were many unconventional features in the educational system inaugurated at Madison. Student labor, rather than cash, was accepted for tuition. This meant that cash necessary for operating expenses must come from the sale of school products or from patrons, like Mrs. Josephine Gotzian, who believed in the purposes for which Madison had been founded. Ellen White made numerous appeals to those with means to "help the work at Madison."

The governing body at Madison was not the faculty or a president's council, but the entire school family sitting in session, called the "Union Body." Working together in this group, students and teachers jointly made rules, enforced discipline, planned for needed improvements, and directed the various departments of the school. Only matters requiring cash expenditures were referred to the board of directors. One night each week was set aside for a meeting of the Union Body.

Each student at Madison studied only one major subject per nine-week term; he received three hours of class instruction per day and was allowed an equal time for preparation. Part of the students studied in the morning, the rest in the afternoon. The average student needed to put in six hours of labor daily in one of the school industries to meet school expenses. Working side by side with teachers in the garden and dairy or in the field

or poultry house brought a close spirit of fellowship. All knew that these departments were vital to produce cash for the institution's needs. Frequent changes in work assignments allowed all to acquire proficiency in a variety of areas.

The Madison School made no provision for organized athletics or for clubs, classes or other groups which might encourage rivalry and competition. Students were expected to be adult enough to find recreation in intellectual and spiritual pursuits. Sutherland and Magan recognized that the kind of school they were operating was not for everyone, but only for those motivated by a consuming love for Christ and a desire to see His love revealed to others. Theirs was designed to be truly a "missionary school."

The vast majority of students coming to Madison expected to be teachers or health workers in rural communities. They studied Bible, history, science, or grammar during the regular nine-week terms. Short, three-week sessions devoted to practical skills like carpentry, cobbling, or blacksmithing were offered between regular terms. The first year Mrs. Drui-lard offered a one-year course in practical nursing and hydrotherapy. Later, when a sanitarium was added to the school in 1907, this course was lengthened to two years. In all subjects the emphasis was on teaching the student to be proficient enough to teach the same subject matter when he went out on his own.

Expansion in the South

It was about a year and a half after Madison opened that the first members

of the school family left to start “out-schools.” Fifteen miles from Madison three members of the original group purchased 250 acres of land and developed the Oak Grove Garden School. They came as settlers, but at the community’s request were soon operating a three-teacher school for seventy-five to eighty children. With the Oak Grove Garden School firmly established, two of the founders moved twenty miles east, where in the hills above Gallatin they began the Fountain Head School, which later developed into Highland Academy.

By 1915 there were thirty-nine of these self-supporting groups spread across Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina. More than three-quarters of them had already begun free primary schools. Back at Madison, Magan, already forty-four years of age, and Sutherland, forty-six, decided to take the medical course to strengthen the school and sanitarium complex they were operating. Commuting to Nashville by motorcycle, they studied at the University of Tennessee and received their medical degrees in 1914. Although the following year Dr. Magan left to become dean of the College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University Medical School), Dr. Sutherland directed the Madison complex for another thirty years.

Even before the Madison School was begun, Ellen White had in 1903 urged the founding of a similar school for Blacks in the Nashville area. During the next few years she repeated this recommendation several times. In studying these statements O. R. Staines, Oakwood’s business

manager, became impressed that he should resign and start such a school. After consulting with Magan and Sutherland and securing Mrs. White’s approval, he began the search for a suitable location.

At last a run-down, but promising, farm was located six miles from the center of Nashville. Staines and his mother used their available cash for a down payment, and Staines immediately left for Michigan to canvass friends and relatives for help in paying the balance and in securing livestock and equipment to begin the new institution, which he had named the Hillcrest School. Michigan Adventists gave cows, horses, buggies, and an assortment of farm machinery—enough to fill a railroad car. For nearly a year Staines traveled through Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan, raising funds to complete paying for the land.

It was late in 1908 when the first three students from Mississippi arrived at the Hillcrest School, but classes did not actually begin until January 1909. By the fourth year there were twenty students, all determined to go out as teachers of their own people. These students were housed in five small cottage-type units rather than in regular dormitories. Hillcrest was close enough to Madison so that several of the teachers of practical arts there could assist in instruction at Hillcrest.

Sadly, the Hillcrest School did not survive long enough to do the extensive work that its founders envisioned. During its few years of operation, however, it helped prepare several dozen young people for effective service under the

most difficult of circumstances. One example will illustrate this fact. The mission school started for Black children at Ellisville, Mississippi, was about to close when Watt Bryant, a Hillcrest student, decided to keep it going. Moving his family to a nearby forty-acre farm, he fought drought that burned up most of his corn and sorghum. Yet he stayed on and provided a home for a mission-minded Black teacher, Lily May Woodward.

Without conference support, Lily May had to charge her students ten cents per week tuition. This gave her enough to pay the Bryants \$1.25 a week for board and room, and \$1.50 to support an orphaned brother and sister in Atlanta, pay her tithe, and have forty cents left each week for personal expenses. Yet the school was saved, and this demonstrated that the money invested in Hillcrest would bear fruit abundantly.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Background to the Adventism in the American South:

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 2 (1961), chapter 18, and III (1961), chapter 10, is a reliable summary of the period.

E. G. White, *The Southern Work* (1966), is a compilation of statements about the American South that inspired Adventists to enter this neglected field.

Norman K. Miles, "Tension Between the Races," in *The World of Ellen G. White* (1987), Gary Land, ed., traces racism from the antebellum South to World War I.

Particular themes:

Ron Graybill, *Mission to Black America* (1971), is an engaging account of Edson White's experience with his riverboat in Mississippi.

_____ *Ellen White and Race Relations* (1970), is an elaboration of Ellen White's views on the Black-White issue in the United States.

Jacob Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975), is an appealing account of the development of Adventism among North American Blacks to 1970.

Delbert Baker, ed., *Telling the Story* (1996), is a compilation of documents and materials pertaining to the beginnings of Adventism among Blacks in the U.S.

Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow* (1984), chapters 1-10, describes the persistent efforts of Blacks to work among their own people in the American South.

_____ "Anna Knight," in *Early Adventist Educators* (1983), George Knight, ed., presents a vignette of the efforts of a daughter of ex-slaves to teach early Black Adventists.

Ira Gish and Harry Christman, *Madison: God's Beautiful Farm* (1979), traces E. A. Sutherland's role in establishing the Madison school.

Troubles Lead to Reorganization

The church grew rapidly during the last decade and a half of the nineteenth century. It was still a small denomination, but in 1901 the 78,000 members dwarfed the 3,500 that were on the church rolls in 1863. During that period of growth the original six local conferences had become fifty-seven, and the church had organized forty-one missions scattered in every major part of the world except China. No longer could the General Conference president give careful attention to minute details of denominational growth and nurture as James White had done throughout the 1860s and 70s.

This expansion had not taken place without problems. On occasion Adventists were put on the defensive by external difficulties not of their own making, some of them relating to politics, and their reaction produced changes in both church policy and organization. Some

problems were internal, relating largely to institutions and management. Some questions were spiritual and drew concerned observations from Ellen White and other church leaders.

In the process of change at the beginning of the twentieth century the church could not escape the omens of internationalization. The denomination was still a long way from its globalizing experience of the 1970s and onward; nevertheless, the impact of non-American Adventists on the church at large was an undeniable part of denominational experience when church leaders engineered changes as the twentieth century began.

Sunday Laws and Religious Liberty

One of the most troubling movements confronting Adventists in the late nineteenth century originated during the Civil

War in the United States. Many Christians viewed this holocaust as a divine chastening, designed to show North Americans not only the sin of slavery, but also to point out their failure to recognize God in the United States Constitution.

In 1864 some zealous opponents of the growing secularization in the United States formed the National Reform Association to lobby for a Constitutional amendment specifically acknowledging the United States as a Christian nation. They denied any desire to unite church and state, but they believed the state could rightly enforce the general principles of Christianity. Widespread corruption during President U. S. Grant's administration convinced many to support the movement. But when the proposal reached Congress in 1874 it failed, primarily because lawmakers did not want to add anything to the Constitution that could be construed as support for a religious creed.

The National Reform Association then switched tactics by pressing for enforcement of Sunday laws. Ellen White had warned that elements of both church and state would yield to popular demand for legalized Sunday observance. Adventists commonly anticipated that this movement would occur immediately prior to the Second Advent of Christ, which gave the Sunday-law movement an apocalyptic character. Numerous states backed the campaign that characterized Sunday laws as protection for a day of civil rest without religious connotations. In the South, known as the "Bible Belt," enforcement was openly religious.

Many Americans saw both Sunday

laws and legislation limiting liquor consumption as infringements on their personal freedom. The public divided into two camps, one claiming to defend morality, the other claiming to defend conscience and personal liberty. Adventists were in the latter group, finding themselves uncomfortable allies of liquor interests in preserving individual freedom.

In 1882 California became a major battleground with anti-Sunday law and anti-liquor regulation advocates opposing those who favored state controls. The Republican Party endorsed Sunday-law enforcement, and Adventists, who had tended to support the Republicans since 1856, deserted their loyalties in favor of the Democrats. *The Signs of the Times* published a special issue on Sunday legislation and in the ensuing election the Democrats won control of the state legislature and repealed the Sunday law. In Iowa Adventists joined the effort to establish statewide prohibition, but only after they were satisfied that a Sunday law would not follow. To publicize their reasons for observing Saturday and opposing Sunday laws, Adventists in 1884 began the *Sabbath Sentinel*, a small monthly that circulated more than 500,000 copies during its one-year existence.

Persecution against violators of Sunday laws broke out, and attempts to forestall it failed. A Georgia Adventist spent thirty days in jail after refusing to pay a fine for plowing his fields on Sunday. Shortly after his release he died, and some assumed the wretched conditions in the jail hastened his death. In 1885 five Arkansas Adventists, one a minister, were arrested for Sunday labor, but there was

no effort to stop non-Adventists from working on Sunday. The judge informed the defendants that one's conscience was not above the law. Similar cases appeared in Tennessee.

The movement to protect Sunday spread beyond the United States. Throughout the next decade more than a hundred North American Adventists and thirty church members outside the United States suffered penalties for Sunday work. They paid more than \$2200 in fines, served over 1400 days in confinement, and more than 450 days in chain gangs.

Another matter of concern to Adventists was the support that temperance organizations gave to Sunday laws. By 1887 both the Prohibition Party and the Women's Christian Temperance Union favored such legislation to improve American morality. Wilbur Crafts, an American minister, organized the American Sabbath Union Party to support the protection of Sunday. Adventists countered with a special religious liberty committee in each conference to inform the public about the threats to conscience that Sunday legislation posed. In Minnesota the committee helped to block the repeal of an exemption clause that protected sabbatarians from prosecution, and in Arkansas religious liberty advocates secured the reinstatement of an exemption clause favoring Sabbath keepers.

Sunday advocates were also working to produce a national Sunday law. Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire introduced his Sunday Rest Bill in Congress, capping the success of a gigantic petition drive in 1888 by Wilbur Crafts

and the Women's Christian Temperance Union to support Sunday. Several religious groups supported Blair, among them the Methodist General Conference, the Presbyterian General Assembly, and the Baptist Home Missionary Society.

The clear religious language of the bill led to its defeat, but an undeterred Blair eliminated that terminology and added an exemption clause in hopes of gaining congressional votes. This maneuver satisfied the Seventh Day Baptists, but A. T. Jones, who represented the Adventist point of view before the congressional committee considering the bill, argued persuasively that just laws did not need exemptions. Religious liberty was a right, not a privilege subject to the whim of the majority. The Blair Bill failed again.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, chief Roman Catholic spokesman in the United States, announced his agreement with the drive to limit Sunday work. Simultaneously, the National Reform Association wooed the support of organized labor by posing as champions of two million American workers forced to labor seven days a week.

Adventists responded by stepping up their campaign against Sunday legislation. In 1886, before the Sunday law issue reached the national level, the Pacific Press began a monthly journal, *The American Sentinel*, devoted to religious liberty. A succession of editors reminded Americans of the historical background of separation of church and state incorporated in the Bill of Rights. Adventist leaders also sponsored a petition against the Blair Bill and organized religious liberty lectures. Local conference "press

committees” contacted newspapers for editorial support of their cause. All of this activity culminated in 1889 when church leaders founded the National Religious Liberty Association to arouse public opinion against any erosion of the historic doctrine of separation of church and state in America.

Within a year the new association faced its first major test. A congressional proposal declaring it illegal to force anyone to work on Sunday in the District of Columbia won considerable support from labor. A. T. Jones and the Religious Liberty Association saw the bill, known as the Breckenridge Bill, as a clever twist and a first step toward a national Sunday law. Jones and two other Adventist ministers testified before the House committee which was considering the proposal; Crafts and his allies pressured congressmen to accept it, but the committee refused to report the bill for vote in the House of Representatives because of its religious nature.

These results were gratifying, but the Religious Liberty Association was not always successful. In spite of a lengthy trial it did not overturn the conviction of Tennessee farmer R. M. King for working on Sunday. Prosecutions in Tennessee increased, even in the face of opposition from major newspapers throughout the nation, which called these actions religious bigotry and persecution. The association also spoke against a congressional measure to close the Columbian Exposition in Chicago on Sundays. Jones declared that Congress did not have the right to decide either to open or to close the exposition on a widely accepted day

of worship, but the congressional committee was uninterested in his arguments.

Jones was an energetic proponent of separation of church and state, but some of his conclusions were too emphatic for Ellen White who encouraged the Religious Liberty Association to retreat from some of them. Among these were (1) the denomination should not claim civil tax exemption for its church buildings or institutional properties, (2) Adventists could not morally accept gifts from governmental agencies, for example, the Solusi land grant in Africa, (3) Adventists jailed for Sunday labor should not work extra hours in place of working on Sabbath while in confinement, (4) it was wrong for Adventists to vote or to participate in any way in the political process, and (5) it was wrong to prevent Adventist employees in denominational institutions from working six days a week if they wanted to.

Jones took these stands in the context of American affairs, but the growing importance of international implications in church policy soon became obvious. Adventist publishing houses in Switzerland and England conflicted with national laws on the matter of a six-day work week. Factory laws in both countries forbade Sunday labor and limited the work week for women and children. In harmony with Jones’s convictions and with an approval from leaders in Battle Creek, Adventists in Switzerland in 1893 and England in 1895 decided that the wording of the fourth commandment—“six days shalt thou labor”—was as binding as the prohibition to work on the Sabbath. Their logic led them to work on Sunday

at the publishing establishments. The result was negative. Both businesses suffered a series of fines and closure. The shutdown in Switzerland was permanent, but the English press reopened.

For the most part, by the end of the nineteenth century American temperance groups had separated from Sunday-law enforcement. Although the wife of Dr. Kellogg was not a Seventh-day Adventist, she and her husband developed close contacts with temperance leaders, he appearing before the Women's Christian Temperance Union as a lecturer and she working with its committees at the national level. We may speculate that the influence of the Kelloggs, coupled with the efforts of the Religious Liberty Association had its effect. Whatever the causes, both Sunday-law agitation and the arrest of Adventists virtually disappeared as the new century dawned.

Spiritual Dilemmas

The extreme positions that A. T. Jones and others took relative to religious liberty illustrate a problem that plagued the church elsewhere. In 1899 General Conference president George Irwin commented that Adventists were prone to extremes on nearly everything. A few months later Stephen Haskell observed that he had never seen such a tendency among church members to get something new. Both Haskell and Daniells believed this mentality resulted from a satanic attempt to pervert the 1888 message of righteousness by faith and distract Adventists from fundamental truths.

Whatever the cause, church leaders

realized that the spiritual revivals at Healdsburg in 1885 and Battle Creek in 1892-93 had stagnated, with periods of spiritual darkness following. At Healdsburg a fanatical objection to receiving Sabbath School offerings cropped up, which degenerated into sharp criticism of church leadership. In Battle Creek competitive sports diverted college students from spirituality. Ellen White wrote that satanic agencies were at work to neutralize heaven's blessings of grace.

Another extreme theological position involved prayer for the sick. Some, including A. T. Jones, E. J. Waggoner, and W. W. Prescott, for a time adopted views bordering on faith healing. With dubious logic some ministers also taught that people with gray hair or the physically deformed could not receive the seal of God, arguing that both conditions contradicted the state of perfection necessary to complete the work of God. At Battle Creek College some staff members taught that the sacredness of life made it wrong to kill insects, snakes, or rodents.

Speaking before the 1899 General Conference, E. J. Waggoner asserted that all who kept God's commandments should also have the spirit of prophecy. The question of whether or not divine counsels would come through persons other than Ellen White had earlier led to controversy. Persons declaring themselves to be God's special messengers spoke out. In 1884 one Anna Garmire of Petoskey, Michigan, claimed that God had revealed to her through vision that probation would close for all sinners in October of that year. In the 1890s, just after Ellen White and her son, Willie, left

the United States for Australia, another earnest young woman, Anna Phillips, asserted that she was receiving testimonies to be sent to others. A. T. Jones, Prescott, and Haskell for a time believed that she was another messenger from God, although Haskell doubted that the messages were for others.

The confusion over Anna Phillips and the possibility of a special messenger of the Lord other than Ellen White were symptomatic of the troubled conditions hovering over Battle Creek between 1894 and 1903. O. A. Olsen recalled that opposition to the doctrine of righteousness by faith had melted away in 1892 and wonderful spiritual meetings followed. At the General Conference session the next year talk was common about the beginning of the latter rain. People generously opened their pocketbooks to spread the message with a loud voice. In contrast, by 1896 Olsen perceived darkness, doubts, insinuations, and confusion.

Financial Problems

In some way these spiritual problems were financially related. Severe depression hit the United States in 1893 and denominational revenues declined. At the same time some Adventists of means became disenchanted with the lengthy jaunts some church officials made around the world. The purpose of these trips was justifiable: to counsel leaders of world missions and to derive better concepts of how to initiate church work in other areas of the globe. Despite these good intentions, not all Adventists saw the journeys in that light.

One of the most notorious examples of a global junket that backfired was that of L. C. Chadwick, president of the International Tract Society and a member of the Foreign Mission Board. After his conversion he quickly advanced to the General Conference and in 1891 was sent on a consultation trip through Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, South America, Europe, and Africa. His journey extended deep into 1892. His departure was just as rapid. By the spring of 1893 he left denominational employment after questionable financial transactions and soon became a worker for the Baptists. General Conference treasurer W. H. Edwards called Chadwick's trip an escapade that cost the church \$4,000.

The church sometimes received donations in property, but after paying legal expenses and management fees, depressed real estate values made it difficult to dispose of these gifts profitably. Offerings declined, reflecting the economic downturn in the United States, but ironically, the General Conference payroll tripled between 1892 and 1895. The denomination was in serious trouble.

The church met its increasing expenses by borrowing money. Many Adventists, believing that banks were unsafe after the Panic of 1893, deposited their money in the church in the form of loans. The denomination thus had an abundance of money to spend, but its interest payments were out of balance with its income. It was operating on borrowed capital and was hard put to pay when creditors asked for their money.

Economic conditions affected church

income in other ways. Tithe, the leading source of revenue, was under the control of the conferences, which forwarded 10 percent to the General Conference. Tithe income varied widely, with some conferences building up surpluses of money while others were capable of employing only skeletal staffs. Occasionally, the financially solid conferences made loans from tithe to help a struggling part of the church, but such stopgaps were not genuine solutions to financial problems. Not until 1905 did the church develop a method of distributing tithe surpluses to help ailing areas of church administration.

Sabbath School offerings, another source of income, also dropped. The Sabbath School Association controlled these donations which it used to start work in new areas. To maintain these projects the General Conference organized two other categories of offerings: first-day offerings and a special Christmas offering. The first-day offerings originated with Paul's advice to the Corinthians to lay donations aside on the first day of the week. The Christmas offering was taken at the end of the annual Week of Prayer. For years it was the major source of support for missions.

By 1895 all offerings suffered substantially. The first-day offerings amounted to less than six cents per member in one quarter. Faced with decline in giving and increases in expenses, General Conference president Olsen requested subordinates to estimate as closely as possible the income they anticipated during the next year and to systematize their finances accordingly. It was the first move toward

forming a denominational budget.

Olsen punished himself verbally for not having thought of this organized manner of handling finances before, but the church was already more deeply in trouble than a budgeting process could repair. The General Conference contributed generously to the construction of Boulder Sanitarium, begun in 1895, but those costs exceeded estimates. By mid-1896 L. T. Nicola, General Conference secretary, reported that the treasury was empty and the church could not send out new workers or pay its creditors, among them Francis Wessels who was demanding at least partial payment of the thousands he had loaned the General Conference.



O. A. Olsen (1845-1915) became General Conference president immediately after the tense session at Minneapolis in 1888. He was beleaguered by organizational problems before leaving the office in 1897.

At the 1897 General Conference G. A. Irwin succeeded Olsen. The new president was hardly more successful in brightening the financial bleakness. The General Conference treasury ended the year 1898 with a cash balance of \$61.20 and hundreds of thousands of dollars of debt. A salary cut amounting to a fourth of workers' incomes was little help. In 1901 incoming president A. G. Daniells found that the church was nearly \$20,000 behind in salary payments. The next year estimates placed the combined debt of Adventist institutions at two million dollars.

Small wonder that Daniells characterized the situation as a disaster. It had given rise to years of fighting that had sapped the church's spiritual energy and had seriously hampered the church's mission to spread the gospel. He saw church leaders at headquarters transformed into a "body of twisters and turners and schemers and grabbers to get hold of money to pay these debts."

Much of the indebtedness resulted from institutional expansion at Battle Creek. The sanitarium, the Review and Herald, and the college expanded prodigiously. Food manufacturing also enlarged. A medical school, orphanage, and an old people's home began. Some promoted these developments as giving character to the work, but Ellen White disagreed, pointing out that it was the character of the leaders themselves that needed changing.

The Change Begins

Expansion at Battle Creek required ever more Adventists for institutional

operation, which meant that fewer Adventists were available for other parts of the Adventist world. Ellen White counseled that Adventists should establish other centers to equalize the work, but Olsen did not have the strength of personality to withstand the arguments of men like Kellogg and A. R. Henry of the Review and Herald, who convinced the brethren to pour money into Battle Creek. This unbridled growth prompted those who resided at headquarters to think of themselves as the hub around which the entire denomination turned. A few men at the center held inordinate power over the development of the entire denomination. Leaders in various other church enterprises came to feel that they could do nothing of importance without consulting headquarters. This led to frequent and extended delays in plans.

The character of several men in this power structure made it even more dangerous. Ellen White was particularly concerned about A. R. Henry and Harmon Lindsay, both well experienced in financial administration when Olsen became president. Lindsay was General Conference treasurer; besides treasurer of the Review and Herald, Henry was also president of the General Conference Association, the legal body that held title to the church's general properties.

Henry had once been a cattle dealer and bank president in Iowa. After joining the Review and Herald in 1882, he turned the business around from a losing to a profitable enterprise, but his methods were suspect. He launched a campaign to reduce royalties to authors,

which brought him into conflict with Ellen White who argued that writers were entitled to just compensation for their works. Henry developed a banking system at the *Review and Herald*, receiving and paying out deposits for individuals as well as church institutions. With the help of denominational funds he engaged in personal ventures—a livery, a lumber business, a coal yard, and rental property management. He justified his activities by sometimes using profits for denominational benefit, as in the case of gains in real estate transactions that helped support the church while it constructed Union College. Besides his questionable activities, he was abrasive and domineering.

Lindsay's experience at the General Conference dated from 1874. His skills and long acquaintance with the church made him seem to be a valuable counselor to the General Conference president, but he joined Henry to promote shrewd, clever deals, which wrung any legal, if not always ethical, advantage from a situation. Because Olsen lacked confidence in his own financial judgment, he leaned on both Henry and Lindsay. He admitted that discussions frequently were contrary to the Spirit of Christ, and that he should have reprimanded the two men instead of depending on them.

With Ellen White strenuously urging him, Olsen finally replaced both Henry and Lindsay toward the end of 1895. Notwithstanding their long record of acrimonious dealings, he sent them away with words of understanding, appreciation, and courage. It was typical of Olsen, a naturally cautious man, who valued

patience and forbearance over condemnation and harshness.

Olsen himself did not plan to remain in the presidency after the 1897 General Conference session, but before he left office he attempted to correct other problems at the *Review and Herald*. A spirit of secularism permeated Battle Creek, an attitude that Henry's aggressive leadership exacerbated at the publishing house. Men in management saw the *Review* as a business rather than as an instrument to promote the Adventist message. They became disgruntled over their salaries, which were less than what their counterparts earned in similar businesses. Clement Eldridge and Frank Belden, two such men, left for greener fields in Chicago.

Those who remained at the *Review* continued to agitate for higher earnings, despite the fact that some of their salaries exceeded those of the members of the General Conference Committee. The picture was blackened even more after an investigation in 1897 disclosed several abuses, one of which was the failure of the *Review* management to award merit pay increases to laborers in the plant. A. T. Jones, who chaired the investigation, concluded that management had also failed to train young workers adequately, had not advanced persons within the organization, had neglected to maintain a sanitary workplace, and had not attempted to work for the spiritual benefit of non-Adventist employees. The report was incriminating.

New *Review* management set about to correct these abuses, but one problem it did not address was the imbalance existing between commercial and

church-related jobs. I. M. Evans, the new manager, observed in 1901 that the bulk of the business was still with the commercial world. Montgomery Ward catalogs seemed to be more important than religious books. Parenthetically, we may also point out that the same conditions also existed at the Pacific Press.

Rectifying these conditions was not easy. After leaving the Review, Henry gained a seat on the board of directors by gaining Lindsay's aid and using proxy voting methods among the stockholders of the Review. Even before his removal from office, Henry had vowed to avenge any action against him, and the next year, 1897, he dropped a bombshell by filing a civil suit for \$50,000 in damages, claiming libelous treatment from Ellen White and Olsen. The Review countersued, charging Henry with misappropriating \$40,000. Henry fought back, declaring he had been underpaid. Compromise appeared to be the only way out of the quagmire, which A. T. Jones arranged by acquiring consent from both parties to withdraw their suits and submit their complaints to arbitration. The upshot was a finding that Henry deserved reimbursement of \$33,000 for being underpaid, but the Review refused to pay.

Later, church leaders sought reconciliation with Henry, but his relationship with the church continued to be an irritating one. Nevertheless, he remained a member until his death in 1909. Lindsay, whom Olsen described as quiet but a murmurer, separated from the church and died a Christian Scientist.

Centralization of Power in the General Conference

The battles at the Review and Herald, while attributable somewhat to the administrative structure of the church and its subsidiary organizations, was primarily a conflict between strong personalities and the church. Strong-willed leaders found themselves at odds with the purpose of the denomination, and in the end they lost out.

The church also faced serious problems at the General Conference and its lesser entities, the conferences. Domineering persons also occupied church administrative positions, but as the 1880s and 1890s unfolded, the problems appeared to pivot on questions of philosophy of leadership and pragmatic problems of organization that reflected the needs of a spiritual body that was becoming larger and more far flung.

In 1873, a decade after the formation of the General Conference, church president George I. Butler wrote that the leadership of James and Ellen White was incontestable because God had specifically chosen them to lead. Further, he declared that all Adventists were duty bound to defer to the Whites in matters of church policy. Although the General Conference in session endorsed Butler's views, the action made the Whites nervous. Shortly after, Ellen pointed out the dangers of one person's judgment controlling the minds of others, adding that it was improper for her husband to shoulder responsibilities that others should bear.

Nevertheless, James White became president again in 1874, but two years later

delegates to the General Conference session went on record to say that the “highest authority among Seventh-day Adventists is found in the will of the body of that people, as expressed in the decisions of the General Conference when acting within its proper jurisdiction . . . such decisions should be submitted to by all without exception, unless they can be shown to conflict with the Word of God and the rights of individual conscience.” It was a bold statement, but its Magna Carta-like quality expressed a philosophy of authority that placed the Bible in its rightful place but allowed human instruments, acting cooperatively, to apply its principles, all the while recognizing that individuals retain their own personal right of conscience. No one could rationalize personalist governance on the basis of this action.

But the reality of church authority was not as ideal as the statement. Adventists were together only a short time each year to make decisions; during the intervening months they looked to the General Conference executive committee and the president for leadership. James White occupied the presidency for a total of ten years on three different occasions between 1865 and 1880. Between 1871 and 1888 George Butler was president twice, his years in that office totaling eleven. Their combined years as president amounted to twenty-one of the twenty-five years between the formation of the General Conference and the Minneapolis session when the doctrine of righteousness by faith occupied center stage. During those years it is doubtful that Butler ever relinquished his views of a strong presidency.

Circumstances were ambivalent, both playing into Butler’s hands to exercise centralized authority and against him to decentralize his power. By 1885 the International Tract and Missionary Society, the Sabbath School Association, the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society, the Health Reform Institute, and the American Health and Temperance Society all operated as quasi-independent organizations allied with, but not subject to, the General Conference. Butler was General Conference president and also president of both the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association (the legal name for the *Review and Herald*) and the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society, which managed Battle Creek College. Stephen N. Haskell headed the Tract and Missionary Society and the Pacific Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association. W. C. White presided over the Sabbath School Association, and J. H. Kellogg led the Health Reform Institute and the American Health and Temperance Society.

The five-member General Conference executive committee, which, ideally, was to provide counsel to the president, was fragmented. By 1885, O. A. Olsen was the only member besides Butler who lived in Battle Creek. Of the three other members, Haskell lived in Massachusetts, R. A. Underwood in Ohio, and W. C. White was in Europe. Consultation was virtually impossible, which left Butler largely to his own designs, but he had little control over leaders of specific activities who established their own policies. Centralization and decentralization were both at

work. Amid these circumstances a well coordinated governance could not exist and the fulfillment of the 1876 statement on authority fell far short of its ideal.

The European Council

It was from Adventists in Europe that suggestions came for procedures that might correct the administrative logjam at church headquarters. Because of slow communication between Battle Creek and fields outside the United States, Haskell toured Europe in 1882 to render advice and other assistance. On his agenda was a council which leaders from various parts of the continent would attend. Meeting in Basel, Switzerland, the first European Missionary Council was so successful that delegates established a rudimentary organization and planned for annual meetings.

The second meeting did not convene until 1884 when Butler could also visit. The Council drafted a constitution and set up administrative heads to lead the church in three major regions of Europe. Practical questions were also topics of discussion, including training of national workers, the need for a press in Switzerland and denominational schools generally, how to provide help for specific fields, means to attain financial self-sufficiency, and maintaining simplicity of dress and worship. Ellen White and her son, W. C., attended the 1885 and 1886 meetings. From these gatherings came suggestions to the General Conference regarding finances and workers which simplified the task of denominational administration in Battle Creek.

Ellen White's participation confirmed her belief in the dangers of allowing one or two men to lay down specific guidelines for all to follow. During the next fifteen years she repeatedly urged church leaders to counsel together as the Europeans had done and to permit more initiative to younger workers. She pointedly told one person that he was not the only man whom God would use.

Results came. To broaden consultation the General Conference enlarged the executive committee from five to seven in 1886. The General Conference Association was also born in 1886, a legal corporation to hold property for the worldwide church and to serve as the financial arm of the denomination. Butler served as president of both the church and the association, but in 1887 the denomination established the position of an administrative assistant to the president to aid in clerical matters. Three general secretaries joined the General Conference administration, one each to supervise education, foreign missions, and home missions. The office of home missions secretary lasted only two years, but the remaining two lasted until 1896, when further reorganization took place.

Additional Structural Changes

The European Council had demonstrated the practicability of regional divisions of church administration. In 1888 the newly elected General Conference executive committee rejected a proposal to separate Canada from the United States, administratively, but divided North America into four large districts,

each under the general supervision of a committee member. After a year with this experiment, the delegates to the General Conference session redrew the district lines, creating six areas on the basis of geography and church membership. Until this time General Conference sessions convened annually, but in 1889 the delegates chose to meet biennially, with district councils scheduled in the alternate years.

The superintendents of the districts served as liaison between the conferences and the General Conference. They attended camp meetings and conference sessions, lent help in administrative matters, and kept the General Conference informed about issues that might affect the church at large.

By far most of the discussion in 1889 revolved around the notion of incorporating the various denominational associations and societies into the conference structure by naming a secretary at the conference level to oversee each activity. The hoped for result would be a coordinated program under conference direction. Delegates could not agree on the merits of this plan, and after lengthy debate they requested a withdrawal of the proposal and to expunge the discussion from the session's records. Then swinging in the opposite direction, the delegates established another semi-independent organization, the Foreign Mission Board, which included among other members, the General Conference Committee. This new group assumed the responsibility of directing denominational missions outside North America. At the time no one foresaw that in less than a decade and a

half the plan the delegates rejected would become the essential structural design of the church.

Another abortive plan in 1889 called for centralized control of all church publishing activities. One corporation would organize all enterprises together under single management. In spite of vigorous support from the *Review* and *Herald* and the recommendation from the committee on consolidation, Ellen White opposed the idea, advocating that the publishing houses must stand alone with their own individuality rather than fall into the mold of one man or a small group. Her advice prevailed.

The districting plan, with its roots in the European Council, which had experimented with regional administration, had proven successful since its inception in 1888, and it led to the idea of creating formal intermediate administrative centers between the state conferences in the United States and the General Conference. President Olsen broached this idea in 1892, but did not push it, and the notion died. Two years later in 1894 forty delegates to the first Australian camp meeting organized the first intermediate entity, the Australasian Union Conference, by joining the conferences in the region together. At the 1897 General Conference session, the newly elected church president George Irwin attempted to reorganize the North American districts into unions following the Australasian model, but he was no more successful than Olsen had been in 1892. Instead, to provide for more representation, the session delegates expanded the General Conference executive committee to thirteen.

While denominational structure was becoming progressively unwieldy, church leaders outside the United States were demonstrating effective methods to cope with it. Two years after he served as a member of the plans committee at the 1889 General Conference, Asa T. Robinson represented the denomination in South Africa to organize a conference. Convinced that the numbers were too small to form associations and societies to parallel those in North America, he integrated the activities of these units into the conference organization as departments. General Conference president Olsen expressed fears of over-centralization, but his cautionary letter arrived in Africa too late; Robinson had already organized the conference and his plan was working so well that it remained intact.

Robinson later transferred to Australia where he promoted the department idea among the leaders of the Victoria Conference. Australians immediately took to the plan, but both A. G. Daniells of the Australasian Union and W. C. White opposed it. Daniells called it anarchy. Upon the insistence of Australian Adventists, White and Daniells acceded and they later gave his proposals their hearty support.

Ellen White continued to press for relief for the denominational president who headed the General Conference, the General Conference Association, the Publishing Association, the Tract Society, and the Foreign Mission Board. In 1897 delegates to the General Conference session responded by naming three different men to head the first three of these

units. In an attempt to help logistically, the Foreign Mission Board moved its offices to Philadelphia, a move that was later seen to create more confusion than benefits.

It was with deep concern that George Irwin, in 1897 the newly elected president of the General Conference, faced the organizational wilderness. Beleaguered by his failure to create union conferences in North America and by complaints that were becoming louder and more frequent about existing conditions, he characterized the situation as a sad one in which some were sowing discord and every man wished to do what he pleased. Even Ellen White expressed doubt about General Conference decisions as being the voice of God. The time was more than ripe for change.

Thorough Reorganization

The 1899 General Conference session reverberated with complaints about the inadequacies of denominational structure. A. T. Jones criticized the system and blistered the delegates with calls to repentance. E. J. Waggoner called for a sincere return to the 1888 message of righteousness by faith. W. W. Prescott agreed, and went on to excoriate centralizing trends in the church, which he believed, had created a virtual despotism. Emotions ran high, confessions and prayer followed, but little practical change resulted.

During the two years until the next session a growing conviction permeated the thinking of Adventist leaders: problems of administration and reorganization would be the major issue when the del-

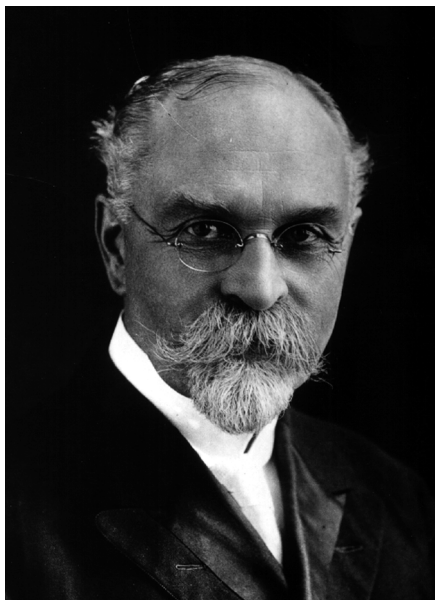
TROUBLES LEAD TO REORGANIZATION

legates convened in 1901. To many it seemed vital that Ellen White should attend the meetings, and there was widespread rejoicing when, in the fall of 1900, she returned from Australia where she had lived since 1892.

Another personality was emerging upon whom some were relying for guidance and leadership. The new face was that of Arthur G. Daniells, forty-three years old, with thirteen years of administrative experience in Australia and New Zealand, fields where the union conference had succeeded and where the reduction of associations and societies from quasi-independent entities to church de-

partments had also worked out well. He had experienced reorganization and had helped to make it function. Nine months before the General Conference session opened he wrote that it would be a calamity if the 1901 meeting turned out as had the 1899 gathering.

The day prior to the first meeting Ellen White called a large number of leaders to meet with her in the Battle Creek College library. For an hour and a half this seventy-three-year-old stalwart discoursed on the need for organizational change based on equitable representation from all lines and institutions of the work. She reminded the group that there were



After years of administration in Australia where he had successfully implemented new organizational concepts, A. G. Daniells (1858-1935) brought valuable experience with him to the General Conference. He helped to lead the reorganization of 1901 and continued as head of the church for the next twenty-one years, longer than any other General Conference president. Ellen White spoke out strongly in favor of reorganization at the 1901 General Conference session. Here she addresses Adventist leaders who attended that historic meeting.

no kings in the Adventist Church. Gospel and medical missionary work should blend.

At the opening meeting the next day she called again for a thorough reorganization. Daniells immediately took the floor to propose a large committee, later called the Committee on Counsel, to reorganize the denomination. Under Daniells's direction the seventy-five member committee divided into subcommittees to tackle narrower problems of organization.

The first item was a recommendation to the North American districts to frame constitutions that provided for union conferences to replace the state conferences as the constituent building blocks of the General Conference. Every district responded with a new instrument of governance. Ellen White affirmed that the Lord God of Israel would link them all together for the health of the church.

The second recommendation called for a new General Conference Executive Committee of twenty-five, six chosen by the Medical and Benevolent Association and the remaining nineteen by the session delegates. Union conference presidents would be members along with five others who were to be left free from other duties that interfered with the spreading of the gospel. As new unions formed their new presidents would join the Executive Committee. This enlarged body would replace all present boards and committees, except as legal corporations were necessary.

Questions arose over the special recognition for the medical branch of the church. At the time, the Medical Mission-

ary and Benevolent Association employed approximately 2000 persons compared to the 1500 workers under General Conference direction. By singling out the medical work, the Committee on Counsel expressed the desire to integrate Dr. Kellogg and the sector of the denomination he guided into church leadership.

Delegates also agreed to place the functions of the Foreign Mission Board in the hands of the new Executive Committee and to departmentalize the Sabbath School Association and the Religious Liberty Association. Management of the publishing houses remained in the hands of separate boards, but a newly formed publishing committee took over the work of the Tract and Missionary Society and guided the production and distribution of denominational literature. It thus became a coordinating agency for the publishing plants. The church's education program had already become a department in 1887. Education and publishing interests were to be represented on the Executive Committee.

The new system also abolished the title of president and vested the authority of the chief executive in the chairman of the Executive Committee. The twenty-five members of the Executive Committee selected this person. Some doubted the wisdom of this method of choosing a denominational leader and before the next General Conference session in 1903 their apprehensions materialized. Daniells, who became chairman of the Executive Committee, found it necessary to sign legal forms and other papers over the title of president, and in spite of the constitution, he soon formed the habit of

calling himself president. Opposition to Daniells smoldered, breaking out in open fire in 1902, but the 1903 General Conference delegates put out the fire by handing back to the delegates the prerogative of selecting a denominational leader who would officially bear the restored title of president.

The 1901 General Conference was a milestone in Adventist history. Time alone would demonstrate the effectiveness of the new structure. At the end of the session Ellen White, fearful at first about how matters would go, testified with astonished happiness that God had brought it all about. From the trials, both internal and external, with which Adventism struggled during the 1880s and 1890s, the church finally produced a system that resembled the principles of the 1876 statement on authority. The new governance did not allow for the divine right of kings within the denomination, which was a statement about past mistakes as well as a warning to future leaders who might have autocratic proclivities.

Encouraged by Ellen White and A. G. Daniells, the body politic had parried the polarizing philosophies of autocratic leadership and decentralization to design a system, though not without flaws, that

has endured with only modifications. The bureaucracy that developed as the church grew into millions still reflected the administrative forms that the Committee on Counsel gave the church in 1901.

One aspect of reorganization that has deserved more emphasis is the fact that the testing ground for new organizational ideas was outside the United States. Most of the church leaders where reorganization occurred prior to 1901 were Americans, but the context in which they worked was non-American. Daniells, the prime example, brought years of experience with more effective organization when he reentered the American scene at Battle Creek in 1901. In a manner of speaking all of this was a straw in the wind, a harbinger that told denominational leaders that the globalization of Adventism had already set in, although it would not be until the last quarter of the twentieth century when denominational leaders finally responded to that reality. The enduring quality of the reorganized church structure—it has remained in effect ever since—and the world expansion of Adventism that produced momentous changes after 1980 are evidences of the extraordinary success of the “Great Conference.”

Suggested Topical Reading:

Sunday legislation and religious liberty:

Eric Syme, *A History of SDA Church-State Relations in the United States* (1973), pp. 20-52, presents the milieu in which SDA attitudes toward religious liberty were formed.

E. Blakely, ed., *American State Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation* (1911 ed.),

provides documentation of individual aspects of Sunday laws.

Ron Graybill, "Tales of a Tennessee Chain Gang," *Liberty*, January-February 1973, describes a famous case of Sunday law persecution.

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 2 (1961), chapter 13, and M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), provide earlier treatments of Sunday laws.

Dennis Pettibone, "The Sunday Law Movement," in *The World of Ellen G. White* (1987), Gary Land, ed., pp. 113-128, is a brief account of the Sunday law problem, with emphasis on the American South.

D. W. Reavis, *I Remember* (1933?), pp. 121-143, is part of the author's memoir dealing with his work in religious liberty during the late nineteenth century.

Denominational organization:

Ellen White, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (1923), draws on the 1890s for background of denominational problems.

Arthur White, *The Early Elmshaven Years* (1981), vol. 5 of Ellen G. White, chaps. 5-7, 17, 18, narrates the reorganization saga of 1901 and 1903.

C. C. Crisler, *Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place, and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (1938), pp. 203-265, offers an interesting insight into Ellen White's philosophy of organization.

A. Olson, *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901* (1955), pp. 115-130, 143-148, is a brief treatment of denominational issues.

A. W. Spalding, *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 19-46; M. E. Olsen, *ibid.*, pp. 625-635, and C. M. Maxwell, *Tell It to the World* (1976), pp. 251-261, give general descriptions of the organizational problems.

General Conference Daily Bulletin for General Conference sessions of 1897, 1899, 1901, and 1903 contain the verbatim records of those sessions.

Richard Schwarz, "The Perils of Growth, 1886-1905," in *Adventism in America* (1986), Gary Land, ed., presents an excellent overview of essential issues of the period covered by this chapter.

New Beginnings Amid Crisis

As promising as the 1901 reorganization was, it did not resolve all of the denomination's problems. While observing the difficulties at Battle Creek, Ellen White had recommended that the church should establish other centers, not only as counterveiling influences to Battle Creek, but also to recognize the church's obligation to the rest of the world. After the 1901 General Conference church leaders took her words more seriously and events moved rapidly to fulfill her instruction. Institutions departed from Battle Creek, but the most telling move was the transfer of church headquarters to Washington, D. C. Adventists had been gravitating to the center in Michigan for nearly half a century, and they commonly believed that God had directed them to the Midwest, but when they left they were equally as certain that divine intervention was leading them away.

Adventists justifiably believed they had dealt with an organizational crisis in 1901, but they were still dealing with another issue, the question of Dr. J. H. Kellogg's control of the medical branch of church activities. It was a problem that was at once spiritual, organizational, and personal. Wrestling with this dilemma sapped their best energies. In the end, the problem would lead to Kellogg's separation from the church and a precipitous decline in the Adventist presence in Battle Creek.

The Move to Washington

A resolution to move church headquarters to a location more favorable to church work on the Atlantic side of the country triggered considerable discussion at the 1903 General Conference session in Oakland, California. Ellen White was unequivocal: "Move," was her advice.

She affirmed that God wanted denominational leaders to make a clean break from Battle Creek and the influences and associations that had developed there.

Less than a month following the April gathering in Oakland, a locating committee began an intensive search for a suitable site somewhere along the eastern seaboard, preferably in the vicinity of New York City. After looking into possibilities in New Jersey, Connecticut, Long Island, and up the Hudson River from New York City, Ellen White spoke out in favor of Washington. With the imprint of the capital of the United States on denominational books and letters, she explained, the public would learn that Adventists were not afraid to let their light shine.

Accompanied by another member of the committee, Daniells lost no time investigating Washington. In Takoma Park, just outside the border of the District of Columbia, they found favorable

conditions—a connecting railroad, local transportation facilities, and land available for a medical institution. A mile away they found more property for an office building and the Review and Herald Publishing Association.

Events moved rapidly. Weeks later a larger group of Adventist leaders inspected the properties. Daniells and his colleagues were eager to leave Battle Creek, where they found the atmosphere depressing. Ellen White not only approved the change but also warned that never again should Adventists become as firmly anchored anywhere as they had been in Battle Creek. She reminded the church that Adventists were only pilgrims, seeking a heavenly home, and whenever the Lord directs a move, they were to move, no matter how inconvenient it would be. In August the transfer to Takoma Park occurred.

This move from Battle Creek to



The new General Conference office building (left) and the new Review and Herald Publishing House (right) were erected side by side on the north side of Washington, D. C. in 1906. Additions to these buildings enabled the church to occupy them until the 1980s.

Washington was a climax of sorts to the general Adventist exodus that had already begun in 1901. The first institution to go was Battle Creek College. E. A. Sutherland, who became president in 1897, did not let the year pass before urging Ellen White to lend her influence to relocate the institution. But the college was \$80,000 in debt and the sale of the property was uncertain. To help relieve the situation, she donated *Christ's Object Lessons* for publication and sale, with the profits pledged to reduce debt at Adventist colleges. After her lengthy conversations with Dr. Kellogg during the 1901 General Conference he agreed to buy the institution, and near the end of the session she advised P. T. Magan, dean of the college, that the time had come to move the school.

Within hours the delegates to the conference voted to find a rural location and days later Kellogg's American Medical Missionary College approved the purchase of the school. Although some of Sutherland's and Magan's educational reforms at Battle Creek had not been popular, a wave of criticism swept over the Adventist community when the loss of the college became common knowledge. Again Ellen White quieted the protest with assurances that this move was according to instruction that had been revealed to her.

Sutherland already had his eye on property in Berrien Springs, Michigan, which he showed to Magan shortly after the decision to move. Before an official vote to buy the land, an enthusiastic Magan borrowed money on his own, loaded up sixteen freight cars with college equipment,



E. A. Sutherland (1865-1955), president of Battle Creek College, began the denominational exodus from Battle Creek by moving the college to Berrien Springs, Michigan in 1901.

and moved the college ninety miles west. Belatedly, church officials made the move official after the fact, and in keeping with the spirit of reform they chose to rename the institution Emmanuel Missionary College, which also reflected Magan's intention to emphasize missionary training in all aspects of the curriculum. In October 1901, classes began with fifty students who were rapidly caught up in a reform program that promised no academic degrees to students but required many hours of farm work or construction labor. Later the student work was extended to eight hours and class time limited to one subject per term.

Under Sutherland's direction Battle

Creek College had stopped granting degrees, had infused a missionary spirit among the students, and had purchased an eighty-acre farm for instruction in agriculture. Despite these radical changes in the old Battle Creek College, the contrast with Emmanuel Missionary College was dramatic.

Although the Berrien Springs campus was the successor to Battle Creek College, the Autumn Council of 1903, the first to take place in Washington, approved the construction of another college, Washington Training College, on a fifty-acre plot in Takoma Park, a mile from the site of the proposed headquarters. The fifty students who began classes on November 30, 1904, constituted about a third of the maximum that church officials desired. According to plans, the new school would reflect a growing sense of denominational commitment to Adventist missions around the globe by preparing workers for assignments outside North America. In 1907 the institution changed its name to the Washington Foreign Missionary Seminary. General Conference personnel who had served as missionaries were frequent lecturers. This status lasted until 1914 when the school became a more traditional liberal arts college.

Among the institutional leaders in Battle Creek, the college officers had been the first ones who were serious about following Ellen White's counsel to move out of the city. Events soon led others to reconsider her advice. Regarding the predominantly commercial character of the business at the Review and Herald Publishing Association, she predicted that unless the practice changed, God would

lay His hand heavily on it. An attempt to hire new management failed when C. H. Jones from the Pacific Press, refused the invitation to become general manager at the Battle Creek publishing house.

On February 18, 1902, the sanitarium went up in flames; ten months later on December 30, 1902, the publishing business also burned to the ground. Adventists questioned the meaning of the tragedies, but Daniells and Prescott believed with Ellen White that God had sent a message that His people had not listened to. Church leaders were not quick to rebuild the publishing house despite agitation among the public to do so. Humbled by what they deemed to be divine judgment, they took time to seek counsel and to pray for guidance.

Less than a week after the Review fire, the Publishing Association directors voted to discontinue commercial work when the presses resumed. Sober discussion about moving both the General Conference and the Review picked up. When the 1903 General Conference voted to relocate the denominational headquarters, a decision followed to transfer the publishing house as well. Strong dissent erupted among Battle Creek Adventists, including Lycurgus McCoy, an employee of the sanitarium, who perceived the vote to be an attempt to place all denominational enterprises under the control of the General Conference Committee.

Church leaders could ignore McCoy, but they could not overlook opposition from A. R. Henry. He and a disgruntled group of shareholders in the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association threatened a court injunction to prevent the re-

moval of property unless the church purchased their stock at an inflated price. Although meeting these demands would require most of the cash the General Conference had available, Daniells and his associates decided it would be cheaper to pay them off rather than to face prolonged litigation and its adverse publicity. After General Conference officials decided which property to purchase in Washington for the new church headquarters, they incorporated a new Review and Herald Publishing Association in the District of Columbia to acquire the assets of the Publishing Association in Battle Creek.

In early August, only four months after the 1903 General Conference session, Daniells, General Conference secretary W. A. Spicer, vice-president and *Review* editor Prescott, and a group of assistants packed four freight cars with office furniture, papers, and their own possessions and headed for Washington. Until new quarters were ready, the publishing business and the General Conference occupied a sixteen-room building in the center of Washington. In these inadequate offices, working conditions were cramped with the editorial and church administrative offices on the second floor and the printing equipment on the ground level.

Daniells, Spicer, and Prescott not only supervised an expanding worldwide work from this tight space, they also drove themselves unremittingly, raising money to erect buildings for the publishing house, the General Conference offices, and a new medical facility, also to be established in Takoma Park. Their convictions rubbed off on church members around the world. Within less than two

years they had collected more than \$100,000 for the new church enterprises, substantial amounts arriving from as far away as New Zealand.

These successes did not conceal the fact that the move had been difficult. The fracas with Henry forced Daniells to solicit or borrow money to transfer the General Conference and the Review to Washington. Additionally, of all the skilled publishing house employees, only one, an apprentice linotype operator, moved from Michigan to the improvised shop in Washington. For months the Review had to hire a non-Adventist union linotypist to prepare most of the copy so church journals could continue without interruption.

In spite of their financially strapped condition, Daniells and his associates saw the move to Washington as more than an escape from Battle Creek. It was an opportunity for a new beginning, to develop new institutions spelled out in Ellen White's *Testimonies*. In the United States capital church leaders could keep in close contact with legislators over such issues as Sunday laws. They could also maintain a liaison with government and embassy officials to facilitate Adventist viewpoints on matters of concern to the church around the world. They never doubted that their move was divinely led.

It is also certain that those who were aware of the tensions in Michigan did not envision the evolution of another Battle Creek in Takoma Park. The new college in Washington fell under more direct church control than Battle Creek College was, as measured both in its size and its curriculum. The publishing business that moved from Battle Creek to Washington

was much more an arm of the denomination than its forerunner in Michigan had been. The problem of Battle Creek was not that it was a center, but that it was disproportionately large and built at the expense of the church in other locations. Ellen White had not advocated a helter-skelter scattering of Adventists from Battle Creek, but centers in other locations to spread denominational strength more evenly. Adventist colonies would inevitably grow up in the shadow of Adventist institutions, wherever they might be. As large as some of these communities became in many world fields as well as the United States, their proportional size to the global program more closely fulfilled Ellen White's instruction that the denomination's efforts were to represent a balanced mission to the world rather than a top-heavy establishment at headquarters.

The Roots of the Crisis With Dr. Kellogg

Establishing Emmanuel Missionary College and Washington Training College to succeed Battle Creek College was relatively easy compared to moving the *Review and Herald* to its new location, but even this latter project was overshadowed by the struggle with Dr. J. H. Kellogg and the medical activities that he controlled. The outcome was the most severe shock the church experienced up to that time and for decades afterwards. Its impact on the church was permanent.

Among Adventists Kellogg had become a giant. His facile pen, abundant energy, and creative imagination made him the best-known church member in

the general public and enabled him to play a dominant role in the church from 1876 to 1904 that few could match. He was committed to health improvement through better sanitation, dietary reform, and natural remedies, and dedicated to service for the orphans, the poor, the unemployed, and the alcoholics. In a sense, he was the social conscience of Adventism in his time; he also exerted an influence over denominational programs in education and publishing. He dreamed that the entire church would become medical missionaries, the Good Samaritans to the world.

Kellogg's strong convictions made for less than friendly relationships with other church leaders. He found it difficult to delegate responsibility to fellow doctors, which resulted in Battle Creek Sanitarium becoming a one-man show. He also blamed Adventist ministers for causing a denominational backsliding from health reform, criticizing them for not banning flesh foods from the provisions tent during camp meetings and for asking for steak or chicken when eating at the sanitarium. Apparently, he had not even been completely successful in translating his commitment to vegetarianism into the policies of the health-care institution he controlled.

Kellogg held the Adventist clergy in more than a mild disdain because of their lack of formal education. Highly educated, widely read, and well traveled, he deemed himself far more capable of managing the health programs of the church than the ministry in general. He regarded ministers generically as dictatorial and grasping, and poorly equipped to lead the growing variety of church institutions but

too ready to justify their leadership on the basis that they were ministers.

The criticisms became mutual. Preachers easily detected Kellogg's censorious attitude and reciprocated by questioning and even condemning his projects or teachings. Kellogg noted scornfully that the ministry disparaged his cereal and vegetable protein creations until they saw an opportunity for profits. It was only then that the clergy supported the innovations, but Kellogg said that they wanted to take possession of the manufacturing enterprise to use its earnings for church work.

The doctor accused preachers of wanting to control the medical work but refusing to finance it adequately. On the other side of the coin, ministers were apprehensive about the disproportionate size of the medical program, complaining it was too large relative to the evangelistic endeavors of the church. They also worried about laxness in Sabbath observance at the sanitarium and Kellogg's progressively increasing emphasis on the nonsectarian character of his work.

This aspect of the sanitarium became an issue in 1897 when the original charter expired and Kellogg proposed a Michigan Sanitarium and Benevolent Association to replace the old Health Reform Institute. The new entity would be legally recognized as a charitable institution, thus becoming tax-exempt and better equipped to prevent claims from greedy stockholders. The members of this association were to sign a statement that the work of the sanitarium was "undenominational, unsectarian, humanitarian, and philanthropic."

These terms bothered some

Adventists. Kellogg disarmed them by explaining that the wording meant that the sanitarium would not discriminate by limiting its services to any class, but would benefit all of the sick. This clarification satisfied the dubious for the time being, but when the doctor announced that the sanitarium would not present anything peculiarly Adventist in doctrine and that the institution's governance was open to non-Adventists as well as Adventists, they were convinced he was guilty of dissembling. Suspicions intensified when he "discovered" that the law under which the sanitarium received its charter prevented sending any operational gains outside Michigan, and thus could not be used for other purposes.

Kellogg found himself at odds with Ellen White on both of these questions. Earlier she had told church leaders that it was God's plan that health institutions should be organized and controlled exclusively by Adventists. Now she recalled that she and her husband had solicited funds to establish the Health Reform Institute, but its earnings could not help other church projects, even if the need was desperate.

Kellogg Moves Toward Independence

Contrary to his disclaimers that no change had occurred in the management and operation of the sanitarium, Kellogg's private statements belied him. In 1905 he wrote that for fifteen years he had anticipated a break with the church and for a decade he had prepared himself for that eventuality. He had insisted that the sanitarium should be a private, independent institution and had drawn up its charter

so he would not be at the mercy of the General Conference, but would stand alone if need be. Just how well he had accomplished his aims was yet to be seen.

From her Australian home after 1892 Ellen White also foresaw a rupture. She appealed to George Irwin to use his authority as General Conference president to heal the breach between the denomination's medical and ministerial workers. At the same time she was sending repeated letters of counsel to Kellogg, reminding him of their long acquaintanceship and her long, consistent support of health reform. As if reading his thoughts she warned him not to harbor plans to separate the medical programs from the church. She pointed out that his frequent criticisms of the ministry and some of his remarks cast doubt on fundamental doctrines of the church. His heavy emphasis on medical and humanitarian projects, though legitimate in themselves, led to disproportionate funding and obscured the basic teachings of salvation. She also cautioned him about gathering too much power about which he tended to boast.

Recipients of duplicate copies of her letters unwisely used them to buttress their opinion that the doctor was not to be trusted. Kellogg reacted strongly, declaring that Mrs. White was misinformed and that she believed things about him that were false. Kellogg substantiated his allegation by pointing out that a large, expensive building she had seen in vision as part of the Kellogg-sponsored Chicago Medical Mission did not exist. She *must* be wrong.

For years Ellen White remained puzzled until facts revealed that Kellogg's

associates had commissioned a set of blueprints for a building similar to the one she had seen in vision. Kellogg had vetoed the building, and hence it truly did not exist. Mrs. White explained that the purpose of her vision was to prevent the erection of the building, but for the remainder of his life Kellogg persisted in arguing that the vision of the Chicago building proved that one could not always believe her writings.

By the turn of the century Kellogg was convinced that Ellen White was his enemy, acting with a mind poisoned by church president Irwin. He also accused her son, W. C., of tampering with his mother's writings. In an attempt to convince Kellogg of her friendship, she accepted an invitation to stay in his home during the 1901 General Conference, but she continued to advise him against wrongdoing. She specifically condemned the contracts that he forced upon medical and nursing students which bound them to work for the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association following their graduation. He prepared other contracts for the small health food plants at Adventist schools. According to Mrs. White, these signed agreements centered excessive power in one man.

Shortly before the 1901 General Conference Ellen White called the leaders of the more prominent Adventist educational, medical, and publishing institutions together to advise them of heaven's disapproval of many practices under their jurisdiction. Relative to Battle Creek Sanitarium, she counseled that it should move to the country and reduce its size. "Unless there is a change, God's hand will

be laid heavily upon you,” she warned.

Less than a year later the heavy hand of God became manifest in the fire that completely destroyed the sanitarium buildings on February 18, 1902. The ashes were scarcely cold before Kellogg was busy planning to rebuild. He was careful enough to secure General Conference approval of his plans, but he made no attempt to scale the size down substantially, relocate it in the country, or to substitute several smaller institutions in different places.

Nor did he seek Ellen White’s support. After a six-month silence she told him he was making a mistake, a statement she repeated publicly at the 1903 General

Conference. Kellogg volunteered to sell the new sanitarium and move wherever church leaders would direct, but she refused the offer. Instead, she advised Adventists against purchasing bonds that the sanitarium issued to finance its construction because they would tie up money rather than to use it better elsewhere. Kellogg resented this treatment and predicted that if Adventists continued their lack of support the institution would slip away from them. Before making good his threat he sought to devote the profits from the sale of a half million copies of his *The Living Temple* to rebuild the sanitarium and eliminate debts of other sanitariums.

The book was new, but its pantheistic ideas had been years in preparation. More than two decades earlier he had shared his theories concerning the nature and presence of God in His creation, but acceding to Ellen White’s advice, he kept silent until the late 1890s when he spoke openly about the immanence of God in all living creatures. At the 1897 General Conference both W. W. Prescott and E. J. Waggoner promoted similar notions.

It was not until early in 1902 that the matter became a major controversy. Daniells reminded Kellogg that he was flirting with pantheism and cautioned him to avoid any statements in *The Living Temple* that would incite misunderstanding and criticism. Proofs of the book were ready for scrutiny, and at Kellogg’s suggestion Prescott critiqued the manuscript. Prescott not only found disturbing phrases easily construed to be pantheistic, but Scripture cited out of context. It was hard to overlook statements such as



One of the most infamous fires in Adventist history occurred on February 18, 1902 when the Battle Creek Sanitarium went up in smoke. The following December, the Review and Herald Publishing House also burned. Adventists viewed these fires as divine judgments against centralization and kingly power in the church.

“there is a tree-maker in every tree, a flower-maker in every flower,” and “God himself enters into our bodies in the taking of food.” Prescott recommended deleting these and other similar passages.

Before Kellogg could consider Prescott’s suggestions, he found himself in sharp disagreement with Daniells on other matters. During the summer of 1902 both Daniells and Kellogg traveled to Europe on church business, a major question being whether or not to establish a sanitarium in England. After deciding on a favorable site, Kellogg expected the General Conference to approve its purchase, but Daniells demurred. The money was unavailable except by borrowing, and the General Conference president, still smarting from the heavy debts of the 1890s, would not agree to add to denominational indebtedness. He promised to help raise \$20,000 after returning to the United States, but Kellogg was not impressed.

The doctor’s old nemesis, the lack of a vegetarian diet among Adventist ministers, aggravated the tension building up on the trip. Observing the eating habits of the men who were accompanying Daniells, Kellogg was convinced that not one of them was a vegetarian. Reawakened were his old complaints about preachers leading the people astray by their examples. He also vented his doubts about believing all that Ellen White had written, clinching his argument by claiming that he himself had inspired one of her testimonies. By the time the European trip ended it should have been apparent to Daniells that Kellogg was rejecting the special role of Ellen White in the church and that he was on the verge of a break with the denomination.

Kellogg’s Separation From the Church

Once the cordiality between Kellogg and Daniells began to break, it deteriorated rapidly. Before the 1902 fall meeting of the General Conference Committee, Kellogg asked Daniells to give the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association \$1000 out of tithe from the Lake Union Conference in place of an annuity payment that the sanitarium in Moline, Illinois, was hard pressed to pay. Daniells refused, explaining that the proposal represented an inappropriate use of tithe. The General Conference president also expressed fears that plans for the new Battle Creek Sanitarium were too lavish and that construction expenses were getting out of hand. Kellogg argued defensively that there was no scarcity of money in the church, but that the denomination was squeezing him and squandering tithe in other ways.

Meanwhile, Prescott’s recommendations to revise *The Living Temple* were still hanging. A committee of four, Prescott, Kellogg, A. T. Jones, and Dr. David Paulson, studied the matter further, reporting over Prescott’s dissent that the book was not objectionable. The General Conference Committee sided with Prescott and denied the projected campaign to sell a half million copies. From the Review and Herald Publishing Association, where commercial work had continued despite Ellen White’s warning, an undismayed Kellogg ordered an initial printing of 5000 anyway, but fire destroyed the plant, thwarting his plan.

Kellogg led an unsuccessful attempt to unseat Daniells at the 1903 General

Conference. For the good of the church the two men agreed to bury their differences, but before the summer ended Daniells realized that Kellogg intended to publish *The Living Temple* while at the same time undercutting Ellen White. At a special meeting in October most of the Adventist physicians, joined by educators E. A. Sutherland and P. T. Magan, and ministers A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner, nearly convinced the majority to support the ideas in Kellogg's book.

Only Ellen White's intervention saved the day for Daniells. Two letters from her arrived at the end of one trying day, both condemning Kellogg's theories. After Daniells read the mail to the group, a dramatic shift of opinion occurred, and Dr. Paulson, who was leading the pro-Kellogg faction, acknowledged his mistake. Jones and Waggoner also agreed. Even Kellogg himself appeared subdued, possibly even reconciled, but it was difficult for him to remain so and to admit his pantheistic tendencies.

It was obvious that many issues besides pantheism divided Kellogg from denominational leadership. In early 1903 he began to agitate for a new college in Battle Creek to enable students in his medical school to make up academic deficiencies. He acquired the unexpired charter of Battle Creek College and announced the beginning of college instruction. Allegations between church leaders and Kellogg went in both directions. The church accused him of luring promising students and even preachers away from their commitments into the medical profession; Kellogg berated denominational leaders for applying excessive pressure

to promising youth to enter the ministry or some phase of evangelistic work.

At the 1903 General Conference an active debate was sparked by a resolution recommending that church members should own all Adventist institutions through a conference. Kellogg saw it as an attempt to place every institution, including small vegetarian restaurants and treatment rooms, under the control of ministers. Proponents argued back that because all of the institutions relied on contributions from the Adventist public, the enterprises should belong to everyone. Daniells distinguished between ownership and control, suggesting that separate boards could operate the institutions even if conferences held the titles. Kellogg scoffed at this idea, adding that some of his projects, such as the Haskell Home, had received gifts for humanitarian activities on condition that the money was not for church work as such.

The implication was clear. To hand these institutions over to direct control by the church would, in Kellogg's thinking, betray some of the donors who had supported them. He complained again about men from the ministerial ranks controlling health-care institutions who had no genuine knowledge about or sympathy for sanitarium principles. He agreed with W. C. White who had declared almost axiomatically that the burden of control rested on the burden of labor. Kellogg sensed that the majority of the General Conference delegates disagreed with him, but he told them that he would not allow himself to be bound by the resolution after they passed it. He kept his word and refused to

consider Battle Creek Sanitarium as a denominationally owned institution.

Kellogg and church leaders were virtually beyond reconciliation, but the doctor's actual break did not take place until four years later. During the year following the showdown at the 1903 General Conference, Battle Creek Sanitarium lost medical nursing students who were disenchanted with the controversy. Momentarily, Kellogg appeared ready to make some changes, but at a convocation of the Lake Union Conference W. W. Prescott used a sermon to blister Kellogg for his pantheism. A. T. Jones shot back with a rejoinder, while Ellen White called for unity. Some of Kellogg's supporters softened their attitudes, but Kellogg himself made no concessions. Daniells, wearied by years of controversy, was near a physical and mental breakdown. Convinced that he could not compromise with Kellogg on matters of doctrine or church administration, he was unwilling to talk to him.

At its fall meeting in 1904, the General Conference Committee decided to organize Adventist medical activities into a department as had been done earlier with the Sabbath School, publishing, and other branches of church work. For the most part, Kellogg complied by turning over properties of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association to conferences, but he refused to part with the sanitarium in Guadalajara, Mexico, the first Adventist medical missionary endeavor outside the United States. Because Battle Creek Sanitarium had loaned money to the Mexican institution, he arranged for the title to Guadalajara Sanitarium to

pass into the hands of the Michigan institution.

General Conference officials soon discovered that the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association had virtually no assets but \$80,000 in liabilities, which Kellogg told them they had to pay. But as it turned out, the doctor assisted with some of his personal funds. Other money was forthcoming from Battle Creek Sanitarium and the American Medical Missionary Board, a foundation that Kellogg endowed with stock from his cornflakes invention. With some justification he pointed out that some state conferences had diverted money from campaigns to benefit the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, thus contributing its poor financial condition.

New fuel feeding the fiery controversy continued. Kellogg continued to publish *The Medical Missionary*, the journal of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, even after the association ceased to exist. Much to the concern of Daniells and his associates, it became a voice for the doctor's views. Church leaders suspected Kellogg of trying to gain possession of the Battle Creek Tabernacle by influencing trustees who held title to the property. A dispute arose over payment for the old Battle Creek College building, now occupied by American Medical Missionary College, which Kellogg controlled.

After several harrowing and fruitless interviews by church leaders with Kellogg, the relationships between them became so acrimonious that General Conference leaders decided in 1905 not to try to talk with him any more but deal with him only

through Judge Jesse Arthur, the legal counsel for the church. More than two years passed until November 10, 1907, when the Battle Creek church formally terminated Kellogg's membership as a practicing Seventh-day Adventist. M. N. Campbell, church pastor, cited the doctor's failure to attend services for many years, his lack of tithing, and his antagonism to Ellen White's role in the denomination. He did not refer to pantheism.

Kellogg did not protest, in fact, he stated that he had not been proud of his associates in Battle Creek for a long time and that he received no comfort from them. Fourteen months later he dropped Daniells, W. C. White, and other Adventist ministers from the Michigan Sanitarium and Benevolent Association, the legal body that controlled Battle Creek Sanitarium. During the remainder of his thirty-six years he maintained that he had not changed his religious views, but he remained bitter toward Daniells, Prescott, and other church leaders.

Four years before the Battle Creek church disfellowshipped Kellogg, the General Conference had moved its headquarters to Washington, D. C. The loss of Battle Creek Sanitarium and its leader were the final steps of dismantling the Adventist machinery at the site that had been the denominational headquarters since the church organized. As the struggle with Kellogg evolved, it became unmistakable that the doctor was at odds with denominational philosophies and policies. Probably at the root of his troubles lay a lack of confidence in leadership, which led him to challenge men to whom he felt superior.

The battle also pointed out a major flaw in the reorganization of 1901, namely, that church leaders had not included the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association as a department of the church. At the time they rationalized their action, but in the long term it proved to be damaging. Relations with Kellogg were not good in 1901, and the special treatment he received during reorganization expressed a hope that matters would improve.

To his credit Kellogg was not always wrong. His complaints about the lack of vegetarian habits of church leaders were well founded. His observations about the poorly prepared ministry were not without some merit. None other than Daniells himself agreed and spent much of his time after his presidency working for the development of more professional preachers. Although Kellogg's practices of leadership indicated that he did not adhere to the principle of authority that the 1876 General Conference statement enunciated, throughout the years of controversy he frequently acquiesced to the counsel of church leaders. But he could not bring himself to make the final, effective compromise.

Denominational leaders believed they acted on the basis of instruction from God through Ellen White, and Kellogg believed that his colleagues in church administration were shortsighted in implementing their God-given instruction. Kellogg's criticisms led him across lines from which he could not retreat, pitting himself irrevocably against denominational organization and rejecting Ellen White's status. Both he and the General Conference based their actions on con-

victions. In the end the weight of Ellen White and the church prevailed and the church was ready for new beginnings in a new century.

Suggested Topical Reading:

General reading:

Arthur White, *The Early Elmshaven Years* (1981), vol. 5 of *Ellen G. White*, chaps. 11, 12, 15, 16, 19-22, provides critical insights into the crises at Battle Creek, with J. H. Kellogg, and the move to Washington.

The Kellogg controversy:

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* vol. 3 (1961), pp. 130-140, is an overview of the main issues in the controversy between Kellogg and the church.

Richard Schwarz in two works, *John Harvey Kellogg, M. D.* (1970), pp. 174-192, and "The Kellogg Schism: The Hidden Issues," *Spectrum*, vol. 4, no. 4, autumn 1972, pp. 23-39, details Kellogg's problems and his separation from the church.

E. K. VandeVere, *Rugged Heart* (1975), pp. 112-120, discusses former General Conference president George I. Butler's role in the battle with Kellogg.

_____, *Windows: Selected Readings in Seventh-day Adventist Church History, 1844-1922* (1975), pp. 222-267, gives extracts from a variety of contemporary views on pantheism and the question of controls.

A. Baker, "My Years With John Harvey Kellogg," *Spectrum*, vol. 4, no. 4, autumn 1972, pp. 40-45, depicts Kellogg shortly before his death.

Gilbert M. Valentine, *The Shaping of Adventism* (1992), chapter 11, relates the Kellogg crisis as it involved W. W. Prescott.

The move from Battle Creek to Washington:

E. K. VandeVere, *ibid.*, pp. 268-275, portrays the excitement, hardships, and drama in the move.

A. G. Daniells, *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy* (1936), pp. 343-353, is a participant's view of the move.

M. L. Neff, *For God and C. M. E.* (1964), pp. 75-105, emphasizes P. T. Magan's role in the departure from Battle Creek.

A. W. Spalding, *ibid.*, pp. 66-81, puts the details of the move in perspective.

Review and Herald, December 8, 1977. The entire issue is devoted to the fire in 1902 that destroyed the Review and Herald Publishing Association.

The Beginnings of Globalization

During the four decades following its reorganization and its struggle with Kellogg, the church underwent extensive change. Modifications in the 1901 structural design occurred, the church expanded geographically and established an impressive network of institutions, and membership rose from 78,000 in 1901 to more than 576,000 in 1945. In 1921 Adventists reached a milestone when the number of members in the world fields surpassed the membership in North America. By 1945 the combined membership in the non-North American fields amounted to 63 percent of the church. By itself, North America was still four times larger than the next division, Inter-America, but the momentum of membership growth had long since shifted to regions outside the United States and Canada. All of the changes from 1901 to the end of World War II fed on each other, but at the heart

of denominational development was the growth of membership, the critical mass of the church, that gave Adventist leaders the most significant measurement of success.

The Golden Age of Adventist Missions Begins

The great nineteenth-century Protestant drive to evangelize the world reached its peak prior to World War I. According to Adventist mission specialist Gottfried Oosterwal, approximately 40 percent of the world could be considered “Christian” in 1910, but only about 20 percent in 1971. Adventist interest in missions swelled with the Protestant high tide, but continued long after the latter began to recede. In some ways the first third of the twentieth century was the most dramatic era of Adventism’s worldwide expansion. In

1900 it was almost exclusively North Americans who opened new work in distant corners of the earth. That situation changed as German Adventists began to assume responsibilities for East Africa, Australians and New Zealanders fanned out into the archipelagos of the Southwest Pacific, and South Africans pushed northward into the heart of the continent.

During these years no one worked harder for missions than the two men who headed the church from 1901 to 1930, A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer. Daniells's experience in Australia and New Zealand marked him for life. A biographer wrote that his love for missions was the one passion that held him in its grasp. One of the strong influences leading him to accept the General Conference presidency in 1901 was the opportunity to become the chief recruiter for mission workers.

In 1887, at age twenty-two, Spicer had gone to England to serve as S. N. Haskell's secretary. Five years later he returned to the United States to become secretary of the General Conference Foreign Mission Board, a post he held until 1891, when he left to help open Adventist missions in India. In 1901 he retraced his way to Adventist headquarters, again as mission board secretary. Two years later he became secretary of the General Conference, a post he held until 1922. In this position he was the church official in most direct contact with Adventist workers around the world.

At the start of his presidency Daniells believed that after a half century, Adventism was well enough established so that laymen, supplied with literature, could finish the mission of the church in North

America. Supported by tithe, leaders could dispatch ministers to the millions who had never heard of Christ, let alone the Adventist message of the three angels. The year after Daniells became president, sixty new Adventist workers left the United States, and during the remaining years of his presidency the annual average exceeded a hundred. The peak year was 1920 when 310 evangelistic workers entered mission service. While Spicer was General Conference president, the annual average jumped to more than 160. Daniells believed in concentrating church effort first on countries with strong economies—England, Germany, and Australia. He was certain that these lands would become self-sustaining and in turn serve as bases for further expansion.

Focusing on financially competent countries did not mean neglecting the rest of the world. The year before Daniells assumed the church presidency, 68 percent of Adventist evangelistic workers were employed in North America; thirty years later 77 percent labored outside North America, with only a third of that number in countries with strong economies. To bring about such changes required constant effort, planning, and major expenditure of funds.

Having dealt with denominational reorganization and the relocation of Adventist headquarters, Daniells mobilized the 1905 General Conference to confront the problems of mission expansion. Delegates voted to request all churches to devote the second Sabbath each month to the world challenge facing the church. The General Conference Committee had recently taken responsibility

for acting as a foreign mission board. Gone were the days when a General Conference session would decide where to start new Adventist missions and whom to send. Now a new screening committee sought to match the needs in an area with available personnel in order to make appropriate recommendations to the General Conference Committee.

Geographic expansion was not accomplished without difficulties. In Roman Catholic countries any Protestant evangelistic effort was almost certain to incite attempts by the hierarchy to bring about governmental restrictions. If local officials failed to react vigorously enough, priests and bishops were not above exciting a mob to discourage the intruders. Similar circumstances existed in Orthodox prerevolutionary Russia and the Balkan countries.

Asia provided different challenges. Initially, Adventists had little concept of the difficulties involved in meeting sophisticated non-Christian religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Islam. In Asia, too, Adventists faced a wide variety of languages and dialects. India reported 222 dialects in 1926. The Cyrillic alphabet of Eastern Europe was hard enough for Westerners to cope with, but the thousands of Chinese characters and the complex Arabic script proved even more challenging. Beyond these problems were the illiterate peoples in Africa, the South Sea islands, and the backlands of Latin America with no written language at all. It soon became apparent that facility in languages was essential to a successful mission program.

Adventist missionaries fostered the

various lines of departmental activities familiar to them in the countries of their origin. This in turn created a need for personnel skilled in promoting Sabbath Schools, youth work, and training literature salesmen. Many of the lands they entered, such as the Amazon jungle or the hinterlands of China, were culturally very different from the middle-class environment in the United States and other Western countries that had been their homes before responding to calls for service. Adaptability, ingenuity, tact, and diplomacy were prime qualities in missionaries, but not always apparent. After World War I a growing prejudice against foreigners was noticeable throughout much of Asia. Frequently, Americans and Europeans were resented as “pushy” and domineering—and often there was good reason for this attitude.

Misunderstandings sometimes developed. Especially Americans could not always comprehend the tenacity with which other nationalities clung to what missionaries considered outmoded traditions. Particularly irritating to missionaries was the failure of government officials in some areas to provide protection for travelers, which they took for granted “back home.” For their part, nationals in the countries where new missionaries worked sometimes failed to understand the anguish of the complete separation from friends and family that the foreign worker felt. The sacrifice of accustomed medical treatment, the stress of not being able to understand the language or actions of shopkeepers, and acclimation to new foods, new insects, and new climates were sometimes sources of ten-

sions between both nationals and missionaries.

But the compulsion to participate in the gospel commission to go to all the world prevailed over human frailties. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Adventists who became what the church would later call interdivisional or expatriate workers often viewed their lower salaries, lifestyle discomforts resulting from cultural adaptations, and other hardships as opportunities, if not even privileges, to share the sufferings of Christ.

Adventism in Europe

By 1900 Adventism had become virtually self-sustaining in most of Europe, sometimes by necessity because of restrictions that prohibited foreign proselytizing. Although in time the church came to regard Europe simply as a non-American region of work rather than a mission in the same sense as economically poor countries, during the early phases of Adventist missions it was truly a mission. After the first official Adventist missionary left the United States in 1874, described in an earlier chapter, Seventh-day Adventists progressed unevenly throughout Europe, in Switzerland, Scandinavia, Britain, and elsewhere, but by 1930 the nearly 40,000 church members in Germany constituted by far the strongest segment of European Adventism.

We can only speculate why the church flourished in Germany while growing much more slowly in Great Britain, Scandinavia, and Switzerland. In 1903

the hardworking and dynamic L. R. Conradi became a General Conference vice president specifically assigned to Europe. He energetically promoted literature distribution and public evangelism. In the same year that Conradi assumed his new responsibilities G. W. Schubert launched the first evangelistic effort in a major German city, Cologne, and German Adventists organized a campaign to sell *Christ's Object Lessons*, with all profits dedicated to the Adventist school at Friedensau.

Early on German Adventists became financially self-supporting and financed workers to other fields. Their first representative went to Brazil in 1895. Later, colporteurs and ministers entered the Netherlands, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and with the help of Russian workers, Poland. Adventist workers followed the German Empire in East Africa, and also journeyed to Ethiopia, Beirut, and Jerusalem. After Germany lost its African colonial holdings following World War I, German Adventists concentrated on the Dutch East Indies and parts of China. So successful was Conradi's leadership that the General Conference sent him to South America for a three-month tour beginning in October 1910, to advise Adventist leaders who were directing most of their efforts toward the German communities in Argentina and Brazil. His two major recommendations were to evangelize the large cities and to emphasize literature production and sales. Both of these activities had been high on his agenda in Europe.

With their three sanitariums German Adventists also paid more attention to welfare and medical programs than did

most Europeans, although graduates of the therapy course at the Danish sanitarium in Skodsborg developed many small treatment rooms throughout Scandinavia. Adventists in Germany were remembered for an active youth program. In 1928 at Chemnitz, 3,000 young people gathered for the first youth congress in the history of Adventism.

Conradi's defection, treated in a later chapter, and the rise of Nazi totalitarianism severely tested the denomination, but by 1940 Adventist membership in Germany had risen to more than 53,000.

The Seventh-day Adventist message entered Russia by way of literature from German-Russians who had emigrated to the United States. Despite adverse conditions, the number of baptized members grew to 2,500 in 1907, more than half of whom had joined the church since 1900. Returning emigrants, combined with L. R. Conradi's untiring efforts, had had their effect. Encouraged by this growth, Russian believers organized their own union conference. By avoiding political activities—the czarist government had outlawed foreign proselytizing—the church doubled its membership again by the time World War I broke out.

Following the Revolution of 1917, Russian Adventists prospered. They were finally free from harassment by the Orthodox Church and the new communist regime was too busy maintaining itself to be concerned about a small religious group, especially since it studiously avoided political activity. In 1921, when Adventists in world fields surpassed North American membership,

the Russian conferences reported more than 8,100 members. The church was winning a measure of official approval for its activities. The government allotted Adventists 10,000 of the 50,000 Bibles published for evangelical Christians, granted permission for printing 5,000 hymnals, and for several years allowed the publication of two church journals.

For a few years Russian Adventists were able to operate a small Bible institute for the training of ministers, but never was there an opportunity to establish a permanent educational system or conduct public evangelism. Communist leaders were determined to educate all youth as atheists. With the onset of the first Soviet Five-Year Plan in 1928, communist toleration faded quickly. Harassment, relocation, and concentration camps for church leaders effectively slowed church growth. Nevertheless, reports from Russia indicated an increase to more than 13,000 members in 1930, and more than 16,000 in 1940. Not until after the death of Joseph Stalin did a modicum of toleration again become official policy.

Adventism, introduced to Romania by M. B. Czechowski, was nearly dead when a visiting Russian minister converted several talented Romanian youth in 1904. These new members proved to be a tower of strength to the church during the difficult days that soon followed when the Romanian kingdom excluded foreign workers. After World War I the government exhibited a more liberal attitude, and in 1920, with German help, Romanian Adventists established a small press. The decade of the 1920s saw the church

expand nearly four times from about 2,500 to more than 10,000 in 1930. By 1940 the Romanian Adventist community, with 13,000 members, was one of the largest in Europe.

Measured in total numbers rather than its proportion to population, membership growth in other parts of Europe was noticeably less than in Germany, Russia, and Romania. In 1940 the Romanian church was larger than all of the Adventists in eastern Europe combined, including the other Balkan countries. Anemic growth in central and western Europe was also the norm; only about 7,000 members were scattered across Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and France. In northern Europe, consisting of the British Isles, Scandinavia, and the Baltic republics (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) swallowed up by the Soviet Union in 1940, the going was equally slow. As the opening shots of World War II were heard, the British Union was the largest sector of the church in northern Europe with a membership just under 6,000.

A natural question that arises from all these data is: Why did the church in Europe not advance as it did in other parts of the world during the first four decades of the century? Similar to the tentative explanations for comparative success in Germany, we can only speculate, but some trends are apparent.

Sometimes authoritarianism was generically opposed to Christianity; sometimes authoritarian regimes made their peace with the predominant Christianity of their peoples, leaving other Christian groups to fend for themselves, at times under great hardship. While it is a safe

rule of thumb to say that authoritarian regimes were injurious to Adventism, it does not follow that Adventism flourished in countries where governments and societies were tolerant. Religious toleration did not guarantee the absence of prejudice and molestation which occasionally worked oppressively against the open practice of differing religions in countries that claimed to protect individual freedoms.

Some have argued that because Adventist education in Europe did not flourish as in other parts of the world the church missed a chance to promote itself effectively among its young and to generate new energy for the movement. Another plausibility is that secularism was setting in, although not as pronounced as after World War II. In many countries Christianity had become so traditionalized and mixed with culture that it was hard to distinguish between the two. In some of these countries a change in religious practice was equivalent to a renunciation of one's national heritage. After a near fifteen-hundred-year experience with Christianity, the European mentality was hardening against the kind of personal spirituality that Adventism preached.

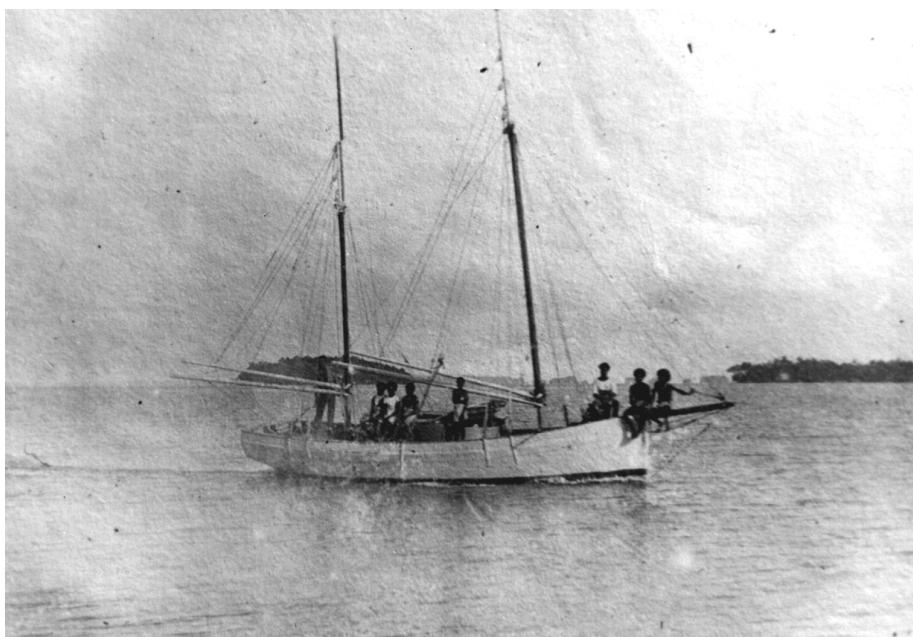
The Old World-New World intellectual tension also seemed to influence spiritual trends. While the United States had passed through a period of intellectual ferment during the latter half of the nineteenth century, it had not spawned anything philosophically comparable to ideas from European sources. A common opinion that the intellectual atmosphere of the Old World was superior to the less

sophisticated ambience of the New World could have hurt Adventism. Philosophically, Europeans appeared to be less congenial to the spiritual change that Adventism promoted, in part because Seventh-day Adventism was a communion of American origin.

Although weak in numbers, European Adventists contributed notably to the denomination by responding in relatively large numbers to calls for mission service during the first decades of the twentieth century. In regions that would come to be known as the developing world, Germans, Englishmen, and Scandinavians helped to shoulder the tasks of spreading the gospel of a soon-returning Savior.

Australia and South Africa as Bases for Adventist Missionaries

One of the earliest examples of European involvement in the mission program was the case of G. F. Jones, a Welsh master mariner who converted to Adventism in 1893. After completing a training course in the United States, he and his wife set out for the South Pacific where they pioneered missions in French Polynesia, Singapore, Java, Borneo, and the Malay States. In 1914 the pair volunteered to open new work in the Solomon Islands, their home being a small mission launch, the *Advent Herald*. Gifted with linguistic talents, Jones dedicated him-



The Advent Herald was the denomination's first mission launch in the South Pacific. This small ship was home for G. F. Jones (1864-1940) and his wife while they began Adventist work among the islands in 1914.

self to mastering the local language in New Georgia, and after hardly more than a month he established a school and began addressing the people in their own tongue. One of his pupils, Kata Rangoso, later directed the Adventist church in the Solomon Islands during World War II and became president of the Western Solomon Islands Mission.

Jones and his wife went on to New Caledonia and New Guinea, returning in later life to England. But the sea was in his blood, and soon he was off for Algiers, Spain, Gibraltar, and South America. When he died in 1940 he had worked in thirty-eight countries or islands and among people of thirty-four languages.

The role that European Adventists played in the mission program confirmed Daniells's plan to promote Adventism in countries with strong economies in order to develop bases for additional mission workers. Australia and South Africa were two such bases. As part of the organizational shakeup in 1901, the General Conference transferred the responsibility to superintend the islands in the South Pacific from North America to the Australasian Union where the Adventist membership approximated only 2,500. Later many more South Pacific islands joined the Australasian Union, thus creating a large number of mission opportunities in non-Christian lands for Australian and New Zealand Adventists. While the South Pacific may have been the responsibility of Australasia, as the number of missions increased and membership grew, it became clear that workers from other lands also shared in the labor of these missions.

Even before Europeans habitually sent workers to other lands an Australian couple, the A. H. Pipers, left home in 1900 for the Cook Islands, more than 2,000 miles to the east. In 1896 Canadian-born John Fulton arrived in Fiji after a year of evangelism in New Zealand. By 1900 he had translated an abridged *The Great Controversy* and a book of Bible readings, and begun a small paper, *Rarama*, meaning "Light" in the native dialect. In 1906 the first Fijian national was ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister. Two years later Peni Tavodi left for New Guinea as the first Fijian Adventist missionary. Six years later he died there of snakebite.

Early eighteenth-century European travelers had pictured the Pacific islands as paradises of soft breezes, white sand beaches, swaying palm trees, and year-round summers, but Tavodi's death testified that there was more to the story. Some of the hazards that mission workers faced were natural, others man-made. Many of the tribes in the New Hebrides, the Solomons, and New Guinea were still headhunters and cannibals. Experiences with European slave traders had soured their attitudes toward conversion to a white man's religion. Moreover, many of their customs, such as their almost constant warfare, their spirit worship, polygamy, and infanticide were formidable barriers to the Christian gospel.

Perplexing to Adventists was the central role played in some areas by pigs, which in some cases became a form of money. Many of the islands were small, separated from their neighbors by miles of reef-strewn and wind-tossed water.

Communication was not easy even on the larger islands with their precipitous mountains and dense jungles.

Disease was always a threat, like the blackwater fever that struck down Australian Norman Wiles while he was in the midst of mediating a tribal war. Only twenty-eight years old, he with his wife, Alma, had worked among the Big Nambus of the New Hebrides for less than six years at the time of his death. With only the help of friendly natives from another island who chanced to be passing, Alma sewed her husband in a simple shroud and buried him in a shallow grave. The natives agreed to row her to Atchin, where another Australian couple, the A. G. Stewarts, operated a companion Adventist mission, but adverse winds prevented them. Instead, Alma disembarked at midnight on a hostile shore. Proceeding from village to village through the territory of three warring tribes, she finally reached the Stewarts' station. As she left for her parents' home in Australia, her parting words were a request that someone should go to carry on the work she and her husband had pioneered.

American C. H. Parker opened Adventist missions in the New Hebrides in 1912. He had begun his mission service in Fiji fourteen years earlier after which he spent some time in evangelism in Australia. His labors took him on to Samoa and Tonga, back to Australia, and then to Fiji. Before returning to the United States he put in thirty-five years in the South Pacific.

Repeated bouts with malaria made the Parkers' return home essential. It was

A. J. Stewart and his wife, Jean, who replaced the American couple. As a farm boy at Avondale, young Stewart responded to the inspiration from John Fulton's experiences by dedicating himself to service in the Pacific islands. From Fiji, where the Stewarts first worked, they continued to the New Hebrides and later to New Guinea, completing fifty years in the South Seas.

Ellen White's years in Australia gave the church on that island continent an impetus that many other fields did not experience. The network of institutions in Australasia became well known for their effectiveness; Avondale College became a model which Adventist educators in the United States tried to emulate. A. G. Daniells received most of his administrative experience in Australia during the formative years of the church in that field before launching his twenty-one-year career as General Conference president. Also to Australia belongs the distinction of providing the General Conference with its first non-American president, C. H. Watson, who led the church through its most severe financial trials during the years 1930-1936.

When measured in numbers of baptisms, Adventist membership in the entire Australasian field, which included New Zealand, Tasmania, and varying numbers of South Sea islands, grew relatively slowly but firmly. However slow it appeared, one mitigating factor was the small general population from which to draw converts. Australia, the primary area in the region, was continental in dimension, but its population was only a small fraction of the number of inhabitants in

other regions of comparable geographic size. From the 2,500 Adventists in 1900, the membership reached 23,000 in 1940. At the end of the first four decades of the twentieth century Australasia remained one of the smaller of the fields in the Adventist world, but its impact on the church had been disproportionately large as well as positive.

Similar to Australia, which had been a European transplant in a non-Caucasian part of the world, South Africa was also an appendage of Europe in a continent that presented some of the greatest potential for growth but also some of the most overpowering obstacles. This continent, almost as large as Europe, the United States, China, and India combined, was a complex of long distances, primitive transportation, illiterate tribesmen, great climatic diversity, and a variety of fatal diseases. Long traditions of slave trading and colonial subservience contributed to a wariness on the part of Africans toward white-skinned mission workers.

Missionaries from the United States labored first among the English and Afrikaner populations of South Africa, but the opening of Solusi Mission in Rhodesia in 1894 provided inspiration to take Adventist Christianity to native Africans. Again, similar to Australasia where the Pacific islands formed a far-flung mission, the peoples in the interior of the continent became a vast mission field directed from the base in South Africa. Solusi became the “mother” of the first of a series of other missions. In 1901 the F. B. Armitages left Solusi to develop Somabula Mission, 150 miles to the

northeast, later known as Lower Gwelo. Scarcely had the Armitages located themselves before a young African arrived, announcing that he had dreamed that the words of the great God were in the missionaries’ house. After five years at Somabula, the Armitages returned to South Africa for nearly twenty more years of mission building for native Africans.

Following a stint at Solusi, W. H. Anderson, an 1895 graduate of Battle Creek College, pushed into northern Rhodesia in search of sites for other missions. Covering much of the territory previously traversed by David Livingstone, Anderson tramped 1,000 miles on foot in four months, nearly dying of dysentery. For a dozen years he led out at Rusangu Mission where he began a school that attracted droves of students, some of whom slept on tables because of the lack of floor space.

Other missions became part of the Adventist program. In Nyasaland Adventists purchased a mission from the Seventh Day Baptists, renaming it Malamulo. Here Thomas Branch, an African-American, with his daughter, Mabel, began a school that included manual labor as part of the program.

In 1919 Anderson, with nearly twenty-five years of experience, established new missions among the Bechuanas and later, in Portuguese Angola. In 1921 Adventist membership in most of this vast region known as the sub-Sahara numbered 3,400. Ten years later it had multiplied to nearly 15,000, and by 1940 the territory reported more than 44,000 members. The pattern of rapid growth had already begun which would later characterize this

region so dramatically and contribute so markedly to the globalization of Adventism in the latter years of the twentieth century. To these fields, stretching from the southern shore of the hump of Africa to the Indian Ocean on the eastern coast, came many European workers, especially from Germany, the British Isles, Scandinavia, and individuals from South Africa as well, which had been the initial base of operations since its formation into a union conference in 1902.

South and Inter-America

If the first signs of globalization were evident in Africa during the first four decades after the Great Conference of 1901, the same could be said of the countries extending below the southern frontier of the United States. This part of the American hemisphere is commonly stereotyped as a monolithic colonial extension of Spain, but it is much more, truly one of the best examples of a racial melting pot. While the Spanish heritage is the preponderant cultural element in this region, Portuguese is also strong, and pockets of French presence remain in the Caribbean and the northern coast of South America. Enclaves of English influence also exist among the Caribbean islands, along the eastern fringe of Central America, and, in the late nineteenth century, in some large cities of South America. Of all the European colonial antecedents, the Dutch was and remains the smallest. Of importance also were the large waves of European immigrants that flooded Argentina and Brazil in the late nineteenth century, in some cases creating

among other ethnic communities, entirely German-speaking colonies. Some countries have preserved strong remains of pre-Columbian populations and others, especially the Caribbean islands, have dominating numbers of descendants of African slaves.

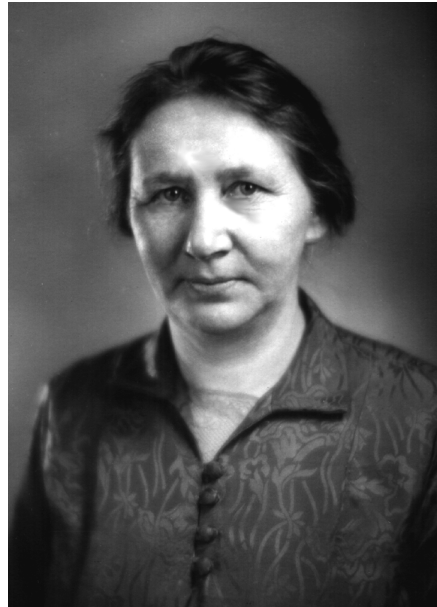
Linguistically, Adventists were not prepared for a frontal attack on these countries when the Foreign Mission Board began its operations. But working first from the English and German sectors, Adventist colporteurs and then ministers pressed into the Spanish, Portuguese, and French societies. In 1906 progress in South America had reached the point when the workers organized a union with J. W. Westphal as president. At this juncture Adventists were concentrating their attention on three areas: Chile, primarily south of Santiago, the capital; next, the corridor extending north from the Argentine capital of Buenos Aires into the wheat-growing pampas of Argentina; and third, the southern plains of Brazil extending inland and south from the large seaport of Sao Paulo. The names of many of the prominent early workers and their converts belie the heavy concentration on the German population: Westphal, Spies, Lipke, Stein, and Ehlers; Krieghoff, Kalbermatter, and Thomann. General Conference vice president L. R. Conradi's visit to the South American Union in 1910 and 1911 for consultation was not happenstance, even though he filled in for A. G. Daniells, whom J. W. Westphal originally requested.

Beginning with the German element was only a means to reach the larger Spanish and Portuguese societies in

South America. By 1920 penetration of these sectors was sufficient to give the Adventist Church a Latin character. The following year South America claimed more than 10,000 members, ranking third among the seven world fields into which the church was divided. In 1930 South American Adventists numbered 19,500, and ten years later the total reached slightly less than 33,000, placing the field fifth among the thirteen world divisions of the church.

While membership increases in Brazil and Argentina were steady, one of the leading contributing factors in South American membership growth was the work of Ferdinand and Ana Stahl, both graduates

of the nursing program at Battle Creek. Their arrival in Bolivia in 1909 signaled the beginning of a shift in emphasis from the original sites of mission endeavor in Chile, Argentina, and Brazil to the Andean parts of the continent where pre-Columbian populations existed in large numbers. Moving from La Paz, Bolivia, to the Peruvian section of Lake Titicaca, the Stahls built schools and clinics among the Aymara Indians. Basic education as well as instruction in hygiene and sanitation had a profound sociological impact on the Titicaca population, eventually transforming erstwhile illiterates into productive citizens and in some cases civil servants. Peruvian lawmakers, already



F.A. Stahl (1874-1950) began a humanitarian and evangelistic outreach to the Aymara people in the Peruvian Andes around Lake Titicaca beginning in 1909 that became an Adventist legend. Ana Stahl (1870-1968), trained in hydrotherapy and a mission stalwart in her own right, contributed to the Stahl legend. The Stahls' work had sociological and political effects as well as evangelistic results.

under pressure from reformers among the intellectuals to improve the status of the Indians and to be more tolerant, took notice of the work of the Protestant Stahls, and in 1913 the national Congress revised the Peruvian Constitution to eliminate an official religion.

This action did not halt opposition, which sometimes became violent, but they and their successors in the 12,000-foot highlands knew they ultimately had the law on their side. Stahl possessed a large physical frame and a powerful personality. Depending on the circumstances, he could be either as gentle as a mother to her suffering children or a frightening threat in personal conflict. Ana Stahl was equally as strong, bearing her share of mission responsibilities and dealing with the public. In 1921 the Lake Titicaca Mission, the site of the Stahls' labors, reported 3,100 of South America's 10,000 members.

In 1920 the Stahls moved from Lake Titicaca to the Peruvian headwaters of the Amazon. Conversions among the indigenous tribes in these jungles were many fewer than those at Lake Titicaca but the Stahls regarded them as nonetheless miraculous. By 1940 the Inca Union Mission, consisting of one local mission in Spanish Peru, and four largely Indian missions that the Stahls either originated or inspired, reported nearly 11,000 members, the largest union in South America.

As gratifying as membership growth was in Andean South America, it created an administrative problem that would not go away. From the onset of Adventist missions in South America, church leaders had depended on the relatively strong financial

conditions among Argentine and Brazilian members to support the work. The early South American Adventists were not wealthy, but many of them were landowning farmers whose economic well-being was far superior to the indigenous converts in the Andean highlands, whose poverty often forced them to pay their meager tithe and offerings with tangible gifts instead of money. As the Indian missions produced an ever increasing proportion of South American members, demands for financial support also increased to compensate for their lack of money. How to divide the South American financial pie was a problem that church administrators never completely resolved, but the eventual accession of members from the economically productive areas of the Andean republics helped.

No less striking were the efforts of Leo and Jessie Halliwell in opening up the Amazon basin. Although their trips by river launch up the Amazon to administer medicines and spiritual encouragement began in the 1930s, their humanitarian projects did not genuinely blossom until the 1940s and 1950s, and will be covered in a later chapter.

By 1940 national workers held many conference and union leadership positions in South America. The tutelage of the early laborers had had an undeniable effect. South America had established itself as a bastion of Adventism, furnishing a large proportion of denominational membership. The responsibilities of leadership were also passing to national leaders.

Similar to South America were the events in Inter-America, consisting of the islands of the Caribbean and the mainland countries of Mexico, Central America, and

the northern coast of South America. Fragmented both by geography and ethnic background, this region defied effective organization until 1922 when the Inter-



This map from the May 5, 1927 Review and Herald illustrates the Adventist concern about reaching the non-Christian world through its mission program. An accompanying article to the map, entitled "South America's 'Heart Attack,'" by E. H. Meyers, publishing secretary of the South American Division, told the denomination about five major mission projects to reach the indigenous tribes of South America. Clockwise, beginning at the top, are Alfred and Betty Cott's mission to the Mt. Roraima region along the border of British Guiana, Venezuela, and Brazil, sponsored by the Inter-American Division; the beginnings of the mission to the Amazon River population that Leo and Jessie Halliwell later made famous; A. N. Allen's exploratory trek along the Araguaia River in Caraja Indian territory; a project to the Yungas region of Bolivia; and F. A. and Ana Stahl's mission at the Peruvian headwaters of the Amazon.

American Division began. At the end of that year the 8,100 members in this region ranked sixth among the administrative divisions of the denomination. During the next eight years the number of Adventists grew to more than 15,000, and ten years later 37,000 members raised Inter-America to the fourth largest among the thirteen divisions of the denomination.

One of the early problems of soul winning in Inter-America was that of balancing the church's efforts among the ethnically diverse populations. Since the beginning of Adventist presence in this region in the late 1880s, mission workers had focused on the English-speaking population where English-speaking missionaries could begin their labors immediately after arrival. During those early years before 1910 Adventists also established themselves in Mexico and the Hispanic islands, but left the Spanish peoples of Venezuela, Colombia, and the Central American republics virtually untouched. Only few baptisms rewarded the workers in French-speaking lands.

Between 1910 and 1920 Adventists gained firm footholds in Hispanic countries. Of great help was the increasing availability of Spanish literature through a branch of the Pacific Press in Panama. Circumstances in the Latin societies did not always make it easy for propagators of Adventism. Besides the usual tensions between Protestants and Catholics, political problems sometimes interfered. The proverbial volatility of governments in Spanish countries was problematical, but Adventists also learned that working in the shadow of the United States was not always an advantage. During the early

years of the twentieth century United States intervention in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Mexico hampered the work of North American mission workers, more because of anti-Americanism than by actual interference.

The prime example of political volatility was the Mexican Revolution that exploded in 1910 and hurtled the largest country in Inter-America into chaos for years to come. The 1917 Constitution designed one of the most secular governments in all of Latin America, which prohibited not only alien proselytizing but open evangelism and sectarian education as well. These events did not augur well for Adventist missions, but the church survived and grew. Not until after the election of 1940 did government regulation relax sufficiently to give Adventists hope for an open program of evangelism. Meanwhile, an entire generation of Mexican workers grew up who knew nothing about traditional methods of soul winning that Adventists practiced elsewhere.

Adventist work in Mexico had gotten off to an encouraging start, especially in Guadalajara where a nucleus of doctors and other workers began an evangelistic program and built the first denominational sanitarium outside North America. After the Kellogg debacle in Battle Creek, the group split, with evangelistic workers settling in Mexico City. G. W. Cavinness, a former president of Battle Creek College, had taken refuge in Mexico after his unceremonious departure from Michigan, led this small band. He devoted himself to sixty-hour work weeks to learn the language. Ignoring the opening shots of the Revolution and the

warring factions that wreaked havoc on the country, he traveled widely, seemingly unperturbed by the fighting and always encouraging the small companies of believers scattered throughout the republic. The demands of his work took their toll, however, and he left Mexico in 1921, sick and weakened. He died two years later.

Younger, but not necessarily more energetic, workers followed him who found the challenges of soul winning in Mexico difficult. After coping with revolution and governmental restrictions for thirty of the forty-five years of their presence in Mexico, Adventists reported only 5,200 members in 1940. Advancement was similarly slow in Colombia, Venezuela, and the Hispanic parts of Central America. In 1940 members were counted only in the hundreds in these countries.

It was in the eastern Caribbean where Adventism spread more readily. By 1940 the Spanish lands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic produced encouraging results with a combined membership approximating 4,600, and Haiti showed great promise with more than 3,700 members, but the English-speaking islands still held the largest concentrations of Adventists. From the earliest days of Adventist activity in the Caribbean, Jamaica, barely exceeding a hundred miles long and less than fifty wide, populated primarily by descendants of former slaves, had been the most productive field for converts. On this island alone lived about one of every five members in Inter-America in 1940.

Probably one of the most stirring accounts of Adventist missions came out of Inter-America in 1911 and continued

through the 1920s and 1930s. Compelled by a conviction to respond to calls from Indian tribespeople in the uplands above Georgetown, British Guiana, O. E. Davis, the minister for that territory, hacked his way up the jungle slopes to a point where the borders of Venezuela, Brazil, and British Guiana converged. This venture occupied only a few weeks but ended with his death, reputedly from fever. Before his tragic end, Davis taught his host, Chief Jeremiah, and his followers enough of the Adventist message to establish a mission of Sabbath keepers.

The story rocked the church, but not until 1924 did Inter-America find the funds to answer the calls for someone to pick up where Davis had stopped. In 1925 W. E. Baxter and C. B. Sutton, two seasoned workers, retraced the path to the Indians that Davis had left so abruptly, finding the mission in poor repair but the people still singing the Christian hymns Davis had taught them. After this second chapter of the story reached the United States, donations came in to support a permanent mission.

Two families, the R. J. Christians and the A. W. Cotts, volunteered to go, but Mrs. Christian fell sick and Alfred and Betty Cott found themselves alone. As the Cotts carried on their work, Indians that had known Davis showed evidence of biblical knowledge and Adventist beliefs that were inexplicably present before the arrival of the missionaries. The Cotts were convinced that earlier rumors of miraculously imparted instruction through dreams by the Indians were true. Like the experiences of the Stahls, the story of O. E. Davis and the Cotts became an Adventist legend.

Beginning with only a smattering of members at the time of the Great Conference in 1901, South and Inter-America grew to become some of the largest parts of the church outside North America. By 1940 not only was the pattern of membership accessions in both fields much more rapid than in North America, it also demonstrated that it would contribute strongly to the globalization of the church in the later years of the century.

Adventists in Asia

The experience of Seventh-day Adventists in Asia during the forty years after 1901 was generally less promising than either Africa or Latin America. The Islamic world of the Middle East was a major challenge. Missionaries from Germany, Britain, and the United States labored in Egypt, Persia, and the countries that by 1920 developed out of the defeated Turkish Empire, but their successes were meager. The few converts they baptized came largely from expatriates living in the region for commercial reasons or from existing Christian groups like the Armenians or Egyptian Copts. Regardless of their best efforts, Adventist workers seemed unable to reach Moslem people in the Middle East except through schools, which brought some success in old Persia. By 1940 membership in this part of Asia hardly dented the denominational total.

Southern Asia, of which India constituted the largest part, was also a difficult region. One of the unique aspects of early Adventism in this Asian subcontinent was the unusually important role of women workers. The first official Adventist mis-

sionary to India was Georgia Burrus, who later married L. J. Burgess after several years of work in Calcutta. Together they spent nearly their entire careers in India. Anna Knight, an American Black and a trained nurse, served selflessly and long in India, often performing triple duty as a teacher and a colporteur in addition to her medical work. Thekla Black, Anna Orr, and Grace Kellogg also gave unstintingly to Adventist schools, clinics, orphanages, and literature distribution. Among the early medical workers were two women physicians, Lucinda Marsh, who practiced in Bombay, and Olive Ingersoll, wife of R. A. Ingersoll, also a doctor, who set up offices in Calcutta.

As few as the baptisms were, the story of Adventism in India was not without its bright spots. One of them showed up in southern India after 1912 when an entire community adopted Adventism and changed the name of its village to Adventpuram, "the place of the Adventists." Southern India proved to be more receptive to Seventh-day Adventists than northern and western India, possibly because for centuries Christianity had footholds in that part of the country. By 1930 the 1,200 members of the South India Union comprised more than 35 percent of the entire church population in India, Ceylon, and Burma.

Among the early Indian converts was L. G. Mookerjee, a descendant of Christians won by William Carey, a pioneer Protestant missionary to India. Mookerjee's fifty years of denominational service included evangelism, educational and administrative work, and a term as editor of the Bengali *Signs of the Times*.

He did much to establish Adventism in the northeast, later known as Bangladesh.

As slowly as converts came in India, they seemed almost an avalanche compared to Adventist experiences in Ceylon, which became Sri Lanka. English evangelist Harry Armstrong held the first Adventist meetings in Colombo in 1904, but more than a decade passed before the first Ceylonese joined the church as a result of Bible studies by an Indian evangelist.

In neighboring Burma the situation was not much better. Literature sales began in 1902, but not until the arrival of the Eric B. Hares from Australia did Adventism make substantial progress. Both of the Hares were nurses and their skills stood them in good stead as they worked among the Karen tribes in the hill country. But Eric's gift of storytelling outshone his nursing career. He soon discovered that it was easier to win adults by teaching their children in Adventist schools than by any other method.

At times the slow progress of Adventism in Southern Asia brought discouragement. After twenty years of sending mission workers, the church could claim fewer than 500 converts. The next thirty years gave rise to more optimism, but in 1940, after a half century of Adventist presence, church membership stood at only 7,000 in India and neighboring countries.

It was not until 1901 that the General Conference sent official workers to China. That ancient land soon captured the imagination of church leaders and helped to compensate for the comparatively late entry of Adventism. In 1903, two years after the first missionaries went

to China, Drs. Harry Miller and A. C. Selmon arrived with their wives and two nurses. For Miller it was the beginning of a long and distinguished career.

Among Adventist circles Miller became known as the “China Doctor,” but he ventured into other aspects of church work as well and is remembered for contributions to publishing, education, and church administration. With his original equipment that he brought from the United States he included a small hand press, and after establishing himself in Shanghai he set up a shop in a building rented from Charlie Soong, an Americanized businessman. This provided Miller’s first contact with Soong’s three daughters who became the most influential women in China after the Revolution of 1911. The eldest Soong daughter married financier H. H. Kung; the second became the wife of Sun Yat-sen, head of the revolution and president of China; the third married Chiang Kai-shek, successor to Sun Yat-sen as head of the Chinese Nationalist Party and also president of China.

Miller’s ventures in printing were successful. Soon after arriving in China the printing enterprise outgrew its original quarters and passed beyond Miller’s management. Only six years after his arrival, Miller estimated that Adventist publications had the largest circulation of any Christian literature. Miller moved from place to place, establishing mission centers, schools, and medical work. The Shanghai Hospital and Sanitarium, which he founded, became one of the denomination’s largest medical institutions outside North America. In 1931 when the newly formed China Division

began its operations, Miller, also an ordained minister, became president.

Conditions in China did not favor soul winning. Anger against imperialism inflamed many Chinese against the West, producing a mentality that made it difficult for Christianity. Hostilities among competing warlords plagued the country during the 1920s as did roving bandits who pillaged the land, sometimes at will. Friction between Japan and China broke out into open fighting in the 1930s. These circumstances did not stop the church’s advance, but membership growth was not as rapid as in Africa or the Latin American divisions. It was also costly in terms of workers. The Adventist church in China had one of the highest ratios of workers to members. Scores of mission workers went to China, many of them physicians. By 1930 the church employed nearly 950 workers in China; in 1940 the figure rose to just under 1,600 persons in active evangelistic endeavors, more than in any of the world divisions. At the time China reported more than 19,000 members.

The Adventist experience in Japan progressed slowly after its beginnings in the late 1880s. By visits or actual mission service S. N. Haskell, W. C. Grainger, and W. W. Prescott were among the denominational bright lights that gave their attention to this island nation, steeped in Shintoism and, like China, stinging from imperialist intrusions. In 1906, after a tent meeting, Adventist membership rose to 126. Mission workers stressed medical, educational, and publishing activities, but the spread of Adventism did not catch on. In 1920, af-

ter more than thirty years of Adventist endeavor, only one of the six Japanese missions had a membership exceeding 100. Another two decades of labor were more successful; the Adventist population reached 1,200 in 1940.

Although Korea proved to be more receptive to Adventism, advancement was also slow. The initial converts in this land, at the time known as Chosen, took place in 1904 after visitors from Korea returned from Japan where they had encountered Adventists. When the first Adventist minister visited Korea he found more than a hundred Sabbath keepers, seventy-one of whom he baptized. Japan annexed this country in 1910, which made proselytizing more difficult because of Japanese restrictions against Christianity; however, Adventists were able to establish effective medical, educational, and publishing institutions within their first fifteen years. By 1920 Adventist membership stood at more than 1,200. From that point it expanded to nearly 4,000 by 1940.

The Philippines, a holding of the United States since 1898, had become largely Roman Catholic during its four centuries as the easternmost colony of Spain. Beginning in 1905 Adventists distributed both English and Spanish literature, but it was not until 1908 that L. V. Finster started serious efforts for native Filipinos. The effect was electric. During the first two decades converts numbered more than 10,000, a marked contrast with both Korea and Japan.

One of the noteworthy aspects of Adventism in the Philippines was the calculated effort to train nationals to work among their own people. Availability of

Spanish literature at the outset was an advantage, and newly ordained Filipino ministers were quick to evangelize, sometimes speaking in native dialects. The North American tradition of public education, transferred to the Philippines after 1898, also cultivated a taste for learning. By the late 1920s the ratio of Adventists to the general population exceeded North America's.

Conversions slowed during the 1930s, partly because of unofficial opposition, but the church continued to grow. In 1940, after approximately thirty-five years of presence in the Philippines, the eight organized missions listed 21,500 members, the largest of all Asian fields.

Adventist success in Asia varied from the Islamic Mideast where virtually no church members existed to the Philippines where church growth was one of the denomination's inspirations. The Adventist experience in the rest of Asia was somewhere between these two extremes, but taken as a whole, the pattern of church growth in this part of the world broadly known as the East was considerably slower than in Africa and Latin America. In spite of this weaker showing, the numbers gave rise to more optimism than Adventists derived from most European fields. During the late twentieth century both the spread of Adventism in Korea and Indonesia would become impressive, but on the threshold of World War II the largest of the world's continents had only begun to open its doors to Seventh-day Adventists.

Perceptive Adventists could see in broad lines of growth from 78,000 in 1901 to more than a half million in 1940

that the momentum was swinging to the non-North American sector of the church, more specifically the parts of the globe that would become known as the developing world. Another forty years would pass before a church-wide consciousness would develop and

the consequences on denominational structure would make more change necessary. Meanwhile, Adventists took great satisfaction that they were helping to fulfill the gospel commission to go into all the world with the message of Christ's return to earth.

Suggested Topical Reading

General treatment of Adventist missions:

W. A. Spicer, *Miracles of Modern Missions* (1921), expresses the conviction that Adventist missions were divinely led.

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, (1961), vol. 3, pp. 93-115, 333-399, summarizes Adventist missions.

Personal memoirs by mission workers and other accounts:

Adventists wrote prolifically about their mission experiences. From among the many personal accounts of mission work, the following are samples for this period and give readers an insight into the golden age of Adventist missions.

W. H. Anderson, *On the Trail of Livingstone* (1919), for Africa.

A. G. Stewart, *Trophies from the Cannibal Isles* (1956), and *In Letters of Gold* (1973), for the South Sea Islands.

F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas* (1924), for South America.

Ezra Longway, *Dangerous Opportunity* (1974), for China.

T. Wangerin, *God Sent Me to Korea* (1968).

L. H. Christian, *Pioneers and Builders of the Advent Cause in Europe* (1937).

Robert B. Thurber, *In the Land of Pagodas* (1921), for Burma

H. Ford, *For Love of China* (1971).

D. Kubrock, *Light Through the Shadows* (1953), for Russia during the early days of communism.

Charles Teel, Jr., "Fernando and Ana Stahl—Mediators of Personal and Social Transformation," in *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century* (1999), Jon Dybdahl, ed., is a revealing introduction to the author's study of the social impact the Stahls made in Peru.

New Challenges, New Institutions

Operating a variety of institutions became a stock in trade with Adventists. They appeared in many forms, but the three leading categories have been health-care centers, schools, and publishing houses. Around this triumvirate the denomination has developed a major part of its activities in all countries to which Adventism spread. The four decades following the Great Conference of 1901 were fraught not only with a destructive world war and the beginnings of a second one, but also with the most serious economic distress that the world had ever faced; nevertheless, the denomination was able to establish a network of successful institutions around the world.

In 1921, the year when Adventists in the other world fields outnumbered North American members, the globalization of Adventist institutions was already visible.

By 1940 these enterprises were competitively educating children and professionals in about 250 schools in many countries, producing a wide range of literature in more than 200 languages, and operating 90 sanitariums and 68 treatment rooms around the globe. Because North America was still the largest segment of the church, it was the scene for the largest volume of activity, but the total number of institutions in the world fields had become larger than those in North America. While in 1940 the responsibilities of managing these institutions around the world rested mainly on the shoulders of North Americans, or at least Westerners, in time leadership would pass to nationals. That transfer of authority would contribute to the globalization of the church as much as membership growth. In 1940 that day was still distant, but it was in the making.

A Profile of Adventist Institutions

More than the other two major kinds of institutions, health-care centers face outward from the denomination in the sense that their purpose is not to provide a private medical system for church members but rather to serve the general public as an expression of the Adventist belief in physical well-being. Through medical practice and applications of health-care knowledge and skills the church has pursued evangelistic aims by seeking to attract people to Adventism.

In comparison, education has been more openly evangelistic. While the church has sometimes conducted schools as missionary endeavors, that is, as a method of spreading Adventism in non-Adventist communities, for the most part education has faced inward to the church. The leading reason for schools is to preserve Adventism among children and youth, providing an Adventist setting for education from elementary through tertiary levels and to prepare students for denominational employment. Religious instruction has always been central to the curriculum and spiritual nurturing has always been part of the program.

Publishing houses have typically faced both inward and outward, printing materials to sell to the members of the church and also preparing literature for general sale with the hope of drawing non-Adventists to the church.

Institutions have depended on a supporting public as well as competent management. For publishing houses literacy levels have been critical because of their reliance on reading audiences to

maintain lucrative sales programs. The church has measured the success of its publishing by its volume of literature and the number of persons who at least partially attribute their conversion to their reading of Adventist publications. Health-care centers have also depended on the sale of a product, medical attention, something that both the wealthy and poverty-stricken alike always need. The measuring rod that Adventist medical institutions have used to evaluate their success has not simply been the number of healed bodies but the effectiveness of spiritual encouragement to the sick and their families, in some cases leading to membership in the church.

The product of Adventist schools has been less tangible—perpetuation of Adventist values and beliefs in addition to knowledge, skills, and competence. To survive in a world of intangibles Adventist schools have depended not only on the willingness of members to pay tuition but also on churches, conferences, or unions to provide operating subsidies, without which the schools would disappear. Schools have thus traditionally been financially dependent on the church. The success of education is the fact of higher membership retention among Adventists who have attended denominational schools than among those who have not, and the number of graduates who have entered church work and the contributions they have made.

However important health-care centers and publishing houses have been, the denomination has probably depended more on schools than other institutions to preserve its identity. Because of their

nature, publishing and health-care enterprises function as businesses while schools have operated more as services of local churches, conferences, and unions. Their financial dependence has consistently caused many church leaders to see them as a proportionately greater drain on the denominational purse, but compensated by the view that they are one of the church's most effective evangelistic tools.

Appropriations might be forthcoming from the General Conference to begin large institutions of any kind anywhere in the world, but the church has expected that local fields would maintain institutions once they were in operation. This understanding was part of the reorganization of 1901 that dismantled the property-holding authority of associations within the church and moved institutions into the hands of conferences and unions.

Institutions have usually followed in the wake of denominational growth, but sometimes publishing offices, small medical centers, and even schools preceded a supporting financial base. In countries where literacy rates were low the general public viewed Adventist schools as humanitarian projects because they contributed to the overall social health of the country. In such cases schools became an entering wedge for the church. Similarly, in poorer lands health-care centers also assumed a humanitarian character as they provided rudimentary medical treatment to the public. The greater the size of Adventist communities, the greater the expectation for institutions. Also, the higher the level of lit-

eracy and general standard of living where Adventists lived, the less humanitarian but more professional the institutions became. Especially was this trend true in the case of schools. Because institutions were deemed to be so important to denominational existence and growth, establishing them in all world fields became essential. Indeed, part of the measurement of denominational success came from the number of institutions and their activities.

Health-care Institutions

A study of Adventist medical institutions between the beginning of the twentieth century and the opening shots of World War II reveals the denominational tendency to use health-care as a means to reach the general public. Dr. Kellogg had undeviatingly pursued this notion, but his long debate with church leaders and eventual loss of his church membership raised the specter that many physicians and nurses whom he trained would remain more loyal to him than to the church, and the denomination might lose its medical institutions. Not much time passed before it became evident that the medical branch of Adventism was not disintegrating, but rather increasing into a widening circle of effective health-care institutions around the world.

In 1921, Adventists operated twenty sanitariums in North America, including Canada. In all other world fields there were fourteen sanitariums and an additional ten treatment rooms, seven of which were in what would later be termed the developing world. Nineteen

years later these figures had changed sharply. North American sanitariums had shrunk to fifteen; at the same time the number of non-American institutions increased more than three and-a-half times to fifty-one, the majority of them in non-Western countries. The growth in treatment rooms and dispensaries where day or noncritical patients could receive attention was even more dramatic, expanding to sixty-eight. As was the case with sanitariums, the preponderant number of these small units were in non-White parts of the world.

Measured in both patient capacity and the actual number of patients in 1921, North American institutions held only a slight edge over their non-North American counterparts. Two decades later in 1940 North American medical centers still treated more patients than those elsewhere, but the combined patient capacity of health-care units beyond America was strikingly larger. At full capacity North American sanitariums and treatment rooms could accommodate 1800 persons; beyond North America the capacity exceeded 5800, two-thirds of which were in the developing countries. These records show that in 1940 non-American health-care centers were treating far fewer patients than their capacity, which meant not only that Adventist medical centers were capable of more activity than was occurring but that the non-American medical establishment was built to be something the church would grow into. These specific figures, which changed from year to year, were less important than the trends they revealed. Kellogg's ideal of the church becoming

the good Samaritan to the world was materializing.

Immediately following the Great Conference in 1901 the North American medical program moved westward. Before disagreements with Kellogg reached the crisis level, Ellen White in 1902 urged a strong Adventist medical presence in southern California. One of the first results of this counsel was the purchase of Potts Sanitarium in National City in 1904, bought partially with money that Mrs. White personally borrowed. For eight years this newly acquired institution, renamed Paradise Valley Sanitarium, operated as a private venture, but in 1912 it became a denominationally owned health-care center. By 1940 the original 50-bed capacity had more than doubled and the volume of patients increased to more than 5600.

Scarcely had Ellen White secured Paradise Valley when she advised A. G. Daniells to move beyond the "no-debt" policy of the General Conference in order to establish another sanitarium in the Los Angeles area. For a fraction of its advertised price, the church purchased an old hotel in Glendale. Enthusiastic individuals advanced the money for a medical center that would have a bed capacity of 200 in 1940, the largest among Adventist institutions in North America.

Still not satisfied, Ellen White pressed church leaders to search for more property that would be suitable for an educational enterprise as well as a medical one. A privately run health resort in Loma Linda, fallen on bad times, became available in 1905. A series of providential events brought money for payments and

compelled church leaders on. With a staff of thirty-five on hand, Loma Linda received its first patients in November 1905. Immediately they began a school of nursing.

In acquiring Loma Linda church leaders had faced more obstacles than at the other California institutions, but they also had made their boldest move. In some circles the possibility of Loma Linda's becoming a school of medicine was almost taken for granted, but a debate showed it was not really a foregone conclusion. Discouragement over the fiasco at Battle Creek dominated the minds of some, but Ellen White consistently urged church leaders to begin a training program for physicians. Questions arose about the financial ability of the church to maintain a competitive medical school. Much of the support for Loma Linda was coming from the Pacific Union, but the need for a broader base was obvious. The nature of the instruction also became a point of discussion. Through it all Ellen White's counsel prevailed—a medical school was part of God's plan and it was to be one of the "highest order." Plans went ahead accordingly.

Meanwhile, serious problems were cropping up at Kellogg's American Medical Missionary College in Battle Creek, and in 1910 it graduated its last class and merged with University of Illinois. That same fall the College of Medical Evangelists, the new Adventist medical school, opened at Loma Linda. Assembling an adequate faculty was not easy, nor were conditions favorable. In 1910, following a critical analysis of medical education in the United States, a movement to

upgrade all medical schools was in full swing. An inspection of the new College of Medical Evangelists by the American Medical Association resulted in a "C" rating, the lowest possible classification to remain in operation. The leading problem was insufficient clinical preparation for medical students. More than half of the states would deny graduates of the Adventist program the right to practice medicine if the quality of education did not improve.

The problem dragged on. At the 1915 Autumn Council denominational leaders, bearing up under a \$400,000 debt at Loma Linda, candidly discussed retrenching the program to two years and sending students to other schools to finish. Four women, led by Josephine Gotzian and Hetty Haskell, pled articulately for a clinical hospital in Los Angeles to comply with the requirements from the American Medical Association, and asked permission to raise the money. Following their speeches Daniells and his colleagues spent nearly the entire night prayerfully studying Ellen White's statements about Loma Linda—she was not available now because she had recently passed away—and the next day the tide of opinion turned in favor of improving the medical school rather than cutting back.

Loma Linda survived, but the accrediting problems continued. Finally the unremitting labors of the new dean, Dr. Percy T. Magan, paid off. Improved instruction coupled with the investment of money he raised harvested a "B" rating, an evaluation that became an "A" in 1922. The decade and a half spent in this

struggle with the American Medical Association ended with graduates of the College of Medical Evangelists becoming eligible to take a national examination to practice medicine anywhere in the United States. Also, the new rating facilitated the validation of their credentials in many countries outside North America. At last the church had the capacity to educate medical personnel in Adventist philosophy to direct its medical programs around the world.

Health-care units blossomed elsewhere in the United States. By the time Loma Linda received its “A” rating, the church was operating sanitariums with at least a hundred-bed capacity at St. Helena, California, in Boulder, Colorado, in Orlando, Florida, at Melrose, Massachusetts, and Takoma Park, Maryland. Not all Adventist sanitariums weathered the strains of the two decades before World War II. Between 1920 and 1940 the church discontinued seven of its North American facilities and added two. Each of the seven had a patient capacity of fewer than fifty.

Beyond North America Adventist leaders initially promoted health-care more prominently in Europe, followed by expansion in the non-West. By 1921 Skodsborg Sanitarium in Denmark had become the largest medical institution in the denomination with more than 375 beds. Dr. Carl Ottosen, a graduate of the University of Copenhagen, served as medical director of this institution. Inspired by Kellogg, he opened Skodsborg in 1898, beginning with only 20 beds in part of an estate that had been a residence of the Danish royal family. At first the

public ridiculed his project, calling it the cabbage hotel, but Ottosen repeatedly added to the original buildings on the shores of the narrow sound separating Denmark from Sweden, erecting what came to be known as the white village. Events took an ironic twist when Danish royalty themselves also became patients. Skodsborg offered programs in various therapies and became the “mother” of many physiotherapy units, some of them operated privately. In 1940 its bed capacity had shrunk to 315, but it remained the largest medical institution in the Adventist world.

Medical programs also existed in Germany. At Friedensau near Magdeburg a small sanitarium began operations in 1901. Within two decades German Adventists established sanitariums in Berlin and in Bad Aibling in Upper Bavaria. This latter institution was open only during the summers for special water treatments and served briefly as a seminary during the winter months. The total patient capacity of these three centers was nearly 300 in 1921. From these German enterprises came many workers for Adventist missions and the inspiration for many smaller units, but the institutions themselves developed into nursing and convalescent homes rather than medical centers as Skodsborg had become.

By 1920 Adventists operated only two sanitariums within the territory of the developing world, Shanghai Sanitarium in China and River Plate Sanitarium in Argentina. The latter, with only sixty-one beds in 1921, drew the attention of the entire denomination. R. H. Habenicht, both a minister and a physician, went to

South America in 1901 to serve as a medical evangelist. Argentine law made it next to impossible to validate his medical credentials, but he gained approval to practice medicine in the limited area surrounding the Adventist community in Entre Rios. By 1908 his clientele was large enough to allow the church to purchase his home to convert into a medical facility.

Conditions were crowded. The doctor sometimes performed operations in his dining room and stuffed more than a dozen patients into a single room. Even then lines sometimes formed outside his home and he turned patients away. When seeking financial assistance from the General Conference he had described the location as populous. Compared to other agricultural regions it undoubtedly was well peopled, but L. R. Conradi, on a visit from Germany in 1910, termed the Argentine pampa a novel place to establish a medical facility in contrast with the European urban centers to which he was accustomed.

The most questionable aspect of Habenicht's venture was not its isolation but legal restrictions that did not deny but effectively blocked alien physicians from earning full recognition to practice medicine in Argentina. This situation, common to Latin America from Mexico to Argentina, forced Adventists to delay establishing medical centers until authorities relaxed their restrictions and a sufficient number of Adventist nationals became doctors to direct their own programs.

For the most part, these breakthroughs did not occur until after World War II, but exceptions took place in Peru and

Bolivia, where special concessions from the government permitted Adventist doctors to maintain small medical units. Another noteworthy case appeared in Brazil. When it became apparent that there was no other way to establish a health-care center, C. C. Schneider, a North American worker, entered a Brazilian medical school, became a physician, and renounced his United States citizenship in order to become director of an Adventist sanitarium in Rio de Janeiro in 1941. Meanwhile, River Plate Sanitarium continued to minister to the agricultural community in Entre Rios. Its nursing school turned out graduates who established small treatment centers around the continent. Despite Conradi's doubts, the institution weathered both political and financial storms, eventually becoming one of three Adventist schools of medicine.

By the end of 1940 Adventists were operating fifty-one sanitariums and hospitals outside North America, thirty-six of them in Asia and Africa. Seven were above the 100-bed capacity, three of which were in China. The combined patient capacity in China and Manchuria surpassed 900, but the Revolution in post-World War II China swept these institutions away. Scattered from Iran to Japan, in India, Southeast Asia, the Philippines, and other islands of southern Asia, the denomination maintained a dozen other medical centers that could accommodate nearly 400 patients.

Similarly, Adventist sanitariums and hospitals dotted Africa from South Africa north to the Mediterranean coast, most of them in the sub-Saharan. In all of



Medical work proved to be an effective means of establishing an Adventist presence in India. Surat Hospital, which grew to be a complex surgical institution with a nursing school, began in 1937 when Dr. George Nelson rented this building in Nanpura, north of Bombay.

Africa and Asia, excluding China, the largest institution in 1940 was Mwami Mission Hospital, a 77-bed, surgical institution in Nyasaland, present-day Zambia, which began a three-year medical assistant program for Africans soon after its founding in 1927. The institution also opened a leprosarium, with patients living in tiny dwellings while receiving treatment. This center endured the turmoil of the 1960s and later became a large, general hospital and training center.

One of the brightest lights in the Adventist medical world was Sydney Sanitarium and Hospital in Wahroonga, New South Wales, Australia. Its origins went back to the 1890s when Adventists

set up a health-care center in a large dwelling. A nurses' training program in cooperation with the Adventist college quickly went into operation, but Ellen White encouraged local church leaders to invest larger sums for a greater work. Following their purchase of nearby acreage, they erected a new institution, which by 1921 grew to 121 beds. In the years that followed, hundreds of nurses who received their training at Sydney traveled the world to serve in Adventist health-care centers.

Touching the lives of nearly as many persons as did sanitariums and hospitals, Adventist treatment rooms emerged as a major medical outreach tool during the two decades before World War II.

In the United States where the concept of a treatment room began, this facility had nearly disappeared by 1940, but by contrast, three of every four denominational treatment rooms existed in Africa and Asia beyond China. Some of these were tiny units with a capacity of ten or even fewer, but the aggregate patient load was more than 700 in Asia and over 650 in Africa. Physicians directed some of them, but in many instances nurses were in charge. In 1940 more than 200,000 persons received medical help from these outposts.

Given the disruption of World War I and the economic reversals of the worldwide depression during the 1930s, the expansion of the denomination's health-care program was phenomenal. It represented a calculated policy to reach the world through humanitarian means, and by 1940 the international character of Adventist medical outreach had become a benchmark of the church. While medical institutions in the United States and other places in the West tended to consolidate into larger units, health-care centers in the non-Western world were usually smaller. The combined total of patient volume in sanitariums, hospitals, and treatment rooms made only a small impression on the world's ailments, but in many out-of-the-way places, an Adventist doctor or nurse was the only source of help.

A major drawback to the Adventist medical program was its cost. To build and equip adequately the growing number of health-care centers around the world required large outlays of money, and behind the closed doors of administra-

tive committees many debates took place regarding the equitable distribution of denominational resources. No one could argue that humanitarianism was not a legitimate part of Christianity—Christ Himself had established that standard as a part of His own ministry—but the struggle with Kellogg was still a vivid reminder that the church needed to maintain a balance between its medical-humanitarian program and the preaching aspect of evangelism.

Another problem was to recruit physicians to head medical programs around the world. It was too much to expect that every Adventist medical student at the College of Medical Evangelists would become an employee in a denominational program. At times Adventist medical centers went short-handed, and as the case of Latin America showed, not until a large enough supply of physicians emerged from the Adventist communities around the world would the growing denominational medical program be staffed adequately.

Education

Less dramatically but just as surely was the international growth in Adventist educational institutions during the first four decades of the 1900s. The records also show that the church was paying increasing attention to the educational needs of Adventists in the developing world.

In 1921, twenty years after the denomination vacated Battle Creek College, the flagship of Adventist educational institutions, the church was maintaining

fifty-nine secondary and post-secondary campuses in North America, sixteen of which offered college level classes, including the medical school and a correspondence school. Outside North America the number of comparable schools was nearly as large, fifty-five. Forty-one of these were in Latin America and Asia, while Europe, Australia, and New Zealand could claim only twelve. Most of the non-American schools were secondary; on only seven campuses outside North America could students find college courses, and only a smattering of students, most of them in Germany, took advantage of them. In short, more than 90 percent of Adventist students enrolled in classes beyond secondary school were in North America in 1921.

During the two decades from 1921 to 1940 these comparisons changed. The fifty-five non-American schools more than doubled to 113 while the fifty-nine North American campuses rose to sixty-nine. Not only did the number of schools in the world fields increase more rapidly, but the number of college-level students also increased nearly seven times, from 136 in 1921 to 914 in 1940. By comparison about 2100 students enrolled in all post-secondary programs in North America in 1921; by 1940 this figure nearly tripled to 6100 students.

The importance of these numbers is to indicate that Adventist education was still primarily a North American program on the eve of World War II, but that the large gap between North American and non-North American higher education was narrowing. Compared to the world fields, North American colleges held a

wide enrollment advantage because the supporting Adventist population was larger and programs were more developed. The most significant changes in North America during the first four decades of the 1900s were the development of a correspondence school, the appearance of seven new colleges, and the development of professional programs in medicine and seminary studies that are described elsewhere.

During 1916-1918, Oakwood Manual Training School and three secondary schools became junior colleges, and eventually, senior colleges: Atlantic Union College in Massachusetts in 1922, Oakwood College in Alabama in 1943, Southern Missionary College in Tennessee in 1944, and Southwestern Union College in Texas in 1966. In Riverside, California, a secondary school began a two-year college program in 1927. In 1944, as La Sierra College, it received authorization to offer four-year degrees.

Two colleges evolved in Canada. In the western province of Alberta a secondary school became Canadian Junior College in 1919. The next year Eastern Canadian Missionary Seminary near Toronto, Ontario, incorporated as Oshawa Missionary College to offer post-secondary courses.

Enrollment at neither school was large, but the Alberta institution consistently drew bigger numbers. In 1945 it advanced to a senior college, Canadian Union College, and became the primary educational institution for Canadian Adventists. After steady decline at Oshawa the school changed its name to Kingsway College in 1963 and for practi-

cal purposes became a secondary school.

Healdsburg College in California, chartered as the denomination's second institution of higher learning since 1882, temporarily lost its battle against heavy debts and closed in 1908. Aggressive leadership by institutional and church leaders led to its reopening the next year in Angwin. Two years later it adopted the name Pacific Union College. Time indicated the wisdom of this new beginning. Its 644 students in 1940 constituted the second largest student body in North America.

Frederick Griggs, secretary of the General Conference Department of Education, inaugurated Fireside Correspondence School in 1909, which later became Home Study Institute. By 1921 its enrollment in college courses approximated 500; by 1940 the number

exceeded 1400. Although its offices were in the United States, HSI developed into a global institution. In 1919 it began to establish branch offices in other parts of the world but did not change its name to Home Study International until 1984. Later, after 1990, its post-secondary offerings became Griggs University. In many locations it facilitated post-secondary education for students with limited access to formal education.

Of interest also were programs for non-English-speaking Adventists in North America. Courses for French speakers were part of the curriculum at South Lancaster Academy, but in 1915 they transferred to Oshawa. During the 1930s lack of enrollment brought about the demise of this program. In 1910 small schools for immigrants evolved into Clinton German Seminary in Kansas,



In an attempt to respond to the needs of the non-English-speaking Adventist population in the United States, the church establish Clinton Seminary near Chicago, Illinois, for German-speaking members. It later merged with Broadview Academy.

Broadview Swedish Seminary near Chicago, and the Danish-Norwegian Seminary in Hutchinson, Minnesota. Briefly, Clinton German Seminary became a senior college, but merged with Broadview in 1925. In 1914 the Danish-Norwegian school took the name of Hutchinson Theological Seminary, but after fourteen years, it also merged with Broadview. The need for separate programs diminished as immigrants became Americanized and changes in United States immigration law slowed the flow of newcomers from Europe. In 1934 Broadview terminated its offerings for Scandinavians and Germans and the school reverted to a secondary school.

Certain common characteristics emerged from Adventist education in North America. Institutions usually depended on strong leaders who were convinced of the importance of their work and held deep respect for Ellen White's counsels affecting education. An organizational pattern emerged which continued not only in the United States but also became a model for non-North American fields: a college for a union with "feeder" secondary schools in the constituent conferences. Exceptions to this rule of thumb existed, as in the case of the medical school at Loma Linda, and also at Oakwood College, whose Black constituency crossed union lines.

In 1940 enrollment in North American tertiary institutions followed the earlier pattern of the spread of Adventism across the American continent. From its New England origins the church had spread to Michigan and on to the West Coast. Likewise, in 1940, student traffic

in schools in the Northeast, Midwest, and West was the heaviest while the colleges in the American South, where Adventism arrived later and advanced more slowly, were still in their formative years.

The first ministerial training program in Europe began at Friedensau in eastern Germany in 1899. Until the outbreak of World War I, Missionseminar Friedensau served unofficially as a worker training site for students from many Continental countries. Its enrollment swelled to about 250, but the war interrupted its prosperity, forcing its conversion to a hospital. Friedensau reopened in 1919 but it never regained its former role as the leading Adventist educational center in Europe. In 1921 it claimed the largest concentration of college students outside North America, and momentarily its enrollment reached 200. Decline followed this short-lived success. By 1940 it reported no post-secondary students and before it closed again in 1943 its enrollment hovered around 100.

Adventist post-secondary education was not plentiful in Europe, and where it was available its main purpose was to prepare denominational workers. Because prospective enrollments at the college level were never high, Adventist schools in Europe depended on secondary students to fill their classrooms. Among the dozen Adventist educational institutions in Europe in 1940 college students were found on only four campuses. Sixty post-secondary students attended *Seminaire Adventiste du Saleve* in Collonges, France, the largest college-level program in Europe. From its original location in London, the Adventist

school in England repeatedly moved from place to place, at the same time repeatedly changing its name. Newbold Missionary College became its title in 1931, and as World War II began, nearly fifty post-secondary students attended. Only token numbers attended schools in Norway and Sweden.

The beginning of World War II probably frightened some students away from Adventist schools in Europe, but small enrollments revealed small constituencies as well. Habitually low attendance also demonstrated a tendency among European Adventists to depend on state schools for their education rather than denominational schools. The results of this practice were dramatic. In North America the combined student count of college students in 1940 was greater than the entire Adventist membership in most European countries.

Claremont Union College holds the distinction of being the first Adventist college outside North America. Established in 1893 in the vicinity of Cape Town, South Africa, practical and technical instruction formed an important part of its early program. Shortly after its opening it moved to the interior, but in 1927 returned to a Cape Town suburb and adopted the name, Helderberg College. It offered classes in English and Afrikaans, and for a time, Zulu, but it existed primarily for White students, while a worker training program for Bantu peoples developed into Bethel College at Butterworth, a town on the east coast of South Africa. Enrollment in tertiary classes at Helderberg remained small, forty-four in 1940. The school did not

become a four-year college until after World War II. Although the official end of apartheid and a higher expectation level within the Black African community brought about racial integration at Helderberg, the school at Bethel continued.

Preparation for church employment also characterized the post-secondary offerings at Australasian Missionary College in Australia, later called Avondale College. Ellen White laid the corner brick of the first building in 1896 when construction began at its new site in Coranbong. Similar to Helderberg, classes in technical and practical education were also common during the years prior to World War II. The success of this institution as a worker training center rested on the plethora of mission projects in the South Pacific islands that were part of the Australasian Union. Of its approximately 180 students in 1921, only five were enrolled in college-level classes, but by 1940 this figure rose to fifty-nine. It became a degree-granting institution after World War II; meanwhile, it developed into the largest and one of the most productive institutions in the English-speaking world outside the United States.

In the developing countries Adventist higher education usually originated as worker training programs, and as they developed they depended on secondary enrollments to survive. During the pre-World War II era the most successful was Philippine Union College, which opened its doors in 1917 as a secondary school and eight years later upgraded to a two-year college. In 1932 it became the first Adventist four-year college in



During the years between the world wars, Philippine Junior College had the largest enrollment of post-secondary students of any Adventist college outside North America. Members of the class of 1931 pose with an unidentified faculty member.

the non-White Adventist world. Its rapid evolution spoke of success, but the development of a faculty that by 1940 was predominantly Filipino was an even greater measure of the achievement of Adventist education. At no other Adventist college in the developing countries was nationalization so pronounced. Probably not by coincidence, in 1940 it drew 145 students to its college programs, overshadowing every Adventist institution outside North America.

In South America Adventist higher education was well under way in 1940.

In Entre Rios, Argentina, River Plate College served the Spanish-speaking Adventists of South America, while on the outskirts of Sao Paulo, Brazil, Brazil Junior College became the educational center for the Portuguese-speaking part of the church. Both of these institutions began in the 1890s.

Because of strong German influences surrounding the Argentine school, much of the institution's early activity bore a German flavor, but it became more culturally Spanish as the Spanish-speaking membership grew. Through the years the isolated location of River Plate continued to bother some South American church leaders who envisioned a more prosperous institution nearer urban populations, but no one was able to offer a better alternative, so the school remained at its original site. By contrast, Brazil Junior College was the product of persistent efforts by early workers who early foresaw the emergence of Sao Paulo as an economic powerhouse in Brazil and moved their struggling mission from the interior to a location near the growing economic hub. Between 1920 and 1940 both schools began to offer college-level classes; although enrollment in these courses was small in 1940, forty-one in Argentina and nearly thirty in Brazil, they were the beginnings of strikingly successful educational enterprises after World War II.

In Inter-America the inauguration of post-secondary education was slower. In 1940 West Indian Training College in Jamaica enrolled only seventeen in college level classes. Early attempts to establish a worker training school in Ja-

maica had produced indifferent results and finally closure, largely because most of the students could not pay tuition and the school had no work program. But Inter-American leaders insisted on an institution for English-speaking Adventists, the most numerous of any group in the territory. The school reopened at Mandeville in 1918, and in 1926 held its first graduation of post-secondary students. Long before it became a senior college in 1959, it had earned a reputation for producing able denominational workers.

Two institutions in India offered post-secondary programs. At Mussoorie on the slopes of the Himalayas, Vincent Hill Junior College began college-level classes in 1927. This school was unique among Adventist colleges. Ordinarily, sons and daughters of mission workers returned to their home countries for their college careers, but at Vincent Hill the church provided two years of college for children of mission workers, primarily from English-speaking countries. During the post-World War II era as the number of missionaries diminished, the college program and finally the school itself ended. Spicer College in Poona, also known as Spicer Memorial College and Spicer Missionary College, began operations in 1915 for the purpose of educating Indian workers. Post-secondary classes began in 1922. Several moves from one campus to the next occurred until settling in Poona in 1942. In the meantime it had become the training center for Southern Asia. In 1940, forty-eight college level students made it one of the larger post-secondary programs among

Adventist schools in the developing world.

One of the leading differences between college-level education in North America and the rest of the world was its purpose. Colleges in the United States had proceeded beyond the notion of producing denominational workers to the point where they were offering general career preparation or simply a college education in an Adventist setting. Although the offerings were limited as compared to what they would become after World War II, Adventist colleges in 1940 were beginning to give Adventist youth an alternative to secular education. In contrast, post-secondary programs in non-American schools in 1940 existed almost exclusively to prepare church workers, although many graduates did not enter denominational employment. This distinction in itself resulted in smaller enrollment.

Many of the secondary schools around the world in 1940 were worker training schools that offered rudimentary professional instruction outside the boundaries of traditional secondary courses, but they did not qualify as true college-level programs. This kind of institution flourished in regions with low literacy or where the church could not afford post-secondary education. Many of these schools later developed into bona fide colleges.

In 1940 most of the Adventist educational program still lagged behind North American schools, but advancement during the two decades before World War II demonstrated that a global system was in the making. After the disruptions of the

war had disappeared non-North American schools would become bright lights in the Adventist world.

Publishing Houses

In some respects the proliferation of publishing enterprises during the first forty years of the twentieth century reveals the progress of Adventism into the corners of the world better than any other institution. In 1940, the number of languages in which the denomination published literature reached 202, double the number in 1921. The number of publishing houses also multiplied from twenty-five plants to sixty-one, an increase that took place entirely outside North America. The volume of production changed as well. Non-North American plants produced about one-third of denominational literature in 1921, but increased to 40 percent in 1940.

In North America the primary changes during the four decades after the Great Conference of 1901 were the move of the Pacific Press to an improved location and the addition of a third major publishing house in the South. Similar to the Review and Herald, the Pacific Press had also contracted extensive commercial printing, which prompted warnings from Ellen White.

After the fire at Battle Creek the press management decided to cut back drastically but disasters as devastating as those suffered by the Review in Battle Creek drove Mrs. White's point home. A couple of years after the Pacific Press moved to a rural location south of San Francisco the 1906 earthquake smashed the linotype

machines. Just as recovery appeared to be in hand the building burned. Press managers interpreted these setbacks as messages that they should terminate all commercial printing. Their decision was the dawn of new prosperity that enabled Pacific Press to expand its foreign-language work. In 1917 it opened a branch in Panama specializing in Spanish literature. Earlier it had taken over the International Publishing Association that concentrated on German and Scandinavian literature, and in 1916 relocated it in Illinois. Shortly, literature in more than twenty languages went out from this new center.

In 1901 the General Conference purchased J. Edson White's dilapidated printing business, which he had brought to the South during a trip by the *Morning Star*, and incorporated it as the Southern Publishing Association. But under new managers the press fared no better than under White. Church leaders were on the verge of closing it when Ellen White intervened with advice from a vision that promised God's blessings upon its future work. Not without reluctance, Daniells agreed to reverse the decision, and almost immediately the economic outlook brightened. By 1919 the gains of the press amounted to more than \$100,000 a year.

In 1921 the three leading publishing houses in the United States were producing about 66 percent of all Adventist literature, a proportion that dropped to 60 percent in 1940. Output levels were fairly even at the three centers in 1921, but by 1940 Southern's production declined to little more than half of each of the other two.

NEW CHALLENGES, NEW INSTITUTIONS

By all measurements the most productive of non-American plants was the Hamburg Publishing Association. This center, descended from the publishing that J. N. Andrews established in Switzerland, began an independent existence in 1895 when it was turning out literature in fourteen languages. Soon that number rose to twenty, most of them European tongues, but Swahili was also included. In 1921 this plant, Advent-Verlag, published nearly a third of all Adventist literature outside North America and operated several branches across Europe, including Istanbul, Turkey. Private hands took over ownership after Nazi restrictions made it impossible for the denomina-

tion to continue ownership. As a limited partnership under the name of Vollmer and Bentlin KG, both its total production and its proportion of denominational literature declined to less than a quarter of non-North American publications in 1940, but still the largest output outside the United States.

One of the most gratifying accomplishments before World War II was the success of South American Adventists in maintaining two publishing centers. Casa Editora Sudamericana, the South American Publishing House, began publishing in 1896 in Buenos Aires, almost immediately after the first official mission workers arrived in Argentina. The



The Hamburg Publishing House, Hamburg, Germany. For many years before World War II this firm produced more Adventist materials than any other denominational press outside North America.

small press moved from Buenos Aires to Entre Rios near the training school, but in 1906 it was back in Buenos Aires. By 1920 it took over the publishing enterprise in Chile and began a branch in Peru. The following year its production was the fifth largest outside North America, printing almost 2 percent of all Adventist literature. With the Pacific Press in the United States also producing Spanish literature, Hispanic Adventists depended on two publishing houses for their needs.

Near Sao Paulo, Brazil, the church established Casa Publicadora Brasileira in 1907 after earlier ventures in Taquary. Both financial and professional help converged on the new plant from many sources, including the Hamburg Publishing Association as well as the United States, and enabled editors to produce literature in both German and Portuguese. By 1921 its volume was about two-thirds of its sister institution in Argentina, but the combined total of South American publications approximated 3 percent of all church publishing. Even separately, the South American plants had both become the largest producers of Adventist publications in the developing world. During the two decades before World War II this productivity became more emphatic with the two South American houses reaching about 5½ percent.

Stanborough Press at Watford, north of London, England, and Signs Publishing Company in Warburton, Australia both became consistent and large enterprises, smaller than the German plant, but larger than either of the South American enterprises. Despite presses in

Sweden and Denmark, in 1921 the Scandinavian Publishing House in Norway furnished all of Scandinavia with one of the largest supplies of Adventist literature outside North America, but the Nazi occupation in 1940 forced it to restrict its operations to Norway. In South Africa the Sentinel Publishing Company developed heavy production levels, printing literature in Dutch, Afrikaans, and English, and later in vernacular languages as missions opened in the sub-Sahara. By 1940 this center was printing the fifth largest volume outside the United States.

On the eve of World War II Adventists had concentrated their publishing in three centers in North America, two in South America, and about a half dozen in Europe, Australia, and South Africa. Other small presses were scattered around the world. Nine of every ten plants were outside North America, most of them small but nevertheless constituting a convincing statistic that speaks of the global intentions of the distributors of Adventist literature. More than twenty were strewn across Europe, nineteen in Asia, and eleven in Africa.

But we cannot judge the international nature of Adventist publishing merely by the location of the plants themselves. In 1940 the overwhelming majority of Adventist publications was still coming from the large centers that were functioning on their long-standing policy of producing literature in different languages and shipping it wherever needed. With some justification we can say that Adventist publishing houses were the

first denominational institutions to become international. From early times Adventists produced literature in a variety of languages, much of it for immigrants in the United States, but in time these publications also became part of the mission program to other countries.

The North American houses dominated denominational publishing, but in the world fields all large plants became highly professionalized publishers of both books and periodicals for denominational consumption and a large volume of evangelistic literature as well for public sale by colporteurs. Within the Adventist tradition these literature salespersons were the extension of the publishing centers and constituted a separate profession as identifiable as ministers, teachers, and medical workers. They usually labored without regular salaries but lived off their commissions, and thus became semi-independent propagators of Adventism. Some early educational centers included training programs for colporteurs, but ordinarily their primary preparation was a conviction to spread the gospel.

Adventist Institutions in Perspective

Institutional growth of Adventism during the forty years prior to World War II reflected the organizational reform of 1901 in unique ways. The most important was the transfer of institutions from corporations to the conferences or unions in which they were located. With their own officers and boards, in 1901 they had become nearly independent from General Conference control, a condition that provoked Ellen White to describe their leaders as exercising kingly authority. Reducing these corporations to departments was a major organizational action. The programs of these entities continued, but their kingly power was broken. The last to fall, Kellogg's Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, also made the loudest crash.

It was fortunate for the church that these actions occurred before the establishment of many institutions outside North America, for they allowed the overwhelming majority of Adventist institutions to grow up within an unchallenged policy of denominational ownership.

Suggested Topical Readings:

Accounts of institutions:

Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean* (1992), vol. 2, pp. 1-99, depicts the difficulties of establishing institutions in the South and Inter-American divisions.

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1961), vol. 3, pp. 54-65, 145-167, 227-229, is a general description of Adventist institutions.

Medical institutions:

Arthur White, *The Later Elmhaven Years* (1982), vol. 6 of *Ellen G. White*, chaps. 1, 2, 21, recounts the part Ellen White played in the purchase of Loma Linda and the beginning of a medical school.

Richard A. Schaefer, *Legacy* (1990 ed.), chapters 18 and 19, places Loma Linda in the perspective of the Adventist health movement.

D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, 3rd ed., (1965), pp. 329-402, provides a wealth of details about the founding of Loma Linda.

Merlin Neff, *For God and C. M. E.* (1964), pp. 158-224, tells the story of P. T. Magan's role in the medical school's struggle for accreditation.

Carolyn Clough, *His Name Was David* (1955), narrates the founding of Hinsdale Sanitarium as a counterweight to the loss of Battle Creek Sanitarium.

Mercedes Dyer, "Establishing River Plate Sanitarium," *Adventist Heritage*, vol. 6, no. 1, Summer 1979, pp. 16-28, describes the founding of the only Adventist sanitarium in South America until the 1940s.

Educational institutions:

E. M. Cadawallader, *A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education*, 3rd ed. (1956), discusses the changes in Adventist education in the early twentieth century.

Walter Utt, *A Mountain, a Pickax, a College* (1968), pp. 38-79, traces the move from Healdsburg to Pacific Union College.

The following chapters from George Knight, ed., *Early Adventist Educators* (1983), tie the events of this chapter to specific personalities:

Warren S. Ashworth, "Edward A. Sutherland: Reformer"

Arnold C. Reye and George Knight, "Frederick Griggs: Moderate"

Maurice Hodgen, "Percy Tilson Magan: Medical Educator"

Publishing work:

M. Carol Hetzell, *The Undaunted* (1967), pp. 18-29, relates the early work of the Pacific Press and the Southern Publishing Association.

Richard B. Lewis, *Streams of Light: The Story of the Pacific Press* (1958), pp. 24-61, is an informative account of the period.

Organizational Refinements

From the start Adventist leaders were certain that their organizational structure was not of merely human devising. Ten years after the General Conference was formed in 1863, James White wrote, “We unhesitatingly express our firm convictions that organization with us was by the direct providence of God.” W. A. Spicer, over a quarter of a century later, maintained that through the Scripture and the Spirit of Prophecy “the divine principles of order and organization have been developed and applied to present-day needs and conditions.” To J. N. Loughborough the spread of Adventism into all major parts of the world in less than fifty years provided a clear evidence of the divine origins of the church’s administrative structure.

We should not construe such statements to indicate that their authors failed to recognize the need for modifications

in the constitutional framework of Adventism. As the prime example of alterations, the 1901 General Conference had made several substantial structural changes in an effort to ensure two major reforms: (1) the decentralization of decision-making, administrative responsibility, and direction of church work through the establishment of union conferences, and (2) the integration of a growing variety of church programs through activity departments represented on conference executive committees at all levels. A constantly expanding program in a changing world made subsequent administrative changes necessary, but in essence, they were simply adaptations of these two reforms. During the years after 1901 the church also learned to use its organization to systematize its financial support of the world program.

Divisional Organization and Vice Presidents

In order to provide better direction for European church activities, the 1903 General Conference elected L. R. Conradi as a second vice president with responsibility for this field. Six years later in 1909 the General Conference selected I. H. Evans to be a third vice president to supervise church activities in Asia. Conradi and Evans were given authority to convene the union conference presidents in their respective areas for counsel and advice.

To cope with the diverse needs arising in Europe the General Conference Committee held special sessions in Gland, Switzerland, in 1907, and in Friedensau, Germany, in 1911. Helpful as these were, in 1912 leaders of the European branch of the church were convinced that they were a poor substitute for a more formal administrative unit. They urged the 1913 General Conference to organize all of the European unions into a new unit called a division conference.

Although President Daniells initially opposed a European division conference as potentially leading to fragmentation of the church, by the time the 1913 General Conference convened he had become convinced that the recommendation was reasonable. This new administrative unit would, he felt, make it possible for leaders in different countries to help each other in moments of crisis and in advancing the cause of Adventism. After minimal debate conference delegates approved the formation of division con-

ferences by grouping unions and union missions together.

Some North American delegates suggested a North American division conference as well, but both Daniells and Spicer believed it would be unnecessary, arguing that because the General Conference offices were in the United States, denominational leaders could provide needed coordination for North America. But the North American union conference presidents were insistent, and they had the support of W. T. Knox, the General Conference treasurer. The upshot was a vote to organize a North American division conference at once and to authorize a South American division as deemed advisable.

In 1905 delegates to the General Conference session voted to convene quadrennially rather than biennially, but the scheduled gathering in 1917 was delayed until 1918 because of the world war. Before that session the General Conference Committee approved the actual formation of the South American and Asiatic divisions, but some leaders harbored doubts whether this was really the best way to organize a world church.

Upon the recommendation of a special study committee, delegates to the 1918 General Conference voted to discontinue divisions organized with the authority of conferences, but to retain the concept of divisional organization. This difference was subtle. The original action in 1913 created divisions with leaders to represent them to the General Conference in the same way that conference presidents represented local interests to their unions, hence the term division confer-

ence. The debate in 1918 rejected that flow of authority in favor of divisions over which General Conference vice presidents presided. Thus the division was an administrative division of the General Conference, rather than a constituent part of the General Conference. Under the new plan authority flowed from headquarters to the division, rather than the reverse. To denote this change the nomenclature also changed from “division conference” to merely “division,” or “division of the General Conference,” with the unions as the constituent bodies of the denomination.

Church leaders also agreed to elect subtreasurers and assistant departmental secretaries for each division, with these persons holding membership on the General Conference Committee. Between sessions of the full General Conference Committee its members in the various divisions directed the work in their field. In 1918 the General Conference provided vice presidents for North America, South America, East Asia, and Southern Asia, and in 1919 added an African division. All of these fields except North America also received departmental assistant secretaries. General Conference personnel were also in charge of affairs in North America, which resulted in a special relationship that lasted until the 1980s and 1990s when the North Americans selected a complete slate of division officers and departmental secretaries, and began to exercise their own budget controls.

Daniells acknowledged that the General Conference appeared to be retracing its steps by disbanding the original plan for division conferences, yet he professed

joy over being on safer ground. Denominational leaders believed that an independently minded division president, elected directly by divisional delegates, could be strong enough to break from the general church body. General Conference officers wanted to preserve the worldwide unity of the church and avoid the possibility of a split, which could produce regional Seventh-day Adventist churches. They were also afraid that an independent division might no longer feel responsible for supporting Adventism financially in other sections of the world. The new plan adopted in 1918 would curb independence by keeping the selection of the leadership of all the divisions in the hands of the entire General Conference.

Events in Germany had been largely responsible for these changes in divisional organization. The potential for damage from an independent division became evident as World War I separated parts of Europe from the General Conference and temporarily isolated L. R. Conradi, making it necessary for him to act with a degree of autonomy that many church leaders thought was harmful to denominational unity. Some viewed the situation as something close to a separate Adventist church in Germany. Tension resulted over policies that Conradi followed during the war, and although he had been vice president for Europe since 1903, L. H. Christian became an associate vice president for Europe in 1920. This arrangement ended in 1922 when Conradi became a field secretary for the world church and Christian became the vice president for Europe.

Although General Conference vice

presidents headed the divisions, they customarily used the title of president of their fields. During the latter years of the twentieth century as national leaders became officers in their own divisions, the concept of the division as an extension of the General Conference weakened and in actual practice the divisions became increasingly influential in selecting their own leaders and managing their own affairs, but the essential tie to the General Conference never broke.

At the 1922 General Conference session delegates incorporated the 1918 plan in the denomination's constitution and bylaws. At the same time they created the Inter-American Division out of the loosely administered islands and countries of the Greater Caribbean. Because of changing political conditions in Europe, the General Conference formed three separate divisions in 1928, the Northern, Central, and Southern European divisions, each including missions in the developing world, mainly in Africa.

The Daniells and Spicer Presidencies

Presiding over these organizational changes was A. G. Daniells, General Conference president since 1901. For twenty-one years he had guided the church, masterminding the reorganization in 1901, moving the headquarters from Battle Creek to Washington, D. C., steadying the denomination through the Kellogg crisis, encouraging the beginning of the golden age of Adventist missions, and holding his hand on the helm during the disruptions of World War I. He was clear thinking, firm, consistent, and won

the confidence of thousands of Adventists around the world.

Ellen White often expressed confidence in him, but he was also human, and on occasion she corrected him because his humanity had gotten in his way. He took these rebukes gracefully, but some leaders in the church chafed under him. Before the 1922 General Conference session a movement to replace him built up enough momentum to cause the nominating committee to recommend a change. The choice was W. A. Spicer, secretary of the General Conference.

Reluctantly Spicer agreed to this new call to duty. Hurt, but concerned more with the future of the church than with



First as secretary of the General Conference and then as president, W.A. Spicer (1865-1952) helped to shape the church's mission program during the first three decades of the twentieth century. He also served briefly in India.

his own feelings, Daniells gave the denomination many more years of service. In an unprecedented move he and Spicer traded places, with Daniells continuing as General Conference secretary until 1926. Spicer remained as General Conference president until 1930. He was similar to Daniells in his commitment to missions, his consistency, and his willingness to travel widely. His humility endeared him to the church. He was happy to sit up all night on the train to save money that he would have spent for a sleeping berth. He often did his own laundry and slept in cheap hotel rooms. He spent little on food, frequently eating from a bag of peanuts all day instead of eating regular meals. Adventists saw his human touch when he took scarce necessities to isolated missionaries and small gifts to their children. When he retired at age sixty-five in 1930, it was because he felt a younger man could better carry the heavy responsibilities of the office.

Although Spicer and Daniells differed, they complemented each other well. Spicer was seven years younger than his colleague and for years worked in his shadow, but his contribution to Adventism was unmistakable. Daniells spoke out and wrote about theological topics more often than Spicer, finding time to venture into the field of prophetic interpretation and providing the inspiration for an improved professionalism among Adventist workers. For his part, Spicer was the glue that held the growing mission work together, traveling broadly and always ready with helpful counsel and encouragement to the world community of Adventists. As much as anyone, he kept

the ideals of mission service before the church. Together they gave the denomination an era of long and dependable leadership during critical years.

General Conference Departments

The union conferences and divisions became basic administrative units during the Daniells-Spicer years. These same years also saw the departmental structure firmly embedded in Adventism. This new organization provided opportunity for decentralized decision making and implementation of church policies and programs. By 1902 the old independent associations had been replaced by four separate departments: Education, Publishing, Religious Liberty, and Sabbath School. By 1922 the church added eight more as the effectiveness of departments and the need for a broader range of activities became apparent.

The denomination waited until the demise of Kellogg's Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association to establish the Medical Department in 1905. Also in 1905 the North American Foreign Department began; the Young People's Missionary Volunteer Department started in 1907, the North American Negro Department in 1909, the Bureau of Public Relations in 1912, and the Home Missionary Department in 1918. In 1922 the General Conference added the Home Commission.

At first, committees, whose members were scattered around the United States and even the world, directed the departments. Often these men and women were engaging in other administrative or pas-

toral work. The first chairman of the Publishing Department committee, for example, was W. C. White, who occupied himself primarily with helping his mother with her correspondence, travels, and writing. Under these circumstances continuity and direction within the department depended mainly on the committee secretary. An organizational change in 1909 made the secretary the head of each department. One or more associate or assistant secretaries assisted the new department leader. It was the secretary's job to present departmental plans to the General Conference Committee.

Education Department. Adventists were operating schools from elementary through college level at the time the General Conference established the Education Department. Although both Dr. Kellogg and W. W. Prescott chaired the department briefly in its initial development, three men were mainly responsible for defining its major areas of interest and promotion: Frederick Griggs, H. R. Salisbury, and W. E. Howell. By 1909 the department was providing counsel about starting new schools, giving general advice and direction on curricular development, supervising a correspondence school, helping to produce distinctive Adventist textbooks where necessary, and publishing a journal, *Christian Education*.

This new journal carried material relating to all levels of formal education and featured a section devoted to the instruction of preschool children as well. Many articles stressed the value and methods of promoting those aspects of education of special concern to Adventists, such as

integrating Bible instruction into secular subjects, the place of physical labor in an educational program, and teaching proper health and nutrition. The editors exerted special effort to provide practical suggestions for better teaching methods, especially at the elementary and preschool levels. It carried study guides and questions correlated to a teachers' reading course that appeared in 1911. Later it even included a similar section for Adventist ministers. In 1922 the editors changed the periodical to *Home and School* to reflect its emphasis on parental responsibilities in training children.

The practical effect of these activities was both to professionalize and to standardize Adventist education. Secretaries of the Education Department persistently predicated their efforts on the assumption that Adventist teachers could and should teach topics of study commonly regarded as non-religious within a religious context without sacrificing quality. The notion of an Adventist system of education was evolving.

The Education Department relinquished some of its interests to the Home Commission in 1922, which allowed it to pursue more effectively the professionalization of Adventist education. It formulated certification requirements for elementary and then secondary teachers and inspected school facilities and programs. To promote improved instruction and a distinctive philosophy of education, department leaders organized institutes and conventions. They nudged school administrators toward better budgeting procedures and conference administrators toward more dependable

salary schedules for teachers. The department also became adviser and advocate for Adventist schools facing the increasing maze of government regulations. In time its primary focus became higher education around the world, with local fields supervising elementary and secondary schools.

Home Commission. The change in name of *Christian Education* to *Home and School* coincided with the beginning of a new entity, the Home Commission. This new agency had been in the development stage for several years. Personnel from the Education, Sabbath School, Home Missionary, Medical, and Young People's departments were all involved in developing the Commission, but the driving force was A. W. Spalding. While a young father, he had served for several years as a literary assistant to Ellen White. He never forgot a conversation with her in which she told him that his work as a father was the most important educational work he could ever do. She went on to say that the work of parents underlies all other duties and that Adventists had hardly begun to touch it.

As secretary of the new Home Commission, Spalding determined to remedy this situation. He set about to organize mothers' societies and parent councils in local churches and to prepare lessons for their study at semimonthly meetings. He saw a need for parents to become better story tellers, to draw lessons for their children from nature, to understand and impart proper health principles, and to foster a warm and considerate home atmosphere. In collaboration with Dr. Belle Wood-Comstock, both a mother and physician,

he prepared the five-volume "Christian Home Series" for study by parent councils. These books discussed parent-child relationships, beginning with the first days of the parents' marriage through the adolescence of their children. They made a deep impression on an entire generation of Adventist fathers and mothers.

The Home Commission functioned until 1941 before changing its name to Parent and Home Education Department. Thereafter it increasingly stressed home and family concerns. The legacy of the Home Commission was to convince Adventists that education and the home are closely linked and that families should be intimately involved in the education programs of the church.

Young People's Missionary Volunteer Department. Adventists' concern for the development and indoctrination of their children provided the rationale for several departments. In 1907 the General Conference founded the Young People's Missionary Volunteer Department whose exclusive purpose was to sponsor youth activities. Sporadic and uncoordinated attempts to organize youth programs had taken place ever since Luther Warren and Harry Fenner began their young people's missionary band in Hazelton, Michigan, in 1879, but it was not until the 1890s that the movement caught on.

Ellen White advocated Adventist youth groups, patterned somewhat after the Christian Endeavor Societies then popular among Evangelical Protestants. A. G. Daniells learned of her concern even before she published her appeals, and in 1892 he organized a young

people's society in Adelaide, Australia. The next year history professor M. E. Kern began a similar group at Union College. The first conference-wide youth organization was created at the Ohio camp meeting in 1899. The Ohio youth called themselves "Christian Volunteers." The next year young German Adventists established a similar organization. To coordinate these activities internationally the General Conference asked the Sabbath School Department in 1901 to foster the development of young people's societies. Two years later the Sabbath School reported 186 active groups.

In 1907 the General Conference leaders, meeting in Gland, Switzerland, created a young people's department and named M. E. Kern to direct it. For twenty-three years he headed the program, developing a variety of activities to prepare Adventist youth to be Christian witnesses. One of his first actions was to call a convention later in 1907 and to select an official title, "Seventh-day Adventist Young People's Society of Missionary Volunteers." The convention spelled out three major aims: to develop devotional life, missionary endeavor, and educational activities. Conventioners also adopted an aim, a motto, and a pledge for the society, and recognized *The Youth's Instructor* as its official magazine. From the convention came a call for an annual Week of Prayer specifically for youth and for conferences to organize Missionary Volunteer Departments with full-time leaders.

These were aggressive actions, which Kern followed with projects of his own. In 1908 he produced a *Morning Watch*

Calendar, consisting of a Bible text to read each morning, and encouragement to follow with meditation and prayer. He inaugurated the Missionary Volunteer Reading Course, an annual selection of books which youth leaders promoted among society members for both spiritual and educational reading. The Young People's Department also prepared two series of lessons—one in basic Bible doctrines and the other in Adventist history. After completing these studies and passing an examination, members received a special "standard of attainment" certificate. Kern also published suggestions for weekly programs of the Missionary Volunteers. In 1909 General Conference delegates requested the Young People's Department to adapt these same activities to younger members of the church. In the next few years Junior Missionary Volunteer Societies appeared with their own versions of the original programs for older youth.

Kern's department came out with the Bible Year in 1915, a systematic plan to read the entire Bible in one year. Some societies devoted their meetings to personal evangelism, to distribution of Adventist literature, and to performing services for needy people. The idea of Missionary Volunteers was not a North American program alone. Australian Missionary Volunteers distinguished themselves by raising \$10,000 to purchase a mission schooner, the *Melanesia*; Scandinavian youth were equally successful by sponsoring a missionary to Lapland in their far north. During World War I the Young People's Department helped hundreds of Adventist young men in military

service by providing camp pastors and spiritual literature, including a special edition of *Steps to Christ*.

The Junior Missionary Volunteer program expanded rapidly during the 1920s. Social and recreational activities loosely patterned after the Boy and Girl Scouts became common, encompassing handicrafts, nature lore, camping, and hiking. In 1922 the department introduced a sequence of achievement levels in these activities called progressive classes. Four years later an organized program of summer camping began for both senior and junior youth, which A. W. Spalding called camp meetings “in terms of Junior psychology.”

The youth program proved to be a boon to the church. Its spread around the world was rapid and enthusiastic. Because Adventist populations increased in many countries faster than the church’s capacity to establish church schools, the youth activities became a means to educate children and youth in denominational traditions and to help them identify with the church. Camps and the variety of activities associated with them became a common denominational institution around the world. Kern, who completed his long leadership in 1930, told General Conference delegates that year that Missionary Volunteers were responsible for nearly 30 percent of the missionary activities of the church. In the post-World War II era, the terminology of the activities changed, but the basic pattern remained.

North American Foreign Department and North American Negro Department. Very early in the twentieth century mem-

bership growth among minority groups motivated the formation of two specialized departments. The first, the North American Foreign Department, was the product of Ellen White’s encouragement to enter unworked fields, the immigrant communities being part of them. Also spurring church leaders on was unhappiness among German and Scandinavian Adventists about English-speaking supervision of their churches and their activities. Some Germans even advocated a German union conference with separate financing, but church leaders deemed the proposal as a potential move toward fragmentation. In 1905 they formed the North American Foreign Department of the General Conference to direct work among the non-English-speaking immigrant population of the United States that was growing by about a million a year.

The North American Foreign Department worked well for a decade, especially with O. A. Olsen as its secretary. Olsen was a Norwegian-born immigrant who, at the age of five settled in the United States with his parents. He served as General Conference president from 1888 to 1897. Under his leadership the leading accomplishment of the new department was its support for congregations of non-English-speaking Adventists and establishing separate schools to train workers in French, German, and the three Scandinavian languages. North American suspicion of “foreigners,” especially open antagonism toward Germans during World War I, exerted a depressing effect on the department’s active evangelistic endeavors. After World War I the need for the Foreign Department declined.

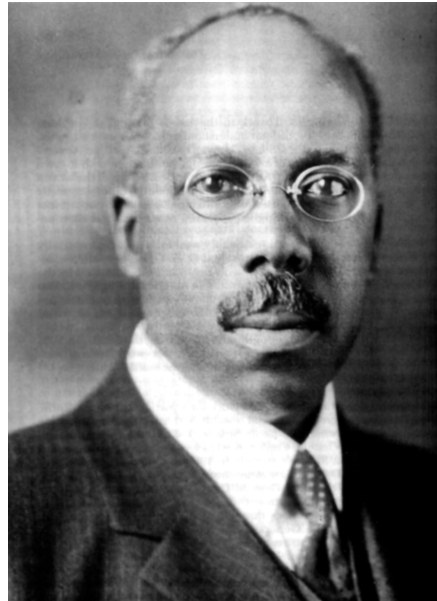
New immigration laws in the 1920s acutely restricted the influx of newcomers; meanwhile, the second generation of immigrants became acculturated into North American life.

While the emphasis on European immigrants declined, an interest in the Hispanic population of the American Southwest increased. Many former missionaries to Latin American countries took the lead in ministering to this population group, among them H. D. Casebeer, who provided spirited leadership to this aspect of the Foreign Department. He frequently engaged in active evangelism in Spanish-speaking communities from Texas to California. By the 1930s when the emphasis on European communities had dissipated, the department's primary attention became the Hispanic sector that was steadily growing. Renamed the Bureau of Home Missions, the department lingered on until 1951 when supervision of the work among non-English-speaking Adventists became a function of the union conferences.

It was a different story with the North American Negro Department. Talented Black ministers such as Louis Shaefe, J. K. Humphrey, and John Manns had pressed for such a department for some time before the General Conference set it up in 1909. It may well have been Shaefe's success in temporarily taking his large Washington, D. C., congregation outside the conference organization that propelled the 1909 General Conference into establishing the North American Negro Department.

Union and local conferences throughout the United States soon followed suit

by establishing a Negro department or committee to evangelize African-Americans. During the nine years between 1909 and 1918, Black membership rose from 900 to 3500—concrete evidence of the success of departmentalizing. White ministers led the Negro Department during the early years until Blacks persuaded the General Conference they would enjoy better success with a Black secretary. William H. Green, a former North Carolina lawyer became the first African-American secretary in 1918. Since becoming a minister he had pastored congregations in Pittsburgh, Washington, D. C., and Detroit. He traveled widely among Black Adventists for a decade, cultivating both membership



W. H. Green (1871-1928), lawyer and Seventh-day Adventist minister, became the first Black head of the North American Negro Department.

growth and diplomatic relationships with the church at large.

At age fifty-seven Green died, leaving his post to G. E. Peters for a brief period, who was followed by Frank L. Peterson. Black Adventists in North America numbered about 8000 in 1930, a fact that led many African-American ministers to promote the idea of organizing Black churches into Black conferences. But a haunting prejudice tragically lingered among many North Americans, and sometimes emotions erupted. Persistent discrimination had played a role in the secession of J. K. Humphrey's 600-member First Harlem church in 1929. The denomination regarded membership losses as tragic, but the circumstances surrounding the Humphrey defection were particularly injurious and denominational leaders knew they could not sustain similar experiences without serious damage to the church. It was not until the mid-1940s that Peters and Peterson, supported by vigorous pressure from the African-American community, convinced the General Conference to authorize these new administrative units.

The success of the Negro Department rested on rapid membership growth among African-Americans. European immigrant groups nearly vanished in time because of acculturation, but North American society and legal practices did not allow a similar option for the Blacks. Separation from the Whites had long since become institutionalized, which made a growing Black membership something to be reckoned with. Even though it was relatively small in 1940, African-American membership was

growing at a faster rate than was the Caucasian membership.

Black leaders such as Green, Peters, and Peterson all had reputations for their tact, diplomacy, and patience. Recognition of the African-American Adventist community may not have materialized as quickly as they wished, but they could see the issue as a long range one, and they knew that in time the numbers themselves would be on their side.

The Negro Department evolved into bigger things, eventually becoming the Office of Human Relations, an agency that dealt with problems relating to all questions of ethnicity and minorities. In some respects the Negro Department had served as part of Adventism's conscience.

Sabbath School Department. Probably none of the original departments touched a greater cross section of Adventists than the Sabbath School. The department early adopted the goal of "every church member a Sabbath School member"; its motto was "the Church at study." As the work of the Sabbath School Department took shape, nearly all of its activities revolved around its efforts to improve both the quality of the Sabbath Schools and the number of persons who attended regularly.

The department sought to prepare better teachers by introducing a special training course in 1910. Study guides and several books were the source of help to teachers to gain and hold attention, to organize material effectively, and to make theoretical points practical. The department also improved the quality of the weekly lessons themselves. By 1922 two basic series were available, one for adults,

with an adapted version for youth, and a second for younger children, which was divided into lessons for three age levels. For the benefit of children the department promoted a wide variety of teaching devices, from sandboxes, cutouts, and color books to memory-verse cards and finger-play manuals.

Both an improved attendance and a better quality of participation were the goals of the “perfect record” plan. Members who were on time each week for a three-month period and who had studied their Sabbath School lesson daily received a “Card of Honor.” They could exchange four cards for a silk bookmark. Additional bookmarks for longer perfect record periods were available.

The leading force in this program was L. Flora Plummer who joined the Sabbath School Department in 1901 as corresponding secretary and held the post of department secretary from 1913 to 1936. She carried a particular burden that the Sabbath School should become a recruiting center for volunteers in the Lord’s army. From her pen came *The Soul-Winning Teacher*, *The Spirit of the Teacher*, and *The Soul-Winning Sabbath School*, all promoting the Sabbath School as an evangelistic tool of the church. She also edited and wrote prolifically for *The Sabbath School Worker*, the official journal of the department, which carried a continual flow of ideas and helps for Sabbath School teachers and leaders. Through her years of leadership and writing, Flora Plummer continually expressed her conviction that three main avenues existed to develop Sabbath School members into fruit-bearing Christians: careful



After the reorganization of 1901, General Conference Sabbath School Secretary Flora Plummer (1862-1945) profoundly affected Adventist Sabbath Schools around the world. She was connected with Sabbath School work for three and a half decades.

Bible instruction, prayer, and personal appeals to members. In 1913 she reported that 3500 baptisms had resulted partially because of the Sabbath School’s soul-winning approach.

Adventists’ belief that the Sabbath School should serve all age groups from toddlers to octogenarians was in contrast to most Protestant bodies when the Sabbath School Department was formed in 1901. No one better than Flora Plummer ingrained into Adventist thinking that the Sabbath School was an evangelistic tool to lead children to formal church membership and to hold adult members in the church. Although the department’s pub-

lications aimed most of their discussions at North America, translations and adaptations appeared in Sabbath Schools around the world. The skills of storytelling for children and serious discussion of the Bible knew no national boundaries.

Significantly enough, the number of Sabbath Schools in the denomination was habitually greater than the number of churches, as was the number of Sabbath School members. A partial explanation suggests that Sabbath School attendance was greater than church membership because children were members of the Sabbath School but not official members of the church until their baptism. While that is a fact, it is more important to remember that in many of the world fields, especially in the developing countries, the church used the Sabbath School as an instructional center for prospective members where they could learn Adventist doctrine and become acclimated to the church before baptism. Thus in the developing countries the larger attendance at Sabbath Schools rather than church services was consistently more noticeable than in North America and in Europe. In 1940, for example, in the Central European, Southern European, and North American divisions, Sabbath School membership was only about six thousand greater than church membership, while in the developing countries Sabbath School membership exceeded church membership by more than one hundred thousand. In these places the Sabbath School became a better defined soul-winning agency than in North America.

Systematic Funding of a Global Work

Membership increases and an expanding world mission program called for a systematic plan for church revenues and their distribution. Especially was this important to North Americans because so much of the Adventist world depended on their giving capacity as the leading source of money for the church. As the twentieth century opened, the stronger state conferences in North America were using their tithe to support more than fifty missionaries in other areas. Not all of them were outside the United States, for the American South was still considered a mission field.

In organizing its revenue-gathering power, church leaders saw the Sabbath School as an ideal vehicle to promote giving. It was already the major source of support for missions in 1901 when the General Conference established the Sabbath School Department. Through weekly mission offerings the Sabbath Schools had collected a total of a million dollars for missions by 1911; by 1920 the figure reached a million per year, and by 1921 three-quarters of all denominational mission offerings came through the Sabbath Schools.

The traditional weekly Sabbath School offerings were not the only source of mission funds. In 1912 the General Conference Committee agreed to designate the Sabbath School offering from the last week in each quarter for a special project; thus the Thirteenth Sabbath Offering was born. The first such offering, nearly \$7700, went to India. Because of the standardization of Sabbath School

procedures around the world, money for the Thirteenth Sabbath Offering came not only from North America but from all world fields as well. As the various areas of the world became aware of one another's needs, a common bond developed—an unexpected bonus of the giving plan. Throughout North America Thirteenth Sabbath became “Dollar Day,” but after Brazil received \$110,000 in 1920, Flora Plummer optimistically recommended that in the future North American Adventists should think of Thirteenth Sabbath as “Double Dollar Day.”

Another source of revenue came from Ellen White's encouragement to teach children and youth to bring thank offerings on their birthdays or special holidays. Gradually the idea grew that a penny for each year of age was an appropriate gift. J. N. Loughborough advocated that adults should also bring birthday and thank offerings, yet it was not until 1919 that it became an established part of the Sabbath School. In that year the church collected a little more than \$4000 from these special offerings and dedicated the money to opening new Adventist work around the world. The General Conference later broadened the application of the offering to include all missions. During the forty-five years after 1919, more than \$4,250,000 came into the mission fund from this source.

Still another offering, Investment, evolved from Dr. Kellogg's campaign to persuade Adventists to donate earnings from designated parts of their land to charitable work of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. The idea

came to him in 1893 after learning that an Oregon farmer had dedicated the profits from ten acres of onions to missions. Kellogg's plan became the “Missionary Acre Fund.” Although enthusiasm waned as the Kellogg controversy grew, the idea did not die. In 1905 a Sabbath School teacher in Missouri gave five cents to each of the five children in her class to invest in a project on condition that the income would go for Adventist missions. By the fall of the year the original twenty-five cents grew to \$11.52 from the sale of produce and poultry.

Through the next few years Flora Plummer's *The Sabbath School Worker* promoted similar projects, but the first organized “Investment” plan did not occur until 1922 when thirty-four Sabbath Schools in Michigan raised more than \$1300 through a variety of projects. Three years later the General Conference assigned the responsibility to promote “Investment” to the Sabbath School. That year \$21,800 came in for missions; by 1940 the Investment plan was drawing \$100,000 annually. The idea had become a permanent part of the Sabbath School and an Adventist tradition. In 1956 the annual offering passed \$500,000, and six years later the church received the first million-dollar Investment offering.

The idea of Investment quickly spread around the world, although frequently under another name. In Burma it was the “Different Offering”; Solomon Islanders termed it the “Business Belong God.” A Danish farmer pledged a small sum for each sunny day during the harvest season. In 1960 a Japanese rice grower dedicated 10 percent of his yield above the

average yield per acre in Japan only to discover that his average was 50 percent above the national figure. By 1960 about 10 percent of funds that the Sabbath School collected for missions came through Investment projects.

The variety of offerings that the Sabbath School promoted indicated the perpetual problem Adventist leaders had in finding sufficient funds to finance the enlarging mission program of the early twentieth century. At the turn of the century, to meet mission expenses, the General Conference depended on four sources other than the Sabbath School: (1) two annual offerings, one in midsummer, the other at Christmas, (2) first-day offerings, (3) any surplus in tithe received from unions for administrative salaries and expenses, and (4) special gifts designated for particular mission projects. But all of these together were not enough. In November 1904, it was necessary to borrow \$8000 against the expected Christmas offering to meet mission obligations.

Tithe paying figured into the situation. From his study of tithe income, General Conference president Daniells was convinced that many Adventists were not paying an honest tithe. In 1905 he estimated that if as many Americans, proportionately speaking, paid tithe as their British counterparts, the church would have at least \$220,000 more each year for church work. The General Conference session that year devoted a substantial portion of its time to a discussion of financing missions. Among the major resolutions the delegates passed was one urging the stronger conferences to share as

much of their tithe as possible with the world missions. Another action authorized the General Conference to print and distribute tithe envelopes with appropriate Scripture verses supporting tithe paying.

Increasing the weekly missions offering was also an objective of General Conference leaders. In 1907 they promoted ten cents as a weekly giving goal for each member of the Sabbath School. Periodically this amount went up—fifteen cents in 1912, twenty cents in 1913, and twenty-five cents in 1918. By 1929 the figure reached thirty cents, remaining constant until after World War II. In 1920 the Sabbath School assumed the responsibility of promoting these giving goals.

Private project giving was also a means of raising money. Its appeal lay in the personal interest an individual donor might have in a specific project, but it turned out that missionaries who were most skilled in public relations drained off the bigger donations. Donors also expected private mission reports. The result was imbalance in mission support, and in 1918 the General Conference decided that all mission giving should flow through established channels. Despite this action, private project giving never completely stopped. As travel became easier during the latter years of the twentieth century, private giving increased as many Adventists visited missions as tourists and donated funds to their favored projects.

One program for fund-raising developed almost by accident. Known as Harvest Ingathering, shortened to Ingathering after 1942, its founder was Jasper

Wayne, an American interested in missions and literature distribution. In 1903 he began to give away *Signs of the Times* with a chance suggestion that recipients could donate money which he would give to missions. Besides handing out about 500 copies he also sold Ellen White's *Great Controversy* and donated the profits to the mission fund.

Critics saw his activity as begging, but he persisted. In 1904 he shared his experiences with attendees at a camp meeting. The story reached Ellen White who endorsed what he was doing, which paved the way for conference approval. In 1908 the General Conference Committee also endorsed Wayne's plan and designated the last week in November as the time when North American Adventists should engage in a united effort to distribute literature and turn in donations. Over \$30,000 came in and enabled the Mission Board to send out twenty-five mission workers. Because the campaign occurred in November it took the name of Harvest Ingathering.

Through the years this annual campaign expanded enormously. Special issues of the *Signs of the Times* and the *Watchman* (predecessor of *These Times*) carried a doctrinal article and descriptions of Adventist work around the world, emphasizing medical, welfare, and publishing programs as well as evangelism. The one week originally devoted to the campaign lengthened into months, prompting the General Conference to establish a six-week limit in 1922. By 1927 solicitors had gathered more than \$5,250,000 for Adventist missions. Wayne's original purpose was more to draw attention to

the distinctive Adventist message than it was to raise money, which led church leaders to recommend in 1930 that doctrinal tracts should also be part of the literature distribution. In time the church allocated Ingathering funds to projects in North America as well as the world fields. Like most other Adventist programs, Ingathering campaigns became standard in all countries where Adventists developed an organized work. Local adaptations were common. Some fields stressed local institutional work, others emphasized more clearly humanitarian endeavors.

In spite of Wayne's original purpose and occasional stories of former Adventists returning to the church and new members tracing their first contact with Adventism to Ingathering, the primary impact of the campaign came to be financial support of church programs. During the first fifty-five years after the official adoption of Ingathering, the church garnered \$136 million. During the 1980s the solicitation aspect of Ingathering declined, partly because the idea of begging for money persisted and partly because of a growing concern for the safety of young people going door to door. Instead, members were encouraged to donate to the campaign, although some churches continued their solicitation programs.

Somewhat resembling Ingathering was Big Week, a week during which denominational workers and laymen devoted themselves to selling Adventist literature and donating at least half if not all profits to the Missions Extension Fund. Colporteurs, already in the literature sales program, were to contribute the

profits from their most lucrative day during Big Week. The three major publishing houses in the United States also donated a percentage of their annual profits.

The General Conference plowed much of the Missions Extension Fund back into publishing enterprises. In 1927 General Conference publishing secretary N. Z. Town announced that income from Big Weeks had made it possible to build or expand nineteen publishing houses, supplied machinery for thirteen mission plants, and provided working capital for thirty-two publishing centers and depositories. In addition, twenty-two dispensaries and ten mission schools had also received money from the Extension Fund. In 1932 Big Week funds began a printing plant in Persia, provided a hospital in Ethiopia, acquired two mission boats for Newfoundland, built a mission hospital in Africa's Lower Gwelo Mission, contributed to a dormitory in Bolivia, and established three treatment centers in Eastern Europe.

Some of the heaviest demands on denominational finances came from medical facilities beyond North America. In 1922 the General Conference attempted to meet these needs by establishing a special medical extension fund into which all Adventist sanitariums paid a tenth of their net gain. In addition, all medical workers were to contribute a minimum of one day's income each year. Thus, those most closely identified with Adventist medical projects would assume the most responsibility for its expansion.

Financial support of the expanding program of world missions was a major

concern for church leaders, but they also faced problems in the United States where most of the money was originating. By 1918 Oakwood Junior College, a General Conference institution, needed to expand and upgrade its plant. Support for Adventist education was troublesome. Income from tuition was not adequate to operate colleges and secondary schools, which made subsidies from conferences and unions necessary. Parents of elementary-age students often lacked funds for tuition to pay local church school teachers.

These financial pressures were not the result of exorbitant salaries that denominational employees earned. According to a discussion at the 1913 General Conference, workers received an allowance to support themselves and their families, but it was "not strictly wages." Rather, it was an allowance for a living, sometimes called a "living wage." Adventist leaders believed that salaries for church employees should not relate to what they could earn if they were working outside the church.

Differences in earnings existed, depending on the individual workers' length of service, level of responsibilities, and efficiency, but these differences were minimal. In 1916, the wage scale for ordained ministers in North America ranged from fourteen to twenty dollars per week. Local conference presidents received a dollar a week more; the margin for union conference presidents was three to four dollars more per week; and the president of the General Conference earned from three to six dollars more. Denominationally employed physicians could earn up

to a dollar and a half more than the General Conference president.

At the start of World War I the General Conference Committee decided to improve church financial stability by keeping enough cash on hand to meet three months of normal administrative expenses. It also established a special reserve fund of \$75,000 in easily convertible securities for emergencies. Earlier, in 1911, the General Conference had begun to set aside a small percentage of tithe combined with regular contributions from Adventist institutions as a pension fund for aged or physically incapacitated church employees. In the view of church leaders this retirement income was necessary because, by their own definition, workers received only a living wage, hardly enough to make substantial savings or investments for their old age.

Organization in Retrospect

Several thematic points derive from the organizational experience of the church during the forty years after the Great Conference of 1901. During those four decades the Adventist membership multiplied seven times, but church administrative infrastructure bore up well. Initial organizational reform in 1901 and subsequent refinements demonstrated that the church had built an elastic administrative system that could expand, shrink, or bend to meet the needs of a growing church. Decentralization was part of the motivation for reform, but centralization was also at work. By bringing all church activities under the ultimate control of the General Conference,

church leaders produced a new centrality to the organization. They also assumed a weight of responsibility that grew enormously heavy, both administratively and financially. Forming unions from clusters of conferences was one of the most effective means to decentralize church administrative authority. As the official constituent bodies of the denomination, the unions represented the most powerful vested local authority in church administration.

Centralization after 1901 was as much a mentality as it was a practice. Jurisdiction over local and regional church matters and institutional affairs rarely remained in General Conference hands, but the world headquarters exercised an overarching regulatory influence over the denomination, which assured Adventists of a centrality of purpose. Perhaps we can safely speculate that if the nineteenth-century associations, which had constituted the church infrastructure, had continued into the larger church of the twentieth century, their semi-independent administrative policies could have split the denomination into competitive bodies that would have been beyond General Conference control.

Time showed that reorganization and later refinements benefitted the denomination decidedly. Besides avoiding administrative divisiveness, the new system made it difficult for institutions and programs to become ends in themselves. Serving the central purpose of the church was the criterion for their function. Also, through cautious regulation the church maintained a balanced distribution of church resources, even though in places

the church operated in poverty and in others it enjoyed comparative affluence. The multiplicity of offerings and funds that evolved during the years prior to World War II demonstrated that denominational leaders were struggling hard to maintain the growing world church. The giving program was designed primarily for North America, but in keeping with the spirit

of unity in a global church, the programs spread around the world. Even the poor regions gave. Despite the economically fragile times, membership and the number of institutions increased, which attests to the success of the church. In part, the struggles of the 1901-1945 era seasoned the church for its later globalization, which was already at work.

Suggested Topical Reading:

General Conference departments:

L. Flora Plummer, *From Acorn to Oak* (n.d.), discusses the Sabbath School.

General Conference Sabbath School Department, *The Sabbath School: Its History, Organization and Objectives* (1938), offers an official view of the Sabbath School.

M. Andross, *Missionary Volunteers and Their Work* (n.d.), updated to a more readable style by N. Krum, *The MV Story* (1963), is a description of youth ministry in its early phases.

On Daniells and Spicer:

Daniel A. Ochs and Grace Lillian Ochs, *The Past and the Presidents* (1974), pp. 105-156, includes biographical sketches of A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer.

John J. Robertson, *A. G. Daniells: the making of a General Conference president, 1901* (1977), analyzes the Daniells personality and character.

Gary Land, "Shaping the Modern Church 1906-1930," in *Adventism in America* (1987), Gary Land, ed., pp. 139-169, is an insightful view of the Daniells-Spicer years.

Godfrey T. Anderson, *Spicer: Leader with the Common Touch* (1983), is an excellent biography of this beloved General Conference president.

Giving the Trumpet a Certain Sound

Ellen White repeatedly used a figure of speech that called the gospel a trumpet which had a certain sound when those engaged in church activities blew it with power and fidelity to the Scriptures. In 1901, at the time of their reorganization, Seventh-day Adventists were a small church with a big task—to go into all the world with the saving gospel.

It was true that church leaders did not doubt God's leading in church organization, but administrative reorganization, the Kellogg controversy, and financial pressures attending the rapid expansion of Adventist institutions and missions threatened during the early twentieth century to divert both preachers and laymen from the actual promulgation of the message of Adventism. Daniells worried that Adventists heard more about educational reform, philanthropic work, and the gospel of health than they did

about the third angel's message.

The net effect of these conditions was that the church in North America, constituting three-fourths of the denomination at the turn of the century, was in danger of stagnating. The figures were alarming. Adventist membership in North America increased about 1.5 percent in 1904 as contrasted to slightly more than 13.5 percent everywhere else. Daniells remarked that the church needed a "great awakening."

Daniells frequently called for a rededication to the evangelistic mission of the church. He wanted members to avoid formalism and achieve a vibrant spiritual experience, and he called the ministry to become stronger and more efficient to complete the task that Adventists believed God had entrusted to them. But the turbulence of war and depression in the decades following 1901 provided many

distractions. Denominational leaders knew that if Adventists were to remain convinced of their mission an appeal for a strong emphasis on evangelism was in order. North America was the primary target for the emphasis on evangelism during the era from 1901 to the outbreak of World War II, but the rest of the Adventist world felt its impact. By 1940, although the church had grown noticeably, it was still a small organization with a big task, but during the previous four decades Adventist leaders became more conscious of their need to retain that certain sound of the trumpet by reemphasizing evangelism as the central function of the church.

Outreach to the Cities Begins

During the first four decades of the twentieth century Adventist leaders held a concern for evangelistic outreach, but they also faced a variety of opinions about the most effective methods evangelists should use. At the start of the period it seemed that there might be a genuine revival of the evangelistic city missions of the 1880s, resulting in part from Ellen White's appeals to church leaders to pay more attention to the urban masses. "We stand rebuked of God because the large cities right within our sight are unworked and unwarned," she wrote. "A terrible charge of neglect is brought against those who have been long in the work in this very America, and yet have not entered the large cities."

Following the 1901 General Conference, Stephen Haskell and his wife, Hetty, relocated in New York City to develop a

program of less sermonizing and more personal labor in homes of people. Haskell brought with him a reputation of long support of door-to-door evangelism through book sales and conducting Bible studies in homes. Within a few weeks the Haskells had recruited a corps of young people to form personal evangelism teams. They held regular classes in personal work and Bible study methods each morning, and spent their afternoons in visitation.

Haskell saw great possibilities in using Adventist health beliefs to interest persons otherwise unsusceptible to openly religious appeals. By 1902 he had added health-education classes to his personal evangelism program. Later, he sponsored a six-week course in health featuring Dr. Carolyn Geisel from Battle Creek Sanitarium. Haskell's skill in meeting business and professional people led to the offer of a funeral director's chapel for public services. For one tenth of the usual rental fee he later secured the Metropolitan Lyceum in mid-Manhattan for services. Sunday-evening evangelistic meetings began, followed soon by special work for Blacks, Jews, and the German community in Brooklyn.

An outgrowth of Haskell's work was a new monthly evangelistic journal, the *Bible Training School*, which Hetty had conceived after receiving frequent requests for copies of her Bible lessons. The new periodical carried lessons, brief articles on biblical topics and healthful living, together with quizzes and poetry to appeal to young readers. Soon Adventists were selling tens of thousands of the paper in New York and Los Angeles.

Within two years Haskell encountered difficulties that blighted his success. After substantial numbers of Blacks began attending his meetings, Whites stopped coming. Haskell responded to this outbreak of racism by holding separate meetings, which sparked another round of criticism.

The Haskells were already distressed by the methods of E. E. Franke, an Adventist evangelist whose success in New Jersey led him to New York City. About six months after the Haskells started their work, Franke began a series of meetings in Carnegie Hall. It was typical of him to locate in the most prestigious place possible and launch a flamboyant advertising campaign, a habit quite the opposite of Haskell who emphasized personal evangelism. The two men were poles apart in evangelistic techniques and they reflected a growing debate among Adventists over the most effective methods to reach the public with the gospel.

Franke's meetings practically strangled the Haskells' program, which led Franke to become caustic about his fellow worker. To calm the situation Haskell, already seventy years old, and his wife retreated to Nashville, Tennessee, and later to California where they continued to publish the *Bible Training School* and to provide instruction in personal evangelism. Meanwhile, Franke turned his criticisms toward other church workers. Eventually, he left the ministry and finally lost his Adventist membership.

Another attempt at big-city evangelism in Washington, D. C., also yielded

indifferent results. Renewed interest in Sunday legislation triggered A. G. Daniells and W. W. Prescott to conduct meetings in the United States capital during the winter of 1903-04. They hoped to convince government and professional workers of the soundness of Seventh-day Adventist views on separation of church and state. Cheered by attentive audiences of up to 500, Daniells brought George B. Thompson from Canada for tent meetings the following summer while he and Prescott returned to administrative work.

Evangelism in Washington led to no spectacular additions to the church. This may have cooled the enthusiasm of Daniells and his associates for big-city evangelism, but other pressures also took their toll. Denominational reorganization, establishing new headquarters in Washington, D. C., the Kellogg controversy, a growing mission program, and the unhappy incident with Franke were a few. The General Conference president had also experienced controversy in Washington engendered by Whites who objected to attending church with Blacks. Haskell met the same thing in Nashville after leaving New York. These were years of extreme, and frequently violent, racial prejudice, and church leaders were puzzled about how to handle the problem.

While many Protestant churches were showing renewed interest in revivalism, top Adventist leaders, preoccupied with other matters, continued with an attitude of benign neglect of the cities. During the 1909 General Conference Ellen White decided to act after Daniells failed to advance a program for reaching urban populations.

This was to be her last General Conference session. Requesting an interview with the General Conference Committee, she forcefully pressed for a much larger work in the cities. She indicated that the church's leaders, Daniells and especially Prescott, should find ways to lay aside their administrative duties and become personally involved in evangelism. Many committee members questioned why the fifty-five-year-old Prescott should give up his successful editorship of the *Review* for evangelism, a work in which he had little experience, but Mrs. White was insistent.

To dramatize her own interest in the cities, Mrs. White, already eighty-one years old, visited New York, Philadelphia, and twenty-five other places, including her old hometown, Portland, Maine. She delivered seventy-two public addresses during this five-month tour of the East and Midwest. Chastised by her example, Prescott wound up his work in Takoma Park and joined an evangelistic campaign in New York City. Four months later his wife died there. Prescott withdrew in grief for a rest in Maine. Although he gave another quarter century in denominational service, he never returned to public evangelism.

It proved more difficult to jar Daniells into evangelism. He promised Mrs. White that he would promote this cause at the union conference sessions in North America during the winter of 1910, but he became sidetracked by a minor theological squabble. While on a later trip to California he stopped to confer with Ellen White, but she refused to see him, explaining that since he had not heeded her

earlier counsel she would not spend her aging energies only to be disregarded. She further jolted him by sending him a testimony indicating that when he was *converted* he would know what to do with the counsels she gave him. She clearly believed that unless Daniells, as General Conference president, demonstrated his commitment to urban evangelism by personal example, no effective work would occur.

Daniells knew he had to act. With the General Conference Committee concurring, he rallied North America for a concerted drive to reach big cities. He scrapped an extensive camp meeting itinerary and a trip to Australia in favor of special institutes to instruct ministers in evangelistic techniques. He also introduced a special "Gospel Workers" section in the *Review* and pressed educators to improve ministerial instruction in the colleges.

As an increasing number of city evangelists appeared—O. O. Bernstein, J. K. Humphrey, E. L. Cardey, and K. C. Russell, for example—significant differences regarding methodology developed. Daniells called about fifty city evangelists to Takoma Park in the spring of 1912 to discuss these questions. Advertising was a critical issue, since it frequently provided the people with their first, and often lasting, impression of Adventists. Many in this council opposed the tendency to call attention to the speakers through photographs and statements about their qualifications, arguing that the message rather than the man should be prominent. Not everyone agreed, suggesting that the public expected to see a pic-

ture of the speaker. Another issue was the use of illustrative materials. The majority encouraged evangelists to use dignified illustrations and visual aids to exalt the message. Most deprecated theatrical methods.

Prescott and many others summed up the real point by reminding evangelists that their subject should be “salvation through Jesus Christ.” Without this emphasis on personal salvation, intellectual conviction of Adventism was worthless. The implication of this advice was apparent. Many had not yet completely abandoned the hard-hitting legalistic presentations of the 1870s and 1880s.

The evangelists agreed on the need for effective personal visitation together with public presentations. They were also eager for cooperation from medical personnel whose work was an entering wedge and a help to break down prejudice and to enter people’s homes. Devoting one night each week to health and temperance matters seemed to be a wise plan to many.

The results of the evangelistic council were forthcoming. In 1913 fifteen evangelistic companies were at work in the greater New York area alone, some of them directed toward specific ethnic groups. Tents were still popular with evangelists, although in areas where the climate prevented their use, evangelists rented auditoriums, churches, or theaters.

Innovative preachers pioneered new techniques, which their peers copied widely. A. V. Cotton introduced stereopticon pictures; J. S. Washburn developed a series of twenty-eight studies, which he mailed out to those requesting them. He

also encouraged audience participation by asking people to read some passages in unison and to mark them for future reference. Carlyle B. Haynes and E. L. Cardey were skillful in utilizing the press for extensive newspaper reports of their lectures. This led the General Conference to establish the Press Bureau in 1912, headed by Walter L. Burgan, a professional journalist converted during a Haynes campaign. The Press Bureau prepared releases to national press associations and stories for local newspapers. It also taught local pastors how to write appealing accounts of their sermons.

Most evangelists had a corps of young interns to assist them, some of whom, like H. M. S. Richards, went on to become more famous than their mentors. Musical directors were valuable. R. E. Harter had Henry de Fluiter who had been inspired by the music of Ira D. Sankey, the musician for Dwight L. Moody, a popular nineteenth-century Protestant evangelist. De Fluiter composed many hymns, among them “Over Yonder” and “Tell It to Every Kindred and Nation,” which became favorites with Adventist congregations.

The Adventist emphasis on evangelism occurred opportunely. Many conservatives in other Protestant communions were dissatisfied over their churches’ swing toward evolution and higher criticism. They listened with interest to the Bible-oriented presentations of Adventist evangelists. As early as 1900 S. N. Haskell had urged Adventist speakers to link their sermons to developments in the secular world which were exciting public interest. Suddenly, in 1912-1914 events in the Balkans and the Near East

provided golden opportunities to follow Haskell's advice.

Uriah Smith's prophetic interpretations in his *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation* influenced an entire generation of Adventists to look for the decline of Turkey as a prelude to the close of probationary time, the onset of the seven last plagues, and the return of Jesus. In 1912 Italy's wresting of Libya from Turkey, followed by wars in the Balkans, seemed to herald the time when the Ottoman Empire would "come to his end, and none shall help him," as Smith had interpreted Daniel 11:45. The horrendous character of World War I also figured into the perception that the end of the world was near. Even the secular press talked about Armageddon.

It was A. G. Daniells who inaugurated a new breakthrough in Adventist evangelism with several Sunday-night lectures in Portland, Maine, early in 1916. Fresh from a world tour, he drew an audience of nearly 2000 to hear his explanation of the world crisis as a fulfillment of Bible prophecy. The next evening he repeated his presentation before 250 of the city's most prominent figures at a meeting of the Business Men's Club. Later, his presentations packed the 3000-seat Civic Auditorium with hundreds turned away for lack of space.

A month later Daniells repeated his success in Pittsburgh. Soon, calls came to him from around North America requesting him to appear for a meeting or two to boost local evangelistic campaigns. He complied as much as possible. He also encouraged evangelists to follow his experience at Portland where a large

group of Bible workers and others carried on a strong visitation program.

The increase in evangelistic endeavors produced gratifying membership growth in North America—about 45 percent between 1910 and 1917. Yet by 1920 the spurt disappeared; in fact, during that year the number of deaths and apostasies almost equaled the number of new members. The reversal was not easy to explain, but one of the apparent causes was a decline in religion during the immediate postwar years. Also, the failure of Adventist expectations that Turkey would fall probably disillusioned some recent converts and discredited Adventist evangelists in some circles. Further, the rapid membership growth occurred without a commensurable growth in ministers, which produced a shortage of pastors to nurture the new members.

This cycle of Adventist evangelism had taught the church that it was possible to work in the cities. But with the growing number of evangelists came more noticeable differences in methodology. One difference had to do with the length of a campaign. Some advocated six to eight weeks, others urged twelve to fourteen weeks. In spite of an earlier consensus against it, some continued to accent a dramatic platform performance. Differences in methods were sometimes personal, pointing out the fact that one minister could employ a specific technique which might not be useful for someone else. Adventist evangelists could not settle on a specific formula for all. Emerging from their differences was a persistent characteristic of Adventist evangelism: the tendency to alternate

between powerful preaching by a powerful personality on one hand and a simple presentation with careful attention to indoctrination on the other.

Evangelism Between the World Wars

Following World War I Adventist commitment to evangelism continued, but a shift in emphasis took place. Instead of Armageddon, evangelists spoke of a time of peace in which to warn the world of the soon return of Jesus. Adventist leaders realized that they had not reached the entire world yet and thus had not fulfilled the gospel commission. The *Review* noted in 1919 that in Africa alone the countries that Adventists had not entered had a combined population of 74,000,000. Similar conditions existed in Asia. The church was hardly better off in South America and the Pacific islands.

It was not as if Adventist mission efforts had flagged. The number of workers filling mission appointments from 1910 to 1920 increased 60 percent over the preceding decade, which had also been a period of substantial mission endeavor in its own right. During the 1920s the increase moderated, but still the number of new mission workers exceeded the previous decade by 450. This achievement is more remarkable when seen against a postwar recession during 1920-1922, when church revenues declined and payrolls were slashed.

During this era some city evangelists shifted to administrative positions. Conferences also tended to divert more funds to improve places of worship and to stabilize new congregations by employing

more pastors, a deficiency to which some attributed a decline in membership growth in 1920. A general trend set in to encourage laypersons to become soul winners and to employ women Bible workers whose salaries were less than those of their male counterparts. The emphasis on evangelistic work by the laity continued through the 1930s and 1940s. Pastors saw that with only minimal training and with aids such as filmstrips and study guides, ardent church members could conduct small evangelistic meetings and Bible studies in homes. Campaigns were popular with local churches; for a brief few weeks they could find themselves in the spotlight. Notwithstanding continued support of evangelism, the overall rate of membership increase in North America during the 1920s fell to about half of its wartime level.

Another trend affected the tone of the evangelistic meetings. Stung by persistent criticism of their failure to indoctrinate their converts properly, speakers redoubled their efforts to focus on Christ in all their doctrinal presentations. They became convinced that once listeners had experienced a genuine commitment to Jesus they would not become spiritual migrants after they joined the church. Evangelists who followed this preaching technique saw conversion to Christ as an experience in itself, but linked it to a firm belief in doctrine. Charles T. Everson, Taylor G. Bunch, and H. M. S. Richards were particularly dedicated to Christ-centered messages.

Adventist evangelists were ever alert to new techniques to attract audiences. Everson used large, temporary wooden

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tabernacles similar to those that Protestant revivalist Billy Sunday had popularized early in the twentieth century. In the spirit of public respect for scientific knowledge, some speakers billed themselves as lecturers with a specific scientific slant. Phillip Knox effectively utilized astronomy to attract large audiences in the Pacific Coast states. Public fascination with motion pictures during the 1920s led some evangelists to hunt for suitable films to encourage attendance, but it was too often necessary to censor these showings to make them practical.

Extensive use of radio did not develop until the 1940s, but during the 1920s evangelists experimented with it.

H. M. S. Richards, who became Adventism's most famous radio "voice," made his debut in radio in 1926. About the same time H. A. Vandeman inaugurated a regular Sunday-evening radio lecture series in Pennsylvania with an estimated listening audience of 50,000. No auditorium, tent, or theater had attracted more than a tenth of that number.

A new generation of evangelists appeared who continued through the 1930s and into the 1940s, developing new methods that hundreds of young Adventist preachers would imitate in the post-World War II era. One of the new faces was John Ford, a twenty-nine-year-old speaker who brought in more than 100 converts from



Left, The reputation of H. M. S. Richards (1894-1985) as a successful evangelist originated during the 1920s. In the 1930s he began experimenting with radio and eventually became the foremost Adventist voice on the airwaves.

Right, J. L. Shuler (1887-1984), a successful city evangelist, authored a textbook about evangelistic methods for ministerial training classes in Adventist colleges. It was the first attempt to systematize Adventist evangelistic methods.

a campaign in California and 360 in another series in Arizona. He later demonstrated similar success in New England. In 1935 he became the first radio speaker that the General Conference sponsored. Tragically, his career ended in 1940 because of personal difficulties.

John L. Shuler, Fordyce Detamore, and R. Allan Anderson were other names in the developing evangelistic trend. Early experience taught Shuler to encourage his listeners to make a sequence of simple public decisions on progressive points of faith rather than to wait until the end of a series to invite them to accept the entire body of Adventist beliefs at once. Shuler also held the first Evangelistic Field School and authored a text in evangelistic methods that became the basis for evangelistic classes in Adventist colleges. Detamore reinforced his public meetings with a "Bible Auditorium of the Air," another radio broadcast, which also featured a correspondence Bible school. He later joined the Voice of Prophecy broadcast to direct its correspondence courses.

An often overlooked aspect of city evangelism pertained to immigrant groups. Adventists had always sought to evangelize among the large German and Scandinavian populations of the Midwest, but it was different with the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who began arriving in large numbers in the 1890s. These newcomers settled mainly in the large cities of the Northeast, but because Adventist evangelism had not yet impacted the big municipalities, Adventists generally ignored them.

There were other factors. Literacy among the millions of Italians, Poles,

Russians, and Jews was low, estimated to be approximately a third who could read and write. Thus, the use of literature was limited. With the exception of the Jewish immigrants, the majority of these people came from either Roman Catholic or Orthodox backgrounds, and Adventists had relatively little experience in appealing to people in these Christian communions. In spite of these difficulties, by 1918 Adventists made special efforts to reach the Italian communities in Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, and the Polish colony in Chicago. The publishing houses launched new journals in Bohemian, French, Hungarian, Italian, Russian, and Yiddish.

Progress among the Italians and Poles was slow; in 1922 the New York City Italian church had only thirty-nine members. Although the work of the Foreign Department declined, with the advancement of city evangelism Adventists' work among the foreign-language groups expanded with the use of literature. The North American publishing houses increased their output of literature to thirty languages. During the first half of the 1930s more than 7000 members joined non-English-speaking congregations in North America. By 1941 the largest Italian-speaking Adventist church in the world was in Chicago. At the same time the church enlarged its activities to include Japanese immigrants and their descendants.

Spanish-speaking Adventists, numbered in the hundreds, mainly in the American Southwest, constituted a long overlooked sector, which also began receiving attention. Attempts to establish

separate educational programs for Spanish-speaking Adventists to train evangelistic workers did not endure, but in time, ministry among these congregations would become one of the most successful among minority groups in North America. In the late 1930s the church entered the Native American tribes, also in the Southwest.

By the end of World War II the patterns of Adventist evangelism became clearer. Relationships between the success of Adventist evangelists in North America and the times in which they preached were apparent. Periods of crisis and tension—the early years of World War I, the onset of the Great Depression, and the dramatic events leading to World War II—produced the largest audiences and the most baptisms. In each case three or four years of sustained interest and membership increase occurred, with periods of lagging interest and apostasies following.

Each time their effectiveness waned, conference leaders and evangelists engaged in a round of introspection to discover the causes. Some blamed the secular attractions of the world, especially during the period of prosperity of the latter half of the 1920s. Others held the evangelists responsible, charging them with depending too much on “gimmicks” to attract audiences. They charged some with exalting the medium above the message, publishing misleading advertising that sometimes bordered on the sensational, and baptizing large numbers without appropriate instruction about some of the inconveniences attending Adventist doctrines, such as employment problems

following the adoption of the seventh-day Sabbath. Some suggested that the church was aging; it was showing a loss of evangelistic fervor and a growth of institutionalism customary to religious movements as they became older.

Church discussions concerning the weaknesses and successes of Adventist evangelism arose from a desire to improve the process. “You are men of the hour,” Vice President W. H. Branson wrote to the ministry in 1935. “We depend upon the evangelists . . . for the building up of the church. Our departments are a help . . . Our laymen are a help, but we must depend largely upon the ministry to go out and bring in new converts.” It was clear that notwithstanding the emphasis on involving rank and file Adventists in evangelism, church leaders placed the greater responsibility on the ordained ministry.

Aspects of Lay Evangelism

The question of lay involvement deserves more attention. Although Branson declared that the denomination held the ordained ministry responsible for soul-winning initiatives, Seventh-day Adventists had always believed that all members were called to be active Christian witnesses. The *Review* repeatedly reminded its readers that only as all members became laborers would it be possible for the church to move the world.

The church organized many ways for members to be active. The nineteenth-century Tract and Missionary societies provided an abundance of literature for sale or free distribution. The medical

missionary emphasis of the 1890s demonstrated how temporal help opened the way for discussion of the basics of Adventist faith. One of Ellen White's last articles in the *Review* urged members, young and old, to become workers at home and in their neighborhoods by inviting others to study the Bible.

Scores of Adventist laypersons engaged in active witnessing. Accounts of their successes frequently appeared in the official church paper to inspire others to emulate their example. One such story described a Wisconsin couple who borrowed money to move to an area with no Adventist church. In their new location they loaned tracts and magazines, sold a few books, and soon discovered interested persons with whom they could hold Bible studies. Among their new friends was an Adventist woman, who with her children, had virtually given up the faith but now enjoyed a revived interest. Before long a church of twenty-seven members sprouted up, with another twenty participating in the Sabbath School. During the entire time this couple supported themselves and paid for a club of 100 *Signs of the Times* and half as many foreign-language journals. The wife declared that after a day's work nothing rested her as much as going to a home to unfold the truth as it is in Jesus.

Yet such efforts fell short of initiating the mass witnessing church leaders deemed essential. After careful consideration, delegates to the 1913 General Conference decided that home missionary secretaries were necessary in both the General Conference and the North American Division. These persons would

devote all of their time to develop practical plans and methods of instruction to unite all members in a general missionary movement.

Home missionary secretaries soon appeared in the unions and conferences. They encouraged laypersons in four categories of activities: literature distribution, Bible studies in homes, humanitarian work, and writing missionary letters. Reports showed that during the first four years of this promotion laypersons conducted more than 900,000 Bible studies, distributed nearly 25,000,000 tracts, books, and papers, and made nearly 1,000,000 gifts of meals, clothing, or treatments to the needy. Estimates of the conversions resulting from these efforts exceeded 10,000. Years before, the *Review* editor had written that each church should be a "hive" of activity. Perhaps these four years showed that many congregations had truly become beehives.

The Home Missionary Department, begun as a subdivision of the Publishing Department, separated in 1918. Its leaders continued to develop ways to challenge members to engage in lay evangelism. In 1924 the department established "Home Missionary Day," the first Sabbath of each month, when the church stressed lay evangelism. Six years later home missionary leaders added a weekly, fifteen-minute service following Sabbath School.

Some critics viewed these promotional activities as commercial, particularly when they involved purchases of literature or the Ingathering campaigns. They were unhappy with an apparent loss of spiritual objectives in the midst of organizational

details and sometimes competitive techniques to stimulate congregational participation. Church leaders recognized the possibility of Sabbath desecration from programs that were good in themselves, yet so important did the rallying of the entire church for evangelistic missionary programs seem that they did not seriously consider reducing the time allotted in church for these activities. In 1930 the General Conference session even voted a resolution to call all Adventist colleges to teach various phases of home missionary endeavor.

New programs appeared constantly: home nursing classes, a textbook of methods in giving Bible study followed by actual classes, programs of systematic and sustained literature distribution, and the King's Pocket League consisting of a series of tracts small enough to fit in a little leather pouch. The Home Missionary Department also integrated the Dorcas Societies into its program and greatly expanded their outreach activities. Organizing and executing the annual Ingathering campaign became one of the department's major functions.

Since the early 1880s one of the most effective ways to introduce Adventism into a new locality was literature sales by colporteurs, sometimes called literature evangelists or canvassers. Literature distribution was a prime activity in the world fields as well as the United States. However important this work was, A. G. Daniells noticed upon his return to America from Australia in 1900 that it was virtually extinct in the United States. In 1902 the Pacific Union, with a population roughly that of Australia, but with



E. R. Palmer (1869-1931), was a successful promoter and organizer of literature evangelism in Australia. In the early 1900s A. G. Daniells asked him revive the declining work of colporteurs in North America.

a membership five times greater, had only an eighth of the book sales. To correct this situation he looked to Edwin R. Palmer, who had directed the canvassing work so successfully in Australia, to revitalize colporteur labors in America.

Palmer quickly identified the problems. During the 1890s a financial depression struck the United States, and as literature sales dropped, conferences trimmed their operating budgets by frequently dropping the canvassing agents, who were responsible for organizing literature sales in the conferences. With no one to recruit, train, and encourage colporteurs, only the most dedicated salesmen continued their work. The de-

pression also led the two major publishing houses to resort to commercial printing in order to meet their expenses and to pay off debts incurred by expanding their plants and upgrading their equipment. Coinciding with these events was Dr. Kellogg's drive to promote health books. A de-emphasis on religious literature accompanied by larger commissions on health books encouraged colporteurs to shift away from specifically religious books and periodicals.

It proved easier for Palmer to discover what was wrong than to correct the problem, partly because of his own poor health and the shattering effect of his wife's death in 1903. Another major obstacle was the belief of Pacific Press manager C. H. Jones that the state Tract and Missionary societies had outlived their usefulness and publishing houses should deal directly with colporteurs. W. C. White, who was eager to cut book costs through eliminating the middle men, agreed.

Palmer was convinced that Jones was wrong because local conference officials would not feel the need to promote literature sales. Experience demonstrated that Palmer was right. Under his leadership the state tract societies revived and the number of colporteurs increased from about 1,000 in 1903 to 1,700 in 1908. Of this number 55 percent were in North America. Sales improved after a new policy in 1905 called for periodic conventions of state canvassing leaders where they shared practical instruction.

The scholarship plan for students in Adventist schools also played a major role in recruiting canvassers and improving sales. In earlier years many students had

spent summers selling Adventist books, but by the early twentieth century this practice declined. In 1906 the publishing houses, tract societies, and denominational colleges revived student participation by cooperatively arranging a bonus in addition to the 50 percent commission earned on the sale of each book. If a student sold at least \$250 worth of books, the sponsoring institutions would add a bonus sufficient to meet his charges for board, room, and tuition for one school year. This program began at Union College. The second year students delivered \$13,000 worth of books; that fall one out of every twenty enrolled at the college attended on a colporteur scholarship. A few years later one student sold \$2000 in books in a single summer.

Although the dollar value of book sales declined substantially during the Great Depression, publishing leaders increased their efforts to circulate books containing the full complement of Adventist beliefs—books such as *Bible Readings for the Home Circle* and Ellen White's *The Great Controversy* and *Patriarchs and Prophets*. Conscious of the increased impact of exposure to Adventism in small, regular doses, many colporteurs during the 1930s promoted a year's subscription to one of Adventism's evangelistic journals with each book sold.

With considerable trepidation colporteurs began another plan during the Great Depression, that of selling major books or sets on the installment plan, a technique that started in Australia and spread to the United States. Literature salesmen began to use it reluctantly, but as it turned out, the frequent call-backs

for collections not only allowed colporteurs to answer doctrinal questions that purchasers raised, but often also resulted in the sale of additional literature.

The destructiveness of World War II did not leave Adventist publishing houses unscathed, but military conscription officials in the United States designated colporteurs as ministers of the gospel, thus exempting them from military service. The Supreme Court ruled that door-to-door sale of religious literature was “as evangelical as the revival meeting,” which gave a constitutional guarantee to the tax-exempt status of literature sales. Britain followed the American practice of classifying military-age colporteurs as exempt from service.

During the first four decades of the twentieth century the colporteur became legendary in Adventist tradition. Most Adventists viewed colporteurs as literal home missionaries. Hundreds of Adventist students found a way to pay for their education and to witness at the same time. It seemed to be an activity in which everyone benefitted both spiritually and financially. The publishing houses kept their presses going, colporteurs earned a livelihood, and the message of Adventism advanced.

Membership Growth and the World Fields

The first four decades of the twentieth century were a time when Adventists learned the techniques of urban evangelism and put them into practice. More than ever before in denominational history, the twenty years between the world

wars were years of urban preaching in North America. While questions arose over the effectiveness of evangelism, and the ups and downs of evangelistic trends were troublesome, no one could argue that the church was not growing. In 1940 the North American membership topped 185,000, virtually double its total in 1921. Yet at times the growth was uneven. Home Missionary Secretary J. A. Stevens reported that 989 Adventist churches in North America had not added a single member in 1935.

These statistics tell only part of the story. Church growth had not occurred without its struggles. The doubling of North American membership took place despite an apostasy rate averaging 55 to 60 percent of the conversion rate. Concerned Adventist leaders attributed this disturbing situation to several causes, among them too few ministers who had insufficient time for pastoral care, excessive time spent during church services on promotion of programs and campaigns instead of the gospel, poorly located and inadequately equipped church buildings, and unprepared lay leaders. Pastors tried to correct these negative conditions by encouraging congregations to exhibit genuine interest in members who were slipping away, but too many churches were eager to purge erring members instead of winning them back. Some equated a punitive mentality with maintaining the integrity of the church. Church leaders did not advocate lowering Adventist standards, but rather a more loving spirit. Many felt that a regular review of major distinctive points of doctrine by the minister in his Sabbath ser-

mons would help stem the apostasy rate.

As encouraging as North American growth was, the more rapid pace of soul winning continued to occur in the world fields. American evangelists were developing evangelistic methods, but soul-winning efforts elsewhere were more productive. Frequently, Adventists in the world fields were far more active in the very programs that originated in North America. In 1932 it was estimated that 86 percent of the Adventists in the Philippines were engaged in some aspect of lay evangelism. Membership growth in these islands was higher than anywhere else in Asia. While North American Adventists were doubling their number, membership in the world fields more than tripled. By 1940 more than 300,000 Adventists lived outside North America.

Publishing centers and colporteurs exerted an especially impressive impact on the spread of the gospel in the world fields. In 1912 the two missionary journals published in England averaged a monthly circulation of 150,000 copies; that same year the Hamburg Publishing House's semimonthly *Herold der Wahrheit* averaged a circulation of 95,000 per issue. The annual sales of the Australian Signs Publishing Company tripled between 1909 and 1912. During the same period, the Pacific Press shipped 92,000 Spanish books to non-North American destinations.

In 1930 publishing leaders announced

that literature was available in 141 languages, and they estimated that these languages made distinctive Adventist teachings available to 95 percent of the world. The record shows, however, that an Adventist presence in the world fell far below the 95 percent. By the end of World War II Adventist literature sales around the world were approaching \$10,000,000 annually. No one kept a record of the actual number of Adventists attributing their conversion to contacts with colporteurs, but anyone would be hard put to convince church leaders that the evangelistic results of literature distribution were less than miraculous.

The story of Adventist evangelism in North America during the first four decades of the 1900s is one in which church leaders and preachers who felt the compulsion to evangelize sought new ways to spread the gospel in a society that was becoming more complex and difficult. The church's leaders that listened to Ellen White's admonition at the turn of the century and bent their efforts to comply were gone by the time World War II broke out, but the legacy of church activity based on the reorganization they effected in 1901 established a tone for Adventism that followed them far into the next half of the century. In time their organization and their methods would undergo modification, but they worked hard, conscientiously, and effectively to give the trumpet its certain sound.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Evangelism:

E. M. Robinson, *S. N. Haskell: Man of Action* (1967), pp. 177-234, provides insight into Haskell's methods of personal evangelism.

Howard Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (1969), describes the problems and changes that evangelists had to cope with.

Ellen White, *Evangelism* (1946), shows the major impact of Ellen White on all aspects of Adventist evangelism.

Publishing work:

N. Z. Town, et al., *The Publishing Department Story* (1927), includes the concern of A. G. Daniells for colporteur work.

D. R. McAdams, "Edwin R. Palmer: Publishing Secretary Extraordinary," *Adventist Heritage*, vol. 2, no. 1, summer 1975, pp. 51-62, relates the key role of E. R. Palmer in revitalizing Adventist book sales.

M. Carol Hetzell, *The Undaunted* (1967), pp. 36-146, summarizes literature distribution in various parts of the world.

The Final Years and Legacy of Ellen White

Conflicting emotions must have surged through Ellen White's breast that day in 1900 when her angelic messenger informed her it was time to say farewell to Australia and return to the United States. She had many friends and loved ones in her native land, including her eldest surviving son, Edson, and his wife, whom she had not seen in nine years. Joy, however, must have been mixed with apprehension. She was now seventy-two; the long ocean voyage would not be easy, and she knew that difficult days lay ahead as the church organization was restructured for more effective witnessing. Her roomy house, "Sunnyside," adjacent to the Avondale Campus, was pleasant and familiar, while she no longer owned a home in Battle Creek or Healdsburg to which she might return.

For more than half a century Ellen White had attempted to fulfill faithfully

her guide's instruction; she did not falter now. Yet, while crossing the Pacific how comforting to learn from the angelic messenger that He had prepared a "refuge" in America for her in her declining years. Just where, the messenger did not say.

Upon arrival in San Francisco Mrs. White and her son, Willie, spent four days looking over various properties in Oakland where she and James had once owned a home. It was no use—everything was either too expensive or inconveniently arranged. Tired and worn, Mrs. White and her companions proceeded about seventy miles north to spend a few days resting at the St. Helena Sanitarium.

Elmshaven

During her stay at St. Helena Mrs. White learned from friends of available nearby property they felt would suit her

THE FINAL YEARS AND LEGACY OF ELLEN WHITE

needs. “Elmshaven,” a comfortable two-story house, had been built fifteen years earlier by Robert Pratt. It sat on a little knoll surrounded by some seventy-odd acres of orchards, vineyards, and pastureland. Ellen White was much taken with Elmshaven. The variety of fruit trees—apple, pear, peach, cherry, plum, nectarine, and fig—delighted her. In addition there were a few walnut and olive trees, a 1400-tree prune orchard, plenty of good garden space, and ten acres of hay that would supply the needs of several cows and horses.

The entire Elmshaven property was purchased for \$8000. A few months later Mrs. White sold thirteen and one-half acres to the sanitarium for use in constructing a food factory, workers’ cottages, and a sewage disposal plant. A year later she

gave Willie six and a half acres on which to build a home for his family. Several other small parcels of land were given to some of her grandchildren and literary assistants. Needing a knowledgeable fruit farmer to care for her orchards, Mrs. White sent to Australia for Iram James, who had served her well at Cooranbong. When he arrived with his wife and eleven children, he, too, was given several acres of land as a homestead.

In Elmshaven itself a pleasant writing and study room was built above the kitchen for Mrs. White. With a large bay window set to catch the morning sun and a cozy fireplace, it became her favorite room. It was here that on so many mornings during the next fourteen years she would come early, stir up the coals, place a log on the fire, and sit and write quietly for hours



“Sunnyside,” Ellen White’s home in Australia near the Adventist school at Cooranbong. While living here, she wrote The Desire of Ages. The house has been restored.

until the rest of the household was astir.

Yet Ellen White scarcely had time to settle at Elmhaven before church leaders were pressing her to attend the 1901 General Conference session. Recognizing that her influence was necessary in order to bring about needed changes, she agreed to go. On the way she stopped to see the work Edson had begun in Vicksburg and to visit Nashville, fast becoming the center for Adventist work in the Southern States. Then it was on to Battle Creek, reunion with dozens of old friends and numerous interviews and talks with conference delegates.

Later Publications

Returning to Elmhaven after the General Conference session, Mrs. White

busied herself with preparing several important books for publication. In 1902 volume seven of *Testimonies for the Church* came from the presses; volume eight followed two years later. Sandwiched between these two volumes was *Education*, a revision and expansion of her *Christian Education* issued a decade earlier. Then in 1905 *The Ministry of Healing*, an integrated presentation of the principles of healthful living suitable for non-Adventists and Adventists alike, appeared. During these same years Mrs. White carried on an extensive correspondence and found time to urge the development of sanitarium work in southern California.

Ellen White did all of her writing in longhand. Generally she retired each evening about eight and arose around two



After returning to the United States from Australia, Ellen White settled at "Elmhaven," a home below St. Helena Sanitarium in California. She lived here until her death in 1915.

or three in the morning. A corps of copyists and literary assistants would find several dozen pages of material ready when their work day began. These assistants edited Mrs. White's copy, correcting spelling, punctuation, and grammar. In some cases they eliminated repetitious material or suggested adding words to make a sentence flow more smoothly. This was help such as James White had given during the first thirty-five years of his wife's ministry. Always the editorial assistants submitted the corrected copy to Ellen for her approval before typing it for the final time. Mrs. White's staff worked in a two-story, eight-room office building constructed just behind the main house. Over the years several small cottages were built as living quarters for these assistants.

Through 1909 Mrs. White continued to travel widely. She made several visits to southern California and two main cross-country trips. During much of 1904 and 1905 Mrs. White lived at Takoma Park, closer to the General Conference leaders who were engaged in reestablishing denominational headquarters there. She was an active participant in the 1905 and 1909 General Conferences, both held in Takoma Park. During the first Sabbath of the 1909 conference, Ellen White spoke for fifty minutes to a huge crowd gathered in a camp-meeting tent pitched on the sanitarium and college grounds. She also gave the Sabbath morning sermon on the remaining two Sabbaths of the conference. Although she was eighty-one at the time, her voice rang out clearly; even those standing outside the tent had no trouble understanding her without the benefit of a public address system.

Following the 1909 conference, an extensive speaking tour took Mrs. White first to New England and then back home across the Southern States. This was her last trip across the continent. Sensing that her labors were drawing to a close, she worked earnestly to prepare more books. These would be her legacy to her church. Volume nine, the final volume of *Testimonies for the Church*, appeared in 1909. Two years later *The Acts of the Apostles* joined the three volumes of the "Conflict of the Ages Series" previously published: *The Great Controversy* (1888), *Patriarchs and Prophets* (1890), and *The Desire of Ages* (1898). The fifth volume, *Prophets and Kings*, was nearly finished at the time of her death. Material for the two last incomplete chapters was added from Mrs. White's manuscript file and the volume published in 1917. Two other major books appeared during these years: *Counsels to Teachers, Parents, and Students*, and a revised and enlarged edition of *Gospel Workers*.

A steady stream of church officials stopped by Elmshaven to consult with Mrs. White about everything, from their personal religious experience to the proper choice of workers to lead schools and conferences, or to open the work in some far-flung mission land. If she felt the Lord had given her light on the matters upon which they requested her advice, she gave it freely. Frequently, however, she had no instruction from the Lord. On such occasions she would say, "I dare not . . . take the responsibility of advising you in this matter. But . . . you have a counselor in the Lord Jesus. Counsel also with your brethren; they can advise

you. If the Lord gives me definite instruction concerning you, I will give it to you; but I cannot take upon myself responsibilities that the Lord does not give to me to bear.”

The counsels that did come from this aged leader had the ring of certainty and assurance of her early years. “As a matter of fact,” W. A. Spicer remembered years later, “we saw that gift in old age doing some of the strongest and most effective work of all Mrs. White’s lifetime. . . . Again we had to say to ourselves, ‘Mrs. White never, never could have sent that counsel of her own knowledge.’”

Some, who knew Ellen White only as a name—a person uniquely used of God to bring counsel, comfort, rebuke, and inspiration to His people—may have looked upon this elderly woman as an enigmatic and forbidding figure, but those who knew her well did not so regard her. “She was uniformly pleasant, cheerful, and courageous,” A. G. Daniells remembered. “She was never careless, flippant, or in any way cheap in conversation or manner of life. She was the personification of serious earnestness regarding the things of the kingdom. I never once heard her boast of the gracious gift God had bestowed upon her, or the marvelous results of her endeavors. She did rejoice in the fruitage, but gave all the glory to Him who wrought through her.”

Although Daniells could testify that Mrs. White was “uniformly pleasant, cheerful, and courageous,” there were moments of discouragement as well. She shared such a moment one morning with a breakfast guest. Will Sadler had spent years directing the evangelistic medical

mission activities that Dr. Kellogg had begun in Chicago. Now he was studying medicine in San Francisco and had come to Elmhaven for a brief visit. As breakfast was ending, Mrs. White, who had been rather quiet and reserved during the meal, turned to the still-youthful Sadler and remarked, “Brother Sadler, what can one do for a ‘blue’ day?”

Excusing himself from the table, Sadler walked into an adjoining room. Soon he returned with a copy of *Steps to Christ* in his hand. Opening the book to the chapter “What to Do With Doubt,” he handed it to the author. “If I were you,” he said, “I’d read this chapter.”

Giving Sadler’s wrist a friendly tap, Ellen said simply, “Oh, you!” But a smile returned to her lips, a twinkle to her eye. A few minutes later she was back writing busily.

And Ellen White did draw strength and inspiration from her own books. During these later years in particular, she was often found with one of them in her lap, carefully studying its pages. She especially profited from rereading *The Desire of Ages* and *The Great Controversy*, which she once indicated she appreciated “above silver or gold.”

Interestingly enough, Mrs. White at times apparently failed fully to comprehend the significance of what she was writing. In a letter penned in 1898 she commented: “In the night I am aroused from my sleep, and I write in my diary many things that appear as new to me when read as to any who hear them. If I did not see the matter in my own handwriting, I should not think my pen had traced it.”

Experiences like this strengthened her conviction that, of herself, she “could not have brought out the truths in these books.” How then were they to be explained? “The Lord has given me the help of His Holy Spirit.” On another occasion she stated emphatically: “Sister White is not the originator of these books. They contain the instruction that during her lifework God has been giving her. They contain the precious comforting light that God has graciously given His servant to be given to the world. From their pages this light is to shine into the hearts of men and women, leading them to the Saviour.” Thus when persons raised the question “What if Mrs. White should die?” as they frequently did, Ellen White could say with quiet assurance, “The books that she has written will not die.” Small wonder that she crowded as much writing as possible into her last years.

1909 and 1913 General Conference Sessions

Ellen White was in her eighty-second year when she traveled back to Takoma Park in 1909 to participate in her last General Conference session. By now her strength was failing, but early in the session it was announced that she wanted to meet with all the ministers present. Many, especially among the younger workers, anxiously awaited this occasion since all sensed that it might well be her valedictory.

After reading John 3:1-5 Mrs. White quietly and simply began to expound on the universal need to heed Christ’s words: “Ye must be born again.” Some present

were surprised—and a bit disappointed. Was this really the most important thing to talk to the church’s leading ministers about? Yet before her short talk of less than thirty minutes was completed, many among her hearers had been deeply stirred. Nearly forty years later one remembered that “never before, nor have I since, heard such a heart-searching and yet kind and beautiful presentation of the work of the Holy Spirit in transforming human lives into the glorious likeness of Christ as she presented to us.” In these few minutes Adventist leaders were given “a glimpse of the heights of spiritual excellence to which we might attain and to which we ought to attain if we were really servants of Christ to lead people on to a living faith in the Lord Jesus.”

A few days later Mrs. White mounted the platform for her final words to the assembled delegates, many of whom she had worked with for many years. Her words were simple and few. At the end she took from the pulpit the Bible lying there. Opening it, she extended it toward the congregation saying simply: “Brethren and sisters, I commend unto you this Book.” Replacing the Bible, she quietly left the pavilion.

Although unable to meet with the delegates who assembled for the 1913 conference session, Ellen White did send them a message of confidence and a call to increased consecration. There was no cause to fear since “the God of Israel is still guarding His people, and . . . will continue to be with them, even to the end.” “Jesus,” she reminded the assembled church leaders, “will be your helper in every emergency.”

Final Years

Truly, Ellen White had found Jesus to be her Helper. In these last years at Elmhaven she rested in the assurance that, like Paul, she had “fought a good fight.” Not that she believed she was secure from the devil’s attacks, but she recognized that, because of the unique position she occupied, people expected more of her than of most. Mrs. White was determined not to be a stumbling block to any. In one of her first conversations with a young woman who had come to be her housekeeper Mrs. White said, “You may see some things in me that you do not approve of. You may see things in my son Willie you do not approve of. I may make mistakes, and my son Willie may make mistakes. I may be lost at last, and my son Willie may be lost. But the dear Lord has a remnant people that will be saved and go through to the Kingdom, and it remains with each of us as individuals whether or not we will be one of that number.”

During her last year or two Ellen White’s writing slackened; more time was spent in riding over the beautiful California hills that surrounded the Napa Valley. Accompanied by Sara McEnterfer, her faithful nurse and companion, and perhaps a grandchild or two, Mrs. White frequently stopped her buggy to converse with neighboring farm wives. Usually there were fresh vegetables or fruit from her garden to share. Most of the persons contacted in this way drew their livelihood from the sale of wine pressed from their vineyards. Seventh-day Adventists, with their commitment to temperance,

were generally not very popular in the Napa Valley. Yet for years after her death many of these Italian-American immigrants fondly remembered “the little old woman with white hair, who always spoke so lovingly of Jesus.”

Mrs. White maintained a warm interest in the products of her orchards, although no longer able to stand in the wagon and pick cherries as she had done when she first returned from Australia. She arranged for much of the fruit from her trees to be dried and sent out in packets to Adventist workers both in North America and beyond. Many bottles of fresh, sweet grape juice were made from her vineyards. She used this beverage freely when entertaining guests, and gave many bottles to them on their departure.

In the spring of 1914 Edson White came to spend a few weeks with his mother at Elmhaven. Shortly after his departure, Mrs. White’s health began to fail noticeably. Reading was now too tiring; someone else had to read the *Review and Herald* and other church papers to her. In this manner she kept up with the activities of the church she loved so dearly.

Frequent short visits from one or another of her grandchildren were treasured. As they nestled on her lap and counted the buttons on her dress, she would tell them a story of her childhood and youth “back in old New England.” Then they would be sent off to the barn to check on a new calf or to pick some fruit from a favorite tree. More and more frequently her associates heard Mrs. White singing the words of a favorite hymn composed in 1845 by William Hyde after he had listened

to young Ellen Harmon describe her first vision.

“We have heard from the bright, the holy land,

We have heard, and our hearts are glad;

For we were a lonely pilgrim band,

And weary, and worn, and sad.

They tell us the pilgrims have a dwelling there—

No longer are homeless ones;

And we know that the goodly land is fair,

Where life’s pure river runs.

“We’ll be there, we’ll be there, in a little while,

We’ll join the pure and the blest;

We’ll have the palm, the robe, the crown,

And forever be at rest.”

Illness and Death

On February 12, 1915, Mrs. White felt well enough to walk a bit in the yard and garden with Willie who had recently returned from a four-month trip to the Eastern and Southern States. She was eighty-seven at this time. The next morning, a Sabbath, as she was entering her study she apparently tripped and fell. May Walling, her niece, who was nearby, came quickly to assist her, but found Mrs. White unable to stand. With some difficulty Miss Walling raised her into a chair, pulled it to her bedside, and lifted her into bed. A physician was immediately summoned from the St. Helena Sanitarium. X-rays revealed that Mrs. White had suffered

a fracture of the left hip.

During the final five months of her life Ellen White was confined to her bed or to a wheelchair. Mercifully, she did not suffer much pain. Her courage remained strong. Recognizing that her work was almost over, she reported feeling not “the least mite of despondency or discouragement.” She remained concerned mainly for others. Several weeks after her fall she penned her last message, which she fittingly addressed to Adventist youth, counseling them about the importance of their choosing to read only good literature.

A few weeks before her death, on July 16, 1915, Mrs. White indicated that she was sure this was her last illness and she was “not worried at the thought of dying.” Jesus was a precious Friend to her; she felt His presence near. “I do not worry about the work I have done,” she told Willie. “I have done the best I could.” Surrounded by family, friends, and helpers, Ellen White “fell asleep in Jesus as quietly and peacefully as a weary child goes to rest.” Her last audible words were “I know in whom I have believed.”

Two days later approximately 500 friends and neighbors assembled on the front lawn of Elmshaven for the first of a series of three funerals. Old associates were the main participants: J. N. Loughborough, G. B. Starr, Eugene Farnsworth. The next morning the funeral party headed for Battle Creek, to lay the revered “Mother in Israel” by the side of her husband and the two sons who had died in childhood. During a brief stop at the California camp meeting then in session, E. E. Andross, president of the Pa-

cific Union Conference, was the principal speaker at a second service.

The final funeral service took place on Sabbath, July 24, in the Battle Creek Tabernacle, where Mrs. White had spoken so often. More than 3500 persons jammed the Tabernacle, and another 1000 were turned away for lack of room. The service was directed by General Conference president A. G. Daniells; both he and Stephen Haskell paid tribute to the fallen leader. Editor F. M. Wilcox of the *Review and Herald* read from Revelation 21 and 22, and M. C. Wilcox of the Pacific Press and General Conference treasurer W. T. Knox prayed. I. H. Evans, president of the North American Division, conducted graveside services.

Ellen White's Written Legacy

And so Ellen White was laid to rest. No longer could church members or conference presidents appeal to her to learn "the mind of the Lord" in a particular situation. Her voice and pen were still. The products of her pen, however, would continue to be a major influence in the way Adventists thought and acted. Ellen White had been a prolific writer during the seventy years of her ministry. Once typewriters came into use, a copy of each letter and manuscript was kept for her personal files. Through the years these amounted to some 60,000 typewritten pages. From these manuscript files she selected, with the help of literary assistants, material of general interest for the nine volumes of *Testimonies for the Church*. These files were also the source of more than thirty major subject compila-

tions issued posthumously by the trustees of her estate.

At the time of her death there were twenty-four of Mrs. White's books in circulation; these represented well over 100,000 printed pages. In addition, she had been a regular and frequent contributor to the *Review and Herald*, the *Signs of the Times*, the *Youth's Instructor*, and other denominational journals. Through the years she had contributed more than 4500 articles to their pages. Both during her life and after her death questions arose about the nature of inspiration and the relation of her writing to the Bible. These issues gave rise to the most crucial discussions of the first denominational combination Bible conference-teachers' council in 1919. Later, beginning in the 1970s these same questions arose again, plunging the church into a serious internal debate. This phase of Adventist history will receive detailed treatment in a later chapter, but here we should note that while many church leaders tried in different ways to explain the balance that existed between the human and divine in Ellen White's writings, F. M. Wilcox cautioned Adventists to take great care in discussing her work and writing lest faith in her counsels erode away.

Wilcox had a point. There had long been a tendency on the part of some Adventists to attempt to separate the "human" part of the testimonies from the "divine." As early as 1889 Ellen White herself had noted: "Many times in my experience I have been called upon to meet the attitude of a certain class, who acknowledged that the testimonies were from God, but took the position that this

matter and that matter were Sister White's opinion and judgment. This suits those who do not love reproof and correction, and who, if their ideas are crossed, have occasion to explain the difference between the human and the divine."

While Mrs. White made no claim that all the details in the things she wrote were received "as a revelation from the Lord," she did maintain that her writings should not simply be considered her own opinion—or worse yet, the opinion of some associate or church leader who had influenced her to write as she did. "I do not write one article in the paper expressing merely my own ideas," she affirmed. "They are what God has opened before me in vision—the precious rays of light shining from the throne."

Throughout the history of the advent movement persons other than Ellen White had claimed to receive visions and special messages from God (e.g., Anna Garmire, Anna Phillips). None attracted a large following or succeeded in establishing a permanent following among major church leaders. During the last several years of Mrs. White's life she "received six or eight letters from individuals who feel . . . that God has placed upon them the Spirit of prophecy." They were certain God would tell Ellen White to confirm their "call." To all she replied that God had "given her no instruction regarding their call to any special work."

Mrs. White was frequently asked if the Lord would send another special "messenger" in case of her death before Christ's second coming. She always replied that she did not know. God had not revealed anything of this nature to her.

Of one thing she was certain. "The Lord is perfectly able to take care of His cause." In an interview shortly before her fall she told one church leader that in her books were "outlined the information needed by our people for the rest of the journey." This corresponds with her statement in 1907: "My writings are kept on file in the office, and even though I should not live, these words that have been given to me by the Lord will still have life and will speak to the people."

The Estate Trustees

Some three years preceding her death Ellen White in her last will and testament made provision for the custody of her manuscript writings, copyrights, and book plates. The will created a self-perpetuating board of five trustees, who were instructed to dispose of her real property, preserve her manuscript collection, arrange for the printing of future compilations from this collection, and supervise the translation and publication of her books in other languages. The five original trustees were General Conference president A. G. Daniells, *Review and Herald* editor F. M. Wilcox, Pacific Press manager C. H. Jones, her son Willie, and a secretary, Charles C. Crisler. In later years the number of trustees rose to fifteen.

As early as 1904 reports were circulating that Mrs. White was "worth millions of dollars." Although at that time she pointed out that she did "not own in this world any place that is free from debt," it still came as a surprise to many that at the time of her death she actually had liabilities totaling nearly \$88,000. To

offset this amount court appraisers valued her real estate, furniture, book manuscripts, and copyrights as worth nearly \$67,000. This left a deficit of approximately \$21,000.

Immediately some critics charged that Mrs. White had not even followed her own counsel, given as light from God, to make “every effort . . . to stand free from debt.” How could such a situation develop? In actuality Ellen White had two sources of income: (1) a regular salary that began *after* her husband’s death, equal to that paid to a General Conference Executive Committee member, and (2) royalties from her publications.

Yet Mrs. White’s income never kept up with the expenses incurred in the preparation of her books for publication and her generous charities. In preparing her books for publication she paid thousands of dollars to her secretarial and editorial assistants, bore heavy expenses to secure good illustrations for her books, frequently bore the expense of having book plates made, and paid for the translation of her books into languages other than English.

She also made numerous gifts to help a wide variety of church activities. When, for instance, following the General Conference of 1901, S. N. Haskell began evangelistic work in New York City, she sent him \$1000 to get started. She contributed to dozens of church buildings, sanitariums, and schools. Throughout her lifetime Mrs. White assisted many young people in securing a Christian education. She gave liberally to advance Edson White’s southern work and, before the development of the sustentation system, to help support aged and infirm Adventist preachers.

Mrs. White’s will provided for the discharge of her debts. That this might be done expeditiously, her trustees arranged for the General Conference to pay all the notes she had given for money borrowed. In turn the trustees transferred the Elms-haven properties to the General Conference and gave their note for the balance due. This was paid, with interest, from the royalties which accrued from the Ellen White books. Elms-haven was eventually sold for \$12,000 to Iram James, who had managed the orchards for Mrs. White. Later it passed into the hand of Charles T. Everson, long a leading Adventist evangelist. Following Everson’s death in 1956, Mrs. Everson sold the house to the Pacific Union Conference, which has maintained it as a site of historic interest, visited annually by thousands of Adventists.

During the nineteen years the original Ellen G. White trustees worked together, they published ten posthumous compilations from Mrs. White’s manuscript files, prepared and published the first *Comprehensive Index* to her published books, sponsored a thorough indexing of the manuscripts and, in counsel with the General Conference officers, arranged for the perpetuation of the trusteeship and close collaboration with top church leadership. Until the death of W. C. White in 1937, the E. G. White manuscripts were kept in a vault in the office building that had been built at Elms-haven. As secretary to the trustees, Willie White carried the major responsibilities for the projects they approved.

Following Willie White’s death, his son, Arthur, became secretary of the Ellen G.

White Estate, incorporated formally in 1933. Arthur White supervised the transfer of the E. G. White manuscripts, letter files, and other documents to offices prepared on the ground floor of the General Conference headquarters building in Takoma Park. Since 1938 many trustees have come and gone, but Arthur White provided an essential link with the past until his death in 1991. During his lifetime his knowledge of Ellen White's writing process was the broadest of any living person.

From the days of Arthur White onward, workers in the Estate office have answered numberless inquiries regarding the life and teachings of Ellen White. Questions might come from the General Conference president, a layman in Brazil, or a non-Adventist scholar. The White Estate trustees have also provided speakers annually for camp meetings, ministerial institutes, and other meetings, both to respond to questions and to promote a worldwide interest in Ellen White.

Because Adventists have consistently held that "the reading and study of the Bible is greatly aided by the comments and counsels" of Ellen White, it is not surprising that through the years church leaders have put forth major efforts to encourage wider reading of her writings. The General Conference has made annual appropriations to aid in the publishing of Ellen White's books in new languages or in parts of the world where Adventists have recently entered. By 1976 her *Steps to Christ* had been translated into eighty-four languages, while *The Great Controversy* was available in thirty-two and *Thoughts From the Mount of Blessing* in twenty-one. Shortly after World War II a three-volume

selection from the nine-volume *Testimonies for the Church* was published as *Testimony Treasures* in an effort to make the "cream" of the larger series available to Adventists outside North America.

One of the major projects of the trustees of the Ellen White Estate sponsored during the 1950s was the preparation of a new comprehensive three-volume index to Mrs. White's published writings. This project involved a dozen persons over a four-year period. A careful card index of the materials in Mrs. White's unpublished letters and manuscripts was also prepared. This latter index proved useful in preparing new Ellen White compilations. The trustees also authorized a special Spirit of Prophecy correspondence course, and during the 1970s backed Arthur White's multi-volume biography of his grandmother.

One of the most effective efforts to encourage interest in Ellen White's writings among Adventists began in Takoma Park on the evening of January 8, 1969, with a "Testimony Countdown" program organized by White Estate personnel. In place of a prayer-meeting format, the planners utilized an adult-education approach. During the first evening and the nine successive weekly meetings in the series, a forty-odd page reading assignment was made in one of the volumes of the *Testimonies for the Church*. Each participant received a *Guidebook*, which included a series of ten short-answer questions on the material to be studied. The *Guidebook* also contained a brief sketch giving the historical setting for the materials to be read.

Subsequent evenings during the series

were divided into segments during which the reading assignment was quickly reviewed, students shared some new spiritual insight gained from their reading, dramatic stories connected with a particular testimony were related and questions concerning Ellen White's life, work, and teaching were answered. A high level of interest was evident throughout the series, with an average attendance at the Sligo church of 1500; more than 1000 attended at least eight out of the ten Testimony Countdown meetings held at Sligo. In several months' time 250 sets of the *Testimonies* were sold in the Washington, D. C. area.

The success of Sligo's Testimony Countdown, reported in the *Review and Herald*, resulted in similar programs in hundreds of churches across North America. Within two years the White Estate had distributed more than 3000 pastors' kits designed to provide necessary background materials for the Countdown series. Interest spread to Australia, the British Isles, South America, and the Far East.

As the series closed, participants began to inquire when a second series would be held. This question was not answered until 1976 when the Pacific Press issued a *Guidebook* for Testimony Countdown II. In explaining the reasons for its issuance, the publishers stated that "no other program launched by the General Conference ever received a more enthusiastic response by the rank and file of Seventh-day Adventists than the original Testimony Countdown."

While the earlier format was retained for the second series, the focus was on

topics not treated previously. A special effort was made to encourage church members young and old to participate in a joint study of the writings of the church's messenger. Again, popular response exceeded expectations.

Research Centers and Recent Developments

Recognizing the great value of the Ellen White manuscripts for study purposes, the trustees established a branch office and vault at Andrews University at the time the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary relocated there in 1960. It was the first of a string of research centers around the globe. In 1972 the Annual Council authorized other Ellen G. White Research Centers, the first of which opened on April 20, 1974, at Newbold College in England. Two more followed in 1976—at Loma Linda University in California and Avondale College in Australia. In addition to holding copies of a major part of the Ellen White manuscripts, these centers were also the depositories of much material for the study of Seventh-day Adventist history, theology, and polity.

By 1997 the centers had spread to most of the world divisions. Ordinarily, the site was the leading educational center for the division. In the case of Europe, which broke up into parts of several divisions, the center remained at Newbold. Africa, also divided into several divisions, benefitted from one center at the Adventist Seminary of West Africa in Nigeria, and another at Helderberg College in the attached field of South Africa.

THE FINAL YEARS AND LEGACY OF ELLEN WHITE

The South American Division enjoyed two centers, one at River Plate Adventist University in Argentina, the second at Brazil College near Sao Paulo, Brazil. The two large graduate degree-granting institutions in the Northern and Southern Asia-Pacific divisions became the research sites for a large part of the Orient, Sahmyook University in Seoul, Korea, and the Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies in the Philippines. The other center serving Asia was established at Spicer Memorial College in India. The

Inter-American Division located its research office at Montemorelos University in Mexico, and the Zaokski Theological Seminary in Russia housed the Ellen White materials for the Euro-Asia Division. In all, eleven research centers existed in 1998.

With the advent of laser technology and user friendly computer programs the accessibility of Ellen White's writings improved. Scanning capabilities made it possible to store entire manuscripts electronically, and search programs enabled



Arthur L. White (1907-1991), left, grandson of Ellen White and director of the White Estate, confers with General Conference president Robert H. Pierson (1911-1989) at the opening of the Ellen G. White Research Center at Loma Linda University in 1976. The E. G. White Estate has established many such centers at strategic locations around the world.

interested persons to locate quotations, references, or any desired material much more quickly than with previous systems. Internet hookups were capable of linking a single source to various centers around the world, which provided access to Ellen White's writings to anyone who could use a computer and who had the appropriate Internet connections. A comprehensive index to her works was available on CD-ROM.

Because the number of translations of the Spirit of Prophecy from its original form into other languages varied, computer users were at an advantage if they knew English. While English had always been the *lingua franca* of the church, the new technology cultivated it even further. Especially was this condition true in places such as the Euro-Asia Division that had been cut off from contact with North America for most of the twentieth century. When the library at Zaokski Theological Seminary organized, the overwhelming majority of its holdings were in English. To compensate for the lack of ecclesiastical study materials as well as Ellen White's writings in Russian, the ministerial preparation program at Zaokski Theological Seminary included a mandatory English-as-a-second language component. It was expected that future pastors and other church leaders would possess at least a reading knowledge of English if not a speaking facility. The spread of computer technology did not obviate the need for more translations for the rank and file members, thus the work of transferring Spirit of Prophecy writing into other languages continued.

A legal issue that arose as the end of

the twentieth century approached was the expiration of ownership rights guaranteed by North American copyright law. The expiration of these rights would make Ellen White's writings public domain, and in a sense, the White Estate would lose control of them. During the 1990s private presses did, indeed, republish some of the more widely read books under new formats, but the common attitude among these agencies was to promote the Spirit of Prophecy as it read rather than to change it for money-making purposes. A related problem was the need to replace book titles that were almost a hundred years old with newer ones more suitable to the late twentieth century. A case in point was the reappearance of *The Great Controversy* under the title of *The Triumph of God's Love*. The content remained the same.

In a sense the danger arising from private use of Ellen White's writings was minimized by the appearance of computer technology. The availability of official writings became so common as to render unofficial changes for private benefit almost impossible without detection and subsequent suspicion.

One can only speculate what Ellen White's attitude would be toward all of these events. The proliferation of her writing into many languages was something that pleased her, and the user friendly computer technology was a development that probably would have brought her joy. Her great goal had always been to be an instrument, used of Jesus to help prepare a people for His coming. She was very amenable to activities or programs that promoted that goal. She was not blind to

the possibility of problems along the way. In 1905 she wrote: "There will be those who will claim to have visions. When God gives you clear evidence that the vision is from Him, you may accept it, but do not accept it on any other evidence; for people are going to be led more and more astray in foreign countries and in America. The

Lord wants His people to act like men and women of sense."

It was Ellen White's call to common sense in the use of her works that A. G. Daniells and others in the late twentieth century would rely on as the role of inspired writings in the church continued to be a topic of discussion.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Ellen White's devotional writing:

Steps to Christ
The Desire of Ages
Christ's Object Lessons
Thoughts From the Mount of Blessing

About Ellen White:

Ellen White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (1915), pp. 379-480, is an autobiographical statement of her years after returning to the United States from Australia.

Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White* (1981-1986), a six-volume biography showing her pervasive involvement in Adventist affairs. Volumes 5 and 6 discuss her life between 1900 and 1915.

_____. *Ellen G. White, Messenger to the Remnant* (1956), pp. 68, 73, 74, describe the work of the trustees of the White Estate.

F. M. Wilcox, *The Testimony of Jesus* (1934), explains the gift of prophecy in the church.

A. G. Daniells, *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy* (1936), also defends the gift of prophecy as a legitimate part of the Adventist tradition.

L. H. Christian, *The Fruitage of Spiritual Gifts* (1947), expands on the influence of the gift of prophecy in the church.

T. H. Jemison, *A Prophet Among You* (1955), is the best known work about the gift of prophecy; it became a college textbook.

Herbert Douglass, ed., *What Ellen White Has Meant to Me* (1973), presents testimonies of more than two dozen persons speaking of Ellen White's impact on them.

_____. *Messenger of the Lord* (1998), is the most recent comprehensive study of Ellen White and her legacy.

Two World Wars Affect a World Church

The deteriorating international situation preceding the outbreak of World War I in the summer of 1914 provided a new impetus to both Adventist evangelism and journalism. Church leaders and the general membership alike interpreted the ominous war clouds as fresh signs of the Second Advent. Preoccupied with a new urgency to prepare relatives and friends for that climactic event, they spent little time or effort in considering the effects of global conflict on the Adventist organization or on individual church members.

War Clouds in Europe

The European Division, with headquarters and major memberships in Germany, was first to feel the effects of the war. Adventists in Russia found themselves completely isolated. Contact between headquarters and the division's mission

fields in Africa and the Near East was broken. President L. R. Conradi was able to maintain only tenuous communication with church leaders in America, Britain, and France through neutral Switzerland, Holland, or Denmark. It became virtually impossible to transfer funds from division headquarters to meet payrolls in other countries. German patronage of the Skodsborg and the Gland, Switzerland, sanitariums dropped precipitously—placing both institutions in financial difficulties. Cossack troops in East Prussia destroyed several Adventist meetinghouses.

While all these difficulties impeded the active evangelistic program of the church, it was the policy of conscription that caused the most hardship to individual members. European church leaders had made no concerted effort to acquaint their respective governments with Adventist objections to bearing arms or

to performing routine labor on the Sabbath. The rapid course of events immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities prevented their giving even members counsel on what were certain to be points of conflict with army officers. Autocratic governments like those of Germany and Russia expected implicit obedience from their subjects; their conscription laws made no provisions for noncombatant service for conscientious objectors.

Failure to prepare for the problems posed by the draft became acute in Germany. There on August 4, 1914, the president of the East German Union Conference, after counseling with several associates, "informed the German War Ministry in writing . . . that conscripted Seventh-day Adventists would bear arms as combatants and would render service on the Sabbath in defense of their country." Although this was directly contrary to the position taken by Adventism's founding fathers fifty years earlier, many German church members complied with their leader's announced policy.

Many, but not all. A number of German draftees were able to arrange for assignment to noncombatant service in the medical corps. Others took a more extreme stand, refusing to support the war effort in any way. Statements by some of this latter group led to the closing of all Seventh-day Adventist churches in one area of Germany. Only when church leaders reaffirmed their recommendation on combatancy were these churches allowed to reopen.

Several years after the close of the war, Adventist leaders from all over Europe met in council in Gland, Switzerland. Here on

January 2, 1923, they officially went on record as opposing all combatant service and Sabbath work other than of a humanitarian nature. This statement had the concurrence of the German leaders, who acknowledged that they had made a mistake in judgment in 1914. Although the Gland statement specified the reasons for the Seventh-day Adventist position, it also recognized that each church member possessed "absolute liberty to serve his country, at all times and in all places, in accord with the dictates of his personal conscientious conviction."

As for the other principal European combatants, Adventists were so few in number in France and Italy that no major confrontations with government officials arose. We know too little about Russian Adventists in military service after 1914 to generalize about their experiences. However, debate over the propriety of Seventh-day Adventists serving in both the imperial army prior to the Revolution and in the socialist army following the 1917 Revolution, eventually caused a split in the church. After 1924, when Russian Adventist leaders officially took the position that each individual should decide whether or not to serve in the military, some members broke from the church and eventually assumed the name "True and Free Adventists." In time the True and Free Adventists became an underground organization, separate from the official Seventh-day Adventist Church that registered with the government and thus gained worship privileges. By that time, the split between the two Adventist groups did not hinge on military service but on the larger notion of

cooperation with the authorities. This division did not heal until after the communist regime fell in 1991.

In England the government's reluctance to resort to conscription kept military problems from becoming a major issue until 1916. In that year, voluntary enlistments having failed to meet the needs of the battlefield, Parliament enacted compulsory military service. The British law provided that citizens conscientiously opposed to engaging in warfare might be assigned noncombatant work. But to receive classification as a conscientious objector, draftees were required to state their case before a local civilian tribunal. If these officials were not satisfied that the objector was truly acting on his conscientious convictions, he had the right of appeal.

In general, British Adventists experienced little difficulty in being assigned to the Noncombatant Corps. Once there, however, they frequently faced ridicule and sometimes outright persecution. In the minds of many citizens the "conchies" were cowards or traitors. The situation was complicated by the fact that some political dissidents who had felt free to use violence in trying to change the political, economic, and social system, now took refuge as conscientious objectors in order to escape defending a government they desired to see replaced.

Adventist noncombatants generally found that their biggest problems arose over refusal to do unnecessary or routine work on the Sabbath. Military officials expected orders to be obeyed. They found it difficult to believe that men would risk a six-month prison sentence rather than

carry out an order to work on Saturday.

British noncombatants sentenced to prison were supposed to serve their sentence in a civilian institution. This rule was not carried out. One Adventist group on duty in France was placed in a local military prison, where they were beaten repeatedly, forced to run for an hour with heavy weights on their backs and chests, and given two weeks of solitary confinement on a bread-and-water diet. At the end of this period, each was individually informed that all the others had decided to work on Saturdays in the future and had been released. Despite discouragement, each young Adventist decided to remain steadfast. One got the inspiration to whistle a few bars of a familiar hymn. Soon the next bars were continued by the inhabitant of a nearby cell. And so on until the prison walls rang with the tune. After appeals by conference officials these young men were eventually released and the officers involved with their illegal treatment severely reprimanded.

In Australia Adventists had won recognition of their noncombatant principles as early as 1911, when the Commonwealth's Defense Act was being amended. At the same time exemption from military training on Sabbath was secured. This provided a useful precedent for nearby New Zealand, where similar privileges were secured during the war. In South Africa the early refusal in 1914 by a Seventh-day Adventist draftee to drill on Sabbath resulted in a prison sentence. His consistent course, however, paved the way for a change in policy as military authorities learned to appreciate the worth of a man willing to go to prison for his faith. In Canada, too, it was

generally possible for Adventist soldiers to arrange for both noncombatant service and exemption from Sabbath drill and work.

America at War

Prior to 1916 American Adventists seemed loath to face up to the possibility that their youth might soon be confronted with the problems of military service. It was almost as if, during the half century of virtual peace that followed the Civil War, they had forgotten the anguish their predecessors had experienced trying to decide how to relate to the questions of combatancy and Sabbath duties. Yet by the fall of 1916 the national "preparedness campaign" had alerted Adventists to the possibility that the United States might become involved in the war.

And so the first hesitant steps were taken in the direction of Adventist "preparedness." During the Fall Council, North American Division leaders appointed a committee to study the possibility of providing Adventist young men with training that would qualify them for noncombatant medical duties should they be inducted into army service. At this committee's suggestion, arrangements were made for each American Seventh-day Adventist college to begin first-aid and basic-nursing instruction for young men at once. Adventist young men were also encouraged to consider enrolling in the regular nurses' course at Adventist sanitariums.

Some church leaders favored preparing an official statement defining Adventist attitudes toward war and military service for presentation to the federal government. Others thought such a

step would be premature. As a result of this divided opinion nothing more was done until the Spring Council of 1917. By this time the United States was already officially at war. Six weeks earlier the students of Washington Missionary College had pressed church leaders to consider an official resolution "stating the attitude of the denomination in regard to bearing arms." In their memorial, these college students raised the question of a more pacifistic stand—total exemption from military service of *any* kind.

Conscription

By April 12, 1917, when Adventist leaders met in Spring Council, a war-time conscription law was already under discussion. The problem of military service could no longer be avoided, and consequently it was made the first order of business. Several days of debate demonstrated the existence of differing opinions over whether to reaffirm the noncombatant position of 1864 or move toward a more pacifistic stance. Eventually, a small committee of top leaders was appointed to draft a statement clarifying Seventh-day Adventist attitudes toward war and military service.

The brief statement produced by this committee was discussed, amended, and unanimously passed on April 18. It represented the official attitude of the church in the United States *only*. After expressing loyalty to the United States, its government, and Constitution, the statement went on to deplore the fact that the nation had been "drawn into the horrors of war," and pledged that Adventists would "continually

pray that the God of heaven may speedily bring peace to our country.” Passing on to the crucial issue, the statement noted that Adventists had “been noncombatants throughout our history” and asked that government authorities recognize their rights to serve “only in such capacity as will not violate our conscientious obedience to the law of God as contained in the decalogue (thus laying a basis for requesting Sabbath privileges), interpreted in the teachings of Christ, and exemplified in his [sic] life.” Eight days later this statement of principles was officially filed with the U.S. War Department.

Church officials were less prompt in communicating their action, and the historic background for it, directly to the Adventist membership at large. Only in the Pacific Union did the president, E. E. Andross, immediately publish the entire text of the Spring Council’s statement in the union paper. Andross also described how the historic roots of Adventist noncombatant principles went back to the time of the denomination’s organization.

In spite of sharp controversies within Congress, the nation’s lawmakers passed the national Selective Service Act on May 18, 1917. Almost immediately President Wilson set June 5 as the day when all American males aged 21-30 were to register for possible military service. Unlike the Civil War Act, the 1917 draft law did not allow exemption from service through providing a substitute or making a cash payment. It did exempt clergymen and students preparing for the ministry in recognized theological schools. It also allowed persons with religious convictions against participating in war to perform

noncombatant service only, such service to be defined by the President. Exemptions allowing this type of service were to be claimed at the time of registration.

The speed with which the draft machinery was inaugurated kept Adventist leaders from giving adequate advice to their young men regarding proper procedures for securing noncombatant status. It was only a day or two before registration day that the *Review and Herald* carried an article by North American Division president I. H. Evans, counseling all Seventh-day Adventist young men affected to be certain to register as required by law and to claim exemption from combatant service at that time. Just how they were to do this, Evans did not specify. Perhaps he did not know. Approximately a week later the Provost Marshal General announced that noncombatant status would not be awarded by his office as in Civil War days, but rather by local draft boards appointed by the President.

One feature of the 1917 Selective Service Act was that persons drafted were to be assigned service in areas for which their training best qualified them. It was on the basis of this provision that Adventist leaders hoped their efforts to provide first-aid and nursing instruction to Seventh-day Adventist young men would prove helpful. By mid-June church leaders were doing their best to interpret draft regulations through the columns of the *Review*. They were also trying to demonstrate their loyalty to the government by scheduling a special offering on June 23 to support Red Cross activities and by calling upon church members to remember President Wilson in their prayers.

There were many problems connected with turning 2,750,000 civilians into fighting men. To many draft boards and army officers conscientious objectors were a frustrating annoyance. At the start some draft boards did not properly understand their role in assuring conscientious objectors the rights granted them by law. These boards often led inductees to believe that they could secure noncombatant status after induction. Actually, the army had no legal obligation to arrange this—it was supposed to be cared for by the local board after the registrant had filed a petition stating why he desired noncombatant status. In the early months many registrants did not understand the necessity of filing this exemption petition. They believed they had done everything necessary by indicating a desire for an exemption at the time of registration.

Large segments of the American public had little understanding of, and no sympathy for, anyone with conscientious scruples against bearing arms. Many agreed with ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, who said, “I would not shoot conscientious objectors, but I would lead them to a place where they would be shot at!” As the war dragged on, antagonism toward conscientious objectors surfaced in the denial by some boards of an objector’s legitimate claims. It was repeatedly necessary for C. S. Longacre, General Conference religious liberty secretary, to remind registrants that “local and district boards cannot ignore the immunities granted by the statute, they are not the Masters of the statute, but its servant.”

In spite of Longacre’s appeals that draftees insist on being recognized as

noncombatants before accepting induction, many allowed themselves to be intimidated by local boards and found themselves in the army without proper classification. When Longacre heard of their predicament, he was usually able, through contacts with high officials in the War Department, to remedy the situation. In the meantime, however, these unlucky recruits frequently suffered harassment and persecution from intolerant officers and fellow soldiers.

President Wilson’s delay in specifically designating the areas of service to be considered “noncombatant” further complicated matters. It was not until March 1918 that Wilson declared that noncombatants were to be assigned to the Medical, Quartermaster, or Engineering Corps. He specifically directed that persons seeking noncombatant service for religious reasons be assigned “as far as may be found feasible” to the Medical Corps unless they specifically requested otherwise.

Service in the Medical Corps generally alleviated the principal problem facing the Adventist noncombatant—Sabbath duty. Church officials had long emphasized that necessary humanitarian labor could be done on Sabbath. They were willing to interpret “necessary” quite broadly, including in that category not only the direct care of the sick and wounded, but also the changing of linen and the cleaning of wards and latrines. Some six months after American entry into the war, Elder I. H. Evans, acting for the North American Division, requested the Army to release Adventist soldiers “from Friday night sundown to Saturday night sundown, allowing them to make up their full work by overtime or by doing

necessary Sunday work. Evans was told that it was not “practicable . . . to rearrange duties so as to release men from work on one of the generally accepted six working days of each week.”

War Service Commission

Yet less than a year later the War Department sent instructions to all U. S. Army camp commanders “to release Adventists from unnecessary Sabbath duties.” What had caused the change? Several things, including (1) the favorable impression made by many Adventist soldiers, especially those who had sought to qualify themselves for medical service by special training prior to their induction, and (2) persistent pressure on high War Department officials by Longacre and Carlyle B. Haynes, secretary of the Adventists’ War Service Commission. The War Service Commission had been created by the General Conference in the summer of 1918, specifically to provide aid for Adventist draftees. Haynes, an effective evangelist, proved a vigorous and dynamic defender of the rights of Adventist noncombatants.

General Conference leaders instituted several other measures to benefit Adventist servicemen. Each union conference was asked to appoint a camp pastor to keep in contact with Adventist soldiers in army training camps; the General Conference sent an American minister to Europe to be available to Seventh-day Adventist soldiers there. Plans were laid to develop a special retreat center in France where Adventist boys might rest and recuperate from active duty, but the war ended

before this materialized. As they had during Civil War days, church leaders also established a special Soldiers’ Literature Fund to provide books, periodicals, and tracts for the serviceman’s personal and evangelistic use.

In a special effort to ease the way for future draftees, the General Conference appropriated \$30,000 to begin two “Institutes of Wartime Nursing”—one each at the Washington Sanitarium in Takoma Park and the College of Medical Evangelists in Loma Linda. These institutes were not operational before the war ended because of delays in constructing housing facilities for students.

General Conference officials were willing to put considerable money and effort into aiding Adventist youth who attempted to follow the historic church teaching on noncombatancy. They were anxious that nothing be done that might in any way compromise this principle. Thus when the administration and students at the College of Medical Evangelists desired in the fall of 1918 to start a Student Army Training Corps, the General Conference refused permission. Student Army Training Corps were in operation at almost all medical colleges, and the Army threatened to close any medical school where one did not exist. Students who enlisted in the S.A.T.C. were considered regular soldiers. They were required to drill six hours per week but would not be called into active service until their medical course was completed, when they would begin service as medical officers. College of Medical Evangelists officials were certain that the General Conference’s failure to allow a Student

Army Training Corps at Loma Linda would result in the closing of the medical college and that it would never reopen. Fortunately, the Armistice was signed before such an eventuality occurred.

In the course of the war nearly 200 Adventist soldiers were court-martialed for failing to obey orders. From the start, some Adventist inductees had refused to perform any type of military service. At least a few of these were recent German immigrants. Although church officials did not condemn any young Adventists who were sincere pacifists, they were anxious that no one attempt to hide behind the church because of pro-German sympathies. They found it difficult to defend a young man who had joined the church the day after war was declared, having tried unsuccessfully the previous day to get the German consul to arrange for him to return to Germany to serve in its army.

It was not pro-German sentiments, however, but disagreement over proper Sabbath duties that led to most court-martials among Adventist soldiers. Sentences for failure to obey orders during wartime were sometimes quite severe; one was for ninety-nine (later reduced to thirty-five) years at hard labor. A few weeks after the Armistice, however, all Adventists, except those convicted to total pacifism or pro-German sympathies, were released from prison and discharged through presidential amnesty. The remainder were not freed until May of 1919, and they were not given honorable discharges from the service.

The type of discharge Adventists received became an issue when some army officers took it upon themselves

to give “bad character” discharges to all conscientious objectors, even if they had willingly performed noncombatant service. When Haynes complained to the War Department of the unfairness of this action, the Secretary of War personally ordered it stopped. Arrangements were made for any Adventist so stigmatized to apply for redress and receive an honorable discharge.

A Working Arrangement

The American experience during World War I did much to mold and solidify the church’s attitude toward war-time service by her members. In spite of individual problems, the government had shown itself willing to honor non-combatant principles if those who held them would perform alternate service. In this connection the value of pre-induction medical training had been clearly demonstrated. The church had learned also the value of having a talented and energetic advocate representing distressed members at the highest levels of government. Elder Haynes’s contacts with Dr. F. P. Keppel, Third Assistant Secretary of War, had been invaluable. Camp pastors who could serve as on-the-spot observers and counselors had also proved their worth. The lessons learned in 1917-18 would do much to simplify similar problems, which arose in later wars.

During World War I there was increased suspicion on the part of both the general public and government officials of any publications that might subvert American loyalties and hamper the war effort. To some, Adventist teachings rela-

tive to the prophetic picture of the United States in Revelation 13 fell into this category. There were enough complaints about the section in *Bible Readings* dealing with the United States in prophecy to lead the publishers to revise this section. Since *Bible Readings* was widely sold by colporteurs, it seemed best to attempt to avoid misunderstanding and trouble.

Working Under Difficulty

In Europe, where the bulk of the World War I fighting took place, it was German Adventism that suffered the most. Out of a membership of roughly 35,000 at the start of the war, some 2,000 German Adventists were called into military service, and 257 lost their lives. Adventist ministers and colporteurs were not exempt; many conferences found their supply of workers substantially depleted. Those who remained in denominational employment were forced to take a substantial salary cut in the midst of inflationary times. Despite these difficulties, Adventist membership in Germany increased by more than 40 percent between 1914 and 1920. Nearly 300 were won by the witness of Adventists serving in the military.

At the start of the war the Adventist sanitarium in Berlin was offered to the Red Cross. It was soon turned into a military hospital although it continued to be staffed and operated by the church, with the government paying the expenses of the military patients. A lack of both students and teachers led to the temporary closing of Friedensau Missionary Seminary in 1917. After initial difficulties in securing materials to sell, the colporteur

work expanded, though mostly done by women and old men.

Even countries not directly involved in the war were affected by it. Swiss Adventists, many of whom were involved in watchmaking, suffered economic hardship when the market for their product collapsed. Severe inflation in Spain virtually ruined the colporteur work there. On the other hand, the economies of the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries were helped by wartime demand for their goods. This led to increased literature sales in these areas.

Wartime conditions prevented any major increase in evangelism in Italy and France where Adventist membership was already small; both personnel and finances were in too short supply. At the start of 1916, for instance, a report to the Review from Italy noted that there were only three Adventist workers to carry the three angels' messages to 37 million people in that country. In Great Britain stronger Adventist membership and less direct involvement in the destruction of war meant less dislocation of people.

It was another story in Russia. The dramatic collapse of the Russian front in 1915 brought great disruption to the advent cause. Yet it also brought blessings. Although Adventist ministers and colporteurs were forced to relocate many times, it was possible to keep printing books and tracts for sale. The very movement of the Russian peoples in the wake of shifting battle lines brought more individuals in contact with the few Adventist workers scattered about. With the revolution of 1917 came more religious freedom, but also economic hardship

and runaway inflation. By mid-1918 a pair of shoes cost \$100 at a time when the average laborer received perhaps eight dollars a day in wages.

Adventist mission activity in central and eastern Africa was disrupted by the raiding, looting, and destruction unleashed to drive Germany from her colonial possessions. German Adventist missionaries were interned and sent to prisoner-of-war camps in India. With their expulsion, British Seventh-day Adventists valiantly tried to move in and fill the vacuum, but their financial resources were too small. It was necessary to make an earnest appeal for the Scandinavian Union Conference to share \$5000 to help carry on the work formerly supported from Germany.

Rise of the Nazis

At war's end church leaders invited believers in the United States and Canada to contribute to a special fund for their European brethren who had lost homes and personal possessions. Money was needed also to help in the purchase of food, made expensive by its scarcity. By early 1920 some \$10,000 had been apportioned for these purposes.

As destructive and disruptive of the work of the church as World War I seemed at the time, it proved only a mild foretaste of what was to take place during World War II. Difficulties began for German Adventists shortly after the Nazis came to power in 1933. Although many German Adventists welcomed the idea of a strong "Fuhrer" and were careful to salute the swastika and give the Hitler greeting,

the secret police suddenly, at the end of 1933, dissolved the church in the states of Prussia and Hesse and confiscated church property. Although this order was later reversed, it showed the likely course of events in a totalitarian state.

German church leaders counseled members to avoid political matters completely—but soon everything became political. The leaders themselves decided to call the Sabbath simply the "Rest Day" and Sabbath School became "Bible School"—all in an effort to avoid the stigma attached by the Nazis to anything Jewish. Nor could Adventist young men avoid the draft when it was introduced in 1935. Adventist girls were required to spend six months in the Labor Corps. Exemption from Sabbath work proved very difficult both for these youth and for adults who soon found their employment dictated by the Nazi Labor Front.

Whenever possible, German Adventists attempted to cooperate with the government in order to stave off complete suppression. Since church welfare and temperance programs reinforced certain Nazi goals, an emphasis on these areas won the state's approval. Nevertheless, restrictions continued to increase. Colporteurs were prevented from selling on a commission basis and had to be placed on salary. It became nearly impossible to send out missionaries or funds to support those already abroad. All this, even though Adventist publications made a point of the way in which German missionaries defended the "peaceful" foreign policies of the Fuhrer. These same church papers welcomed the German takeover of Austria, the Sudetenland, and finally all of Czechoslovakia.

With the actual start of hostilities, conditions rapidly became worse. Adventist publishing work was shut down in 1940 because the government refused to allocate paper for nonessential religious publishing. Conscription laws were more closely enforced; and although many Adventist men were able to secure some type of non-combatant military assignment, those who would not cooperate found themselves imprisoned. The school at Friedensau had to discontinue its ministerial course in 1941; two years later it was closed altogether and converted by the government into a hospital. Beginning in 1939, churches were no longer allowed to collect offerings, but through the subterfuge of relabeling tithe as “membership dues I” and other offerings as “membership dues II,” the church was able to keep a minimum financial base operative.

The longer the war went on, especially after the tide turned against Germany, the more chaotic things became. Church services had to be conducted in secret in believers’ homes. Many families were relocated. Churches and homes were destroyed by the intensive Allied bombing; civilian casualties mounted. In 1950 Adventist officials in Germany estimated that more than 3,000 church members, including fifty ministers, had been killed during the war; another 1,285 were missing. More than 16,000 had lost their homes through relocation—forced or voluntary. For several years after 1945 the German church continued to be hamstrung by divided occupation zones, currency reform, and military regulations. Yet as the 1950s opened, generous relief activities, financed principally by

Adventists from North America, and generous appropriations from the General Conference for the rebuilding of churches and institutions, allowed German Adventists once more to carry on a fairly normal existence.

Military operations during World War II were much more widespread and destructive of civilian activities than in the 1914-1918 conflict. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 interrupted nearly thirty years of Seventh-day Adventist work there. The invaders determined to eliminate Protestant missions. By 1939 all Seventh-day Adventist properties had been confiscated and most Adventist missionaries forced to leave the country. Fortunately, with the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941, Adventist medical, evangelistic, and educational activities were allowed to resume.

War in China

Tensions in Asia, building for years, finally exploded in 1937, when the Japanese began their undeclared war of conquest in China. It was in China that the disrupting effect of air raids far from the actual battle lines first became apparent to Adventist missionaries. Transportation facilities were special targets for attack, making travel dangerous and uncertain. The constant air raids placed an extra strain on the nerves of the missionary wives, separated as they frequently were from their husbands. Refugees seeking to escape the invading Japanese often lost all their belongings, beyond what they could carry in a small suitcase. To add to the problems, banditry and looting increased. It became almost impossible to

get necessary medical supplies. Although the major educational work was moved to Hong Kong, where there was safety for several more years, patronage declined as students from the mainland found it difficult to reach the school. Colporteurs came under suspicion from both sides because of their traveling. Frequently they were arrested and detained for weeks before regaining their freedom.

By mid-1939 the denomination had lost institutional properties and churches in China worth an estimated \$400,000. Church revenues from tithes and offerings and from publishing and medical services dropped sharply, necessitating the return of a number of overseas missionaries. Thousands of dollars of church funds were confiscated by the occupying forces. When the war in the Pacific broadened in 1941, American and British missionaries in Hong Kong and occupied China were interned. Some spent several years in prison camps before repatriation, existing on meager rations and under primitive living conditions.

After 1941 all Adventist work in occupied China was carried out by national workers. Several overseas missionaries continued to direct work in the unoccupied areas from the Nationalist capital in Chungking. Even here they were not free from constant bombing, which several times nearly destroyed the Adventist hospital. Inflation was rampant. By the spring of 1942 rice, which before the war sold for ten to fifteen Chinese dollars per sack, was bringing 500 Chinese dollars.

Inflationary pressures did not disappear at war's end. Writing in the *Review* in the closing days of 1944, General Confer-

ence treasurer W. E. Nelson predicted that it would take from three to eight times the \$2,700,000 originally invested to rebuild the denominational properties destroyed in China and the Far East. Listed as complete losses were divisional headquarters in Singapore, the college in Nanking, the Shanghai publishing house, and several academies.

Of Japan itself, an Adventist missionary noted at the start of 1938 that it had "never before . . . been open to the spread of Christian teaching as it is today." Adventist churches were "on fire with the message." All that soon changed. As the war in China expanded, police surveillance and harassment of Christian churches increased. Before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the General Conference had withdrawn all overseas workers. In 1943 the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Japan was dissolved and its properties ordered sold, largely because of government antagonism toward the continued preaching of Christ's soon coming—an event that did not figure into the plans of Japan's military elite. That same year thirty-six national Seventh-day Adventist leaders and a number of laymen were imprisoned.

It was the same in other areas where the Japanese were in control. Korean Adventists suffered special persecution; their leader, Choi Tai Heun, died under torture during imprisonment. The Japanese military government took over the Adventist publishing house and sold seven wagon loads of books in the warehouse as scrap paper. Church members were required to give up their Bibles and were told that they could no longer consider themselves Seventh-day Adventists, but were

to be members of whatever religious faith they had held previous to becoming Adventists. Yet these difficulties were not without a silver lining. When the church reclaimed the publishing house after the war, it was able to keep the new machines that had been installed during the period of Japanese army control.

War in the Pacific

As the Japanese expanded throughout Southeast Asia, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, and the islands of the South Pacific, their treatment of Adventists varied. Burmese Adventists suffered in much the same way as did the Koreans. Perhaps because there were so many Christians in the Philippines, the Japanese followed a more tolerant attitude there. American missionaries were actually allowed a certain amount of liberty until the final year of the war. Sometimes Filipino Adventists found their noncombatant principles misunderstood by the Filipino guerillas, but in general, Adventism prospered in spite of wartime restrictions. Under national leadership more than 5,000 persons were baptized in the Philippines from 1943 to 1945.

As the war spread into New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, first the missionaries and later the government officials fled before the Japanese. In these tense days harried officials sometimes made demands local Adventists felt they could not conscientiously fulfill. Kata Rangoso was one of those ordered shot for insubordination. Yet when the firing squad was in place, the officer proved unable to utter the final command to fire! Three times he attempted to do so, but each time he failed.

Placed in prison, Rangoso and a companion were later delivered mysteriously in a manner reminiscent of Peter's deliverance from Herod. Rangoso went back to his village and organized a network that saved scores of downed Allied aviators from the Japanese.

Among the more interesting war experiences to come out of the South Pacific was that of the mission launch *Portal*, ordered burned by a retreating Allied official. The local Adventists, praying for a miracle, were thrilled to notice the flames suddenly go out just after the officer had left. Quickly they hauled the boat into a small creek, where it was camouflaged



Kata Rangoso (1902-1964), son of a Solomon Islands chieftain, became an Adventist while attending an Adventist mission school. During World War II, he directed the church in the Solomons and helped to rescue Allied airmen at the risk of his own life.

well. As a precaution, the engine was completely dismantled and the various pieces scattered among individual believers for safekeeping. Several years later when Pastor Norman Ferris was able to get back into the area, he was amazed to find the *Portal* sound and seaworthy. Alas, there was no motor! But quickly the word went out, “Marsta, ’im ’e want engine belong *Portal* one time quick.” It took three weeks to collect and reassemble all the engine parts and get the *Portal* once more ready for service, but reconstituted she was, and sailed thousands of miles among the Solomon Islands.

Nazi Conquests

Just as the war spread from China throughout East Asia and the Pacific, so in Europe the German takeover of Czechoslovakia was followed in 1939 by the conquest of Poland, and in 1940 by the fall of Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. The Balkans came under direct or indirect German control before Hitler’s attack on Russia in 1941. As early as 1939 Nazi pressures led to the closing of 90 percent of the Adventist churches in Romania. Before war’s end over 3,000 Romanian Adventists were jailed, some with twenty-five-year sentences.

Dozens of Adventist families, eager to avoid trouble with the German occupying forces, sought to escape ahead of them. This was particularly true in Belgium and France, where memories of 1914-18 were still vivid. In these areas Adventist colporteurs had been the major avenue for spreading the three angels’

messages. Yet soon these men were without anything to sell, even if they could have moved around with anything like prewar freedom. So rapid was the German conquest that Adventist churches and institutions generally suffered only minor destruction in the occupied countries. Poland, which became a major battlefield during the last year of the war, was an exception to this rule.

In all of the occupied countries many hardships were suffered by Adventists, both as individuals and as a church. Food and many basic necessities were in short supply and therefore rationed. Dutch Adventists found that frequently the meager food supplies that did become available appeared on the Sabbath. This put their principles to the test. Other areas suffered when their leaders were removed for forced labor or to concentration camps.

Yet despite such hardships, the church prospered. With all the difficulties, “the years 1943 and 1944 were the best in soul winning and finances of our work in the Netherlands.” What had been an Adventist membership of 400 in Poland in 1940 had grown five years later to 1,000. In the midst of the war 400 persons were baptized in Norway in one year’s time. Just as the Allies were invading Normandy, H. W. Lowe reported from England that 1944 looked like “the best year of the war” for winning souls. Sizable meetings were being held by English soldiers in several military camps.

Rehabilitation

At war’s end a shattered Europe limped along for several years after hos-

tilities ceased in May 1945. A year and a half later, Adventist workers were still frequently fainting from hunger as they tried once more to prepare and produce church literature. Small wonder, for the average European in many places was still expected to subsist on one egg every two months, four pounds of potatoes or cabbage *or* turnips a week, and twelve ounces of bread, and one and one-half pints of skim milk per *week*. An individual was fortunate if he could get a pound of butter every three months.

To help meet these and earlier wartime needs, Adventists in North America gave liberally of both money and serviceable used clothing. Special depots were established in New York and San Francisco. During the 1940s nearly 2,800,000 pounds of clothing were shipped from these depots to forty-one countries and island groups. In addition, more than \$2 million was given for relief purposes—much of this used to purchase over 1,900 tons of food. In 1946 a special Rehabilitation Offering of more than \$1 million was received to begin the work of replacing lost mission launches, churches, publishing houses, schools, etc. The General Conference added to this over \$4 million that had been saved during the war for the purpose of rebuilding. It was not nearly enough. It would be years before the physical damage of the war could be repaired.

The American ability to help so substantially at war's end points to a major difference between the effect of the war on American Adventists and their counterparts in Britain, Germany, the Philippines, and China. The war spurred economic prosperity in America, with many

Adventists becoming relatively affluent as compared to earlier years. Spared the destructive air raids and gigantic battles that leveled so many European cities, American Adventists experienced their major wartime suffering in the thousands of their young men sent off to join the gigantic Army and Navy created to bring an end to the Axis powers.

Noncombatancy

Following the fall of France in 1940, a preparedness drive in the United States similar to that of 1916 led Congress to pass the nation's first peacetime conscription law. This time Seventh-day Adventists were ahead of their countrymen in trying to prepare church members for noncombatant service. The denomination's course of action had not been quickly or easily arrived at. Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s some within the church, no doubt affected by the swing toward pacifism on the part of major Protestant groups, argued that church members should take no part in supporting war; they should not even purchase government war bonds. But others desired continued training in first-aid and nursing procedures at all Seventh-day Adventist colleges. Some urged the initiation of elementary drill procedures for Adventist youth so that their proficiency in basic maneuvers might win favor with officers in case of their conscription. When a drill program was initiated in 1927 as part of the physical education program at Emmanuel Missionary College, however, it was soon discontinued because of criticism that it was "too militaristic."

Desultory conversations among Gen-

eral Conference officials during the 1920s resulted in no concrete program or in any basic change in the church's "historic" noncombatant position. Those who would be most directly involved in any army draft continued to be concerned. In 1930 the Associated Students of Walla Walla College posed a number of questions concerning military service to the General Conference Committee. Among other things they desired (1) counsel as to whether in time of national emergency it was wise to enlist or to wait for the draft, (2) clarification as to proper Sabbath duties when in military service, (3) an opinion as to whether it was ever right to bear arms, and (4) whether or not the church made distinctions, depending upon the moral nature of the conflict, as to the amount of military service that might be given. The students felt that a time of peace was the time to work out a "unified denominational position" on all these questions.

The General Conference officers took no action on the Walla Walla students' questions, other than to refer the matter to the General Conference session later that year. Here, at one of the last meetings, a seven-member committee was established to study all aspects of noncombatancy. During the next several years this committee met a number of times. C. S. Longacre, a committee member, reported in 1933 that at each meeting "we find that there is a very decided disagreement by the members themselves on this question of noncombatancy. . . . So far we have not been able to come to any united agreement on any proposition."

Finally at the time of the 1934 Spring Council, the General Conference Com-

mittee approved a somewhat revised pamphlet, *Our Youth in Time of War*, prepared by one of the Columbia Union Conference officers. This pamphlet took a very strong stand supporting noncombatant service; it was critical of extreme pacifists, conscientious objectors, and anti-militarists accused of favoring "peace at any price." Some church members resented the tone and contents of the pamphlet, feeling it compromised the church's earlier stand that members had the right "at all times and in all places" to act "in accord with the dictates of their personal conscientious conviction."

Medical Cadet Corps

But the numbers of pacifists and complete conscientious objectors among Adventists was neither large nor influential. Instead, the tide began to turn toward more definite preparation of Adventist youth for possible service. A major step in this direction occurred in 1934 at Union College, where Dr. Everett Dick had persuaded the college faculty, administration, and board to approve formation of a special College Medical Corps. Dick, with the assistance of Major Emil H. Burger, a regular army officer and physician stationed at Lincoln, Nebraska, worked out a basic training program in army medical military procedures. By January 1934 every young man seventeen years old or older enrolled at Union was drilling one and one-half hours per week in lieu of physical education.

Two years after the Union College program began, Reserve Army Major Cyril B. Courville introduced a somewhat similar

program in southern California. Courville was on the staff of the Adventist White Memorial Hospital in Los Angeles. He was also in charge of training procedures for the 47th General Hospital, an Army Reserve unit sponsored by the College of Medical Evangelists. Courville's "Medical Cadet Corps" had the blessing of the U. S. Surgeon General, and rather reluctantly and tardily, of the General Conference. Medical Cadet Corps members got a somewhat longer and more detailed training than Dick's Union College group; Courville also laid more emphasis on the training of potential officers.

By the summer of 1937, when Adventist educators from all over North



E. N. Dick (1898-1989), professor of history at Union College, inaugurated the Medical Cadet Corps training program to prepare Adventist youth for military service.

America met in council at Asheville, North Carolina, the European situation was already appearing ominous to perceptive observers. Dr. Dick had no trouble in interesting many other college educators in his Medical Corps program. During the next several years his concepts were implemented at other Seventh-day Adventist colleges. Then, with the European War underway, the Fall Council of 1939 gave its official blessing to the Union College program—although Courville's name, Medical Cadet Corps, was adopted. By the end of 1939 Adventist leaders "had set in motion the organizational machinery for giving its youth the highest degree of military-medical training that could be found outside the United States Army Medical Corps." This action led Adventists to be "better prepared for military service than any other private group in the United States."

The U. S. Selective Service Act of 1940 provided that conscientious objectors who were drafted be assigned noncombatant service. As in 1917, it was up to the local draft board to decide on the validity of each draftee's claims. In contrast to the experience of 1917-18, few Adventists experienced serious difficulty in getting their conscientious scruples recognized. This did not mean that they did not suffer harassment during their basic training—frequently they did. Generally, however, this disappeared once the soldier was assigned to medical training and especially when he served in combat.

The value of the Medical Cadet Corps was demonstrated early in the war. Adventist graduates of the corps program reported that their newly acquired skills

frequently brought them early advancement and won them Sabbath privileges. By 1943 there were some 12,000 Seventh-day Adventists in Medical Cadet Corps training programs in colleges, academies, or at special summer encampments.

In the fall of 1940 the General Conference reactivated the War Service Commission and brought C. B. Haynes back from the presidency of the Michigan Conference to head it. Haynes did a thorough job of informing Adventist draftees of their rights, counseling them on problems encountered (chiefly over Sabbath observance), and pressuring the Army to assign all Seventh-day Adventists to the Medical Corps, where they would experience less difficulty in performing their duties according to conscience. Haynes did not like the term “conscientious objector.” He did his best to promote

the idea that Adventists were “Conscientious Cooperators.” Before the war was over, army officers had accepted this view. In no small measure this was due to the fact that “hundreds of Adventists distinguished themselves in battle and were awarded numerous citations.”

Adventist “Heroes”

Space does not permit telling the stories of these Adventist “heroes” in detail, but the brief mention of several is illustrative of why the Army and many other Americans developed a new concept of at least some “conscientious objectors.” There was Corpsman Duane Kinman of Walla Walla College, who was nicknamed “the foxhole surgeon” after saving a soldier’s life by performing a tracheotomy



In the 1940s and 1950s, Medical Cadet Corps training became common on campuses of Adventist secondary schools and colleges throughout North America and other regions of the world. It was especially effective in the South American, Inter-American, and Far Eastern divisions. MCC training included simulated battle training for those who would serve as medics.

on the battlefield. Kinman used a pocket-knife and a punctured fountain pen with remarkable success, considering the fact that he had never seen this type of operation performed, but had only heard it described in a lecture. And then there was Keith Argraves, determined to be a medical paratrooper. Argraves distinguished himself in North Africa, was captured by the Germans, and spent long months as a prisoner of war.

But undoubtedly the U. S. Adventist serviceman who most captured the nation's imagination was Desmond T. Doss, an early Army inductee who was given considerable difficulty over his desire to honor the Sabbath. Doss was with the American infantry in landings on Guam and the Philippines, but it was during one of the last Pacific battles, on the island of Okinawa, that he became famous. There, on a Sabbath in May 1945, Doss went to give aid to his company. When the men were forced back down a cliff, Doss stayed behind until he had lowered seventy-five wounded men to safety. Thrice injured before the battle's end, Doss became the first conscientious objector to be awarded the nation's highest military decoration, the Congressional Medal of Honor, received from President Harry S. Truman in a special ceremony on the White House lawn.

There were also acts of heroism of a different kind performed by hundreds of Adventist soldiers overseas. At war's end they pitched in during their spare time to help rebuild shattered chapels in the Philippines or Germany, to operate clinics for the civilian populace, or to distribute food and clothing to war victims. They were the

first Seventh-day Adventists many believers in the war-torn areas had seen since the departure of Adventist missionaries.

The Wars in Retrospect

The experiences of the world wars did much to acquaint governments and thousands of people with Adventist beliefs, some of whom might otherwise not have known about Seventh-day Adventists. The denominationally preferred status of noncombatancy also did much to shape the church's approach to the question of military service by Adventists in later years.



Corporal Desmond Doss became a hero in the Adventist world when he earned the Congressional Medal of Honor for bravery as a medic during the battle for Okinawa in World War II. The Congressional Medal of Honor is the highest military award the United States offers.

As military establishments continued into the post-World War II era and conflicts broke out in Africa, Korea, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East, Carlyle B. Haynes's notion of Adventists as conscientious co-operators became more evident. Medical Cadet Corps units blossomed in Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Brazil, and Lebanon in the postwar years.

In an effort to find a model to follow when dealing with Adventists in the military, Getulio Vargas, Brazil's president-elect in 1950, specifically requested leaders of Brazilian Adventists to learn what the church in the United States was doing for its youth of military age so he could follow suit. The resulting Brazilian Medical Cadet Corps became so well known for its courses in first aid, ambulance driving, and basic military discipline that Brazilian military leaders sent hundreds of their own recruits to Adventist camps for training.

Another case of conscientious cooperation developed in the United States in the mid-1950s when military leaders inquired if selected Adventist soldiers would constitute a special control group for research in defensive antidotes for maladies that the armed forces would likely encounter, most importantly in biological warfare. Some critics suspected that the results of the research would become part of offensive biological warfare as well, and they suggested that it was indeed a strange irony that a church that strongly emphasized noncombatancy would so help the military. But the project went on despite these criticisms, and from the research came new treatments and medicines that preserved the lives of

people. Until the United States conscription law expired in 1972, more than 2,000 Adventists became human subjects in this research called Project Whitecoat.

In the United States the idea evolved that military service was a legitimate peacetime job, and even after conscription ended some Adventists volunteered for military duty. Long before this trend set in, military chaplaincy also became a profession in itself that a few Adventist clergymen chose to pursue. In their roles as military officers they were in an advantageous position to minister to the spiritual needs of Adventist men and women as well as those of other communions. Barry Black, an African-American minister became the second-in-command of United States Navy chaplains.

The American experience with Adventists as noncombatant medical personnel in military service may have been the dominant one in the denomination, but only because more Adventists served in United States armed forces than in any other country during each of the world wars. Convictions of patriotism and loyalty differed widely from person to person as well as from country to country. Governments also maintained differing philosophies of liberty as applied to men and women in uniform, all of which eventually led church leaders to leave the decision for noncombatancy status up to the person. Noncombatancy never became a tenet of faith on which membership depended. Unfortunately, the question became a hotly debated one, especially among Adventists living under authoritarian governments. In Germany and the Soviet Union these questions caused schismatic movements.

Compulsory military service during peacetime in some countries as well as the two world wars and their aftermath produced mixed results. In some countries Adventist men spent years in prison rather than entering military service as combatants. In other less stringent cases compulsory military service provided an opportunity for Adventists to develop a

modus operandi with the government, demonstrating that whether in the military or not, they could be good citizens of their own countries as well as members of a worldwide spiritual “family.” Outside pressures seemed to enhance the feeling of unity—and challenges to unity had been something Adventists had faced from their earliest years.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Wartime experiences:

F. M. Wilcox, *Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War* (1936), contains details of Adventists during World War I.

Reuben Hare, *Fuzzy-Wuzzy Tales* (1950), is an account of Pacific island Adventists in battle areas during World War II.

Lilya Wagner, *To Linger Is To Die* (1975), is a memoir of her family’s escape from East Europe at the end of World War II.

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 4 (1961), pp. 221-325, provides anecdotal material about both world wars and Adventist missionaries caught in the war.

Rene Noorbergen, *Shadow of Terror* (1990), is an autobiographical account of life in Nazi-occupied Netherlands during World War II.

Herbert Ford, *Flee the Captor* (1966), relates the experiences of one Adventist’s battle against the Holocaust.

Adventists as conscientious cooperators:

E. N. Dick, “The Adventist Medical Cadet Corps as Seen by Its Founder,” *Adventist Heritage*, vol. 1, no. 2, July 1974, pp. 18-27, reflects on the MCC after the United States conscription law expired.

Robert L. Mole and Dale M. Mole, *For God & Country* (1998), tells the story of the Whitecoat operation.

Nino Bulzis, “The Challenge of Wartime Service,” *Adventist Review*, February 17 and 24, 1983, is a two-part historical review of Adventist noncombatancy.

Barbara Westphal, *A Man Called Pedro* (1975), pp. 31-41, is a popularized account of a young Adventist responding to compulsory military service in Argentina’s army and the origin of Argentina’s recognition of Sabbath privileges for the military.

PART THREE

THE GLOBALIZATION OF THE CHURCH, 1945-2000

As the world cleaned up from the ash heap of World War II, Adventists set about to rebuild their church, but shortly, global rivalries divided the church again with politico-economic philosophies that were perhaps more divisive than war. With varying success the church maintained its identity within this new environment of superpowers countervailing each other with super instruments of death and super plans for world domination. By the century's end this rivalrous mix of politics and economics softened and in some places crumbled to allow the church to function more freely. During the years after 1945 Adventists passed through three transforming experiences that affected their *Message*, their *Membership*, and their *Mission*. In one way or another, most of the events in Adventism after 1945 were related to these three issues.

Recognizing that in an increasingly sophisticated world they needed to couple intellectual buttressing to the spiritual appeal of the gospel, church leaders in the 1950s commissioned Adventist scholars to produce an Adventist Bible commentary, laid the foundations for an ongoing theological center, the Biblical Research Institute, and established the beginnings of the Geoscience Research Institute. The broader impact of this intellectual movement on the *Message* is the topic of Part IV, but in Part III we note the trend for professionalization which swept through the church, emphasizing higher education as well as an attempt to convince the Christian world that Adventism was a legitimate Protestant church.

Regarding *Membership*, the trend of the church outside North America to grow more rapidly generated massive membership in Latin America, Africa, and parts of Asia. The church began to tilt away from North America, historically the focal point of power. In ways not previously experienced, denominational programs and problems of policy and governance, once regarded as North American questions, became world issues. North America cut its longstanding ties with the General Conference and became more nearly equal to the other world divisions, although in some respects it did not relinquish its unique role in the denomination. The one certainty was that no longer was the church a North American entity.

The world wars, ostensibly fought to protect human dignity, led Adventists everywhere to expect the church both to become a true world organization and to reflect social change. As a result, the church became more socially conscious when dealing with its own members as well as nonmembers. Ethnic diversity, women's rights, family matters, and traditional Adventist lifestyle were issues that filled the Adventist agenda during this period.

With respect to denominational *Mission*, Adventist leaders formulated a revolutionary change in the concept and methodology of carrying the gospel to the world. If a single characteristic of the church stood out during the final decade of the century it was the all pervasive influence of Global Mission.

Above all, these were years of ferment and paradoxes. The church became more sophisticated but it still preached a simple gospel. It became more diverse, but it remained unified. It organized a staggering array of activities, but its purpose was still single.

Developing a Professional Ministry

In 1892 General Conference president O. A. Olsen confessed to W. C. White his serious doubts about the quality of Adventist ministers, calling them “exceedingly weak.” A decade later A. G. Daniells echoed this opinion by declaring that improving the professional quality of pastors was the most urgent question facing the church. However strong his conviction, as General Conference president he faced organizational problems and the instant demand for workers both in the United States and abroad, which prevented him from doing much about it.

One of the reasons for establishing Seventh-day Adventist colleges in North America was to prepare qualified ministers, but the need for pastors had been so acute that few students finished their courses before entering active service. In countries outside North America the first pastors were missionaries, but in time na-

tionals also entered ministerial work as a result of completing rudimentary preparation in training schools or sometimes after their success as literature salesmen. As a remedy to the problem in North America Olsen introduced short “ministerial institutes,” running from several weeks to three months. With the help of the General Conference Education Department, Daniells developed a reading course as a self-improvement program for preachers, which was a benefit primarily for North American workers. L. H. Christian noted in 1928 that workers in other fields needed better training every bit as much as those in America.

Church leaders never discounted the enabling power of the Holy Spirit in the life and work of ministers. But while they regarded the fundamental part of the ministerial profession to be a sense of personal calling to the ministry, they also

came to view professional preparation as a presupposed part of that conviction. Because evangelism was central to Adventism, ministerial training would revolve around skillful techniques of soul winning as well as the techniques of shepherding congregations. Upgrading the ministry would take more than institutes and inservice programs; it would require Adventists to be willing to spend voluminous amounts of money developing professional programs that would become an integral part of denominational higher education, and in time, a seminary with an Adventist-oriented program comparable in academic quality to well established Protestant seminaries. To become knowledgeable and skilled in their profession, prospective ministers would invest years of their lives in preparation, and as the church grew in fields beyond North America, higher education with adapted programs would also follow. Daniells and his colleagues visualized a level of professional performance commensurable to the all consuming power of the message that Adventists were to take to the world.

The Ministerial Association

As deficient as some church leaders viewed the non-North American ministry, it was from Australia that the idea of a ministerial association, concerned primarily with the problems pastors and evangelists faced, came to the General Conference. A. W. Anderson, an experienced educator and minister, organized a ministerial association for Australian workers in 1920. He instituted a reading

course and began a paper, *The Evangelist*, in which members shared the results of their study and experience. Enthusiasm for this new organization was so pronounced that the General Conference decided to adopt it in 1922.

Instead of being an administrative department, the new Ministerial Commission (soon renamed the Ministerial Association) was more similar to an agency charged with collecting and distributing information about professional concerns of the ministry, and encouraging young men to enter the profession. A. G. Daniells, hardly out of the position of General Conference president, headed the new commission.

Before beginning this assignment Daniells looked at his own spiritual condition. He studied intensively the published writings of Ellen White, especially *Review and Herald* articles. He was struck with the repeated calls for revival and reformation, and for the first time seemed really to comprehend the importance of the 1888 message of righteousness through faith in Jesus. Throughout 1923, 1924, and 1925 he held a succession of ministerial institutes in North America. He exalted Jesus and showed a need for a *personal* relationship with Him. He stressed love for Christ as central to every Adventist doctrine, and pointed out the need for an experiential righteousness by faith before the latter rain and Christ's return.

Hearts were touched. L. E. Froom, former editor of the *Watchman*, joined Daniells to assist in preparing literature elaborating on the material of the institutes. He helped to complete Daniells's

book, *Christ Our Righteousness*, published in 1926, and followed with leaflets containing nine Bible studies about the importance of one's spiritual life. The next year, 1927, Meade MacGuire produced *His Cross and Mine*, and in 1928 under the title, *The Coming of the Comforter*, Froom published lectures on the Holy Spirit presented during the 1927 institutes. It had become apparent that Daniells was trying to reach as many as possible of the 5000 members of the Ministerial Association with reading programs, personal contacts, and an increasing volume of literature to stimulate deeper spirituality and more effective soul winning.

Daniells wanted a regular monthly journal especially for preachers, but financial leaders of the church objected that it would cost too much. He began with a mimeographed bulletin with different versions for different categories of workers, but he ran into problems trying to satisfy all subscribers. At last those who had opposed Daniells's original proposal threw up their hands and decided a single journal might be less expensive after all. As a result, *The Ministry*, edited by Froom, was born in January 1928.

Professional Training

Declining health led to Daniells's retirement in 1931, but until his death four years later he remained vitally concerned that the Adventist ministry develop a deep and growing personal spiritual experience. He believed that during much of his career he had been so busy that he had neglected to nourish his own spiritual life.

He spent his last years warning his colleagues to avoid "this peril of sheer activity for God." Following Daniells as secretary of the Ministerial Association was I. H. Evans, who with other prominent Adventist leaders, continued to emphasize the need for ministers to cultivate their spiritual life. In 1940 C. B. Haynes stated that while great learning is helpful if it is consecrated, it is not necessary for a successful ministry. By contrast, great devotion is indispensable.

These church leaders were trying to deal with the perennial problem of balancing formal professional preparation for the ministry with spiritual readiness. The Bible was clear that both were necessary. No one could deny that Peter, James, and John, all humble Galilean fishermen, were active and effective promulgators of early Christianity, but it was the well educated Saul of Tarsus who was equipped to crystallize the teachings of Jesus into a body of Christian beliefs because of his familiarity with the nuances of the Hebrews' sacred writings as well as the rational philosophy of the Greek world and the educated classes of his day.

Daniells, his contemporaries, and successors perceived that the Adventist ministry typically lacked the formal, measurable aspect of professional preparation, but while correcting that deficiency they urged ministers not to neglect the other half of the formula, that of personal spirituality. They realized that ministers could not spend all their time in personal devotions. In the first issue of *The Ministry* Daniells pointed out that ministerial efficiency was generally judged by (1) successful soul winning, (2) effectiveness in

establishing converts in basic biblical doctrines, and (3) influencing church members to support church projects happily with time and money. In all of these formal education would be helpful.

While still General Conference president, Daniells told Bible and history teachers attending the 1919 Bible conference that he wanted future workers to be honest and sincere, to develop habits of regularity and self-discipline, to understand the values of constant study and the importance of a daily regimen. More personally, they should dress appropriately, maintain good hygiene, and use their native language well. All of these concerns pertained to the professional practice; he seemed to take for granted that students would receive thorough training in Bible doctrines.

In the 1920s colleges began to increase the amount of practical experience in theology curricula. At Emmanuel Missionary College, for example, the required program included “Pastoral Training” and “Ministerial Field Work” in addition to traditional doctrinal courses. Students were expected to participate in at least two evangelistic crusades. T. M. and W. R. French, brothers who successively headed the Theology Department, had been successful evangelists, and as department heads they sparked an interest in this work. During the seven years W. R. French led out, his students conducted fifty-three evangelistic campaigns with baptisms sometimes following commencement exercises.

Despite the emphasis on professional preparation of the ministry, the pressing need for workers influenced many

ministerial students not to take the full four-year course. Emmanuel Missionary College offered an alternative two-year junior ministerial program, a two-year Bible workers course, a one-year “gospel workers” course, and a six-month home missionary program. The church regularized these shorter programs that continued on through the 1920s and 1930s. Students completing one of the shorter options were encouraged to take supplementary courses through Home Study Institute.

A forward step in professionalization came at the 1929 Spring Council when the General Conference approved a uniform internship plan for North America. This arrangement sought to replenish the number of workers by instituting a trial period when young graduates could demonstrate their call to the ministry at a minimum cost to employing conferences. The plan called for subsidies from the General Conference to the local conferences where the interns would serve. The subsidies were conditional to screening of the interns to satisfy requirements for practical experience, public speaking, and health. The usual practice was to assign interns to evangelistic efforts, which were regarded as an ideal initiation to the ministry.

Although the internship plan became thoroughly established it underwent adjustments. When denominational finances came under exceptional strain during the 1930s only a limited number of young people became interns. Some conferences provided theology graduates with room and board but no salary while engaging in evangelistic work. Students who showed promise under these circumstances eventu-

ally advanced to an internship.

After World War II the plan included a more balanced exposure to a ministerial career. Besides participating in evangelism for at least nine months, interns also received additional pastoral training (home visitation, counseling, etc.), and experience in youth work, development and management of church schools, and promotional work. In 1956 the General Conference virtually required at least one summer of full-time colporteur work as a prerequisite for an internship.

The Theological Seminary

In the late 1920s talk began about the advantages of an advanced school of theology. I. H. Evans took a keen interest in the idea, but it was not until the 1932 Fall Council that the General Conference voted to start a graduate program in theology at one of the North American colleges. One year of advanced study in theology was to be supplemented by five or six months of field work in evangelism for students lacking successful evangelistic experience.

In the summer of 1934 the proposed graduate program began, but in altered form. The 1933 Fall Council approved a series of summer sessions to begin at Pacific Union College and move to other campuses. The classes were primarily for academy and college teachers, although a limited number of ministers and editorial workers might also attend. Faculty for this new venture came from Adventist colleges.

Forty students attended one or both of the sessions beginning in June 1934.

M. E. Kern, General Conference secretary, was acting dean. Other faculty were Walla Walla's George McCready Price, the denomination's leading authority on the relation between science and religion, and William Landeen, a scholar in Reformation history. Contrary to the original plan, the sessions continued at Pacific Union College. Faculty in 1936 included theologians from Adventist colleges and General conference personnel with pertinent experience.

The 1936 summer session proved to be the last at Pacific Union College. That year the General Conference Committee changed its collective mind and voted to organize a theological seminary in Takoma Park, independent from any Adventist college, where General Conference officers could more easily teach. The first *Bulletin* of the Advanced Bible School offered students no assurance of a graduate degree after completing the program, but "expected that arrangements will be made for granting the degree Master of Arts." A thirty-hour program offered a choice of two majors and three minors (including options in Greek or Hebrew), a research component with a thesis and another in practical pastoral methods. Students had to pass a written qualifying examination early in their program and a comprehensive oral examination to graduate.

When the new Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary opened in Takoma Park for the summer session of 1937 it was temporarily housed in the old Review and Herald cafeteria. It was nearly four years before a new building went up which provided space for 150 students, a

library, and administrative offices.

The seminary matured rapidly. D. E. Rebok, seminary president beginning in 1943, added a division of Missions and Christian Leadership, and classes in Arabic, French, German, and Russian prepared workers for new mission outreach after World War II. The schedule, which had already expanded to a winter quarter in addition to the summer session, became a year-round program in 1944-45. The eighteen courses available in 1936 expanded within a decade to ninety-five, spread over the departments of Archaeology and History of Antiquity, Bible and Systematic Theology, Biblical Languages, Church History and Practical Theology. This last department offered classes in ministerial performance, among them church activities and administration,

homiletics, and public speaking.

Originally, the Seminary resembled other Adventist colleges more than the usual Protestant seminary, but this character began to change in the 1950s. To the dismay of some conference presidents who believed that too much education limited a minister's effectiveness as an evangelist, the General Conference added a year of seminary training to the internship of prospective ministers. To mollify Conference fears the Seminary expanded its offerings in practical theology. Charles Weniger's biblical preaching classes, C. E. Wittschiebe's pastoral counseling courses, and M. L. Andreasen's and Edward Heppenstall's emphasis on biblical theology were all well received. It was some consolation to reluctant conference leaders to know that these seminary



Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan. During the years following 1975, the seminary developed into an international institution with faculty from around the Adventist world and extension programs in denominational colleges worldwide.

teachers had once been pastors themselves who had successfully made the transition to the scholarly world without limiting their appreciation of the practical aspect of the ministry.

Concurrent with these changes was talk of merging the Seminary with Washington Missionary College to create a university. The 1956 Autumn Council approved the concept, but faced with misgivings by some church leaders about founding a university in an urban setting, changed the plan two years later by agreeing to transfer the Seminary to Emmanuel Missionary College in Berrien Springs, Michigan. During the 1959-60 academic year the Seminary operated in Takoma Park under the title of Potomac University; meanwhile, appropriations from the General Conference readied the Michigan campus with apartment buildings, an expanded library, and Seminary Hall. Finally, after considerable hesitation over naming an institution after an individual, the board of the new entity rechristened the school Andrews University in honor of John Nevins Andrews.

W. G. C. Murdoch became the dean of the transplanted seminary. Under his leadership a new era of development began so convincingly that by 1964 church leaders voted that ministerial students should spend two of their three years of internship at the Seminary studying for the bachelor of divinity degree. Despite this action the need for pastors was still so pressing and most conference budgets were so limited that not every prospective minister graduating from a baccalaureate program attended the Seminary before assuming pastoral duties.

Field Schools of Evangelism

The reluctance of some interns to attend the Seminary was attributable to other reasons than limited funds and the immediate need for pastors. Some church leaders questioned the wisdom of acquainting prospective Adventist ministers with non-Adventist theological concepts. But conference presidents became amenable to the new arrangement because of the growing popularity of field schools of evangelism. Student participation in evangelistic campaigns was not a new idea, but it was Edward Banks who regularized these experiences. As a young minister he had floundered as an evangelist until he attended a field school conducted by J. L. Shuler in 1938. After learning effective evangelistic methods, Banks joined the Religion Department of Southern Missionary College where he organized a field school of his own consisting of morning classes and visitation in the afternoons.

Banks took his techniques with him when he joined the Andrews faculty, conducting his first Seminary field school at Rockford, Illinois. His classes taught students the importance of the location of an evangelistic campaign, its advertising, an organized visitation plan, adaptation of lecture topics to current interests, and decision-making by listeners at every meeting. As requests from local conferences for field schools multiplied beyond Banks's ability to supply them, he invited successful evangelists to join his instructional program. The result was an increasing number of summer evangelistic campaigns.

Alterations at the Seminary during the 1960s reflected social changes that ministers would face in their districts. The Department of Applied Theology received a new name, Church and Ministry, and reduced traditional classes in speech and sacred music in favor of youth leadership, youth camp counseling, and equipping laity for ministry. Seminarians received more exposure to an emphasis on the church's relationship to Black Americans, the urban milieu, drug abuse, divorce, and changing sex mores.

Two doctoral programs became a part of the Seminary offerings during the 1970s. A doctor of ministry degree, designed primarily for persons interested in

pastoral and evangelistic activities, took students through a practical sequence of courses relating biblical principles to contemporary issues and problems. The second program, a doctor of theology degree, intended to prepare teacher-scholars in biblical studies and theology for service in Adventist colleges, required two years of study beyond the master of divinity degree.

Accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the American Association of Theological Schools was made easier in part by the increased recognition Seminary faculty gained in non-Adventist circles. Two professors who pioneered the way in earning such attention were Siegfried Horn and Daniel Walther. As a member of the Old Testament Department, Horn launched the *Andrews University Seminary Studies* in 1963, a biennial journal carrying research by teachers, students, and other Adventist scholars on a variety of topics. Horn himself was a skilled archaeologist and led the first Andrews University Expedition to the biblical Heshbon in 1968. Walther, as head of the Church History Department, built an independent reputation in medieval and Reformation church history, and maintained a wealth of personal contacts with prominent European theologians. Both Horn and Walther compiled impressive bibliographies of published works. Increasing numbers of scholars followed with professional accomplishments that spoke well for the academic stature of the Seminary.

The Ministerial Association continued to promote professional materials and literature for denominational workers. A



German-born Siegfried H. Horn (1908-1993) was the first trained Adventist archeologist. Horn gave antiquities classes at the SDA Theological Seminary in the United States an unprecedented professional quality.

747-page book, *Evangelism*, appeared in 1946, containing Ellen White manuscripts and out-of-print materials dealing with the promulgation of the gospel. Instead of relying on available books, the Association commissioned Adventist writers to produce monographs on needed subjects. *Gospel Melodies*, a songbook for use in evangelistic campaigns, and other visual aids for use in public presentations also came out. In the 1960s a tape-of-the-month program began, which featured prominent Adventist speakers providing inspiration and insights to improve preaching methods.

Changes also occurred in *The Ministry* magazine. Around 1940 it increased its size and broadened its coverage by including a medical missionary section in each issue. As the professional quality of the journal increased the Association inaugurated a program in the 1970s to reach clergymen from other denominations by sending them a free subscription to *The Ministry*.

Professionalization Spreads

Although Adventist ministers in the United States and Canada were the primary ones to benefit from the movement to professionalize the ministry by establishing a seminary, Daniells never intended the program he set in motion to remain in the North American Division. He visualized the need as a global one. For a year and nine months preceding the 1929 Autumn Council he and his wife traveled in Australia and other parts of the Pacific, conducting meetings in collaboration with local workers. With little

time for rest from their travels, the Daniellses packed their bags again in December 1929 to begin a four-month itinerary of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Peru in the South American Division, again to conduct inservice training sessions for workers.

Prior to this South American tour, division presidents Oliver Montgomery and P. E. Brodersen had addressed the problem of improved performance standards in the Adventist ministry, but it was C. B. Haynes, as division president from 1926-30, who arranged a series of institutes by Daniells. The meetings lasted ten days to two weeks with the Ministerial Association head stressing two essential topics—the ministry as a profession and the personal qualifications of the minister himself. In these discussions Ellen White's role in the church was a strong point.

Notwithstanding the pronounced need for a professionalization program for the Adventist ministry, financial reversals around the world prevented strong participation by the divisions outside North America in the movement to establish a seminary. Following the first summer session of advanced study in 1934, the South American Division voted to sponsor two ministers to attend a senior college in the United States. The Division would pay the ministers' travel expenses, and the employing unions were to pay their living expenses. No more than two workers a year were to go, one from South Brazil and the other from the Austral Union, composed of Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The men were to be ready to return to South America after completing their course work.

The action by South America was illustrative of a dilemma the church met nearly everywhere. In North America theological training had become, ideally at least, a college-level experience with students emerging as well schooled as possible in the art of the profession as well as the substance of Adventist teachings. By contrast, when the summer sessions for advanced study opened at Pacific Union College in 1934, only one educational center in the South American Division offered classes beyond the secondary level. Further, South America's leaders did not see the need for a senior college in the foreseeable future.

South America's situation was not unique. In 1930 only a smattering of Adventist institutions outside North America offered post-secondary courses. Translated into practical terms, these circumstances meant that the overwhelming majority of theological preparation in these fields took place at the secondary level of education. Although ministerial students were more than teenagers, their educational backgrounds often left much to be desired. It is small wonder that Daniells's vision encompassed the world field.

Despite North American students dominating the enrollment at the Seminary, workers from other fields managed to attend. During the 1941 summer session sixteen of forty-six students came from other world divisions. China and South America supplied four each, Central Europe and Inter-America two each, with one each from the Far Eastern, Northern Europe, South Africa, and Southern Asia divisions. Looking at this varied enrollment, J. L. McElhany viewed

the denominational seminary as a unifying influence in Adventist theology as well as the agent of professionalization of the ministry. The Seminary was, in his words, one of the "connecting links" between worldwide work and the General Conference.

After the interruption of World War II, the 1945-46 school year saw a noticeable international flavor at the Seminary. Students came from China, Egypt, Finland, India, the Philippines, and various parts of the South and Inter-American divisions. More than half the faculty were either non-Americans or had worked in fields outside the United States.

Total enrollments in the Seminary doubled during the 1950s, partly because of the mandatory year for North American interns and partly because of extension schools in other divisions. The idea of extension schools stemmed from L. E. Froom's new position in 1941 as secretary of the Ministerial Association and Australian R. A. Anderson's arrival in Washington at the same time as an associate secretary. Anderson was a successful evangelist, and Froom had researched widely to write his four-volume *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, a study of the historical development of biblical interpretation that had been useful in countering L. R. Conradi after his defection.

Although about a decade had passed since Conradi's passing, Adventist leaders in post-World War II Great Britain found it necessary not only to continue refuting him but to improve their evangelistic techniques as well. In response to these needs the Seminary agreed to help by holding an extension school in England.

Froom taught a course in prophetic interpretation, J. L. Shuler offered instruction in evangelism, and Holger Lindsjo conducted classes in church history. Sixty-seven students enrolled. The experiment was so successful that the Seminary offered a similar program the following year in Uruguay for eighty students from around the South American Division. During the 1950s these extension schools became an accepted part of the Seminary effort to serve the world field.

Banks's field schools of evangelism also went international. With assistance from seasoned evangelists he was able to honor requests to conduct his evangelistic training program in England, Wales, and Scotland. J. L. McElhany's view of the Seminary as a connecting link to other divisions was materializing in ways he did not foresee.

In keeping with this spirit a new Department of Missions appeared in the 1960s. First under Myrl Manley and later Gottfried Oosterwal, both with many years of service in the Orient, this department was more than an attempt to stimulate interest in serving the church anywhere on the globe. It offered formal preparation for future workers who would live in non-Christian cultures, and at the request of the General Conference offered special orientation programs for new interdivisional workers.

By the end of the 1960s it was clear that the efforts to prepare a professional ministry were dramatically impacting the divisions beyond North America. Thirty-nine schools were offering post-secondary programs variously defined as ministerial, theology, and religion, a third of

which were equivalent to a bachelor's degree. Each division had at least one four-year program.

This upgrading came none too soon. Sharp membership increases beginning in the 1970s made theological studies even more vital and placed severe strain on minister preparation programs, especially in Asia, Africa, and Latin America where church growth was most pronounced. These were also the regions where the church had depended the longest on secondary-level worker training programs to produce ministers. The expanding number of tertiary-level theology courses during the 1960s only paved the way for a trend in the 1970s and 1980s to provide ministers to the increasing number of congregations. During those two decades the Seminary continued its extension schools, some of which developed into affiliations that permitted graduate education to move from Michigan to non-North American campuses. Seminary faculty traveled to other schools to conduct courses compressed into short segments of time, which allowed students, the majority of whom were already employed, to enroll in graduate programs without missing extensive time from their work.

It was at Philippine Union College where the first independent graduate program in theology began outside North America. After initiating post-baccalaureate ministerial courses, the college administration organized a seminary and granted its first master's degrees in 1977. With this achievement fresh in their minds, workers in the Far Eastern Division broke ground in the Philippines in

1989 for the Adventist International Institute for Advanced Studies, a graduate school without an undergraduate base that offered programs in theology as well as other fields. This new entity, known by its acronym, AIAS, awarded its first doctorates in practical theology in 1992, and three years later its first candidate for a doctor of philosophy degree graduated. The success of AIAS had been rapid and effective. At the 1996 Annual Council in Costa Rica the General Conference Committee voted to reclassify the Philippine graduate school as a General Conference institution “with special attachment to the Asia and Pacific regions.”

By 1995 the number of colleges and universities beyond North America that offered four-year theology programs reached seventy-three. Andrews Uni-

versity maintained affiliations with five institutions in Africa, Europe, and the Caribbean to legitimize undergraduate programs, including degrees in theology. On four of these campuses and seven additional ones the Seminary, under the umbrella of Andrews University, held affiliations for master’s degrees in religion or pastoral ministry.

These numbers added up to several conclusions. For the most part schools outside North America were assuming responsibility for preparation of ministers with a changed reliance on the Seminary at Andrews University. The Michigan school had become an international school in which notions of globalization were a part of the formal program as well as the ambience of the campus. In 1984 nineteen of the forty-five regular faculty



For many years Spicer College near Poona, India, was the only degree-granting institution in the Southern Asia Division. During the 1990s, it offered graduate education in ministerial training.

were of non-North American origin, and three more had spent their childhood in countries beyond the United States. Only twelve of the North Americans did not have experience outside the United States before joining the Seminary faculty. At the same time 150 of the 413 students were not native to North America. In the 1980s and 1990s two Seminary deans, Gerhard Hasel and Werner Vyhmeister, were of non-North American origin. Official connections between the Michigan school and other institutions had become more a question of legitimizing graduate programs rather than bachelor degrees.



Werner Vyhmeister speaks to the graduating class of River Plate College in 1970. Vyhmeister, a product of Adventist education in South America, went on to become the dean of the SDA Theological Seminary at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan.

Since its inception in the mid-1930s the Theological Seminary had served as *the* center of theological training and scholarship for the world church. The growth of ministerial educational programs around the world did not change that role, but with ministerial students outside North America numbering more than 7,500 in the mid-1990s, the church could not expect the Seminary at Andrews University to be the only provider of professional training for the ministry. Rather than preempting the role of the Andrews campus, the rise of professional education for Adventist preachers and theology teachers around the globe was a sign that the Seminary had done its work well.

In its new role the Seminary continued to lead but also to share the task of professional training for ministers. Without slowing its pace or ceasing to influence the denomination's ministry, it still attracted a large enrollment of interdivisional students. The 1934 twelve-week summer session had grown to six departments besides a galaxy of general instruction classes. Students, unassured in 1936 that their efforts would eventuate into a graduate degree, in 1997 had a choice from among five master's degrees and three doctorates. Of its fifty regular teachers, approximately a third originated from outside the North American Division, primarily Europe and Latin America.

Among the Seminary programs that continued to draw international attention were the archaeological studies that Siegfried Horn had begun thirty years before. Lawrence T. Geraty, a teacher who left the Seminary to serve successively as president of Atlantic Union College and

La Sierra University, unofficially inherited Horn's mantle. After beginning the Madaba Plains Archaeological Project at Tell el-Umeiri, Jordan in 1984, Geraty oversaw digs in 1987, 1989, 1991, 1992, and 1994. Although he regarded his excursions as an Adventist undertaking, he broadened participation to include scores of non-Adventists. In 1992 about eighty archaeologists, students, and lay persons took part; the next dig in 1994 involved 120 participants, about half of whom were Adventists. Geraty delegated some of the administrative duties of the project to assistants from other Adventist colleges and recruited help from non-Adventist universities as well as local Jordanians.

Probably Daniells's vision of a professional ministry had evolved much farther than he anticipated. Chiefly concerned with the spiritual and practical aspects of professionalization, he did not appear

to question the substantive integrity of ministerial training programs, but the passage of time brought a heavy emphasis on scholarship as well. With continually rising levels of world literacy and a plethora of reading material before them, Adventist laity around the globe were doubtlessly far better informed about theological details than their forebears, and probably in many cases, better informed than some of the early clergy. The expectation for a better prepared ministry was only natural. However important this aspect of professionalization had become, the doctrinal debates induced by the Brinsmead brothers and Desmond Ford in the 1950s and later years only served to emphasize the equally important counsel from Daniells and other leaders who persistently supported professionalization—a well grounded spiritual commitment is fundamental to a successful ministry.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Theological Seminary and background:

L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 392-408, gives a personalized view of the early Ministerial Association.

E. K. VandeVere, *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 243-251, is a treatment of the move of the Seminary to Berrien Springs.

Russell Staples and Madeleine Johnston, "The Seventh-day Adventist Seminary Integrating Globalization Into the Total Life of the Institution," *Theological Education*, spring 1986, pp. 109-117, describes the international quality of the Adventist seminary.

Review and Herald, April 3, 10, May 1, 8, 15, 1930, provides a series of reports about A. G. Daniells's inservice itinerary to South American workers.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, autumn 1983, pp. 205-238, describes archeological findings in Jordan.

Facing Financial Pressures

Financial problems had always dogged the heels of church leaders, yet in the chaotic post-World War I years even new economic issues arose. Up to this time currencies had remained generally stable, and financial problems in the United States, while producing difficulties, had not been insurmountable, all of which allowed the church to conduct its financial affairs with a modicum of certainty. The collapse of national economies following the war precipitated acute problems that church leaders had never faced before. Already preoccupied with the task of preaching the three angels' messages, they would find the twentieth century fraught with difficulties that would drain their best energies away from what they deemed to be their primary task.

But denominational leaders could not overlook the possibility that if they neglected fiscal responsibility the church

itself would collapse. The growing size of the church and its increasing revenues called for more skilled money management. It also presumed effective policies that assured workers their salaries even during severe financial reversals and protected church money from rapidly fluctuating inflation. Good policies would distribute financial support more equitably to needy world fields, would develop fund-raising methods outside ordinary appeals from the pulpits each Sabbath, and would follow the policies of appropriate use of tithe. The Great Depression, the most severe financial dislocation in history, sandwiched between two world wars, made financial problems more difficult. The church also felt the pressure of political trends that demanded improved economic conditions for societies around the globe. Despite the undeniable evidence of God's blessings,

church leaders did not find the financial problems of the twentieth century easy to resolve.

Church Finances Following World War I

Following World War I disastrous inflation struck many parts of Europe. In Poland the situation became so acute that the church had to adjust workers' salaries every few weeks. The exchange rate between the United States dollar and currencies in both Russia and Germany reached into the millions. Earnings were better measured in designated quantities of foodstuffs, but with no assurance that they were available. A large cash reserve that church leaders in Germany had accumulated evaporated in a matter of months in the wake of post-war devaluation.

European Adventists, for years financially self-sufficient, had borne the expense for much denominational activity in Africa and the Near East, but now they had to appeal to the General Conference for aid to meet local expenses. When converted into United States currency, mission offerings from 320 Russian Sabbath Schools amounted to only \$55.56. As pitifully small as this sum was, it represented a sacrifice unimaginable in most of North America.

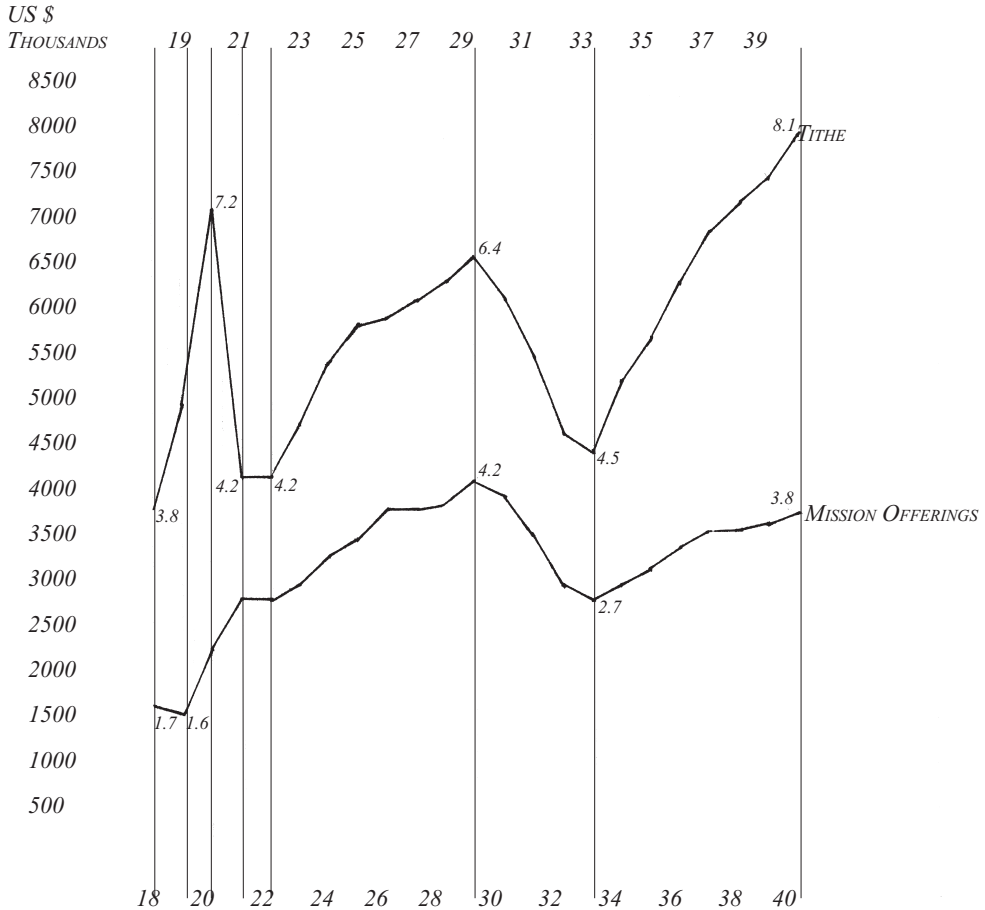
The war years were somewhat more financially prosperous for most Adventists in North America than the prewar era. Membership growth also helped the denomination to realize increases in tithes and offerings that enabled the General Conference to accumulate

a reserve, but the church quickly spent this money during 1919 and 1920 by sending a large number of mission appointees who compensated for the church's inability to send out workers during the war. For their salaries this category of workers depended on General Conference appropriations rather than income from the fields where they went. Hardly had they settled into their new assignments when the 1921 depression struck North America, causing tithe to drop 17 percent and mission offerings to fall off at a similar rate. Even bleaker were the numbers from fields outside North America where tithe from hurting post-war economies plummeted 35 percent and mission offerings 28 percent. Because most of the church's operating funds originated in North America, the outlook was not optimistic.

These conditions produced a million-dollar debt in the mission budget. To avoid reducing the number of denominational workers, delegates to the 1922 Autumn Council appealed to church employees to donate an offering equivalent to one week's salary. From North America alone more than \$150,000 came in. Although this amount was only a fraction of the needed funds, the anticipated cutbacks did not occur. Thus was born the annual "Week of Sacrifice" appeal to all church members to make special donations to the church.

The North American economy improved in 1923, but it was not until 1925 that tithe income from the North American Division resumed its 1920 level. The divisions outside North America did not reach their 1920 figures until the 1940s.

TITHE AND MISSION OFFERINGS DURING INTER-WORLD WAR PERIOD, 1918-1940



The impact of economic turbulence during the years between the world wars can be seen in this graph charting the erratic pattern of tithe and mission offerings. These two sources of church revenue were basic to the Adventist mission program. The United States' depression of 1921 cut deeply into tithe, as did the Great Depression beginning in October 1929. Income for the beginning and ending years of the period, as well as for other critical years, is shown in numbers rounded off to the nearest hundred thousand dollars. The decline beginning in 1929 caused serious cutbacks in nearly every aspect of denominational work. Adapted from the Statistical Report.

Meanwhile, membership increased more than 60 percent during the 1920s and another 63 percent during the 1930s. Most of this increase took place outside North America. All of these figures added up to a single conclusion: progressively during the period between the two world wars the church collected less money per member and thus had less money to spend per member.

Church leaders attempted to meet their financial dilemmas in several ways. Among them were fund-raising campaigns such as continuing the Week of Sacrifice Offering and promoting Ingathering and Big Week. At the same time the General Conference reduced the percentage of tithe that local conferences forwarded to higher levels of the church, which allowed conference officers to support their evangelistic programs and pastors. Institutional construction was curtailed.

Although the North American depression of 1921 continued to plague agriculture through the entire decade of the 1920s, other aspects of the United States economy boomed, resulting in enough increases in North American tithe to enlarge General Conference appropriations to other fields. By 1929 conservative financial policies in the denomination had built a stronger North American church, but lagging economies elsewhere had intensified the dependence of the Adventist world at large upon the financial resources of the United States. When the most severe depression in history struck in the fall of 1929, these North American underpinnings crumbled, nearly paralyzing the church. W. A. Spicer, an officer

of the General Conference for most of the century until 1930, including the General Conference presidency since 1922, left his office in 1930 to lay the crushing burden of leadership on the shoulders of Charles H. Watson, an Australian and the first non-North American to head the world church.

Charles H. Watson and the Great Depression

Charles H. Watson had risen rapidly in church ranks. He had grown up in southern Australia where his father owned a farm, a wool brokerage, and a



C. H. Watson (1877-1962), an astute Australian businessman as well as Adventist church administrator, became General Conference president in 1930. He led the denomination through the darkest days of the Great Depression.

small store. At age twenty-five the younger Watson became a Seventh-day Adventist; five years later he enrolled at Avondale College. Only nine more years passed until he became president of the Australasian Union Conference, the forerunner of the Australasian, and later, the South Pacific Division.

As a church administrator Watson's business acumen became immediately apparent. One of his leading accomplishments was to reorganize the infant Adventist health food company and turn it into a profitable business venture which was able to underwrite a major part of the cost of the expanding Adventist school system in Australia. In 1922 he left Australia for Takoma Park to serve four years as a General Conference vice president and associate treasurer. Back in Australia in 1926, he resumed leadership of the field which had been renamed the Australasian Division. Four years later in 1930, when Spicer stepped down from the General Conference presidency, the Adventist world turned to Watson to lead the church.

Watson's experience proved to be what the church needed during the grueling years ahead. At stake was the preservation of the world church in the face of the most severe economic tests the world had known. The church had survived the post-World War I economic dislocations because of a relatively strong North American economy, but almost immediately the Adventist world organization felt the impact of the financial reversals hitting the United States in 1929.

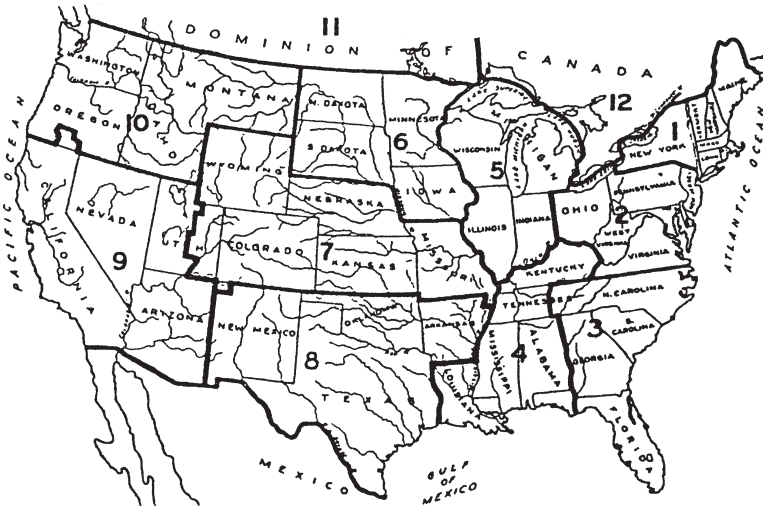
From a total of \$6,400,000 tithe revenue in 1928, the last complete year

before the Great Depression struck, tithe declined to \$4,500,000 in 1933. The loss of \$1,900,000 in five years became even worse in light of other statistics. In 1928 North America supplied the church with about 67 percent of its tithe income. Five years later it furnished about 60 percent, but during these years membership increased about 100,000 with the world fields growing 175 percent faster than North America. In simple terms, the drop in tithe income was proportionately more severe outside North America, the place where membership increases required more supporting income. As could be expected, this condition produced financial pressure.

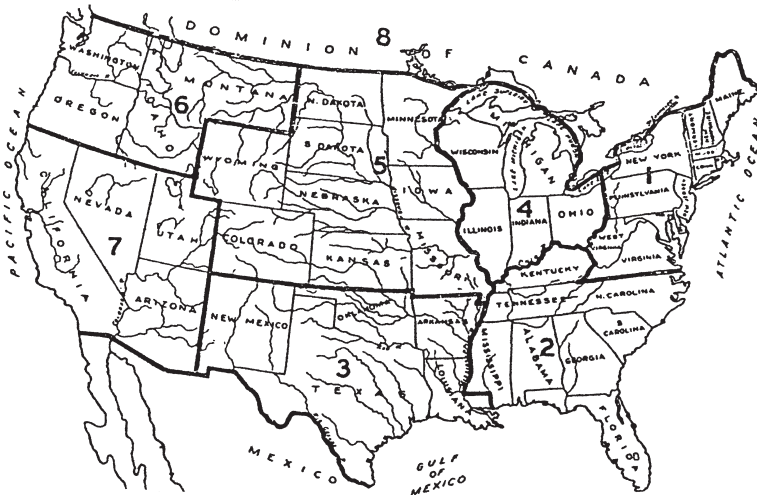
For its part, the Adventist establishment in North America was larger and more complex as compared to the rest of the world, and therefore it stood to lose more if church leadership did not take stringent measures to save it from financial doom. But nonetheless, in fields beyond North America an expanding circle of medical centers, publishing houses, and schools were vital parts of the developing church and deserved every attempt to support them as well.

The key factor in coping with financial distress was to determine the essential needs of the church and to balance them with economizing measures. This was made difficult by differing economic policies in countries where the Adventist Church had a presence. To meet a demand for money, not all, but some countries increased the amount of paper currency in circulation, which produced inflation. In these economies money values eroded and prices escalated. On the contrary, the

LIGHT BEARERS



In order to reduce church administrative expenses in North America and thus release funds for world evangelism, the 1931 Autumn Council recommended a reorganization of North American unions and conferences. The first map shows the twelve unions, including two in Canada, in existence in 1931. The recommendation called for these twelve unions to be reduced to eight, as shown in the second map, and for reorganizing the fifty-eight North American conferences into forty-eight. General Conference treasurer J. L. Shaw estimated these changes would save \$225,000, roughly equivalent to a General Conference appropriation to a world division. Data from the Annual Statistical Report show actual reductions from twelve to nine unions and reorganization of the fifty-eight conferences into forty-seven conferences and five missions. There is no estimate of the savings realized from these changes, but they eliminated a total of fifteen administrative staffs, which approximated Shaw's recommendation. The maps are taken from the Review and Herald, January 21, 1932.



United States protected its currency by maintaining a strong dollar in the world market. It did not resort to inflationary policies but allowed the amount of money in circulation to decline sharply during the Great Depression. Prices dropped. The net effect of United States fiscal policy on Seventh-day Adventist economics was to reduce dramatically the amount of tithe and offerings that American Adventists gave to the church, which in turn, diminished the size of appropriations to world fields.

The results of these trends were not uniform around the world, but in general, workers' salaries tended to be smaller. In those countries that depended on inflationary practices, these diminished salaries had even less purchasing power than before the Great Depression. Appropriations for institutions and programs also shrank. Until the world economy improved, the church was locked into this dilemma partially because of its heavy dependence on North America as the source of financial support.

The single positive element in these bleak circumstances was the fact that somehow the world fields outside the United States managed to increase their offerings for local church work by more than 33 percent during the years from 1929 to 1933. These numbers show that Adventists outside North America tried to compensate for the lack of funds from the General Conference by increasing their local giving. However gallant their attempt, with a missions budget of about \$US3,000,000 in 1933, and the increase in local offerings since 1929 approximating only \$US50,000, the world fields

were able to meet only a small fraction of their own needs. How much of this increase was eaten up by inflation is not known.

To keep the denominational wheels turning, Watson and his colleagues drew heavily upon operating reserves that the church had built up during the 1920s. Despite these transfusions, workers faced possible dismissal, salaries were vulnerable to reduction, and mission projects subject to delay. Before the economic disaster bottomed out in 1933, denominational employees around the world took 30-percent pay cuts. Workers received less money to travel. Missionaries delayed their furloughs. Sharply reduced appropriations to divisions outside North America in turn decreased the number of mission appointees. In many world fields church administrators saved salary money by eliminating positions, most of them held by nonordained workers.

When the downward spin began at the 1930 Autumn Council, the church was reminded of the 1922 financial threat and the successful Week of Sacrifice Offering that helped to save appropriations to world fields. Again, General Conference officers pressed members to give a week of their earnings to the Week of Sacrifice Offering. Later, they urged a dollar per member for the Mid-Summer Offering. In mid-1932 Watson announced that most mission appointees had retained their jobs, but the reserve money on which the denomination had depended was about gone. To avoid incurring more expenses the church postponed the 1934 General Conference session for two years. Finally, at the 1934 Autumn Coun-

cil Watson and his fellow leaders saw a break in the negative financial circumstances they had been battling. With a slight increase in tithe, the delegates approved a slightly larger budget for the world divisions for 1935.

The worst was over when the General Conference session convened in 1936. Acting on his doctor's orders, Watson requested a lighter assignment, and the delegates chose J. L. McElhany to replace him. Tired but unable to stay out of administration, Watson returned home to head once again the Australasian Division for eight years, taking with him the gratitude of the church he had guided through its most crippling financial crisis.

Church Economy After World War II

By 1941 denominational finances had improved dramatically, but they had not completely recovered. The North American church represented slightly more than a third of the entire Adventist membership but gave almost two-thirds of the tithe. Incomes of North American Adventists increased during the war years, which helped to increase church revenues; however, as had been the case earlier, membership grew more rapidly than the intake of denominational money, making it impossible for the church to keep pace with the needs of the world fields. *Review* editor F. M. Wilcox expressed the fear that with the return of good times Adventists would no longer feel the need to economize to promulgate the advent message. He reminded them that the war's end would bring new challenges to restore

what had been destroyed and to enter new territories.

The world church, suffering from the devastations of World War II, still depended heavily on North America for financial support. By 1946 the denomination had collected a rehabilitation fund exceeding US\$4,500,000 to replace destroyed properties in the war zones. Even this amount proved to be woefully inadequate in replacing the destruction to the church in Europe, the Orient, and the Pacific islands.

The question of how to distribute church funds fairly among world fields was a perennial problem that intensified. In the post-World War II era many new, small, independent countries pursued national fiscal policies that made it difficult to transfer church funds from one field to another. Exchange rates occasionally fluctuated wildly and endangered the value of money belonging to the church. The United States dollar was sometime strong and sometimes weak. Dealing with these problems became a daily activity for General Conference treasurers as well as church leaders in the world divisions.

Since its inception in the late nineteenth century, tithing constituted the base of support for the church. Although national economies revived after World War II, years passed before the ratio between North American tithe and tithe from the world divisions changed significantly, which meant that the world dependence on North American money continued. In 1970 the North American Division provided three-quarters of the denomination's tithe, which was a larger proportion

than in 1940; by 1980 North American tithe dropped to 62 percent of the world total of nearly US\$400,000,000. The North American Division continued to provide the funds for the operation of the General Conference. It was clear that North American money was the financial lifeblood of the church.

While North American tithe remained the single most important source of church income, other revenues became relatively more significant. In his report to the world church in 1985, Don Yost, denominational statistician and archivist, pointed out that when the Great Depression began, mission offerings for the world field amounted to a third of total church income, but by 1984 it had shrunk to only 8 percent even though the dollar amount had increased. Paralleling this trend was another that saw money which local congregations collected for their own use rise from only 15 percent of total giving in 1930 to more than a third of the denomination's income. These figures meant that although mission offerings declined, local churches were assuming more responsibility for themselves. Donald F. Gilbert, General Conference treasurer, confirmed in 1990 that General Conference funds to be shared with world fields had declined. His figures also showed a narrowing gap separating mission offerings collected in North America and the rest of the world, a trend that was attributable in part to increased giving outside North America.

It was possible to interpret these figures to indicate less economic dependence by the world divisions on North America, and conversely, a greater expectation

that the world divisions would shoulder more of their operating expenses. But while all of this was a sign of a growth of financial responsibility in the world church, it did not mean that the divisions beyond North America were wealthy or that their dependence on North America was about to end. Exponential membership growth in many fields during the 1980s and 1990s created an acute scarcity of funds to build churches, schools, and other amenities that members expected. Notwithstanding shifts in handling and distributing church funds, the denomination retained the basic character of its financial system.

Institutions and Philanthropic Programs

While conventional wisdom held that the purpose of the church was to carry a saving gospel to a lost world, realistic Adventists among both the clergy and laity knew that they could never accomplish this task without appropriate institutions. Adventists could never permit institutions to become ends in themselves, but they recognized that efficient management was a necessity. Hospitals, publishing houses, and health food factories were clearly businesses that turned outward from the church to face a non-Adventist clientele. The trappings of the commercial world surrounded these church-owned enterprises.

The case was different with schools. For the most part their purpose was to train future employees of the denomination and to reinforce Adventism in the denomination's children and young

adults. The income to support schools came in fees from the students and subsidies from the church. Subsidies were not true income, but only a transfer of funds from a conference, union, or a division to a school. The likelihood that Adventist schools could become a financial drain on the denomination was always higher than in any other type of institution, and in some respects, management of educational establishments was always more precarious.

Financial problems were not new for North American institutions, but church leaders had devised plans to help them survive. Early in the century and again in the 1920s schools had promoted sales of Ellen White's *Christ's Object Lessons* to retire their debt, and medical centers sold *The Ministry of Healing* for the same purpose. In addition, sanitariums were required to set aside a specific amount of income for debt retirement. Schools in North America cut their indebtedness in half, and medical centers reduced theirs by nearly \$600,000. After the Great Depression struck, school-owned industries helped by providing employment opportunities for students to earn a major part of their expenses while bringing in cash to the campus at the same time. But the Great Depression was ruthless. Even with their strict economizing, school managers, who had successfully retired institutional debts, watched the process reverse itself during the 1930s. It was the improved economy during the war years that saved these institutions, allowing schools to pay off more than a half million dollars of debt. In 1945 only \$28,000 remained outstanding. Adventist

sanitariums, publishing houses, and Book and Bible houses experienced a similar pattern of debt retirement during the war.

This virtual debt-free environment was soon to be threatened by an upward spiral of institutional costs that began in North America during the 1960s. During that decade the American economy heated up. At the same time governments at both the national and state levels responded to social problems by becoming more regulatory. The upshot was more expensive operations for institutions of all kinds with no end to the trend in sight. Not much time passed before administrators began to feel the pinch of higher costs.

The hardest hit were institutions of higher learning where increases in tuition and other expenses rose more rapidly than the rate of growth in the general economy. Church subsidies to colleges and universities became larger, but their proportionate size in institutional budgets shrank. To meet the demands of growing operational expenses and to soften the blow of higher fees, schools in the United States relied on government aid in the form of grants and loans to students. College administrations organized offices of financial aid, which depended heavily on state and federal funds. The practical result of this new twist in institutional finance was a reliance on public money for survival. The money itself was relatively easy to come by, but its availability could change with the political winds.

Other sources of money were needed. Although Adventists had not turned down gifts that they could legitimately accept, they had traditionally left institutions to

fend for themselves without relying on sophisticated fund gathering methods for support. It was a revolution in the denomination's financial history when the General Conference established a new department in 1973 that would grow into Philanthropic Services for Institutions. This new entity put into effect a conviction that financial support was available if solicited from alumni and other donors, sources that church institutions had neglected. North American colleges and universities set goals to collect \$30 million from these sources, of which \$18 million had come in by 1980.

Heading this program was Milton Murray, son of a former president of the South American Division and a product of Adventist schools. Figures told him

that alumni support of Adventist colleges and universities was only about a quarter of the national average for private, coeducational schools. Adventist businessmen supplied him with \$2,000,000 to fund a five-year incentive program. The money served as matching amounts for money solicited by the alumni themselves. By 1985 this fund had generated nearly \$6,000,000. Businessmen kicked in another \$1,250,000 to extend the program for three years. Momentum increased, with colleges and universities collecting \$45,000,000 during the five years ending in 1985.

Philanthropic Services also affected the health-care industry. By 1980 Adventist hospitals had raised \$16 million through capital campaigns and annual programs. Many gifts were of non-Adventist origin. The Adventist Health System gathered \$10.5 million in voluntary support during 1984 alone besides \$9.7 million generated from challenge grants.

Adventist secondary schools in North America also benefited from the plan. The total of \$158,000,000 taken in by educational and health-care institutions under the auspices of Philanthropic Services during the five years ending in 1990 included \$4,800,000 by forty-three academies. Murray encouraged adaptations of these programs for institutions in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, but most division presidents could report only organizational plans by the mid-1990s.

Trust Services, another financial development department of the General Conference, began its functions in 1968, although this activity had been a part of



Milton Murray established the practice of philanthropic giving as a traditional part of financial support for Adventist institutions.

church financial operations since 1932. For thirty-six years its functions were limited to only a part of church entities. After 1968 its program included all administrative and institutional units. Unions and conferences organized their own offices to handle this category of donations to the church. Trust Services targeted Adventist members to encourage them to bequeath all or a portion of their estates to the denomination for either unrestricted or restricted uses. In 1980 General Conference treasurer Kenneth Emmerson estimated that \$750,000,000 in assets had come to the church since the concept of trust services began. Most of these gifts fell under the general term of maturities, indicating that the denomination would benefit from them at a later date, most often after the decease of the donor. Emmerson disclosed that during the short period from 1976 to 1978 the church reaped more than \$30,000,000 from these maturities. Trust Services director Tom Carter reported to the 1995 General Conference session that during the preceding five years the accumulated assets taken in by Trust Services at all levels of the church poured approximately \$200,000,000 into the church.

The tempo of this program was picking up and spreading to other world divisions. The South Pacific Division and the two divisions that included European countries developed trust service offices and reaped assets measured in the equivalent of millions of North American dollars. The Southern Asia, Inter-American, South American, Asia-Pacific, and Euro-Asia divisions also launched programs to establish a trust service.

The pattern in both of these fund raising departments was to develop successful practices in North America and transplant adaptations in other world fields. While Trust Services appeared to be more successful than Philanthropic Services in fields outside North America, it was apparent that its accomplishments occurred in those regions where developed economies already existed and standards of living were relatively high.

In some instances, non-North American divisions did not wait for either Trust Services or Philanthropic Services to show them the way to acquire support funds. Among the most notable cases was a gift to the Inter-American Division equivalent to \$US5,000,000 from the West German Protestant Central Agency for Development Aid to convert the campus of the Vocational and Professional School at Montemorelos, Mexico into the University of Montemorelos.

Before either Trust Services or Philanthropic Services existed the church received bequests from both Adventist and non-Adventist sources. This occurred in all world divisions. Porter Memorial Hospital in Denver, Colorado was the result of Henry M. Porter's favorable impression of the honest treatment he had received as a patient in Adventist health-care institutions. Porter was a Denver banker with an earlier record in real estate. His \$330,000 gift was the largest single donation Seventh-day Adventists received before the Great Depression. To this amount he and his daughter added \$50,000 which enabled the church to purchase forty acres of land and erect a 100-bed sanitarium and hospital that opened

in 1930. William Porter, the son, left more than a million dollars for expansion of the institution named after his father.

In the late 1940s the family of Eugene Kettering, the son of inventor and General Motors executive Charles Kettering, led a campaign to rebuild Hinsdale Sanitarium in Chicago after noticing that polio patients received exceptional care at the institution. A decade later they organized another program to raise \$11,000,000 to establish a 300-bed hospital in Dayton, Ohio, named Kettering Memorial Hospital in honor of Eugene's father. Hardly finished with this project, the Ketterings gave another million dollars to add 150 beds to Hinsdale. Another bequest came from Dr. Herbert Taylor Huguley, a wealthy Texan who was reared an Adventist but never joined the church. In his will he left enough valuable property to the church to begin construction of the 220-bed Huguley Memorial Adventist Medical Center near Fort Worth, Texas.

In non-American fields equally dramatic cases of generosity occurred with gifts coming from both private sources and governments, in some cases as early as the nineteenth century. From the newly-formed land of Rhodesia came the story of a grant of 12,000 acres to establish the Matabele Mission in 1894. The benefactor was Cecil Rhodes, who was both premier of the Cape Colony and the head of the British South Africa Company. The gift was hotly debated in Battle Creek. A. T. Jones, a prominent voice in religious liberty matters, virulently opposed it as a breach of religious liberty principles. The General Conference voted

to pay for the land, but Ellen White's intervention placed the donation in perspective, which saved the church thousands of dollars as well as clarified that government gifts did not violate Adventist teachings on religious liberty. The event became a denominational legend.

A local prince in India provided funds to construct Gifford Memorial Hospital in 1925. Two years after ascending the throne in Ethiopia in 1930, Emperor Haile Selassie I donated to the church the Empress Zauditu Memorial Hospital in Addis Ababa. Later he helped to establish another health-care center in a remote province. Bangkok Sanitarium and Hospital, one of the strongest medical facilities in Southeast Asia, began from the generosity of a Mexican sea captain.

Some gifts brought more headaches than blessings. In the late 1920s, the Bolivian government provided the church a hospital at Chulumani and in the 1940s another at Guayaramerin, both in the backlands. In both cases it was understood that the church would lease the facilities rather than own them outright. Indifferent results came from these two ventures, largely because of misunderstandings in the agreements and problems in validating physicians' credentials in Bolivia. Also not to be overlooked was the reluctance by church leaders to become too closely involved in the operation of medical facilities that the denomination did not own.

A similar experience came from Vietnam during the early 1970s when the United States offered to turn over its 500-bed military hospital in Saigon to the church—an offer that appeared to be providential to

Adventists who were raising money to relocate their 38-bed institution. The proposal was even more inviting when the American government agreed to underwrite operational costs if the church would staff and manage the center. To fulfill its part of the bargain a large part of the Vietnamese church leadership transferred from evangelistic assignments to help operate the hospital. Later, a change in personnel in the United States embassy prompted a change of mind, and the government subsidy ended abruptly. Shortly, Saigon fell to North Vietnam, and 200 Adventists were evacuated because of their connection with the institution. This loss of personnel included virtually all of the Adventist national leadership. Questions immediately arose about involvement in apparently opportune projects that sapped the energies of the church.

A very different kind of gift came to the North American church in 1951 when Clyde and Mary Harris turned over their unfinished furniture manufacturing business to the denomination's educational program. From the home plant in Pendleton, Oregon, came branches on twenty-six campuses, mostly secondary schools, enabling students to earn money for their expenses.

The Harris Pine Mills enterprise differed from other businesses the church operated. Both secondary and tertiary Adventist educational centers around the world had commonly owned furniture factories, broom shops, and other businesses for the purpose of providing earning opportunities for students, but other industries owned outright by the church usually had some connection with church

beliefs—publishing literature, producing health foods, and offering health care. By contrast, Harris Pine Mills was a venture by the church at large into the business world solely as a profit-making enterprise to generate money in support of education. In 1986, because of multiple causes ranging from dubious managerial practices to rising costs of lumber and diminishing interest in wood furniture, sales slackened, and the business filed for bankruptcy, bringing an end to this unique project. Church leaders calculated that during the thirty-five years of its existence this industry poured \$50,000,000 into educational institutions through the earnings of an estimated 15,000 students.

While the church had always accepted gifts of real assets and even solicited them on occasion, for the most part Trust Services and Philanthropic Services for Institutions sought to institutionalize methods of raising support money for existing programs. These were methods of increasing church income beyond the traditional tithe and offerings on which the denomination had relied for decades. Under various rubrics new offices of development appeared at nearly all administrative levels of the church in North America and among hospitals and educational institutions, including some secondary schools. The practice was also spreading to the world divisions.

The Debate Over Tithe

As the post-World War II era progressed, changes in denominational demographics and international monetary policies continued to tighten the pinch for

money. We have seen that the total giving by Adventists increased, but per capita rates declined. Collections from the North American Division continued to be the primary source of funds for the world church, but higher inflation rates beginning in the United States during the late 1960s eroded some of the gain in total dollars collected through tithes and other offerings. With respect to demographics, the Adventist population in the southern United States was growing much faster than in the north, which led two North American unions and some conferences to merge to conserve administrative expenses. The upward spiraling cost of institutional operations not only demanded money, but also inspired grave concern.

Spurred on by money problems, some Adventists in North America began to question denominational policy governing the use of tithe money. Historically, the church had restricted the use of tithe to expenditures for salary and administrative expenses directly related to evangelistic and pastoral functions. Those urging a change in this policy argued that although tithing was a biblical principle, it was the church that decided how the money would be spent, therefore the policy was not sacrosanct. At stake was the desire to include teachers as workers eligible to be paid from tithe. At the 1976 Annual Council delegates reached a compromise that allowed up to 30 percent of elementary school teachers' salaries to come from tithe, a recognition that teachers played a role in the spiritual development of their students.

This change did not prove to be the end of the debate. Simultaneous with this

change, some unions and conferences lost money after placing unsecured loans with an Adventist developer, Donald Davenport, who soon declared bankruptcy. Investigations revealed that these investments had sometimes violated denominational monetary policy. A simultaneous but unrelated question was widespread controversy over the sanctuary doctrine inspired by Desmond Ford, an Adventist theologian.

Both of these episodes fueled doubts among some members about the integrity of church leaders regarding both money management and their interpretation of Adventist theology. Some members used their doubts as an excuse to justify giving their money to private ministries. For their part, leaders of independent programs took advantage of the lack of explicit biblical instruction about the use of tithe to identify themselves as part of the "storehouse" declared by the prophet Malachi to be the legitimate recipient of the tithe. Whatever the dynamics of these circumstances, denominational administrators knew they were losing money to competitive groups.

This concern constituted a serious part of the discussion of a twenty-five-member committee that met at Columbia Union College in June 1984. Consisting exclusively of North American Division and General Conference personnel, the committee spent three days studying the issues of how to calculate tithe and how to administer and to disburse it. These discussions eventually produced two documents, which the 1985 Annual Council approved. Relying on statements from Ellen White, the documents retained the essentials of

existing practices with a clear affirmation that the storehouse was the local conference or mission.

The question about who or what constituted the storehouse spread to other parts of the world. In Australia, during a national debate about whether to rewrite the constitution to convert the country into a republic, a laymen's group spoke out by splashing billboards with the suggestion that such a change would jeopardize religious liberty. The group's leader, who also edited an independent magazine, told his readers that Adventists should consider supporting his project with their tithe. A quick rejoinder from the president of the South Queensland Conference challenged both the substance of his argument and the integrity of his request for tithe support.

In spite of all attempts to end it, the debate over church finances with an emphasis on tithe did not go away. General Conference president Robert Folkenberg entered the discussion after his election in 1990 by expressing fear that for two reasons gains in tithe were not keeping abreast of the church's needs—membership continued to grow faster than church income and tithe in North America might be devoted to increased administrative costs without substantially improving the pastoral and evangelistic outreach of the church. At the Annual Council in 1990 further modifications in the tithe distribution policy permitted larger amounts to remain in the coffers of the local conferences. This change would imply a decline of income at administrative levels above the conference, which would result in a reduction of administrative personnel.

The anticipated downsizing in personnel and services occurred, but its extent varied among the unions.

Underneath the tithe debate an important question of church polity was brewing. During the 1970s and 1980s the prevailing opinion held that as the world church grew, the General Conference should also increase its personnel and services. While that logic was difficult to gainsay, North American conferences and unions saw the trend as a centralization of power accompanied by more expense at the top of the denomination without commensurable growth at local levels where direct administration of churches took place. The question hinged on the fact that money to fund General Conference operations originated in the conferences of the North American Division.

Calls for decentralization were heard. One of Folkenberg's early declarations following his election advocated downsizing the General Conference, which implied increased authority and greater retention of funds at local levels of church administration.

The debate about tithe had been primarily a North American affair, but its repercussions affected the global church. Myron Widmer, associate editor of the *Review*, reminded Adventists in 1994 that inflation alone vitiated nearly all increases in church income and that the world church should no longer regard North America as the goose that lays the golden egg. D. E. Robinson, General Conference undertreasurer, joined Folkenberg in May, 1994, to announce a proposal to cut 8 percent from appropria-

tions to the world fields for 1995. Despite initiatives to foster more self reliance among the divisions outside North America, this reduction would strike a serious blow to Adventist work world-wide, and the two men called for changes in the administrative structure of North America to help alleviate the situation.

Serious changes in tithe policy could affect not only the amount of money available for appropriations to the rest of the world, they could also alter the uses for which tithe money could be spent. But such changes did not occur. Instead, modifications stemming from financial pressure and a twenty-five-year discussion were moderate and did not represent substantive alteration in policy.

Other Financial Pressures

Although they endured inflation, unstable exchange rates, and other aspects of fluctuating economies, workers at the beginning of the twentieth century did not appear to be worried about such matters as health insurance and pension plans. Even their salaries were not a controversial matter. They tended to take financial reversals in stride, probably because society at that time did not foster the expectations that later generations would take for granted. In all likelihood, the return of Jesus was far more imminent in their imagination than it proved to be in reality, and it was relatively easy for them to relegate their concern about the mundane aspects of their labors to the realm of the trivial.

Whatever their attitudes were, they

could not foresee the complex fiscal relationships that intertwined the world as the century continued. Whether motivated by ideals or by pragmatism, governments around the world became increasingly prone to promulgate social legislation that both responded to and cultivated a global appreciation for the human right of economic security. The church had to reconcile itself to the growing notion that employees' earnings should be liveable rather than sacrificial. A long practice of operating on two remuneration scales, one for men and another for women, came to an end. Workers in the health-care system in North America broke policy by asking for and receiving a different and higher salary schedule than the rest of the church.

Rising levels of literacy also raised expectations of success, and it naturally followed that educational standards also rose. The transformation of an illiterate living in the jungle to a college-educated professional in two generations was a reality, but it came with a price tag. Similarly, the same church which made pastoral and teacher training *available* at the secondary level of education at the beginning of the century, was *expecting*, if not *requiring*, graduate degrees in some cases by the time the third generation of workers had entered denominational employment. It all translated into steeply inclining costs.

Complicating the matter was the simple fact that the largest increases in denominational membership after 1970 took place in regions that historically had depended the most on appropriations from the General Conference. Until the

financial bases of these fields improved, the growing size of the church in these corners of the earth only served to increase that dependence. Despite attempts to lessen that dependence and to increase the amounts provided by local funds around the world, Adventists were well aware that dependence on North America would not end.

The denomination also knew that after 1970 this dependence was not as sure as it once was. No one publicly made the comparison, but the size of the cut in appropriations to world fields in the 1995 budget was reminiscent of the diminished appropriations voted in 1930 after the Great Depression wreaked havoc on church finances. In some respects the church had come full circle. In 1930, during an era of world economic collapse, the church had to struggle for its financial breath; ironically, sixty-five years later in a time of prosperity, the church was still gasping.

The situations in 1930 and 1995 were not completely comparable, but it was small wonder that questions arose about how to cut the financial pie. During the Great Depression the church was forced to evaluate all of its programs, plans, and goals. Nothing was immune from scrutiny. At that time leaders determined that only the essential would receive support. In the 1990s the denomination was in a much better position to expect more local support from within world fields than in 1930, and as problematic as the North American economy was, it was not suffering from the same painful dislocations that plagued it in 1930.

Financial management in the 1990s had become much more complex with far more sophisticated instruments to measure and care for the economic health of societies and entities. What had become much more evident to even the casual observer was that the church did not function in an economic vacuum, and unless carefully watched and dealt with, a prosperous economy could produce nearly as many difficulties for the denomination's finances as a depressed economy. Undergirding the intricacies of denominational finance was the assumption that the General Conference should function as the equalizing influence in the collection and distribution of money. The system was never perfect nor did the Adventist world ever experience economic egalitarianism, but church leaders maintained a steady conviction that by planning control of the church's funds they would produce more effective and balanced results than by allowing members and even units within the church to compete freely in the collection and spending of tithe and offerings.

After announcing the 1995 cut to the denomination, Folkenberg's statement recalled earlier troubled times through which the church had passed. "History teaches us that only when the pain of the status quo exceeds the pain of change do we deal with the twin challenges of accountability and expectations. My prayer is that we will move forward under the guidance of God to do what He has commanded us to do because it is right, because it represents collective sacrifice, and because we truly want Him to return."

Suggested Topical Reading:

Church financial policy:

Kenneth Emmerson, *Financing a World Church* (1970), is an old but still valuable description of church policy written in everyday language.

J. R. Spangler and Jerry Bartram, "Use of Tithe Policy Revision," *Ministry*, April 1987, pp. 20-22, quotes the tithe policy verbatim as revised in 1986.

Myron Widmer, "Is the Golden Goose Sick?" *Adventist Review*, April 21, 1994, discusses the role of North America in financing the church.

Gifts and personalities:

Daniel and Grace Ochs, *The Past and the Presidents* (1974), pp. 157-172, presents an engaging sketch of C. H. Watson.

Ronald Alan Knott, *The Making of a Philanthropist* (1992), is the story of Milton Murray who revolutionized Adventist thinking about institutional support.

Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, vol. 2, (1992), pp. 114-119, 223-226, recounts the case of government gifts to the church in Bolivia.

Terrie Dopp, et. al., "The Harris Pine Bankruptcy: Too Much, Too Soon?" *Spectrum* vol. 17, no. 5, August 1987, pp. 7-14, probes the loss of one of the church's highly publicized gifts.

D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, 3rd ed. (1965), pp. 414-426, tells the stories of several major gifts to the church for institutional purposes.

Richard Schaefer, *Legacy* (1990 ed.), pp. 183-195, relates many of the details Robinson includes in his accounts.

The Church Confronts the Secular World

Seventh-day Adventists daily found themselves facing situations that were secular but which nevertheless impinged on their beliefs in the Bible and the lifestyle they derived from its teachings. It was difficult for them to separate these circumstances into either secular or religious categories. Ellen White's counsel conditioned denominational thinking about these diverse matters, as did also the North American milieu in which the church originated and matured. The issues themselves were often conflicting. The more far reaching issues included organized labor that imposed problems of personal conscience and Sabbath observance on Adventists; accrediting practices for institutions of higher learning about which church leaders were dubious, especially in North America, seeing it as bending under the pressure of secularism; and the church's unending

struggle with evolution as a scientific theory which struck at Adventists' belief in the biblical account of Creation and forced prolonged study of the relationship of faith and science in Adventist higher education.

In many of these instances North American views dominated the decisions of the church. As the Adventist community encircled the globe, church leaders had to deal with differing conditions, and to decide upon an appropriate denominational position in different times and places. At times, issues in one part of the world were nonissues elsewhere. It sometimes required the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon to bring disparate elements together without stumbling over apparent inconsistencies. Sometimes the unity of the world church was at risk; sometimes the inconsistencies did not matter.

Labor Relations

A major point in question was the labor movement that emerged in the nineteenth century as a major force in industrialized countries. While roughly paralleling the rise of Adventism chronologically, it did not always coincide geographically with Adventism. The industrial revolution, producing a new working class, and the appearance of socialism with its predictions of a violent reaction to unbridled wealth had colored European society and politics for years before the United States was seriously affected. What got the attention of Adventists about organized labor was a series of particularly ugly strikes, mainly in the United States beginning in the 1870s, but also including unrest in Europe, such as the truncated attempt by the Paris Commune to seize control of France in 1871. In some of these events more than chaos resulted; sometimes lives and property were also lost.

The reaction from the Christian community to these happenings was uneven. By and large, both Catholics and Methodists supported organized labor and its attempt to redress economic imbalances that seemed to be out of control. European emigrants to the United States included many Catholics who brought their ideas with them and furnished much of the vitality of the labor movement on the west side of the Atlantic. Although outside the Christian community, Jewish elements maintained a similar view and even formed Jewish unions. The American mentality was split. The social gospel, a popular mentality of the late nineteenth century, saw the well-being of society at large

as the prime goal to which biblical principles applied. Many Protestant preachers of this message lent their voices in support of organized labor as a countervailing force to wealth. On the other hand, Christians who had adopted Social Darwinism as an explanation for the new economic order saw industrial leaders as a natural result of social conditions and labor as an implacable enemy. Other Protestant groups viewed the United States as the world's model of laissez-faire philosophy that embodied freedom of conscience and religious activity. Some feared that violent strikes would incite intervention by the state which could produce a military state that would remove individual rights. To this group labor unions were a sinister threat.

Seventh-day Adventists found themselves uncomfortably straddling the fence, but obviously leaning toward this last group. Editorialists for the *Review* deprecated the poverty and squalor that characterized the life of employees of sweat shops and mines, blaming the unrestrained practices of new industrialists as the cause of these social ills. By the same token, they were repelled by the violence and lack of respect for authority that was evident in labor strikes. On theological grounds, Adventists rejected the temporal utopia that socialism promised and the basic assumption of the social gospel as counter to biblical descriptions of human destiny. While they believed in humanitarian activity as an expression of Christianity, they did not believe that it was possible to build a politically just and equitable social order before the coming of Christ; thus, instead

of trying to remake society they should concentrate on preparing the world for the return of Jesus.

Adventists also viewed labor unions as something akin to secret societies, from which they dissociated themselves. They were also suspicious of the strong Catholic presence in the labor movement, fearing that labor would contribute to, if not force, Sunday observance. When Samuel Gompers, long-time president of the American Federation of Labor, endorsed laws designed to ensure that Sunday would be a “rest” day, Adventist leaders saw their fears being realized.

Review editorials advised Adventists not to join labor unions and described arguments over wages as a detraction from their primary duty of spreading the gospel. After the turn of the century Ellen White reinforced the views of the *Review*, charging unions with violence and oppression, and attempts to monopolize and coerce workers. She counseled Adventists not to join unions because they denied people their God-given rights to make decisions. She also criticized the tactics of businessmen who sought to control the manufacture and sale of products to guarantee excessive profits. Taken altogether, her comments typified the dilemma of Adventist thinking about how to relate to both capital and labor.

In the United States the labor unions remained relatively small during the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. Although they commanded much attention during strikes, the prevailing political mood viewed them as extra-legal organizations with no vested authority. Their gains in disputes were not

notable, which corroborated the denominational view that their activities were futile. The majority of North American Adventists were either agricultural workers or small businessmen and thus remained outside of the argument between capital and labor. In other industrialized countries Adventist involvement in the labor movement was minimal because the church was small.

These circumstances changed dramatically in the mid-1930s when the closed shop—one employing only union members—made the question of union membership a live issue in the United States. In the wake of the Great Depression legislation legalizing labor unions and granting them collective bargaining power, combined with the endorsement of the closed shop by friendly government officials, forced Adventist workers to face up to their dilemma—either join the union where they worked, in contradiction to denominational advice, or seek employment elsewhere. Tension mounted as Adventist workers sought the church for aid and counsel. Besides the question of how to deal with the matter of the closed shop, the problem also implied a change in the nature of Adventist membership in North America: it was becoming more urban.

The first reaction by church leaders was to approach labor leaders with a position statement and request a concession. In 1940 the General Conference Committee adopted a short declaration that confirmed Adventist agreement with union goals of proper working hours and wages and “decent living conditions,” but protested that union membership would

compromise the denominational goal of preaching the gospel by forcing laborers to discriminate between social classes.

The statement had little impact. Four years later the General Conference Committee repeated its appeal through an open letter to labor union leaders, strengthening its arguments by admitting the legality of labor unions but defending the choice of Adventists not to join them as a constitutional right. It was this issue of protecting a right that would dominate the church's position in all future actions. The church did not condemn those who joined, and asked the unions for equal treatment of those who did not.

Quickly after this letter went out the General Conference established two new organizations, the Council on Industrial Relations and the Commission on Rural Living. The first was to help members escape the problem of union membership and closed shops, and the second was to encourage Adventists to consider leaving cities, partly because of the problems with unions, to live in small towns and rural areas. Carlyle B. Haynes was the most forceful member of both organizations. He collected and disseminated information about rural employment opportunities, and in the columns of the *Review* he repeatedly explained the stand of the church on labor relations.

Haynes also developed a document that he hoped would satisfy both Adventist workers and union leaders. Entitled the "Basis of Agreement," it did not explain the rationale of the Adventist position toward organized labor, but simply pledged that Adventist workers would neither break a strike by continuing to

work nor agitate during strikes by picketing. Further, Adventist workers would comply with the regulations of the workplace and would pay to charity an amount equivalent to union membership dues. The statement required the signature of the employee, the employer, and a representative of the affected union. If accepted by all parties, the Agreement would allow Adventists to work without penalty in a closed shop.

The reaction of union leaders varied. The largest union in the United States, the United Automobile Workers, accepted it in 1948 and within a year 1100 union locals in the United States and Canada followed suit. Others rejected it outright. Some Adventists themselves objected to it with the observation that it was a concession to the closed shop. Yet in the end, it enabled hundreds of Adventists to continue working without actually joining a union.

At least for the time being some labor leaders could afford to disregard the "Basis of Agreement." United States legislation in 1947 legalized right-to-work laws, which protected the workers' right to work without joining a labor organization. Despite applications of these right-to-work opportunities in nineteen states, unions became stronger than ever in the 1950s, but before that decade was over, a decline of organized labor set in. Investigations into labor union operations revealed widespread corruption. Many labor leaders were disgraced. With these disclosures came a shift in the popular mood. Unions suffered a loss of respect. Further legislation added more restrictions to unions. An attempt to repeal

right-to-work laws failed. Beginning in the 1970s employers became emboldened to replace striking workers permanently. The notion of a closed shop lost its punch. From the 1970s, onward, labor union membership increased, partly by spreading from the private sector to the public, including teachers and government employees, but the relative strength of labor did not keep up with general economic growth.

Meanwhile, events were leading the church along another route in labor relations. In 1954 the General Conference disbanded the Council on Industrial Relations and assigned the Religious Liberty Department the task of defending Adventists who were in trouble with labor unions because of their religious scruples. Seven years later in 1961, the General Conference made official what was already obvious and abandoned the "Basis of Agreement" as the "exclusive" Seventh-day Adventist position toward organized labor. Adventist workers were advised to negotiate their own relationships with their employers. In 1964 the Civil Rights law dealt a severe blow to discriminatory activity. At the time most Americans perceived this new law as historic legislation dealing with racial problems, but applications continually broadened its meaning to include religious matters as well. As applied to labor unions this development meant that closed shops discriminated against workers whose conscientious beliefs prevented them from joining unions. The implication was that the right to work was a basic human right that needed protection, which had been the church's argument for two decades.

In spite of its decline, organized labor had achieved many of its goals. In the United States as well as in other industrial countries, social legislation controlling organized labor and other aspects of society became institutions in themselves. This trend also focused attention on employers as well as unions as guilty of violations of human rights. When dealing with Adventists in trouble, denominational religious liberty leaders found themselves increasingly protesting against employers and their employment policies on the basis of conscience and discrimination. In October 1980, after a sequence of hearings in three major North American cities, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission submitted guidelines that delineated expectations for employers. Among them were provisions to accommodate workers whose religious beliefs prevented them from working on specific days. Adventists had testified before the Commission. Less than two months later the conscience clause allowing freedom in the work place became a part of United States law. This new provision not only killed the closed shop but also outlawed discriminatory activity by employers.

These events were not without their international impact. In Britain the power of the Labour Party after World War II produced concern over the impact of the closed shop. Church leaders in the British Union responded similarly as their North American brethren by publishing pamphlets encouraging Adventists not to join trade unions that expected their members to act in solidarity, that is, without dissent. Adventists could easily find

themselves violating their consciences both in the event of violence or Sunday legislation if they joined solidarity movements. In the English-speaking Australasian Division, consisting of largely British Commonwealth territory, church leaders copied the British response.

The influence of United States labor unions had also spilled over into Canada with some unions recruiting members north of the border. Sabbath observance also became an employment problem. In 1984 landmark cases involving accommodation of Seventh-day Adventists were on the docket before both the Supreme Court of Canada and provincial courts in Manitoba. In July, before the courts handed down their decisions, the Canadian Parliament passed the new Canada Labour Code which included a conscience clause to protect religious beliefs of workers. The judgment of the Supreme Court in December 1985, not only upheld the rights of Theresa O'Malley, a Canadian Adventist worker whose rights were in question, but also held that discrimination did not have to be intentional to be illegal. In Belgium the Labor Court of Mons ruled that a Seventh-day Adventist worker could claim unemployment benefits even after refusing a job that required Sabbath work. The court recognized that a society that promotes principles of religious liberty and human dignity cannot force one's conscience.

During this long struggle much of the Adventist world remained unaffected. In socialist countries labor unions were virtually an arm of the state and workers had little choice in the matter. In industrial

countries beyond North America organized labor played a different role as compared to that in the United States. Probably one of the important reasons why labor relations did not become a fiery church issue in these places was a more tolerant attitude among Adventists toward organized labor. By definition European society was more urbanized than American society, and Adventists were accustomed to an environment in which urban problems were central to political debate. Before the labor movement became a force in the United States, it had become politicized in many European countries. Labor parties existed with candidates running for election on agendas that were part and parcel of organized labor's program. Lawmakers in these countries enacted social legislation one and sometimes two generations before comparable regulation existed in the United States. In some countries governments established labor courts to arbitrate disputes. Much of this activity occurred before a strong Adventist presence existed.

A wave of American legislation in the 1930s and another beginning in the 1960s brought the United States to a position more comparable with other industrialized countries. In 1984 the International Labour Organization could report that social security, broadly construed to include among other things, working conditions, retirement income, family benefits, and public insurance, was a way of life in the industrialized parts of the world.

In preindustrialized countries the issue of labor unions was irrelevant. This situation changed as the gains of labor

unions translated into social legislation and produced more benefits to workers and contributed to higher production costs. Manufacturing interests reacted by transferring some of their operations from traditional North American and European markets to cheaper labor sources in distant parts of the world. Organized labor sometimes followed to these new industrial centers, but the violence that had characterized the labor movement in the nineteenth century did not reappear. The heyday of organized labor had clearly passed, but the church remained cautious. In a formal statement in 1989 the South Pacific Division declared that the church supported legitimate aims such as fair wages and safe working conditions, but decried the coercion that unions sometimes employed. Church members were advised not to join unions, but the choice was left to them.

During their struggle with organized labor Adventists had to endure repeated charges that they wanted the benefits that labor was battling for but they did not want to join the movement or contribute money to enable it to succeed. At times this accusation was too difficult for some Adventists to tolerate, and they joined unions. Although the church opposed organized labor for a variety of reasons, it had also consistently held that union membership was a matter of individual conscience, and even though Adventist workers joined them against denominational counsel, they were still church members in good and regular standing. Adventist leaders were appalled by violence and radicalism in the labor movement wherever it occurred, but they did

not intervene until the government combined its influence with organized labor and formed the closed shop, which the church viewed as a threat to freedom of conscience. Even then membership in unions remained an individual matter.

Adventists also viewed the closed shop as inherently contradictory to the principles of freedom spelled out in the United States Constitution, and in the end the denominational struggle became the conscience clause, expressing the right of working people to earn a livelihood without penalty because of their beliefs. It was ironic that as this issue became more narrowly defined as one of conscience rather than a defense of property rights against violence, Adventist workers found themselves squared off against employers in much the same kind of confrontation that they had experienced with organized labor. It had been a long and arduous struggle, but the denomination was satisfied that conscience had won.

Accreditation of Schools

One of the major reasons Seventh-day Adventists developed their own system of education was their fear that secular influences would erode the faith of their children. Additionally, the main goal of Adventist higher education was to provide workers for the many ramifications of the church, primarily ministers, teachers, and health-care workers. Not as dramatic as the question of labor relations but still important to denominational policies toward a secular world was the question of accreditation, or official recognition of Adventist schools. Again, as

church leaders discovered, national policies around the world played an important role in shaping practices relating to the governance and quality of denominational schools.

The need to provide schools with an operational framework assuring students and parents that they were receiving what the schools said they would deliver became increasingly evident as the number and variety of institutions appeared. It was in the United States that the denominational education movement began. National policy placed the control of education in the hands of the states rather than a national body. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries all levels of Adventist schools operated virtually without interference, but this situation changed during the 1920s when accreditation became an issue.

The accreditation movement ran along a dual track in the United States; the first legislated by the states and the second organized and maintained by independent accrediting associations not connected to state governments. In the beginning the first track affected chiefly elementary and secondary schools, and later, tertiary institutions; the second track impacted primarily higher education, but also elementary and secondary schools as time went on. State recognition of private schools, which included Adventist schools, became obvious after World War I when an abortive movement among a few states tried to force all elementary students to attend state schools. Although this movement failed, Seventh-day Adventists saw this episode as a warning that their elementary and secondary schools

meet standards established by the states, or risk closure.

Denominational colleges were already feeling the pressure of standards coming from regional accrediting associations and professional groups. Private colleges in the United States operated on the authority of a charter from the state, which gave them the right to function, but the state did not control the quality of what they actually did. While administrators of private colleges, especially church-related institutions, appreciated this independence, they became more sensitive to a need to measure the quality of their performance.

The term, *voluntary accreditation*, arose in the late nineteenth century to describe the voluntary formation of associations by colleges and universities in a broad region of the United States under whose auspices they established criteria to assure the academic quality of their offerings. Approximately at the same time *professional accreditation* appeared, which was a movement by practitioners in a given field, such as teaching, to impose academic standards on all training programs for their profession.

It was from a combination of voluntary and professional accreditation that Adventist colleges began feeling the pressure for accreditation. In the early part of the twentieth century the American Medical Association began requiring students to graduate from accredited schools in order to enroll in medical programs if the school of medicine wanted to maintain an "A" rating. The College of Medical Evangelists had earned its "A" rating in 1922, but most of its medical students

came from Adventist colleges that were not accredited or from two-year premedical programs in Adventist colleges. In this latter case, Adventist schools could earn accreditation as two-year institutions rather than four-year colleges. As he viewed this situation, P. T. Magan, dean, and later president of the College of Medical Evangelists, concluded that the lack of accreditation as four-year institutions among Adventist colleges was virtually forcing Adventist students to acquire some of their professional and preprofessional education in non-Adventist schools. He argued that CME's "A" rating in effect required Adventist

colleges to fulfill accreditation criteria as senior colleges.

The church's medical school had not earned an "A" rating without debate; the argument continued as Magan emphasized the implications of CME's standing for Adventist colleges. From the start there was opposition in some church circles to accreditation from secular associations. W. E. Howell, education secretary of the General Conference, told Adventist educators in 1923 that identifying with accrediting bodies would compromise the distinctive character of Adventist higher education.

From medicine the demand for accreditation spread to other academic fields. Compliance with state regulations governing teacher certification for elementary and secondary school teachers depended on accredited training programs. Schools of nursing also became more restrictive. Magan, as a leading voice promoting accreditation, did not believe the process would inherently bring blessings, but he did not want to see Adventist students attend non-Adventist colleges to receive the education that states and other bodies were demanding. Nor did he want to see Adventist colleges close.

For a brief time in the 1920s the contention over accreditation raised hopes that the church might satisfy medical and education authorities by developing a denominational accreditation association. This hope motivated the Autumn Council's decision in 1928 to organize the Seventh-day Adventist Board of Regents, which made all denominational secondary schools and colleges accountable to



As dean of the newly established College of Medical Evangelists, P. T. Magan (1867-1947), pressed hard for a denominational policy of accreditation of Adventist schools according to standards set by accrediting bodies in the United States.

a single authority. The following year the Association of Seventh-day Adventist Colleges and Secondary Schools was born, with the Board of Regents as its executive arm. Although these organizations were useful to nudge college boards and faculties toward improvement of facilities, teaching staff, and curriculum, they did not replace regional accrediting associations or recognition from professional groups such as the American Medical Association. Except for a handful of regionally accredited elementary and secondary schools, the Board of Regents was the only accrediting agency for Adventist institutions below the college level.

The Great Depression also influenced Adventist educators. Because financial strictures lessened the number of job openings in the church, a higher proportion of Adventist students looked for employment outside the denomination. In many instances an accredited education became necessary for them.

The debate among church leaders reached a peak at the 1935 Autumn Council when an official action recognized the legitimacy of accreditation but ruled that only two four-year North American colleges could apply for this recognition. The other institutions would remain with only the first two years of their offerings accredited. In the ensuing months it became evident that Adventist colleges could not continue to function with four-year programs when their accredited offerings were limited to the first two years. In the face of arguments from Magan and other school administrators, the General Conference Committee capitulated at the 1936 Spring Council, rescinding its

action and thus opening the door for accreditation for all Adventist colleges in North America. Already Pacific Union College in 1932 and Walla Walla College in 1935 had earned approval from their regional accrediting bodies.

One of the most acute issues that accrediting associations met on Adventist campuses was the lack of teachers with graduate degrees. To build an academically recognized faculty was not only expensive, it also meant that teachers must attend non-Adventist universities. During the 1920s a scattered few college teachers enrolled in graduate degree programs, and in limited cases they received financial assistance from their sponsoring institutions, but the practice was not widespread. Fears that exposure to philosophies antagonistic to Adventism would subtly undermine the faith of teachers or produce outright apostasy prevented denominational leaders from enthusiastically promoting graduate education.

However reluctant Adventist leaders were to accept the accreditation movement in North America, they could not overlook its persistence. After the decision in 1936 to rescind church restrictions on accreditation, all Adventist colleges pursued recognition until they had gained approval by their regional accrediting associations. In 1945 the last four-year institution achieved accreditation.

Adventist resistance to accreditation was an attitude that baffled educators outside the church. A non-Adventist member of an accrediting committee evaluating an Adventist college observed that denominational opposition emerged from conflicting views between religious

faith and practice on one hand and objectives and methods of higher education on the other. Adventists believed in rigorous personal demands, the dignity of labor, and motivation by faith rather than remuneration. Although accrediting agencies maintained minimum criteria, the weight of their judgment rested on how effective the schools were in fulfilling their own declared purposes.

Many Adventist leaders missed this point and perceived that accreditation could threaten denominational values. The criteria that accrediting bodies were prone to emphasize involved higher professional preparation by the faculty and improvement of physical plants. The denominational practice of paying low salaries also drew attention. During a time when money was not plentiful and Adventist institutions were battling against financial problems, the prospect of large outlays of money to meet these criteria was hardly attractive to church leadership. But however reticent some church leaders may have been to accept accreditation, circumstances were inexorably leading them to it.

One of them was the exceptional upsurge in Adventist education throughout the world during the 1920s. When the decade began 716 of the 928 Adventist schools were in North America, but within ten years the world fields were operating 1,297 schools while the North American total dropped to 680. This enormous shift in the balance of Adventist schools occurred during the same years when the accreditation debate was taking place in North America. The need to systematize the denomination's educational

efforts was obvious.

In fields where Adventist schools existed Adventist educators were already attempting to develop a system. In 1920 W. E. Howell visited the South American Division to conduct an educational council to which he invited all directors of training schools and education department leaders. Among their decisions was one to offer no classes beyond the secondary level and to list worker-training courses as electives. These meetings did not constitute accreditation but they imposed denominational regulation.

Official approval of Adventist schools outside North America was usually a question of meeting standards that governments established, an example being River Plate College in Argentina. This institution began operations in 1899 as a combination elementary school and worker training center. When the school concluded its eighteenth year H. U. Stevens, the school director, remarked that one of South America's great needs was schools and teachers. In spite of the decision by the South American Division in 1920 limiting South American schools to the secondary level, church leaders began serious talk in 1924 of upgrading River Plate to a two-year college, but plans were slow to materialize. When the possibility became real, J. S. Marshall, the new principal, inaugurated formal examination of students by government inspectors. The procedure applied only to students in the teacher training program. If these prospective teachers successfully passed they earned a life teaching certificate. In 1934 Marshall reported that during the seven years of official monitoring of the teacher

preparation program the institution had graduated sixty-two holders of this prestigious award. Denominational regulation thus functioned in the context of Argentine regulatory legislation.

The Argentine experience illustrates a similar situation to that of North American schools. When government inspectors began examining graduates from the teacher preparation program, River Plate College was the fourth largest Adventist school outside North America. The sixty-two holders of life teaching certificates represented more than twice the number of Adventist teachers in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile combined. No data exist to verify where these life-certified teachers were working, but it is safe to speculate that some of them were employees of public schools. While the leading purpose of River Plate College was to prepare denominational workers, the figures suggest that the public sector recognized graduates of the teacher preparation program as competent professionals.

It was not the school's purpose to compete with state schools in training teachers or in any other endeavor, but it nevertheless had developed to the point that it was preparing professionals for the secular job market as well as the church. Whether Marshall's submission to government examiners was voluntary or required, it does not appear to have been reluctant; on the contrary, it demonstrated the willingness of the church to adhere to standardizing regulations beyond those imposed by the church. This River Plate College experience also showed that the program was producing competent graduates for Adventist elementary

schools and the quality of Adventist education was professionally satisfactory by both church and state standards.

Even before government inspectors examined the teacher preparation program, River Plate had gained acclaim for its agriculture program. The national government provided equipment and favorable publicity to the institution. This recognition was not accreditation, but it was tacit approval to function from the highest national authority.

Not always were government controls as favorable to Adventist schools as they had been in Argentina. In 1928 they went the other way in Peru. Concerned about curriculum and other matters at Titicaca Normal School, the Peruvian president and minister of education issued a joint decree outlawing sectarian instruction that opposed the prevailing religion. The statement also declared that it was the government's responsibility to approve textbooks, the nature of moral and religious instruction, and the establishment of state schools to carry out the order. Titicaca Normal School closed in 1928, but reopened in December 1930, following a revolution that replaced the Peruvian president with one more friendly to the Adventist training school.

The major difference between the North American accreditation system and that of other countries was the presence of powerful associations in the United States that controlled higher education independently from the state. Very little Adventist higher education existed outside North America during the 1920s, but forward-looking educators could see that post-secondary programs would eventu-

ally develop. The rapid rise in the number of Adventist schools worldwide helped to encourage the church to establish the Board of Regents to systematize its own evaluation of schools. While beneficial, this approval by the church agency brought no official recognition, even though Adventist educators came to call denominational evaluation an accreditation system. But because they were subject to governmental regulation, Adventist educators outside North America tended to regard the Board of Regents as a North American device with little relevance.

It was not until 1970 that Newbold College in England became the first higher education institution outside North America to receive accreditation from the Board of Regents. Following that event

post-secondary institutions in the world fields sought denominational approval as well as the best level of state recognition possible. Commonly, the lowest level of state approval was simply an approval to conduct a school. Students earned credentials at their own risk. States sometimes went a step further by approving individual programs to permit students to receive licensure in a given profession. State approval for specialized programs did not mean that the state approved the entire institution. Occasionally, instead of state recognition a university in the same country as an Adventist institution legitimized a special program with its own approval. The highest level of state recognition was to bestow degree-granting authority to an institution. Some Adventist institutions outside North



In 1970, Newbold College in England was the first non-North American tertiary educational institution to meet denominational quality standards set by the Board of Regents. Eventually, all Adventist schools around the world became part of the Adventist Accrediting Association.

America compensated for their lack of authority to grant degrees by establishing affiliation agreements with Adventist schools in the United States. Under the umbrella of North American accreditation, students in many countries could earn recognized degrees.

As for local degrees, beginning in the 1970s Adventist institutions outside the United States began receiving degree-granting power. This recognition was slow at first, but gathered momentum. In 1996 the Asia-Pacific Division reported thirteen institutions authorized to grant degrees. The Inter-American Division had nine, and the South American Division eight. In some cases this authority applied only to specific programs. In 1992 Herbert Fletcher, educational director of the Inter-American Division, reported that the nine tertiary level institutions in his purview granted degrees by one of several methods. Because of its connection with the United States, Antillian Adventist University in Puerto Rico was accredited by a North American regional accrediting association, and Caribbean Union College in Trinidad was affiliated with Andrews University. The remaining seven owned recognition through their governments.

Other examples of degree-granting authority included Canadian University College which received approval from the provincial government of Alberta in 1995 for four degree programs. Plans were under way to offer a degree in education which would replace the affiliated program with Union College in the United States. The following year Avondale College in Australia received program accreditation

for its business and office administration degrees from the New South Wales Vocational, Education and Training Accreditation Board. By the 1990s institutions in nearly every world division of the church had gained similar authority.

Following the 1990 General Conference session the denomination replaced the Board of Regents with the Accrediting Association of Seventh-day Adventist Schools, Colleges and Universities, sometimes shortened to the Adventist Accrediting Association. It became the accrediting authority for all Adventist tertiary and graduate programs and institutions and also the endorsing authority for secondary school accreditation as recommended by the Commissions on Accreditation in the world divisions. Overseeing this activity was the International Board of Education.

In the 1990s school administrators let little time elapse before seeking denominational approval for their institutions. Only five years after its founding, Mission College in Thailand underwent the scrutiny of the Board of Regents. Three years after it upgraded from a secondary school to a tertiary institution, the school in Venezuela was scheduled for an examination by the denominational agency.

It had taken the church a half century to develop a global system of denominational accreditation. Even before the withdrawal of restrictions against secular accreditation in 1936, Adventist educators had learned to adapt denominational standards to the many forms of official approval around the world, and by the 1990s the Adventist system was one of the unifying bonds of the world church. To their

chagrin, some school administrators learned that the complex accreditation system within the church could be more demanding than the private associations in the United States that denominational leaders feared in the 1920s.

Probably the leading lesson from the denomination's experience with accreditation was its recognition of the heightening expectations for literacy and professional standards. This trend was a global phenomenon to which no one was immune. Adventist education, albeit permeated with religious values, embodied other qualities as well. In a larger sense, practical and intellectual skills were neither religious nor nonreligious; only the applications of skills made the question a religious one. Students attending denominational schools had every right to expect that their instruction would equip them to compete in life after school as well as anyone else. It had become a commonplace for Adventist schools everywhere to point to facilities, professional preparation of staff, scholarly productivity, and other measurements of schools at all levels as evidence of quality education.

Beyond these material aspects of accreditation, we may attribute the changing denominational mood toward accreditation to a realization that as Christians, Adventists were obliged to maintain their integrity in mundane matters as well as the gospel. In time this attitude at policy-making levels of the church led denominational leaders to accept the notion of accreditation. The church welcomed both the educated and uneducated as members, but its emphasis on professionalism in the educational process itself revealed the

conviction that the well-trained professional and the highly literate church member were not inherent threats to denominational purposes. Intellectual and professional achievement were never confused as measuring rods of spiritual commitment, but notwithstanding their earlier fears, the denomination had come to sense that these qualities were not mutually exclusive.

Evolution

An especially illusive challenge, which required the denomination to rely on careful scholarship, was the interminable debate over the origin of life on the earth and the age of the earth itself. The Christian community greeted Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 with mixed reactions, some seeing the book as a scientific explanation of a Christian myth, others regarding it as a severe attack on fundamental beliefs. While the scientific fraternity on both sides of the Atlantic generally adopted Darwinian theories, general acceptance by the so-called Christian public was much slower. It was not until the 1930s that college textbooks in the United States included evolutionary explanations for the origin of life. Notwithstanding the acceptance of evolution by scientists, fundamentalist belief in Creation did not die easily.

The initial Adventist response was to reject evolution on theological grounds. It was not until 1902, forty-three years after Darwin's book, that George McCready Price published the first serious, nontheological Adventist answer to evolution, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and*

Modern Science. Price was a Canadian schoolteacher in New Brunswick who held no formal credentials on which to base his refutation of Darwin, but he had launched his career as a creationist after reading and researching widely to find alternatives to geological explanations for the origin of life. At the heart of his argument was his conviction that a catastrophe had produced the layers of fossils that evolutionists said were evidence of a natural development of life forms. He believed that enough evidence was available in the earth's strata to disprove the claims of evolutionists and that geological studies held the key to the evolutionist-creationist controversy. As far as he knew, he was the first to throw out a challenge to evolutionists by trying



George McCready Price (1870-1963), a self-taught geologist, was the first Adventist to attempt to refute evolution with scientific data.

to meet them on their own ground.

Price made an impact, but not immediately. Eighteen years after his book he began a college teaching career that took him to five Adventist campuses as a professor of geology. He had already become a familiar figure in fundamentalist circles, and during the 1920s his reputation soared with his works appearing in both Protestant and Catholic publications. Meanwhile, he poured out a steady flow of writing, eventually publishing a host of articles and more than a score of books. He verbally sparred with scientists, who sometimes ignored him or chided him because of his lack of formal preparation to deal with the profundity of the topic, but he resolutely maintained his central themes, never wavering from his original view that geology held the key to a successful denial of evolution. He never indulged himself with the hope that he would destroy evolutionary theories, but he hoped to validate the biblical account of Creation and the Flood with rational explanations. The impact of this stand on the doctrine of the seventh-day Sabbath was not lost on Adventists.

During the four decades beginning in 1920 evolutionists compiled impressive arguments as *the* scientific explanation of the origin of life. The popular image of the 1925 Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee, caricatured as the “monkey trial,” did not help creationists, who through the 1930s and ’40s were frequently held up for ridicule in academic circles. Students in Adventist schools became more bold with difficult questions. The uncertainty of their science teachers revealed their lack of training. Particularly damaging to

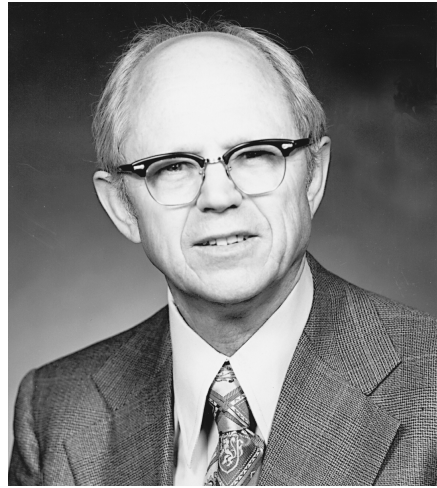
the creationists were techniques in radiocarbon dating that came from the University of Chicago by the early 1950s. This method seemed to place the evolutionists' view of the earth's age beyond reach. By the time radiocarbon dating appeared Price had long since retired from teaching, but not before he inspired some young Adventist scientists to join the defense of the biblical explanation of origins. Most notable among them were Harold Clark and Frank Marsh, both of whom were in the biological sciences.

The efforts of these two men were productive for the church, but not enough. In 1956 Richard Hammill, a General Conference associate director of education who sensed the growing dilemma, began discussions with Adventist science teachers that led to an action during the 1957 Annual Council forming the Committee on Geology and Paleontology. The action also asked Frank Marsh to recycle himself as a geologist and P. Edgar Hare of Pacific Union College to move from chemistry to study paleontology.

From these first arrangements the Geoscience Research Institute later emerged. Housed first at Andrews University, it moved later to Loma Linda University. In 1965, for the benefit of church leaders untrained in the sciences, it began annual geologic tours of special locations in the United States to demonstrate both the problems and the explanations that the Geoscience Research Institute staff were studying. Since its founding the GRI developed a reputation as one of the leading centers for the defense of creationism. In 1974 it began publication of *Origins*, a technical journal carrying

scholarly articles supporting creationist viewpoints. Besides their tours and scholarly writing, members of the Institute provided lectures in Adventist centers and produced other reading materials for nonprofessionals.

The activities of the GRI coincided with a groundswell in favor of creationism. Polls in the United States in 1974 and again in 1981 and 1982 indicated a surprisingly persistent belief in creation. In 1979 a teacher at a state university in Ohio, curious about how prospective teachers felt about teaching both evolution and creation in schools, discovered that they overwhelmingly wanted both views in the curriculum. In the 1970s and 1980s demands by creationists for equal time in the schools



Richard Hammill (1913-1997), theologian and educator, also held strong interests in the relation of science to Scripture and faith. Largely as a result of his encouragement, the church launched an ongoing program of research that eventually became the Geoscience Research Institute.

reached the courts in the United States. A test case in California fell short of this goal, but it was clear from textbook revisions that evolution was recognized as a theory rather than a scientific fact and that academe was more amenable to discussions of both explanations.

Adventists helped to dignify creationism, but not single-handedly. Many voices joined in the defense of the first eleven chapters of the book of *Genesis*. Better known than the GRI was the Institute for Creation Research with offices in San Diego, California, an international organization dominated by Baptists. Among the denominations whose memberships remained staunchly behind the biblical story of origins were Southern Baptists, Lutheran-Missouri Synod, Church of God, Church of Christ, and Nazarenes.

It was in Great Britain where the best known anti-evolution movement existed outside the United States. Aroused from its sluggishness by the resurgence of creationism after it jumped the Atlantic from the United States, the Evolution Protest Movement handed an honorary vice presidency to Adventist Frank Marsh and changed its name in 1980 to the Creation Science Movement. Part of this modest revival stemmed from its adoption of flood geology as a legitimate aspect of creationism.

By the 1990s the creationist movement within Adventism had achieved levels that Price, its precursor, had probably not envisioned. Ariel Roth, director of GRI during the 1980s and 90s, consistently held that maintaining the integrity of the early chapters of the Bible was critical to the Sabbath doctrine and therefore

vital to the church. It appeared to some that the priority role of the GRI was to preserve one of the distinctive features of Adventism rather than to research the evidence concerning the age of the earth and origin of life. Roth and his colleagues openly confessed that they did not have all the answers to questions that evolutionists threw at them, but he criticized sloppy scholarship by creationists as detrimental to their cause. He wanted to know the unvarnished facts.

But the facts were subject to interpretation. Even among Adventist scientists striking variations showed up and by the 1990s many Adventist scientists were questioning the traditional denominational interpretation of the Genesis account. An early example of disagreement among themselves was Harold Clark's acceptance of the scientists' claim that fossils in the geological column represented a chronological order, a conclusion that Price had consistently rejected. From the outset of Price's career, he had argued that the fossils appeared in random order and were no basis for establishing evolutionary ages. Not all scientists acquired knowledge at the same rate, and changes in their conclusions were inevitable with the discovery of more information, but some of their differences were philosophical.

Some saw this cleavage falling along the line of whether to test science by the Bible or the Bible by science. Others argued that it was impossible for science and the Bible to contradict each other because God was the Author of both. For them it was a matter of searching until they could reconcile the two sources of

authority. The lack of unity among Adventist scientists alarmed some church leaders who called for more careful screening of teachers in Adventist colleges. Others saw the problem as an example of the struggle between science and the Bible and complained that the GRI venture into heavy scholarly activities had produced skeptics.

Some of the questions that Adventists wrestled with revolved around Ellen White's acceptance of Ussher's chronology of the age of the earth and evidence from archaeological projects that suggested an older earth than Ussher allowed, although still a short age. Many Adventist scientists accepted a longer age of the earth than the traditional 6,000 years. By analogy, Ellen White never claimed to be an historian and agreed to changes in her writings to correct historical inaccuracies that had crept into her books. Some asked if her use of Ussher's chronology was an example of the need for a correction.

That questions existed, no one would deny. But the fact remained that evolutionists were raising the questions and that GRI was only trying to respond. It also remained that creationists among all Christian communions in addition to Adventists would be facing more serious trouble without the efforts of the Prices, the Marshes, and their intellectual posterity. From the outset evolution had claimed to be a science; by contrast creationists emerged from theological antecedents and never broke that connection. During the California case in the 1980s testing the proposal to give creationism equal time in the schools, the judge ruled that creationism was inherently a religious belief and

therefore could not be required in public schools. One of the important achievements of creationists was to demonstrate that both evolution and creationism were essentially beliefs whose supporting data were scientifically derived but interpreted according to presuppositions established by personal choice. Neither system was testable. Both struck at the root of biblical interpretation and theological belief, and it was this characteristic that probably engendered much of the emotion surrounding the debate.

If creationists found themselves separated into groups according to interpretation of data, evolutionists were also experiencing a similar fragmentation. By the 1990s evolutionists were showing an increasing willingness to consider catastrophic causes for the geologic column. Although scientific study itself had contributed to this change in the thinking of evolutionists, shades of George McCready Price, dead since 1962, were evident.

Calendar Reform

Denominational battles over labor relations and school accreditation showed how different parts of the world church could react diversely to secular issues while the problem of evolution transcended both time and geographical boundaries even though it was primarily a struggle fought out in North America. Another question that demonstrated the interdependence of divergent parts of the world church was calendar reform, a problem which threw a considerable scare into Adventist leaders during the 1930s.

Suggestions to modernize the

Gregorian calendar surfaced during the 1920s, but it was Moses Cotsworth who advanced the most popular plan which proposed a year of thirteen equal months composed of four, seven-day weeks. This calendar accounted for 364 days, which left an extra day dangling at the end of each year and two days during the leap years which Cotsworth called the "Blank Day." These were to be holidays unaccounted for in the calendar, which would mean that while the calendar would keep the seasons regular the Sabbath would wander through the week, falling on a different day each year, and on two different days during the leap years. Adventists everywhere were horrified at the havoc this plan would do to Sabbath keeping.

The League of Nations established an international committee in 1923 to study calendar reform. The plan was to adopt a new calendar after listening to world opinion. Progress lagged, partly because of protests against the proposal. Adventists had joined the opposition to protect the integrity of the Sabbath. Frustrated calendar reformists succeeded in directly putting the question on the 1931 agenda even without formal reports from national committees, thus bypassing the protests. To express worldwide opposition General Conference leaders responded by assembling an international delegation to visit Geneva, consisting of North American C. S. Longacre, Britisher Arthur Maxwell, Australian R. A. Anderson, and Jean Nussbaum, a Swiss physician practicing in Paris and a personal friend of the Yugoslavian foreign minister.

In Geneva the men made productive

contacts with members of the British, French, and Yugoslavian delegations to rally their opposition. The worship days of Jews and Muslims within these countries were also at stake. One need of the group was to head off the influence of Dr. Charles Marvin of the United States Weather Bureau, who, they feared, would misrepresent himself as the spokesman for the United States. Their apprehensions were well founded. Following several attacks on the religious element of the opposition, including some specific references to Seventh-day Adventists by Marvin and other delegates, Nussbaum was able to speak to the assembly even though the rules forbade nonofficial delegates from speaking after they had made their initial presentations. Refuting Marvin's arguments, the Swiss doctor appealed to the League not to infringe on the conscientious scruples of the minority. When he finished the delegates broke into a deafening applause.

Adventists heaved a sigh of relief when the crisis was past that threatened one of the most distinctive marks of the church. For the time being the back of the calendar reform movement was broken. Longacre believed it was Nussbaum's speech that had turned world opinion against the Cotsworth proposal. But backers of calendar change did not give up. Through the 1940s they continued their propaganda with attempts to line up the United States for change similar to the Cotsworth plan. Two resolutions in the United States Congress in 1947 failed; in 1954 a United Nations questionnaire disclosed that only five of forty-one governments favored change. More rumblings

disturbed Adventist religious liberty leaders in the 1960s, one of them an experiment by the Sri Lanka government to substitute Buddhist lunar holidays for Sundays. The work week varied between four to seven days and Adventist workers suffered because they would not compromise. In several industrial countries an extra-legal practice of listing Monday, the first work day of the week, as the actual first day, confused the traditional calendar.

One of the most noteworthy outcomes of the debate in the League of Nations was the beginning of Jean Nussbaum's thirty-five year career as an activist in religious liberty affairs. During his service in World War I as a volunteer medical officer he met and married a Yugoslavian woman whose close friend became foreign minister. Beginning with this contact at the League of Nations, Nussbaum followed by cultivating friendships with leaders in a score of countries on three continents, including Pope Pius XII and Eleanor Roosevelt. Nussbaum used his connections for the benefit of fellow Adventists who were denied their religious freedom.

Summary

The many disparate issues of secularism with which Adventists coped found

common ground in their challenge to the church's unbending reliance on the Bible as the source of faith and belief. For example, problems in labor relations, the creation-evolution controversy, and calendar reform all threatened the Sabbath, which was one of the defining doctrines of the church. The more the church defended its positions of biblical interpretation, the more it became necessary to professionalize its response, which gave rise to the tendency toward an image of a denomination as opposed to a sect, which was the view that much of the Christian community held of Adventism. One of the outcomes of this trend was a recognition that in some cases serious questions remained that required answers, or if necessary, admissions that no answers were available at the time. Another was a recognition that the imperfect world produced complex conflicts that defied neat answers and that Adventists would have to live with imperfect conclusions and sometimes risks, both practically and in matters of faith. In spite of its support of scientific research and higher education, the church retained an overall conservative position, but by the end of the twentieth century there was evidence that more latitude existed for Adventists as they made choices in charting their own personal lives in the face of many secular issues.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Labor relations:

Carlos Schwantes, "Labor Unions and Seventh-day Adventists," *Adventist Heritage*,

vol. 4, no. 2, winter 1977, pp. 11-19, summarizes the context of Adventist labor relations.

_____ “The Rise of Urban-Industrial America,” in *The World of Ellen White* (1987), Gary Land, ed., pp. 79-94, covers much of the same ground as the AH article.

Robert C. Kistler, *Adventists and Labor Unions in the United States* (1984), is a synopsis of the history of Adventist relations with labor unions.

Gordon Engen, “U. S. Congress enacts conscience clause,” *Adventist Review*, May 7, 1981, pp. 4-8, celebrates a milestone in Adventist labor relations.

D. Douglas Devnich, “Adventists Influence Parliament,” *Canadian Adventist Messenger*, Aug. 1984, pp. 3-5, reports Adventist involvement in the new Labour Code for Canada.

Accreditation of schools:

William G. White, “Flirting With the World, How Adventist Colleges in North America Got Accredited,” *Adventist Heritage*, vol. 10, no. 2, spring 1983, pp. 40-51, depicts the philosophical struggles of Adventists in the accreditation saga.

Joseph G. Smoot, “Accreditation: Quality in the SDA College,” *Journal of Adventist Education*, February-March 1983, pp. 10, 11, 44, 45, reveals how the accreditation movement spread throughout the denomination.

Science, creation, and evolution:

Robert E. D. Clark, *Science & Christianity—a Partnership* (1972), expresses in nontechnical terms the view that science and Christianity are not mutually exclusive.

Leo Van Dolson, *Our Real Roots* (1979), is a compilation of creationist articles appearing in *Ministry* magazine beginning in 1973.

Ariel A. Roth, “Why Is Creation Important?” *Ministry*, June 1983, pp. 24-27, explains the relationship of creation to Adventism.

_____ *Origins* (1998), combines both technical explanations and common language to explain Adventist belief in creationism.

James L. Hayward, “The Many Faces of Adventist Creationism: ’80-’95,” *Spectrum*, vol. 26, no. 1, March 1996, pp. 16-34, reviews the differing trends and personalities in the Adventist movement to understand biblical Creation.

Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists* (1992), traces the story of Adventist participation in the creationist movement.

Calendar change:

Gertrude Loewen, *Crusader for Freedom* (1969), is an engaging account of Jean Nussbaum’s contribution to the struggle against calendar change.

Relationships With Other Christians

Seventh-day Adventists have commonly found their relationships with other Christians to be strained; sometimes they have even encountered antagonism. To many genuinely religious persons, Adventists' emphasis on keeping the Ten Commandments, their refusal to eat certain foods, and their conservative views of dress and entertainment mark them as legalists who expect to win salvation by their good works rather than through the all-sufficient sacrifice of Jesus. Many Christians resent what they interpret as Adventist exclusiveness and pride expressed in being the "remnant" church. Mistakenly, they believe that Adventists regard all Sunday keepers as having received the "mark of the beast" and themselves as having earned the "seal of God" through Sabbath keeping.

Some Adventists' extravagant interpretations of Revelation 12:17 and 14:6-

12 have provided grounds for these views. While Adventists hold that Revelation 12:17 explains a divinely appointed mission for them to carry special truths to the world, they do not believe that they alone constitute the children of God. Despite a lessened exclusivity attached to the term, "remnant," the word has persisted. As they proclaim their message, Adventists believe that the true children of God will be drawn "into that prophetically foretold company making ready for the day of God."

A number of prominent issues arose related to all of this. A belief in the separation of church and state has formed a platform on which Adventists have much in common with many other Christian groups. Closely related was Sunday legislation, the protection of Sunday by law at both local and national levels. That many other Christian bodies viewed the

Seventh-day Adventist Church as something less than a bona fide denomination was another major problem that Adventists faced. Adventists have found themselves both agreeing and disagreeing with other Christians on these issues. In some cases the problems were thorns in the flesh; in other cases the problems constituted genuine threats to the well-being of the church. The increasingly complex world of the twentieth century forced Adventists to spend more energy establishing its positions.

Church-state Relations

In the 2000-year history of Christianity the idea of separation of church and state is relatively young. It did not make an effective appearance until the United States emerged from the British Empire as an independent country without a state church. The conviction that the state should restrict itself to civil affairs because it is not competent to deal with ecclesiastical matters became fundamental to the principle of religious freedom. Since the Seventh-day Adventist Church was indigenous to the United States the doctrine of separation became one of its critical teachings.

As the idea of free exercise of conscience grew and spread to other parts of the globe, governments in some countries with state religions practiced religious toleration, which allowed denominations other than the state-supported religion to function without interference. In the case of either religious freedom or toleration, the prevailing idea was freedom from coercion or interference in religious

matters. Unfortunately, some Christian denominations encountered trouble in countries where either state religions or outright authoritarianism preempted both religious freedom and toleration. To the average Adventist there was probably little if any practical difference between religious freedom and religious toleration, but the church developed a careful vigilance over the movements of local and national governments to prevent their intrusion into religious affairs.

Irrespective of widespread acceptance of the theory of religious liberty, nationalism in many European societies included the heritage of a dominant or state religion. To be Catholic, Orthodox, Lutheran, or Presbyterian was much more a cultural matter than it was in North America where a wide diversity of denominations existed more or less on equal footing. In the western tradition, Catholicism had been the predominant state religion that had prompted Adventists to generally regard the Roman Catholic Church as a threat to the principle of religious freedom. Ellen White had helped to form this view in her book, *The Great Controversy*. Accordingly, Charles S. Longacre, with experience in the General Conference Religious Liberty Department dating from 1913, took part in the preliminary discussions that led to the founding of Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State in the winter of 1947-48.

President Franklin Roosevelt's appointment of Myron Taylor as a personal representative to Pope Pius XII was one of the major contributing factors in the formation of POAU, as it came to be known.

In 1972 it shortened its name to Americans United for Separation of Church and State, which blunted its anti-Catholic edge and made it easier for non-Christian groups who supported the principle of separation to join the organization.

Adventists maintained a close relationship with this body. Alvin W. Johnson, president of Emmanuel Missionary College, and Frank Yost, a member of the Religious Liberty Department, authored *Separation of Church and State in the United States*, which POAU recommended for study groups examining the issue of religious freedom. Adventists served on the initial advisory council for POAU and others continued on its board. After POAU became Americans United, or AU, individual Adventists continued their close ties although the church never officially endorsed its program. In 1976 two members of the General Conference Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department served as AU officers.

Among the issues that Americans United opposed were diplomatic ties with the Vatican and subtle forms of using tax money to promote religion in public schools such as transporting students to parochial schools at state expense, opening up the class schedule for “release time,” or visits by clergy to provide religious instruction. In the 1980s and 90s the voucher system also fell under attack, a proposal that would allow state governments to give public money to individuals to subsidize attendance at sectarian schools below the college level. At the same time *Church and State*, the monthly publication of AU, frequently agitated against the activities of the Chris-

tian Right, a consortium of conservative Protestants, charging it with attempts to inject religion into politics to break down the “wall” of separation between church and state. Once an openly Protestant group, AU paradoxically found itself battling Protestants to defend its philosophy. Religious tags were no assurance of belief on this question.

Although AU became an alert watchdog for separation of church and state, it was not always successful. Despite a storm of protest, President Ronald Reagan reestablished diplomatic ties with Vatican City. In the main, however, the unofficial alliance between Americans United and Seventh-day Adventists seemed to benefit both groups. Adventist experience and energy proved useful to AU partners to maintain separation of church and state, and AU gave added weight to basic Adventist positions. However, during the 1990s relations between AU and Adventists cooled, partly because of the more liberal stance the church took on the question of public financial aid to education.

Sunday Legislation

While the specific issue of separation of church and state, as understood and supported by AU, was a question peculiar to the United States, the idea of the free exercise of the individual conscience in religious matters became increasingly international as the twentieth century progressed. Probably the most critical religious liberty issue that Adventists faced internationally was threats against their observance of Saturday as the Sabbath. During the formative years of the de-

nomination in the United States, Adventists constantly reminded themselves that while the Protestant Reformation established the legitimacy of dissent it did not presuppose religious freedom or even toleration in the sense of free religious diversity in a single society. A long European history of intolerance, persecution, and sometimes open warfare had often resulted from mixing state authority with religion. History taught Adventists to believe that their understanding of the eschatological meaning of Revelation 13-17 was not farfetched, the belief that just before the return of Jesus attempts to coerce people's consciences would erupt again and would revolve around civil enforcement of Sunday as a day of rest.

In the final two decades of the nineteenth century, before the Adventist community had spread from the United States, an outbreak of prosecutions for violations of Sunday "blue laws" that had long remained unenforced jolted the denomination into a realization that their anticipation of a national Sunday law was a distinct possibility. The appearance of Ellen White's *The Great Controversy* reinforced this apprehension. The church reacted by forming the Religious Liberty Association in 1889. Three years earlier the Adventists began publishing *The American Sentinel*, a journal of religious liberty.

Since the founding of the Religious Liberty Association the denomination has constantly maintained a religious liberty office to defend persons or institutions whose religious rights have been infringed upon by the state or other entities, and whenever possible to encourage

governments to uphold principles of freedom of conscience. Also, one of the aims of religious liberty leaders has been to strengthen the notion of separation between church and state, especially in countries where they are joined or one controls the other.

Adventists did not always agree on the best method to defend liberty. A. T. Jones, one of the early prominent spokesmen for religious liberty, argued that Adventists should work on Sundays to avoid compliance with Sunday laws. He urged Adventists to defy Sunday legislation openly and pay fines and suffer jail sentences repeatedly. His acid attacks on Sunday laws and Protestants and Catholics who supported them drew a sharp rebuke from Ellen White. But she supported him in his attempt to incorporate Adventist points of view in church periodicals that defended religious liberty. Some of Jones's contemporaries wished to mute the identity of the church and preach the nonsectarian message of freedom in the religious liberty journal, believing that they would attract broader support among Christian groups. The change of title from *The American Sentinel* to the *Sentinel of Christian Liberty*, and finally *Liberty* in 1906, reflected the seesaw argument over this editorial policy.

Adventists also had a growing consciousness that conflict arising from seventh-day Sabbath observance was not limited to the United States. Adventists in Australia ran afoul of the Sunday law in 1894 and spent time in the stocks because of their refusal to pay the fines levied against them. The Australian incident was traced to a 1677 act under King Charles II

of England protecting Sunday as a day of worship and rest. A desire among Canadians to uphold Sunday produced The Lord's Day Act in 1907, which prohibited a broad range of activities on Sunday.

In the meantime it became more obvious that Sunday observance had taken on the character of a secular holiday and many promoters of Sunday laws had a stronger concern to protect businesses and, eventually, free time for workers, than the religious significance of Sunday. However secular the traditional rest day may have become, Adventists consistently opposed Sunday laws because of their religious connotations. Some non-Adventists who also viewed Sunday laws as an outburst of religious intolerance joined them.

During the first half of the twentieth century the leading religious liberty issues revolved around questions of the relationship of Adventists to military service during wartime and calendar reform. The second half of the century was much different, beginning with a speculation among Adventists following World War II that Sunday observance might become symbolic of a religious revival to counter the spread of scientific atheism found in communism. These fears did not materialize, but actual events relating to Sunday observance were not long in coming. They appeared in three waves, spreading from the United States to Canada and on to Europe.

A rash of local Sunday blue laws in the United States during the 1950s had its impetus in business people's concern over new competition from discount stores springing up on the outskirts of cities

where they could take advantage of lower taxes and more convenient parking for shoppers. When they added Sunday shopping to their schedules, not only downtown merchants but labor unions joined the attack against them and sought Sunday laws to control the new enterprises. Adventists disagreed that the arguments of business and labor removed the religious element from the question, but argued that these blue laws operated behind the facade of a social and economic interest.

Inconsistencies in Sunday proscriptions helped the cause of protest. In some instances, for example, shoppers could buy tobacco but not milk on Sunday. Adding to the confusion were contradictory rulings by courts, some upholding Sunday-closing laws and others declaring them invalid. Eventually the issue reached the United States Supreme Court, which decided in 1961 that the current Sunday laws were not religious although they had a religious origin. The intent was to ensure workers one free day a week.

Almost immediately the Lord's Day Alliance started to promote more stringent Sunday laws. Activities by this interdenominational organization dedicated to support Sunday worship precipitated swift reaction from opponents of blue laws. Adventists viewed this phase of their religious liberty struggles as evidence that their longstanding apprehensions about religious and civil authorities joining to regulate life at the expense of conscience were not unfounded.

Whether motivated by this point of view or not, opinion in the United States swung against Sunday laws after the Supreme Court decision. States sometimes

granted exemptions or disregarded violations of Sunday laws. A short-lived campaign for Sunday-closings broke out in 1973 in the wake of an oil shortage that caused an energy crisis, but again failed. Throughout these events religious liberty leaders were instrumental in defeating proposals for blue laws. On the heels of the Supreme Court decision in 1961 the Presbyterian General Assembly went on record opposing enforcement of Sunday laws. To their satisfaction Adventists observed that many fellow Christians in other denominations were as committed to church-state separation and religious liberty as they were.

However quiescent agitation over Sunday laws became after 1965 in the United States, Adventists knew that the settlement was more a question of expediency than anything else. The Supreme Court had not changed its opinion and enforcement depended on the public mood or particular circumstances. Probably the best the denomination could expect was to come to a meeting of the minds with leaders in local governments about how they would implement blue laws. It was of some consolation to Adventists to know that by the end of the twentieth century the number of Sunday laws in the states had sharply diminished.

If the outcome of the Sunday law problem in the United States left Adventists with ambivalent feelings, they were to repeat the experience in Canada approximately a dozen years after the energy crisis. In 1963 a Canadian judge followed the lead of the United States by ruling that a business inconvenience caused by the Lord's Day Act of 1907 did

not invalidate the national Sunday law. But in 1982 the Ottawa Parliament passed the Constitution Act, embodying the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which went into effect three years later in April 1985. This document guaranteed freedom of conscience and religion. In anticipation of this new atmosphere, open defiance of the national Lord's Day Act broke out. When trade unions and religionists reacted by agitating for enforcement of the old Sunday law Adventists braced themselves for another struggle, using every opportunity to publicize the view that although the 1980 cases were colored by economic and social language, the heart of the matter was still religious.

A bevy of cases scattered across Canada drew attention to the archaic character of the Lord's Day Act. A week after the *Charter* became law opponents of the old 1907 national Sunday law were encouraged when the Canadian Supreme Court declared it no longer in force. The decision was not only unanimous, it also stated that the *Charter* safeguarded the rights of minorities as well as the majority. Religious liberty leaders in Canada were hopeful that judgments on individual cases would uphold the principle enunciated in the Supreme Court's ruling, but they were mindful that a loophole existed in the *Charter*: Clause 1 allowed for reasonable restrictions in a democratic society, and Clause 33 permitted legislation to stand if lawmakers so designated it notwithstanding its infringement on fundamental rights.

In keeping with the Court's ruling of 1985, Sunday opening of stores continued, but they did not pass unchallenged.

After studying a case involving the restrictions defined by the Ontario Retail Business Holidays Act, Canada's Supreme Court in December 1986, upheld prohibitions of Sunday sales. The court argued that the closing was for the public good in spite of surveys showing that the public favored open stores on Sunday. The case did not turn on religious arguments but on the prerogative of the state to protect the well-being of the public by providing free time. To counter this rationale, Sabbath observers pointed out that they observed their day of rest on Saturday and they should therefore be able to open their businesses on Sunday without violating the spirit of the closing laws. In New Brunswick this concession was already in force, and similar amendments were attempted in other provinces. Adventists supported these accommodations, but realized that the courts had not dealt with the fundamental religious nature of Sunday laws.

Although allowing for some exceptions, the Canadian Supreme Court forced businesses to comply with Sunday-closing, but this ruling left it unclear if employers could force workers off their jobs if they did not work on Saturdays for sincerely held religious reasons. The O'Malley case had already shown that Canadian courts recognized observance of the seventh-day Sabbath as a legitimate conscience issue and upheld the rights of the worker over the employer, but the court had handed down that decision before the Supreme Court ruled Sunday-closing laws valid. In 1992, following a seven-year legal battle, Canada's highest court heard the case of Larry Renaud, an

Adventist school janitor, whose employer dismissed him because he would not work on Sabbath. After hearing the arguments in his defense by an Adventist lawyer, the court admitted that details in any individual case could affect a decision, but the justices ruled that both the union and the employer were at fault in this incident by not accommodating the worker and ordered the school where he had worked to reinstate him with back pay. Other Sabbath observers won similar cases.

In some respects the issue of Sunday legislation in Canada had followed a similar pattern as in the United States. It began as a religious affair, metamorphosed into a social question, and finally emerged in final form as part of labor relations. The Supreme Court in each country ruled to secularize the problem.

Europe's brush with Sunday laws also showed some of these similarities, but the setting was much different. Each country in Europe that carried Sunday laws on its books had its own supporting rationale, but the issue assumed an international dimension when the European Economic Community, a consortium of European countries tied together by economic cooperation, tried to impose unifying features on its member nations. Events showed that breaking down tariff barriers and other economic differences was one thing; to establish a universal rest day was quite another.

Britain did not join the European Community until 1973, but its situation had already jelled in the Shops Act of 1950 which closed all department stores and most small shops on Sunday. In part, the law was a product of the Lord's Day

Observance Society and the Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers. Within a generation after its passage economic and demographic conditions made the repeal of the Shops Act attractive to many Britons. They were hearing arguments that by opening up places of work one more day a week the extra hours might bring a modicum of relief to the unemployed. Also, a sizeable community of Moslem merchants in Britain found closing on Sunday a bit onerous after shutting down their shops on Friday. Finally, as was the case with Sunday-closing laws in Canada and the United States, restrictions on specific items for sale on Sundays made a mockery of what was justifiable on the so-called Lord's Day. One could buy pornography but not Bibles.

The European Community had no legislative authority over its members, but it discussed possible legislation that governments should enact to facilitate the economic betterment of the continent. In 1992 the idea of a "Brussels-administered Sunday" became a topic of interest in the European Parliament. Its rationale was to regulate trading laws among the member states to make them more equitable. Delegates even talked about requiring Sunday legislation to maintain membership in the European Community.

Roman Catholic church leaders, trade unionists, and German Christian Democrats were reported as the leading proponents of the proposal. Among the critics was the *Economist*, Europe's leading economic newspaper, which editorialized, "Never on Sunday: would the European Community really be so stupid as to ban Sunday working?" Religious groups,

including Adventists, saw the Brussels Sunday as a threat to religious freedom. Adventists collected nearly 10,000 signatures in Germany to include Saturday as well as Sunday in the proposal as a work-free day.

But enforcement of existing Sunday legislation was so uneven among the member states of the European Community that the Brussels Sunday was rendered impractical. Germany and Italy vigorously enforced Sunday laws while Spain, Poland, and Belgium were more lax. In England the situation was also lax. Stores for tourists in Greece opened on Sundays, but the others remained closed. Ireland was only considering Sunday legislation. Although not a member of the EC, Austria was also a strong enforcer of Sunday laws.

In 1996 the discussion in the European Parliament had weakened to the point at which the best the delegates could do was to vote by a show of hands that they favored Sunday as a common day of rest for member states of the European Economic Community. The action was by this time a viewpoint only and had no material effect on actual legislation.

Adventists found themselves opposing Sunday legislation in other places, some of them unlikely. In 1985 in the Cook Islands in the South Pacific, with a population of only 17,000, the Cook Islands Christian Church stirred up interest in a constitutional amendment protecting Sunday. In its statement to the prime minister, the CICC described Sunday as a holy day of rest to be observed forever, and that all trading and commercial activities, sports events, and maritime and

aircraft activity should cease. Sunday laws were not new to the Cook Islands. In 1899 the Parliament enacted a restrictive code which it rescinded sixteen years later. By the time the 1985 agitation broke out the islands had become a tourist resort, and international games were on the agenda for Rarotonga, the main island.

The 750-member Adventist community responded with a two-page article in a Sunday edition of the leading newspaper explaining the case of the opposition. Representatives from the Adventist church joined delegates from the Catholic church and the Latter Day Saints to oppose the proposed constitutional change and to advise the government how to deal with it. In the face of this opposition and growing caution by the public at large, the government deferred action, but the issue continued to smolder with Adventists continuing to press for rejection.

Contemporaneous with these events in the Cook Islands, a military coup in Fiji on September 25, 1987 produced the Sunday Observance Decree banning sports, public transport, business operations, and even picnics on Sunday. Ostensibly a military precaution to prevent public activity that might be hostile to the new government, the edict aroused opposition among Adventists and other groups because of its obvious religious character. A quickly assembled committee of Adventists prepared a statement to the government protesting unilateral constitutional changes that undermined religious freedom. Similarly, the Fiji Council of Churches submitted an official statement objecting to the decree. Adventist leaders counseled church members to observe the law calmly; meanwhile

the Fiji Mission declined support from Australia or the United States because the local government would have regarded it as interference. Two years later the decree was still in effect but the chief of state had changed his attitude about the advisability of enforcing Sunday observance.

Sunday laws by definition were problems in countries with western traditions or in Christianized regions such as the Fiji and Cook islands. The success of Adventist opposition to Sunday legislation was mixed. Concessions to seventh-day Sabbath keepers were common, but in many cases laws protecting Sunday remained on the books. Enforcement was lax because of a lack of interest and growing pluralism. Sunday laws prohibiting sales on Sunday did not require Sunday worship nor did they prevent seventh-day Sabbath observers from conducting regular worship services unmolested.

However unthreatening in this sense the immediate effect of Sunday laws was, Adventists remained firm in their conviction that a threat still existed because civil authority was protecting a traditional day of religious rest. Jews, Moslems, or Christian groups who closed their shops on any other day for reasons of conscience were penalized for their beliefs because their compliance with both Sunday laws and their consciences denied them one day of business. By defining the issue as one of equitable business and labor practices, the courts attempted to convert the problem into a secular issue and thus avoid a tangle with religion. Enough of the substance of the question related to economics to make this explanation plausible, but for all of that, it was

also impossible to divorce it from religion. For Adventists the matter was undeniably religious.

Ecumenism

Such strong views on Sabbath observance, more frequently than not running counter to those of the general public, contributed to a common attitude among Adventists that their separateness from the rest of the Christian community was biblically based. Ellen White had encouraged this view by warning that liberties would be jeopardized if Protestantism and Catholicism joined hands. With this conviction quite clear, Adventists have never participated formally in the ecumenical movement although they have worked closely with other Christian churches in the pursuit of some common goals.

The ecumenical movement began in 1908 when twenty-five denominations approximating two-thirds of Protestants in the United States created the Federal Council of Churches in Christ in America. Almost immediately this organization began supporting social and political reform. Adventists held aloof, not only convinced that they could not recreate the kingdom of Christ through church agitation but because of an ingrained fear of the role that ecumenism might play in last-day events.

Actions at the organizing session fed this fear. A proposal to promote Sunday by legislative means was met with an amendment to accommodate members of the Federal Council who observed the seventh day instead of Sunday as the day of worship. After a stormy debate

delegates overwhelmingly defeated this proposed counter amendment. Although the intention of the accommodation was to recognize Seventh Day Baptists rather than Adventists, the *Review* warned that a union of church and state could be imminent and that persecution might follow.

These apprehensions did not materialize, but Adventists were no less suspicious about the formation of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948. This new body was the fruition of efforts for unity that had originated decades earlier. Again, the *Review* speculated that this association of churches could jeopardize the principles of Protestantism and become a weapon against the truth of God.

Two years later, in 1950, when the old Federal Council of Churches reorganized into the National Council of Churches, *Review* editor F. D. Nichol explained other reasons for Adventists' refusal to join. Denying that the NCC leaders held sinister aims to dominate the religious world, he pointed out that the teachings and mission of Seventh-day Adventists prevented the church from joining any ecumenical organization. Among the irreconcilable differences between Adventists and other denominations were the Sabbath, teachings about the origin of life and the nature of man, eschatological beliefs, and the conviction that Adventists were to reach the world with a special message.

Variant interpretations of Scripture were not the only reasons that kept Adventists from active participation in the ecumenical movement. Since cooperation rather than competition was the

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goal of the National and World Councils, ecumenists advocated dividing non-Christian areas of the world into subdivisions assigned exclusively to individual denominational mission boards. The spirit of ecumenism also opposed one church seeking converts from other Christian communities. Adventists felt called to awaken all of God's children to specific truths; with their concept of a worldwide commission, they could not accept the idea of being frozen out of large areas of the world.

Adventists have never digressed from these positions, but they have maintained friendly contact with the WCC. One of the primary forces in this relationship was

Bert Beach, who spent a long career in the General Conference Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department. To each Assembly of the World Council the General Conference has sent credentialed observers with special seating privileges. A representative of the *Review* staff has regularly attended as a member of the press corps. During the Assembly gatherings in 1983 at Vancouver, British Columbia, and at Canberra, Australia in 1991, Adventist reporters witnessed an intensifying preoccupation with social and political questions. Although they viewed these problems legitimate in themselves, they believed that attention to the issues seemed disproportionately



Australian-born F. D. Nichol (1897-1966), left, often used the Review, which he edited, 1945-1966, to criticize ecumenism. He also edited the Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary series and help prepare Questions on Doctrine.

With his intimate knowledge of European affairs, Bert Beach, right, became an effective voice of the church in religious liberty and other public matters.

large and detracted from the church's mission to evangelize.

It appeared to some that the World Council had redefined social issues such as land distribution as part of evangelism and that the organization was more divided than it had ever been on matters of finance and theology as well as the political and social issues about which it concerned itself. This trend within the WCC had become increasingly evident from the 1960s on and confirmed the General Conference conviction that membership in the organization would not be in the best interests of Seventh-day Adventists.

Through all of these developments Adventists never could forget their eschatological belief that prior to the Second Advent the world would unite to enforce Sunday as a religious day of rest. That the Roman Catholic Church consistently declined membership in the World Council of Churches did not reduce Adventist doubt about the organization as a potential instrument of coercion. When the National Council of Churches in the United States revived its appeals for unity in 1990, Adventist leaders responded with warnings about the consequences in light of the church's interpretation of last-day events. The same reaction occurred after the National Council of Churches of Australia issued a strong appeal in 1996.

Notwithstanding their basic difference with ecumenism, Adventists were quite willing to admit the movement produced beneficial side effects. In 1960, for instance, the World Council encouraged its member churches to place greater emphasis

upon Bible study. There was also increasing interest in biblical studies within the Catholic Church. This showed up when the Vatican II Council reversed the policy of centuries by recommending Bible reading to all faithful church members. Adventists welcomed this new interest which, they felt sure, would ease the way to proclaim the three angels' messages.

In spite of concern about the prevailing preoccupation with social matters by the WCC, encouragement also came from Adventist headquarters for members to join other Christians wherever possible in humanitarian endeavors, such as specially proclaimed days of prayer, and to improve the moral tone of their communities. Many Adventist pastors joined local ministerial associations and profited from meeting with fellow clergymen.

The General Conference also maintained an affiliation with several subdivisions of the National Council of Churches. Adventists dropped their membership in the Foreign Mission Conference of North America in 1950, but remained as consultants. The exchange of information and ideas proved to be beneficial. The church also joined the National Council's Broadcasting and Film Commission. In 1996 Betty Cooney, communication director of the Greater New York Conference, chaired the commission in its new form, the Communication Commission. This body was the door through which all religious groups passed when seeking free broadcast time on the major television networks. Through this contact the Seventh-day Adventist Church had been able to acquire notable publicity. As either the National or World Council developed other techni-

cal commissions or committees whose expertise would be useful to the mission of Adventists, church leaders participated. An example was the Church World Service Commission, which attempted to coordinate humanitarian efforts in the wake of natural disasters or war.

Meetings of ecumenical bodies in different countries and the frequent appearance of social and political issues on the ecumenical agenda emphasized the fact that Christian ecumenism had become a world movement. It was not surprising that European Adventists experienced relationships with the ecumenical movement similar to their North American counterparts. Between 1965 and 1972 Adventist leaders began an annual exchange of views with personnel from the World Council headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. Among the topics were discussions of the peculiarly Adventist view of themselves as leading a divinely ordered movement to “come out” of the common Christian world. Bert Beach, at the time religious liberty secretary of the Northern Europe-West African Division, observed after the meetings ended that European Christians were more aware of Adventism as a respectable religious force and as a genuine Christian denomination rather than a cult.

More recently, a series of conferences between European Lutheran and Adventist clergy in the 1990s cleared up many misunderstandings the two denominations held about each other. In 1998, after four years of conversations the two denominations released an official statement that described the major doctrinal differences and similarities between the

two churches. The purpose of the meetings and the joint report was not to seek union but understanding. It closed with a recommendation for further consultations, and encouraged the Lutheran World Federation to deal with Adventists as a genuine Christian denomination rather than as a sect.

Clarifying Misconceptions

Distinctive Adventist theology not only constituted a major reason for the consistent refusal by General Conference to join the ecumenical movement, it also produced misunderstandings of Adventism by other denominations. A case in point arose in the 1950s when Dr. E. Schuyler English, a noted Bible scholar, remarked in *Our Hope*, an evangelical journal, that Adventists denied the deity of Christ. English derived his opinion from a statement in *Bible Readings for the Home Circle*, which declared that Christ “partook of our sinful, fallen nature.”

This phrase had also disturbed Adventist theologians as did certain passages in Uriah Smith’s *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation* that expressed his semi-Arian concept of Christ’s nature. Adventist leaders were already studying these statements in light of the doctrine of Christ’s atonement, and decided on revisions of both books, eliminating those phrases describing Christ’s nature that appeared to be contrary to the published beliefs of the church. Following conversations with L. E. Froom, English declared in *Our Hope* that Adventists taught a biblically based view of the nature of Christ and His atoning sacrifice.

A much more lengthy discussion about the nature of Adventism began before the English-Froom exchange and extended through the mid-1950s. When Walter Martin, a specialist in non-Christian cults, planned a book about Seventh-day Adventists; he requested a series of interviews before exposing his perceptions of the doctrinal shortcomings of Adventism. T. E. Unruh, president of the East Pennsylvania Conference, Froom, Ministerial Association secretary R. A. Anderson, and General Conference field secretary W. E. Read met with Martin and two colleagues, Dr. George Cannon, a professor of Greek, and Dr. Donald Grey Barnhouse, editor of *Eternity Magazine*.



L. E. Froom (1890-1974), author of Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers and other serious treatments of Adventist doctrine, made a career of promoting a general understanding of Adventism as a legitimate Christian denomination.

The discussions lasted for eighteen months and produced a series of articles in Barnhouse's magazine admitting to misunderstandings about Adventism as it touched the doctrines of righteousness by faith and Christ's atoning sacrifice, although Barnhouse disagreed with many other views Adventists held.

Before responding to Martin's questions about Seventh-day Adventists, General Conference leaders sent out their answers to 200 leading Adventists. Their comments became the basis for the 700-page book, *Questions on Doctrine*, that appeared in 1957. Martin learned that Christian denominations shared the majority of Adventist teachings, but five doctrines were distinctively Seventh-day Adventist: (1) two distinct phases of Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, (2) the investigative judgment, (3) the prophetic gift manifested in the work of Ellen White, (4) the seal of God and the mark of the beast symbolizing the forces of good and evil in the last conflict on earth, and (5) the three angels' messages of Revelation 14 representing God's final message to the world.

Martin's book, *The Truth About Seventh-day Adventism* carried his criticism of many aspects of Adventism, but it cleared up many misconceptions about Adventists and recommended *Questions on Doctrine* to his readers who desired additional explanations. Adventist leaders believed that *Questions on Doctrine* exerted a unifying influence among ministers around the world, but not all Adventists were pleased with the book. Critics charged that the church had revised major aspects of Adventist theol-

ogy in their desire to curry favor with other Protestants.

The most vocal opposition came from M. L. Andreasen, a well-respected educator and instructor at the Adventist Seminary. His arguments clustered around the role of Christ as Priest, His divine-human nature, and the completeness of His atonement at the cross. He accused some fellow workers of planning to revise Ellen White to harmonize with their changed views. These criticisms were serious because Andreasen had established a denominational reputation as an authority on the sanctuary, but his opinions did not bring any modifications to the teachings the book contained. Although at the time *Questions on Doctrine* was the most definitive book-length statement on Adventist beliefs, within two decades it fell into disuse. In some circles Adventists consciously opposed it. In 1988 a new volume, *Seventh-day Adventists Believe* became the favored and most widely consulted declaration of Adventist doctrine.

The unfolding events in the relationship of Seventh-day Adventists with Christianity at large demonstrated above all else the continuity of Adventism. Revisions of books in the 1940s that Adventists regarded as old standbys represented clarification of doctrine rather than substantive changes. Some Adventists saw a compromise in *Questions on Doctrine*, but if it was there, the Protestant world missed it. Soon after its publication, a reviewer described his disappointment that Adventists had not changed anything. General Conference president R. R. Figuhr assured the worldwide Adventist community that the editors of the book

had indeed attempted to eliminate the private vocabulary that the denomination had developed through the years and presented the doctrines in terms that the religious world at large understood.

Adventists had smarted through the years because many Christian groups saw them as a cult. Martin launched his research for his book with the intention it would be an exposé, but both he and Barnhouse agreed after months of study that Adventism fell within the boundaries of legitimate Christianity. Despite Martin's disagreements with Adventists, H. W. Lowe, a General Conference representative, wrote and introductory statement for his book, expressing appreciation for the author's kindness in researching facts about Seventh-day Adventists through personal contacts before writing. It was this kind of recognition that church leaders sought, which to their satisfaction, had not resulted from fiery debates but from dignified exchange of views.

In keeping with this spirit of maintaining the doctrinal integrity of the church, in 1956 the General Conference reorganized the Defense Committee, begun four years earlier, into the Biblical Study and Research Group. Lowe chaired this new group. In 1975 this body reorganized again under the title, Biblical Research Institute, commonly known as BRI. It had a full-time staff of theologians working in special areas. Reporting at the General Conference session in 1995, George Reid, director of BRI, told delegates that the Institute staff traveled to all corners of the Adventist world, conducting seminars for denominational

workers and responding to questions that arise about Adventism.

Adventists had declined membership in the ecumenical movement because they reasoned it would require a compromise of their beliefs. For the same reason they explained rather than changed their doctrines when preparing them for *Questions on Doctrine*. To repudiate the distinctive marks of their faith would have destroyed

their reason for being, for it was on the strength of these distinguishing doctrines that they based their mission. As the twentieth century closed Seventh-day Adventists were as separate as they ever were, but they hoped that their efforts had afforded the Christian world a better understanding of them. For them an accurate view of Adventists and their teachings was yet another aspect of fulfilling their mission.

Suggested Topical Readings:

The debate about who Adventists are:

Questions on Doctrine (1957), pp. 7-32, expresses Adventist response to critics in the 1950s.

Booton Herndon, *The 7th Day* (1960), is a nondoctrinal portrayal of Adventists by a non-Adventist that emerged from the discussions about Adventists in the Christian world during the 1950s.

Walter Martin, *The Truth About Seventh-day Adventism* (1960), presents part of the non-Adventist opinion during the 1950s debate about Adventism.

L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 465-492, contains a participant's view of the Martin-Barnhouse conversations.

T. E. Unruh, "The Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conference of 1955-1956, *Adventist Heritage*, vol. 4, no. 4, winter 1977, pp. 35-46, is another participant's account of the conversations regarding Adventists' identity.

Ecumenism:

B. B. Beach, *Ecumenism: Boon or Bane?* (1974), expresses the conclusions of an Adventist who has spent a career in public affairs.

_____, *Vatican II: Bridging the Abyss* (1968), elaborates on the significance of the Catholic world conference during the 1960s to Adventists.

R. D. Vine, "We Need You Adventists," *British Advent Messenger*, December 15, 1972, pp. 1, 2, and B. B. Beach, "Adventists and the New Inter-Church Relations, *ibid.*, June 15, 1973, pp. 7, 8, discuss conversations between Adventists and the World Council of Churches for improved mutual understanding.

Roy Adams, "Report from Canberra," *Adventist Review*, April 11, 18, and May 2, 1991, is a three-part review of the seventh assembly of the World Council of Churches.

The Social Conscience of Adventism

While theological differences formed the basic reason why Seventh-day Adventists remained separate from the ecumenical movement, the prominent role of social issues in the World Council of Churches also drew some criticism from Adventists. Ironically, as the latter half of the twentieth century transpired, Adventists found themselves increasingly involved in the very matters about which they had been dubious.

Since the Millerite era Adventists' energetic preaching to the non-Adventist public about Christ's imminent return had evolved into a pattern of evangelistic presentations embracing a set of doctrines based on prophetic portions of Scripture and proof texts. Adventists perceived their message to be scriptural and doctrinal, revolving around Christ's atoning ministry, His return to earth, and related prophetic issues. They taught that the

world would become progressively hostile to Christianity and that truly converted Christians would separate themselves from practices that detracted from their commitment to a vibrant Christian life. These lifestyle concerns were both physical and psychological and pertained to health and social issues of the community. Ultimately, the only remedy for the world was the return of Christ who would establish His perfect and eternal kingdom.

It was not as though the church had never sensed the relationship between the gospel and people's well-being. From their beginnings Adventists had also taught that Christ's ministry of mercy to the suffering was an example to His followers, hence a strong emphasis on health-care institutions. During the late nineteenth century J. H. Kellogg successfully directed Adventist energies in efforts

to relieve suffering, but his break with the church threw a cloud over these “Good Samaritan” activities, at least in the United States. For nearly the next half century the leading humanitarian activity in Adventist circles was the local Dorcas society where women tied quilts, processed used clothing, and led out in food collections for disaster victims.

It was sobering for the church at large to realize in the post-World War II era that with growing intensity Adventists were not immune to divorce, abusive behavior in many forms, the use of tobacco, alcohol and illegal drugs, the choice of questionable entertainment, and other problems that impacted their Christian experience and sometimes their membership. As devoted to the imminence of Christ’s return as they were, church leaders could not overlook other questions that plagued the world, such as poverty, disasters, war, abuse of the environment, disease, epidemics, illiteracy, prejudice aimed at ethnic and other minorities, sexism, and a host of other conditions that interfered with the well-being of people.

Leaders and members came to view the higher incidence of these issues in the church as a reflection of a higher incidence in society at large, and they found themselves increasingly concerned with the social well-being in addition to the spiritual well-being of the church. To many Adventists it appeared to be less than Christlike to ignore problems in the human experience and restrict themselves to doctrinal evangelism. It was with new meaning that they read the four Gospels of the New Testament which recorded far more details about Christ’s dealings with

the poor, the sick, and the discouraged than His doctrinal discussions with either His enemies or His friends.

To express its growing concern about the general scope of social problems, the church organized world relief and development programs, reexamined its treatment of members suffering from divorce and habits of substance abuse, and opened its all-male ministry to women. For some the church’s actions were not enough. Others thought the church was going too far and possibly relinquishing its time-proven positions. In the case of women in the ministry, the church faced a debate that pitted North America against the rest of the church. Whatever personal reaction to these new initiatives may have been, they caused soulsearching as well as discussion, and many Adventists emerged from these movements within the church with more conviction about the role of the church. Adventists had not been friendly toward the nineteenth-century social gospel in America, but during the last half of the twentieth century they developed their own social gospel in response to the world’s physical and social woes.

The Evolution of SAWS and ADRA

World War II was a turning point in Adventist humanitarianism. After the conflict, widespread devastation and famine dramatized the needs of millions. Dorcas activities in the United States expanded spectacularly as tons of food, clothes, and medical supplies flowed from Adventist churches to needy areas. Many local congregations established

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centers to collect and process items for distribution. Local conferences bought trucks and vans to transfer supplies and to serve as distribution units in disaster areas. Favorable publicity followed which press secretaries exploited.

The church also responded to natural disasters whose victims needed help no less than those hurt by the war. Earthquakes in Central America, Turkey, and the Philippines; hurricanes in the Caribbean; typhoons in Asia; famines in Africa; wars in the Middle East, Korea, and Southeast Asia, all produced dire suffering. In 1956 the General Conference created the Seventh-day Adventist Welfare Relief Service, Inc., to coordinate and

direct the church's international relief activities. For seventeen years it functioned as a part of Community Services which fell under the jurisdiction of the Lay Activities Department. In 1973 it changed its name to Seventh-day Adventist World Service to reflect its broader scope of activities than emergency relief. Known as SAWS, it developed working relationships with other humanitarian agencies such as CARE, the Red Cross, and Church World Service.

Published accounts vary, but measured in United States dollars the SAWS budget was between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000 in 1980, with the largest single source of funds coming from the



Adventists in many parts of the world participate in the denomination's program of development and disaster relief. This truck is loaded with clothing collected in Switzerland to be shipped to Algeria.

United States Agency for International Development. Of the more than twenty countries SAWS assisted, Peru, Chile, Haiti, the Philippines, and Brazil topped the list. Many of the agency's services were to improve community conditions such as widespread malnutrition and low agricultural productivity.

Because the purpose of this type of service was primarily to develop a community rather than to bring relief after a natural disaster or war, SAWS in effect became a development agency. This change represented a philosophical shift from SAWS' original purpose, which was a relief organization. In 1983 SAWS reorganized, changing its name to correspond

with its activities. Now known as the Adventist Development and Relief Agency, or ADRA, it continued to broaden its community agenda even further with the help of government money. Although food for the hungry remained the high priority item, its range of projects included, among others, well drilling, irrigation systems, maternal care education, construction of schools and health-care centers, and improving farming methods.

These activities raised the question of church-state relations. Not without concern, some Adventists saw copious amounts of money from the United States government converting ADRA into a government agency. They doubted that ADRA's constantly reiterated policy of refusing to engage in sectarian programs put enough distance between the church and the government to justify denominational involvement. Some wondered if these undertakings would associate the church too closely with the United States government and eventually the denomination would pay a price. Related to these doubts was the open admission that only government money enabled the church to carry out such a wide ranging agenda of development programs.

The questions were not enough to slow ADRA down. Organizations in world divisions beyond the United States sprang up where economic conditions were favorable and the critical mass of Adventists was large enough to support a program. ADRA offices in the Trans-European Division and in Canada cooperated to establish a new distribution center in Albania after the fall of the socialist



To bring relief to chronic human suffering became one of the purposes of SAWS and later ADRA. Here a starving Biafran child in a refugee camp receives help in 1968.

government in 1989. Through ADRA a church in the South Queensland Conference in Australia devoted its resources to sponsor orphans in India. The ADRA center in Australia arranged for free transport on state-owned railways for 750 tons of relief supplies to South Pacific countries hit by storms. During the famines in Africa in 1986 the Canadian ADRA office arranged shipment of a gift of food from the Canadian Foodgrains Bank to Sudan and Ethiopia. The Burpee and Harris seed companies in the United States donated enough seeds for 10,000 gardens in Ethiopia, and Dutch Interchurch Aid cooperated by funding a seminar to train local farmers in improved farming methods.

Leaders of the Bolivian ADRA center collaborated with the national government to provide medical and dental service in the hinterlands by outfitting a large river launch and railway cars as clinics. Previously, in 1986, ADRA in Bolivia began a program of hundreds of civic projects to retain earth on residential hillsides, to improve water supplies and sewer systems, and to pave streets. By 1994 the ADRA office in La Paz employed more than 130 persons, including a corps of thirty engineers, and operated a half dozen regional offices. It was one of the largest of ADRA operations in the world.

Because of its nonpolitical character, ADRA was able to penetrate barriers that had long divided parts of the world from each other. In 1987 ADRA signed an agreement with the People's Republic of China to provide clean water and to help increase the yield of apple orchards in Yishui County south of Beijing. Under

the terms of a training project, a group of Adventist hospital administrators presented a series of lectures in China in 1989, and the following year another delegation delivered a second series in Beijing and Shanghai. Meanwhile, four Chinese physicians completed a six-month exchange program in Adventist hospitals in California.

In 1990 ADRA opened a rehabilitation clinic in Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, to treat children who were injured or crippled in the 1988 earthquake. The center was large enough to accommodate fifty outpatients daily while treating seventy inpatients. During the conflict that split Yugoslavia into feuding countries in the early 1990s, ADRA ran a steady supply line of aid from other parts of Europe. After the chaos prevented mail delivery in Sarajevo, ADRA imported additional trucks to establish a private, neutral mail system that the opposing factions honored. North Korea demonstrated unprecedented openness to allow ADRA to deliver US\$500,000 in medicines and vitamins following destructive floods in 1995.

In 1996 ADRA joined a local agency in the central African republic of Zaire to plant 400,000 trees around Virunga National Park. In order to survive, a million refugees settling in the region had consumed existing wood supplies while at the same time destroying much of the habitat for the silverback gorilla, already an endangered species. The reforestation project not only helped Zaire to handle the human population but also protected the animals.

This kind of activity prompted questions, especially in the face of comments

by Adventist leaders regarding the social program of the World Council of Churches. Following the 1983 WCC Assembly meeting in British Columbia and the next session in Canberra, Australia in 1991, Adventist writers observed that the spiritual strength of the WCC was weakened because it had defined evangelism in terms of its social implications rather than to save people from sin. Its goal was to promote a "just, participatory and sustainable society." Given this observation, Adventists may have questioned why ADRA and its predecessor, SAWS, became so involved in humanitarian and community projects.

Unanimity among Adventists did not exist, but as ADRA gained momentum as a developmental agency, General Conference leaders began voicing their opinion that this kind of activity was more than something secondary or even parallel to the gospel; in some respects it was close to the heart of the gospel. General Conference president Neal Wilson cited Isaiah 58, an injunction to feed the hungry, to clothe those who are cold, and to assist the poor as well as to preach the Sabbath doctrine. The two aspects of the gospel were bound up together, he declared. Although he had not yet officially announced his program of Global Mission, he told the Adventist world that humanitarianism would be a part of a new global strategy for the church.

Yet Adventist humanitarianism was different from the social program of the ecumenical movement. Adventists saw the many faceted ADRA as an opening wedge for the church, despite its legally nonproselytizing character. It was a means

to publicize the name of the church in inhospitable places where it had never been successful or perhaps had never even been before. Denominational leaders believed that eventually an open Adventist presence would be made easier which would lead to conversions.

Of importance also was a view of humanitarianism by the church as the gospel in the sense that it was an impartial concern for the public well-being, similar to the expressions by Jesus about His concern when He healed the entire sick population in some villages. This demonstration of Christian character would come first, traditional ministry would follow. By contrast the World Council discouraged proselytizing.

The WCC discussed and sometimes took stands on political issues such as land distribution, international debt, and toxic waste dumping. Adventists had their individual opinions about these questions, but the church did not state an official position and thus remained free from political partisanship. ADRA attempted to transcend politics by concentrating on problems that knew no political boundaries such as hunger, sickness, and poverty.

ADRA's activity got attention. In 1995 Helgi Andersen, general secretary of ADRA Denmark, was appointed to the nine-member Executive Council that governed Danish Development Aid which operated under the Department of Foreign Affairs. Other members of the Council came from politics and industry. ADRA headquarters reported in 1997 that the United Nations had granted it consultative status by the Economic and Social

Council. With this authority, ADRA selected representatives to UN offices in Vienna, Austria, and Geneva, Switzerland. ADRA delegates were entitled to sit as observers, to contribute items to the agenda of the Economic and Social Council and to present oral statements.

However much Adventist thinking changed by affirming humanitarianism as the gospel, it was clear that the church's repeated emphasis on this work as an opening wedge for the church was an implicit caveat that it was not the total gospel. While the message of Christ's atonement for sin was to prepare believers for a better world to come, the immediate objective of ADRA was to make the world a better place without politicizing its program or making it a part of sectarian activity. ADRA leaders did not teach that Adventists or anyone else could make a permanently better world, but their efforts to relieve suffering drew attention to their respect for humanity as children of God who deserved physical well-being as well as the knowledge of Christ's return to this earth.

The Role of Women in the Church

Another issue that lit fires of heated debate around the Adventist world was an increasing sensitivity to the role that women played both in society and in the church. Adventist leaders and writers commonly acknowledged that women had made outstanding contributions to the development of the church. Between 1871 and 1883 three women had been treasurer of the General Conference. Until the Great Depression of the 1930s

some women occupied leadership roles, but financial cutbacks forced them from their positions in favor of men. Whatever the explanation for the paucity of women in influential positions at the midpoint of the twentieth century, their absence testified that women in leadership roles were exceptions rather than a commonplace.

Discussions of women's involvement in church affairs began in earnest after the United States Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Although intended primarily as a weapon against racist practices, the law's antidiscrimination provisions aptly fit many different groups, including women who perceived some denominational practices inimical to their interests. Under the rubric of "women's liberation" a mood of reform set in. It was a striking coincidence that a request to ordain women to the ministry reached the General Conference from the Finland Union in 1968.

This request was a straw in the wind. Five years later the Southern New England Conference in the United States passed a resolution urging the church to use competence rather than gender as a qualification for church office, and to open up the office of local elder and even pastoral positions to women. At the time, women made up less than 2 per cent of the General Conference Committee. The General Conference Spring Council in 1975 followed up by declaring all offices open to women if ordination was not a prerequisite, but the Council also went on record that women's primary roles were in the home. To strengthen this view the General Conference session later that same year, established a home and family

service under the direction of Delmar and Betty Holbrook.

It was Merikay Silver, an employee of the Pacific Press Publishing Association, who forced one aspect of gender equality by suing the PPPA in the early 1970s for violating the Civil Rights Act with policies of smaller wage and benefit packages for women. Lorna Tobler, another employee of the PPPA joined her. Both were terminated about three years after the case began, but the federal judge who heard the case ordered the PPPA to reinstate them. The women later received back pay. Repercussions from this judgment extended throughout the denomination; very rapidly differences in salary schedules and benefit packages based on gender disappeared.

A related matter that this case impacted was a new provision in the *Church Manual*, approved at the 1975 General Conference session in Vienna, Austria, that enabled the church to discipline members who sued the denomination or other members in contradiction to counsels from the Bible and Ellen White. Attorneys pointed out that church procedure was sometimes inadequate to settle some kinds of problems and that the *Church Manual* provision denied members their civil rights if they sought resolution of such issues. At the 1980 General Conference session in Dallas, Texas, the delegates reversed the 1975 action. While still counseling aggrieved members to exhaust church procedures to resolve problems, the reworded provision left the question of litigation to individual conscience, thus removing the vulnerability of the person to discipline.

Women were pleased with the new equality in salary policies, but more than equal pay, they were seeking a general spirit of equality perhaps best defined as a recognition of the personhood of women. While most of them did not want to embarrass the church as the Merikay case had done, they neither planned to slacken their activity. With denials that they sought position, they argued that lower pay scales had been symptomatic of a deeper problem, a demeaning stereotypical image of women restricted to clerical positions rather than in leadership roles.

With no reference to gender, in 1976 the General Conference extended the authority to baptize and solemnize weddings to licensed ministers. Some women were in this category of persons recognized as ministers, but they had not been ordained specifically to the gospel ministry and thus functioned with limitations. Two years later women in North America became eligible for ordination as local church elders, and in 1984 the church approved the same level of ordination for women in all parts of the world. By the mid-1980s women had assumed pastoral positions as commissioned ministers, but remained unordained to the gospel ministry and could not conduct baptisms or weddings.

The question of women's role in the church had become a double-barreled problem. Women agreed with church leaders that they played leading parts in the home by providing a unique ministry as caregivers and family nurturers, but they urged the church to pay more attention to the importance of this function

which they believed was a ministry as genuine as the traditional gospel ministry. A newly formed Association of Adventist Women provided a platform for women to discuss their aims and to plan ways to fulfill their aspirations to contribute to the denomination. Meeting for their third national conference in October 1985, they voted resolutions requesting more attention from the church be given to marriage and family matters, and specifically urged colleges to organize centers for women's studies. These actions emphasized the importance of women's unique contribution to the church, but the fact that a growing number of women occupied ministerial roles naturally led to the question of equality and ordination.

There was probably little question that the church at large viewed increased participation by women in church affairs favorably. Results of a questionnaire circulated in 1983 by the Institute of Church Ministry at Andrews University showed that a predominant number of religion teachers in forty Adventist colleges and universities around the globe welcomed more participation by women. However, on the question of ordination of women to the gospel ministry the majority of opinions of nearly 100 theologians from twenty-eight institutions outside North America were negative while North American religion teachers demonstrated overwhelming support.

By the mid-1980s the issue of ordination had become the nub of the women's movement. At the request of the General Conference, the North American Division studied the issue of women in

pastoral roles and recommended to the 1985 Annual Council that authority to baptize and officiate at weddings should be granted to women. The proposal precipitated a frank floor discussion that demonstrated the differing opinions by theologians and church leaders from the world divisions. Some held that one could not separate the ministerial functions of baptism and weddings from ordination, and since women were not eligible for ordination they could not fulfill all of the duties of pastors. Proponents of the North American proposal argued that it was a simple case of equality. Male licensed ministers could perform ministerial functions prior to their ordination to the gospel ministry, but female commissioned ministers employed as pastors or associate pastors were denied equal prerogatives.

The arguments revealed that most of the opinions favoring a theological explanation denying ordination of women originated outside North America, and that the church was polarizing along geographic and national lines. The result was a vote to defer a decision to allow further study of the issue. The Annual Council also established a General Conference Women's Ministries Advisory Council to promote moderate affirmative action favoring women in all aspects of denominational employment that did not require ordination. The women's movement had not promoted ordination as an end in itself, but it had become obvious that if female pastors were to fulfill customary pastoral duties, which included baptisms and weddings, the question of ordination would have to be resolved.

Study commissions met three times beginning in 1985 to discuss women's ordination to the gospel ministry. In 1989, the Commission on the Role of Women recommended that the denomination should not authorize ordination of women as gospel ministers. Women with appropriate training who were already in pastoral work should perform the normal ministerial functions, including baptisms and marriages, with the approval of their division office.

This decision appeared to be only a half loaf to supporters of women's ordination but to its opponents it was a compromise. The church had reached an impasse. Despite prolonged study and debate, the Commission had not developed a theological consensus either for or against ordination based on Scripture or Ellen White's writings. Leaders from many world divisions were fearful that ordaining women to the gospel ministry would divide the church, even producing schism in some places. They argued that societies they represented were not ready to accept female clerics and the church would suffer rather than benefit by a denominational policy permitting women's ordination.

By contrast, North American church leaders faced constituencies that saw the question as a matter of equality and were determined to deal with it accordingly. Each side pled with the other for understanding. Their debate produced new policies fostering equality in employment practices and encouraged all levels of church administration to establish women's ministries organizations, but referred the increasingly thorny issue of ordination to the 1990 General Conference

session in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Delegates to the world gathering spent nearly twelve hours during three days arguing their opinions about two ordination proposals. The first would permit ordination of women to the gospel ministry. Without specifically mentioning women, the second would revise the *Church Manual* to allow both licensed and commissioned ministers who have been ordained as local elders to conduct marriages with the approval of their division committee. Opponents of ordination of women to the gospel ministry defeated the first motion by a three to one margin. The second one passed by a three to two margin.

Although the voting pattern defied neatly drawn lines, it was apparent that the North American Division found itself in the minority. Before the 1995 General Conference in Utrecht, Netherlands, the NAD prepared a proposal that would leave the decision to ordain women to the gospel ministry in the hands of the world divisions, which meant that women's ordination would become a policy of the divisions rather than the General Conference. The practical result would allow divisions to permit ordination of women to the gospel ministry similarly as they permitted licensed or commissioned ministers to baptize or conduct weddings. The proposal would allow enough flexibility at the division level to accommodate differences in policy according to regional social expectations.

This proposal prompted a short but animated exchange on the floor with arguments falling into three categories. First was the pragmatic view of the North American Division which again argued

that because the church could not agree on a theology of ordination the question was essentially a matter of equality between men and women. The second was theological, diametrically opposed to the equality argument, holding that indeed, ordination of women was contrary to biblical teaching. The third was conclusive—adoption of the North American Division proposal would jeopardize church unity. Many repeated the arguments heard five years earlier. Others saw the proposal as an attempt by the North American Division to sidestep the vote at Indianapolis. In the end, the two negative arguments carried the day and the NAD motion lost—again, by a three to one margin. Few Adventists had changed their minds since Indianapolis.

But for all of the high pitched activity at Indianapolis and Utrecht, pressure to ordain women relaxed. In North America the Commission on Women in Ministry recommended policy changes to eliminate gender bias, higher visibility of women speakers by increasing the number of their appointments, and merging the job functions of the commissioned minister with that of the fully ordained pastor. Indeed, after Utrecht local churches in North America ordained women, but congregations had no authority to issue credentials to the gospel ministry equivalent to those held by men ordained with the approval from conferences. The practical effect was that women pastors received a right to function as ministers although their credential was less than a full ordination contemplated by the North American Division proposal.

Since the early 1980s women's retreats had become a popular medium for women to generate a sense of community and to foster commitment and spiritual activity. After Indianapolis women's activities in the world divisions became a more prominent part of the Adventist story. Before the Utrecht session the church had designated 1995 as the year of the Adventist Woman. In the spring of that year, the Women's Ministries office of the General Conference began publishing *Women of Spirit*, whose purpose was to promote spirituality and Christian witnessing by Adventist women of the world and to "affirm their place of service in the body of Christ."

Starting as a quarterly journal but becoming a bimonthly publication in its second year, its pages were conspicuously devoid of talk about ordination but filled with discussion by women concerning the uniqueness of their role in the family and the church. Among other matters, women encouraged each other in soul-winning activities and extended spiritual support in coping with the devastation of divorce, the loneliness of single life, and problems caused by wayward children, as well as general questions of being a wife and homemaker. Secluded for many years within the impenetrable walls of the home, sensitive domestic problems were now out in the open, even in Adventist society. Women wanted to be able to discuss them openly, not only for mutual benefit, but as worshipers in the same church and as mothers and nurturers of the next generation of Adventists.

The issue of ordination had injected international friction in the church,

but it was the other aspect of women's ministries, a sense of the uniqueness of women's needs and roles, that leaders of the movement capitalized upon to generate an international appeal. Rose Otis, General Conference women's ministries director, repeatedly informed readers of *Women of Spirit* about accounts of women's activities in all corners of the globe. Women were conducting evangelistic meetings in remote places of the world, promoting literacy among mothers and their children through reading classes, cooperating with ADRA in special projects for women, conducting health seminars, supporting orphanages,



Rose Otis, a prominent voice in the Adventist women's ministries movement, was instrumental in developing an annual devotional book for women, some of the income from which was used to provide scholarships for Adventist women.

and transcending cultural barriers by cultivating family values.

As the end of the twentieth century approached, thoughtful Adventists could look back on a thirty-year debate that revealed much about the character of the church. Probably nothing had so publically portrayed the globalization of Adventism as this issue. It had absorbed more energy of General Conference delegates at two successive sessions than any other question. Discussion rules at Utrecht required equal time for both sides. Of the fourteen delegates who spoke in favor of ordination of women only one represented a field outside North America and Europe; the majority came from the United States. All fourteen of those speaking against the proposal represented locations outside those two regions, the majority from Africa and Latin America where the church was growing most rapidly. As at Indianapolis, it was the non-North American sector of Adventism that decided the matter.

The action reflected the tension between the part of the church with the most members and the part that furnished most of the money. No one was saying that money should decide policy, but many North Americans thought that their proposal struck a reasonable compromise that would permit fields to decide the issue without dictating a blanket policy for the entire denomination. It was not possible to measure the intensity of the problem, but while some argued that the action at Utrecht protected the world church from divisiveness, it also risked an undermining backlash in places in North America.

Instead of using the early popular term “women’s liberation,” Adventist women chose the more positive title, “women’s ministries” to describe their movement. It conveyed that their overarching objective was not just liberation from a male-dominated system but rather to provide opportunities for women to minister to the needs of people. Equality was a means to an end. Although women found many ways to minister both to themselves and to the church, the events at both Indianapolis and Utrecht left men with sole eligibility to ordination to the gospel ministry while not excluding women from actually doing the work of ordained men.

The number of women serving in administrative roles remained low, but was improving. Also, more women, under the compelling conviction of a call to minister, were assuming pastoral functions. In 1989 the Commission on the Role of Women estimated the number of women pastors, worldwide, to be approximately forty, a statistic that approximated 300 in 1997. Many of these women baptized new members and officiated at weddings. An example was Drene Somasundram, the new pastor of the Peterborough congregation in England, who made headlines in 1997 as the first woman pastor in the British Union to baptize and to conduct a wedding. Women performed these ministerial functions as commissioned ministers, locally ordained, but not as ordained ministers of the gospel with a universally recognized credential.

The reality of a rapidly increasing number of ministering women became a reminder that the conflict between the theology of ordination enunciated at Utrecht

and the pragmatic question of equality remained unresolved. Despite the votes at the 1990 and 1995 General Conference sessions, events demonstrated that the debate no longer turned on the question of women’s qualifications or their sense of a calling to ministerial work, but why the church did not completely recognize the ministry they were performing.

Divorce and Remarriage

As the issue of women’s ministries evolved, the question of marriage, divorce, and remarriage became a prime topic for women to discuss. Actually, the question concerned both men and women because they both suffered the disruptive results of broken homes and as divorcees they both sometimes faced denominational policies that altered their relation with the church if not jeopardizing their membership. Many women found themselves particularly vulnerable with custody of children but with no careers on which to rely for a livelihood.

The church had long taught that divorce was justifiable only on grounds of adultery and that a divorced person could not remarry until after the death of the estranged spouse or unless he or she was the innocent party in an adulterous situation. The church typically disfellowshipped members who remarried if they were the guilty partner in a divorce. Although Adventist leaders developed this teaching in the nineteenth century, it was not until 1925 that the General Conference Committee formalized it into a position that was both a policy that affected church membership and a doctrine based

on texts in the New Testament Gospels. In 1932 it appeared in the first edition of the *Church Manual*.

Until the late 1940s, the church held as closely as possible to this position. But questions arose. The church held that divorcees who remarried without biblical grounds lived in constant adultery and could never regain their membership. Many members believed this policy said, in effect, that divorce and remarriage based on any reason other than adultery was a sin that the church could not forgive. Some questioned the biblical basis for that position when some who had remarried in spite of the policy gave evidence of their spiritual commitment and a sincere desire to resume their church membership. Such disaffected members knew no other way to accomplish this than to break up their second home, even if neither spouse wanted to separate. This solution seemed unfair to children of the second marriage. The question became more complicated when converts who had divorced and remarried before accepting Adventism encountered no problem in becoming members. And, as the church spread to regions where polygamy existed, church leaders faced an entirely new set of problems in dealing with converted wives of one man or converted husbands with multiple wives.

In response to a study by A. V. Olson, a General Conference vice-president who, in the 1940s, scrutinized the question of divorce and remarriage, the church changed the wording of the policy in 1950. The *Church Manual* now took the position that separation from the church was not permanent, but it required divor-

cees who had remarried to remain outside the church for a period long enough to restore confidence in their sincerity for reinstatement.

While this change eliminated the “unforgivable” aspect of divorce and remarriage, it did not end questions and inconsistencies. Because rebaptism was a matter for pastors to decide in consultation with conference officials, individuals received differing treatment according to the persons dealing with the problem. In 1972 General Conference leaders established a new committee consisting of marriage counselors and other professionals in the behavioral sciences as well as pastors to review these issues. After four years of study the committee recommended no substantive change in the policy but issued guidelines in evaluating the spiritual condition of persons caught in the marriage-divorce-remarriage tangle, and urged more caution at the conference level when dealing with them.

If the “unforgivable” element in the earliest version of official church policy raised doubts, a progressive increase in the divorce rate outside the church also contributed to the change. Post-World War II society produced a mentality that accepted divorce and remarriage as a viable alternative to the “till death do us part” portion of the marriage vow. Adventists could not avoid the influence of these social conditions.

From the 1970s onward church leaders wrestled with the conflict between the impact of social change on the church and the integrity of church policy. The upshot was a growing reluctance by pastors to disfellowship divorcees and

an increasing tendency to regard them as special objects of redemptive efforts. Motivated by a conviction that the church should be a place for healing, in 1981 members of the Pioneer Memorial Church at Andrews University developed a seminar for divorcees to help them cope with their grief, anger, and feelings of isolation. The seminar leaders made no attempt to become judgmental in matters of the innocence or guilt of parties to a divorce.

In an attempt to understand the problem facing church pastors and aggrieved members, some theologians took another look at church policy. Arguing that the marriage vow consists of more than a commitment to sexual integrity, some concluded that spouses violate the marriage vow when their abusiveness destroys the personhood of their mates and their children even though their behavior is not adulterous. Questions arose that asked if freedom from these situations was not a justifiable reason for a separation instead of a divorce. But even this apparently easy solution was not as easy as supposed, for a legal separation as in the United States was not available in some other countries except through divorce.

As the twentieth century neared its end Adventists could see more change in the manner in which the church implemented official policy than in the substance of the policy itself. While some were advocating that there were justifiable reasons for divorce other than infidelity, the policy still remained. But once the church agreed that after an appropriate demonstration of good faith divorcees could resume their membership even if

they remarried in violation of official policy, the church moved from viewing the policy as a punishment to one of protection of the home. After studying the problem for five years, in 1997 a committee in the Pacific Union in the United States submitted a proposal to change the wording of the *Church Manual* to convey the redemptive intent in the manner of implementing the divorce and remarriage policy. In September 1997 a twenty-member commission representing the global church met in England to begin a long-term examination of the breakdown of the home and how divorce had impacted the world church.

It is probably safe to say that the nineteenth-century denominational leaders who developed the divorce and remarriage policy depended on the high esteem in which Adventists held their church membership to maintain enduring marriages. Human nature and social change have been frequently blamed for what some viewed as a compromised policy at the end of the twentieth century. Without denying the influence of society on the church, others added that the manner of church implementation of its divorce and remarriage policy inadvertently led to the impression that Adventists were more anti-remarriage than anti-divorce.

From this attitude it had been easy for members to infer that the church viewed home and family as less important than doctrinal positions and that the church was more interested in punitive measures than in helping persons suffering from a broken marriage. The result of years of experience was a growing consciousness that the church should become proactive

rather than reactive in protecting the sanctity of the home and the mutual commitments of spouses.

If church policy regarding divorce at least partially reflected social trends, the church's concern for family values also resulted from a growing public mood that focused on the importance of the home. In the United States the question even became an important ingredient in presidential campaigns; politicians spoke openly about how much the social integrity of the country depended on stable homes. In view of the growing concern about family integrity, the General Conference created a new entity, Family Ministries, which traced its origins to 1975, but not until 1995 did the *SDA Yearbook* list this office independently from other departments. In keeping with the family spirit, the General Conference had placed husband and wife Delmer and Betty Holbrook in charge of this group's early activities in the 1970s. For those who greeted the formation of a separate department as long overdue, it was an appropriate irony that the General Conference continued to ignore its guards against nepotism by appointing Ronald and Karen Flowers, another husband and wife team, in charge as co-directors.

Substance Abuse

Ever since the denomination organized a temperance program promoting abstinence from tobacco, alcohol, and drugs, the emphasis was to reach people beyond the church. A new twist in the denominational temperance movement

appeared following World War II when an upsurge of alcohol consumption and the drug epidemic of the 1960s and 70s occurred. In part, the social upheaval, especially among North American youth that coincided with the Vietnam War, contributed to this increase in substance abuse. Suspicion by church leaders that illicit use of drugs and alcohol consumption was on the rise among Adventists, especially the youth, prompted denominational leaders in 1985 to create the Study Commission on Chemical Dependency and the church to investigate the issue.

Preliminary findings were disturbing. Winton Beaven, a veteran educator and temperance leader, told the 1985 Annual Council that in spite of the Adventist position of abstinence as a condition of church membership, alcohol usage was indeed a problem among Adventists. Paradoxically, while society was experiencing an increase in alcohol and drug use, temperance education within the church had seriously weakened.

Already the church's Institute of Alcoholism and Drug Dependency, headquartered at Andrews University, had been working on the problem. Led by Patricia Mutch of the Home Economics Department, the Institute's initial study, which formed the basis for Beaven's report in 1985, was done on students in Adventist secondary schools in the United States. During the next half dozen years the Institute gathered statistics showing that about a quarter of college-aged Adventists used alcohol, and that approximately 15 percent of adults and secondary school students drank some

form of alcoholic beverage. One of the most unsettling findings was the discovery that a third of the adults were either uncertain of the biblical basis for the denomination's prohibition of alcohol or disagreed with it. Although the use rates of alcohol and drugs among Adventists were much lower than those of society in general, documentation that members were rejecting the denomination's teachings jolted the church.

The first step after documenting the existence of the problem was to inform the church that a change in Adventist thinking would be critical if prevention and treatment procedures were to succeed. Conventional Adventist wisdom held that victories over addiction occurred *before* baptism, and that relapse was a deliberate choice. It followed that pastors commonly reacted by disfellowshipping persistent users of tobacco and alcohol.

While some chided the church for its desire to avoid the embarrassment of admitting the problem, the Institute also found that the majority of Adventists who had never completely overcome their addictions were unwilling to risk exposure by divulging their predicament to their pastors. If indeed the church had lived in denial it was humbled enough not to conceal its seriousness about cleaning up the situation. Over a five-year period beginning in 1987 three sets of articles appeared in the *Review*, complete with graphs, exposing the extent of the problem, explaining its psychological nature, and advising what changes in Adventist thinking would have to occur to enable the church to deal with it successfully.

The Institute called for lesser emphasis on punitive measures and more attention on prevention, but the church had allowed temperance education in Adventist schools to lapse and had never developed a recovery program for its own members. While not as high as drinking, the incidence of drug use complicated the situation. Although no one said it explicitly, it was clear that while the denomination had been busy fighting alcohol outside the church, it had taken too much for granted with its own members.

Even before the Institute completed its studies it was sure enough about the problem to submit ninety-five recommendations to the 1987 Annual Council. The primary corrective measures included specific curricular changes in Adventist schools to include temperance education and increased emphasis on training pastors to handle cases in their congregations. Probably the most innovative proposal was the Youth to Youth program that prepared Adventist young people to conduct a peer prevention campaign.

These events singled out North American Adventists even though alcohol and drugs were both world plagues. In 1992 Thomas Neslund, director of the denomination's International Commission for the Prevention of Alcoholism and Drug Dependency, joined Pat Mutch to export the Youth to Youth program to Russia. Using experienced American young people, they conducted a three-week session at the Adventist seminary in Zaoski, about 120 kilometers south of Moscow, and followed with a youth conference in Moscow where the newly

trained Russian youth worked with peers from many places in the former Soviet Union. It was the intention of the leaders of Youth to Youth to hone their program and adapt it for global implementation.

Other Social Issues

Notwithstanding their tendency to remain politically neutral even in view of the importance of social issues, Adventist leaders did not shy away from political situations. In 1985 the approach of the denominational Week of Prayer coincided with a meeting between United States President Ronald Reagan and USSR Communist Party Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. This gave General Conference president Neal Wilson the opportunity to urge the superpower leaders to halt the arms race that consumed huge sums of money which could better be spent to relieve poverty. He assured them that Adventists would be praying for the conference during the Week of Prayer. Two years later in February 1987 Wilson headed a delegation of Adventists to the Soviet Union to urge the communist government to grant more liberty of conscience. At the same time he made available to Russia Adventists' skills in health care and their expertise in operating health-care institutions.

During the 1990 General Conference session denominational leaders released a position statement about pornography, assault weapons, poverty, AIDS, family values, ecology, and chemical dependency, all issues that affected societies and politics around the world. Regarding each issue the statement supplied scriptural justification

for a Christian position. While the paper was official in the sense that it came from the General Conference, it expressed only a consensus because the delegates had not discussed or voted an official position. Official policy or not, the statement was the voice of the church speaking out on issues of global concern and as such it represented a change in denominational practice. The church was not advocating political activism by the statement, but it was as close as the church had gone to recognize that handling social issues was not alien or unimportant to biblical teachings and the practice of Christianity.

The process continued at the 1992 Annual Council when the General Conference Committee voted official statements regarding moral issues that had also become worldwide social problems. The two statements that dealt with abortion and care for the aged and dying confirmed the church's recognition of the sanctity of life, but stopped short of an official church policy on either abortion or euthanasia. Instead, they intended to provide pastoral guidance for members puzzled by dilemmas when they faced these problems. Regarding temperance the church reiterated its historic stand on the use of alcohol. Another statement on the environment spelled out the duty of Christians to respect the natural world as a part of God's creation and to employ natural resources to satisfy the legitimate improvement of the quality of life rather than selfish gratification.

At the end of the twentieth century the predominant effort of Adventists was still to reach the world evangelistically with the message of God's saving grace. They

preached a new heaven and a new earth, but world events had drawn attention to chronic human misery in many parts of the world. Rising expectations of human dignity created tensions unknown to previous generations. With growing conviction in the post-World War II era, Adventists came to believe that in order

to portray the compassionate and saving Christ about whom they preached they needed to devote more of their energy to the bleeding, hungry, and fragmented world around them and to cultivate more tenderness in dealing with these conditions if they found them within the church.

Suggested Topical Reading:

General statements on social issues:

“Taking a Stand,” *Adventist Review*, December 31, 1992, pp. 11-15, is the first set of position papers issued by Adventists on social issues.

Doug Morgan, “The Millenium and Dr. King,” *Adventist Review*, February 22, 1990, pp. 11, 12, responds to the question of social justice and Adventists.

Michael Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas* (1990), studies Adventism as a movement of ethics and morals in light of the tensions that have developed since the pioneer years of the church.

SAWS and ADRA:

Harrison W. John, “SAWS Expands Its Focus,” *Spectrum*, vol. 12, no. 3, April 1982, pp. 15-21, discusses the transformation of SAWS into a development agency and its dependence on financial support from the United States government.

Lamar Phillips, “Government Invites ADRA Cooperation,” *Adventist Review*, January 17, 1991, pp. 20-22, and “Adventists Rated First in Development Aid,” *ibid.*, August 8, 1991, pp. 20, 21, and “Bolivia Hosts Largest of World’s 60 ADRA Agencies,” *ibid.*, April 14, 1994, pp. 18, 19, present an overview of ADRA work in Bolivia.

Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, vol. 2, (1992), pp. 476-499, traces the evolution of small church activities in the 1940s into ADRA.

Role of women in the church:

Patrick Allen, “The Depression and the Role of Women in the Seventh-day Adventist Church,” *Adventist Heritage*, vol. 11, no. 3, fall 1986, pp. 48-54, narrates the demise of women’s roles in church officialdom.

Brenda J. Butka, "Women's Liberation," *Spectrum*, vol. 3, no. 4, autumn 1971, pp. 22-28, is an early statement calling for gender equality in the church.

Tom Dybdahl, "Merikay and the Pacific Press," *Spectrum*, vol. 7 no. 2, summer 1975, pp. 44-53, explains the details and implications of this historic legal battle.

Roger L. Dudley, "Religion teachers' opinions on the role of women," *Ministry*, August 1987, pp. 14-18, discloses the unity and divergences in world opinion about women's role in the church.

Record, January 14, 1995, is an entire issue of the official paper of the South Pacific Division devoted to women's ministries.

Samuel Bacchiocchi, *Women in the Church* (1987), calls for expanded roles of women in the church but opposes their ordination.

Nancy Vyhmeister, *Women in Ministry* (1998), advocates ordination of women in recognition of their growing contributions and responsibilities in the church.

Divorce:

Robert M. Johnston, "Unfaithfulness to the marriage vow," *Ministry*, November 1994, pp. 14-16, is a thoughtful comment on denominational policy regarding divorce.

Jeanne Jordan, "Divorcees and the Church," *Adventist Review*, April 7, 1988, pp. 18-20, tells the story of the establishing of a divorce fellowship seminar.

Substance abuse:

Patricia Mutch, et. al., "Chemical Dependency," *Adventist Review*, a four-part series, November 5, 12, 19, and 26, 1987, calls for new Adventist attitudes toward addiction in its various forms.

Duane McBride, et. al., "Adventists, Drugs, and a Changing Church," *Adventist Review*, June 1, 1989, pp. 12-15, discloses the extent of substance use among Adventists.

Homosexuality:

This topic is not covered in this chapter, but the following is recommended:

Ministry, September 1981, an entire issue devoted to the church's efforts to deal with this question.

Elvin Benton, "Adventists Face Homosexuality," *Spectrum*, vol. 3, no. 3, April 1982, pp. 32-38, reviews church action on homosexuality.

Ronald M. Springett, *Homosexuality in History and the Scriptures* (1988), is a study commissioned by the Biblical Research Institute to place homosexuality in historical and scriptural perspective. The final chapter discusses implications for the church.

The Health Movement

Seventh-day Adventists' teachings on health that Ellen White launched in 1863 with her counsel on healthful living evolved into the single most complex church endeavor outside of pastoral work and evangelism. It was a common denominational dictum that the health movement was the right arm of the message, but at times during the early years of their preaching, Adventists thought they were the only ones advocating a practical application of Paul's declaration that even what Christians ate and drank should be to God's glory.

Even though they were absorbed in presenting a cure for the sickness of sin, Adventists did not lose Dr. John Harvey Kellogg's vision of improving the human condition by serving as a good Samaritan to the world's sick. As the denomination grew, this biblical image of medical care broadened into a wide range of

health activities that became the church's most impressive success in the general category of social issues. Sanitariums, hospitals, on-going programs against tobacco, alcohol and other substances, and improved diet became major items on the Adventist agenda. In many instances people benefited from the denomination's health-care institutions and public programs by simply enjoying the repair of broken bodies; in some cases health-care, as simple or as sophisticated as it may have been, was the beginning point for the spread of the saving gospel. On occasion, a clinic, a medically equipped river launch, or some other health-oriented venture was the means of establishing an Adventist presence.

The church spoke out against common practices that were injurious to health but which people were prone to defend. Adventists helped to expose and

agitate against businesses whose products, such as tobacco and alcohol, endangered the well-being of the public. While the church enjoyed a degree of success in these campaigns, it was only after it developed attractive dietary alternatives and positive help for persons suffering from addictions that the health movement flourished.

Growth in Adventist Health-care

Adventists had ample reasons to believe that their health movement was the right arm of their message. Dr. A. W. Truman, at the time medical secretary of the world church, told the 1926 General Conference session that the 3000 converts in the Solomon Islands were largely the result of medical missionary contacts. From Burma Eric B. Hare observed that the missionary's best allies were medicines, music, and picture projectors—magic lanterns. These observations were encouraging. Even as Truman spoke 3500 Adventist physicians and nurses operated thirty-four sanitariums that served 30,000 persons annually around the world, but as good as these statistics sounded, progress in establishing health-care centers had been uneven during the sixty years since the founding of the Western Health Reform Institute in 1866.

Adventist medical work outside the United States was most highly developed in northern and central Europe where the denomination had established seven sanitariums and a half dozen treatment rooms. The conferences in the German Union each employed a full-time nurse to travel from church to church, delivering health

lectures, training members to give simple treatments, and spreading health literature.

In Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific islands, Adventist medical workers were rare in the 1920s. At midpoint in the decade only a handful of doctors and nurses was available to the millions in China. The church had about twenty-five health-care units in Asia, most of them in China and India that were classified as dispensaries that nurses could supervise. On the Tibetan border Dr. J. N. Andrews, grandson of Adventism's first official missionary to a non-American field, operated a small dispensary with the help of his wife. There was only one Adventist doctor in the Belgian Congo, one in Mozambique, three in Southern Asia, and none in Japan. At Malamulo Mission in Nyasaland Dr. Carl Birkenstock treated fifty persons a day in inadequate quarters and established the first Adventist hospital for lepers.

Foreign physicians encountered extreme difficulty in validating their credentials in Latin America where they usually practiced under severe limitations. Such were the circumstances in Argentina where Dr. Robert H. Habenicht founded River Plate Sanitarium in the first decade of the century. Until a small clinic opened in Peru in 1923 this institution was the only Adventist health-care center in the South American Division. F. H. and Ana Stahl, trained only in rudimentary nursing and hydrotherapy and thus exempt from the physicians' credential battle, created an Adventist legend among the indigenous tribes of the Andes and the upper Amazon. Although some

self-supporting physicians braved the odds in the Inter-American Division by 1926, the denomination had officially placed no doctors in that field.

By 1950 the Adventist medical ministry had advanced remarkably. During the 1940s sanitariums opened in Mexico, Nicaragua, and Jamaica while another was under construction in Puerto Rico, all in the Inter-American Division. In Africa, new Adventist hospitals were going up in Basutoland, Barotseland, Tanganyika, and Uganda. Others were appearing in Brazil, Pakistan, and Iraq. Ninety physicians graduated annually from the church's medical school and nearly 300 nurses came from church-sponsored nursing programs.

During the next twenty-five years changes in Adventist medical work were even more dramatic. By 1975, the church operated more than 400 health-care centers around the world, including dispensaries, clinics, and launches, treating 4,500,000 persons annually. The services they rendered came from small locations such as floating clinics on South American rivers, or a twelve-bed hospital in the Solomon Islands, or from imposing hospitals like the Loma Linda University Medical Center. Twenty years later, in 1995, these figures rose to more than 500 institutions and the patient list exceeded 7,000,000.

If the size of the denomination's medical ministry changed spectacularly, so did its character. Originally, Dr. Kellogg and other church leaders established sanitariums where patients regained their health with help from doctors and nurses who taught them how to stay well by trying to

restructure their lifestyle. The average stay in a sanitarium frequently stretched into weeks. After World War II escalating costs of medical treatment in North America forced the concept of a sanitarium to give way to the acute-care hospital. Insurance companies looked askance at institutions that could not discharge their patients in a week or ten days. Technological advances in surgery and modifications in post-operative recovery techniques also reduced patient stays drastically, sometimes to mere hours.

These changes first impacted North American denominational health-care but soon spread to other parts of the world. Wherever change occurred one overarching principle remained: whether in tiny dispensaries, older sanitariums that still remained, or large medical centers, health-care workers became increasingly conscious of the positive effect of Christian care on their patients, as short as their stays were.

The leading force in reshaping the role of Adventist health-care came from the school of medicine at Loma Linda University in combination with a new teaching hospital that served as the clinical facility for medical students. For decades after the school of medicine started, instruction took place in divided locations, but in 1962 preparations began to concentrate all instruction on the Loma Linda campus and to erect a large hospital to serve as a clinical facility. By the 1970s this educational center became a complex university, training a wide variety of health-care professionals. As early as 1937 a program in medical technology began. To this course the school added

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curricula in therapeutic treatments, dietetics, anesthesia, and medical records. In 1966 all these programs joined to form the School of Allied Health Professions. A School of Tropical and Preventive Medicine opened in 1948, which eventually became the School of Public Health. The School of Dentistry began in 1951. One of the earliest programs, nursing, grew into the School of Nursing.

While Loma Linda was evolving into an educational center for health-care professions, the School of Medicine developed an international reputation in open-heart surgery. Successful cardiac surgery in 1961 on a three-year-old Pakistani girl who had miraculously journeyed to Loma Linda,

prompted her compatriots to deluge the United States Embassy in Karachi with requests for assistance to go to the same place for medical help. University administrators decided it would be easier to take Loma Linda to Pakistan. Notwithstanding the elaborate equipment involved, a heart team including cardiologist Joan Coggin and two more surgeons, an anesthesiologist, a nurse skilled in cardiac care, and a heart-lung technician journeyed to Karachi, where they remained nearly six weeks to perform forty-four operations, sometimes working eighteen hours a day. It was the first open-heart surgery in Pakistan.

On the way back to Loma Linda the



Loma Linda University Medical Center, from which came noteworthy advances in heart transplants and treatment of disease.

team visited a Christian hospital in India and Adventist health-care centers in Thailand and Taiwan. The United States Department of State called the trip a smashing success and United States Vice President Lyndon Johnson told the team members they had done more than anyone else to advance good feeling between Pakistan and the United States.

This experience was the beginning of a tradition. Trips to Greece in 1967 and 1969 included instruction in techniques of open-heart surgery to local physicians. In 1975 and 1976 the team traveled to Saudi Arabia, a country closed to Christian work, to operate at a military hospital. One result was an agreement with the Saudi government to send Arab doctors to Loma Linda to learn open-heart surgery. Through the 1980s and 1990s the Heart Team continued its international treks, carrying not only healing but a message of humanitarian good will from the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Loma Linda's reputation spread to other developing countries. In 1984 Ramdas M. Pai, medical director at Kasturba Medical College in India, visited the LLUMC campus to initiate an agreement between his institution and Loma Linda. An exchange program was established permitting Loma Linda medical instructors to teach at Kasturba and Indian physicians to take inservice training at Loma Linda. Funding for this exchange program came from the Southern Asia Division. Within six years twenty-nine Kasturba faculty took advantage of opportunities at Loma Linda and nineteen LLUMC faculty taught classes in India. Also benefiting from this

arrangement were Adventist medical students at Kasturba who received special recognition to avoid conflicts between their Sabbath observance and their study programs.

Through the philanthropic activities of Sir Run Run Shaw, a Hong Kong film magnate, the blessings of Loma Linda flowed to China. A gift of \$10 million from this businessman to the Zhejiang Provincial Government was the linchpin in the erection of a general acute-care hospital for Zhejiang Medical University in Hangzhou, a city in his home province of the People's Republic. Prior to its opening in 1992, Sir Run Run Shaw Hospital signed a five-year agreement with Loma Linda Medical Center that called for LLUMC to furnish administrative, instructional, and technical personnel to the Chinese teaching hospital. The Sir Run Run Shaw Hospital would also become a center for post-graduate instruction for Chinese physicians.

By 1995 Loma Linda had arranged five affiliations with university dentistry programs in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and fifteen additional affiliations with health-care centers in India, China, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Singapore, Taiwan, Israel, Japan, and Russia. These agreements included programs in dentistry, medicine, and respiratory therapy. Although not proselytizing efforts in the sense of evangelistic meetings, these affiliations established an Adventist presence based on humanitarian interests. Motivating these agreements was the belief that just as Adventists took elementary education to the illiterate during their early mission program, they now could

improve the global sense of human dignity by contributing to the advancement of health-care professions on the home soil of other societies.

One of the most influential factors in Loma Linda's growing international reputation was the heart transplant program pioneered by Dr. Leonard Bailey. In 1984 he and his associates startled the world by transplanting a baboon's heart in an anonymous, two-week-old infant known as Baby Fae. The case became one of the top news stories in the world; it also fomented a storm among ethicists who argued about details of the procedure, especially using animals as a source of spare body parts for humans. At the request of Loma Linda University the National Institutes of Health investigated the case. While suggesting improvements in procedural matters dealing with consent, the NIH rendered an unmistakably favorable judgment.

Adventists also debated the ethical issues of the Baby Fae surgery, adding the question of whether the denominational medical school should seriously engage in academic medicine or restrict itself to general care. The exchanges were occasionally vehement but not divisive as some doctrinal questions had been. However strong some of the objections, the appeal of life for helplessly dying children won the argument. Baby Fae died about three weeks after her surgery, but her death fueled Bailey's determination to perfect his technique in newborn babies afflicted with hypoplastic left heart syndrome, a lethal condition that ended babies' lives sometimes only days after their birth. Using human hearts, by the end of 1996 Bailey

had performed more than 200 transplants on babies under six months of age. The youngest was only three hours old. After twelve years of these surgeries, the survival rate was three out of four.

Bailey had not been the first to attempt heart transplants on infants, but he had perfected the procedure and clearly became the leader in the field. In March, 1990, less than six years after the Baby Fae experience, Loma Linda University conducted the first International Conference on Pediatric Heart Transplantation. Approximately 500 doctors, nurses, and social workers attended from the United States and twenty-three other countries. Among the attendees were twenty-one visiting scholars in academic medicine from the United States, Canada, and Europe.

Other projects were underway as well. In 1990, following nearly two decades of research, Loma Linda began the world's first hospital-based proton treatment for cancer patients. By 1996 the Proton Treatment Center had treated 2000 patients and had developed a capability of handling 100 a day. The LLUMC was also participating in research and treatment of Parkinson's disease by refining pallidotomy surgery, a procedure that produces a near-immediate cure.

Besides affiliations and academic medical programs, Loma Linda's faculty also conducted medical and dental clinics among the Navajo Indians in the American Southwest, and in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. Social action groups provided free medical assistance in some of the poorer neighborhoods near the university.

Before Loma Linda had contributed to any medical breakthroughs, Adventist physicians in Brazil developed a treatment for savage fire, or *fogo selvagem* as the Brazilians called it. No one knew a cure for this repulsive ailment characterized by painful open sores and blisters that compelled victims to scratch themselves desperately; sometimes they lapsed into unconsciousness. A state hospital in Sao Paulo had researched the malady but without success.

In the 1940s Aurea Barbosa de Souza, wife of an Adventist minister, contracted the disease. Her husband's futile search for help ended when he bought two liters of a pitch-based potion from a drunken farmer who had concocted a recipe to treat skin afflictions on his cattle. Within days after applying the stuff to his wife's body she showed marked improvement. Encouraged by this turn of events, he wrung the formula out of the farmer and shared it with Adventist doctors. The church had anticipated the possibility of treating savage fire patients and was already erecting a hospital for that purpose. With their formula in hand the physicians arranged access to research laboratories at the University of Belo Horizonte. After three years of treatment on 120 patients, Dr. Edgard Bentes Rodrigues, the project leader, reported that 7 percent of the patients had died and 6 percent had reacted negatively. The remaining 87 percent had recovered either completely or partially, or were still taking treatments.

Rodrigues publicized his findings in the leading Brazilian medical journal while doctors continued their research in conjunction with the University of Mato

Grosso. During the 1970s, the third decade of the project, activity tapered off at Penfigo Hospital, the Adventist savage fire recovery center at Campo Grande, not because the physicians were failing but because they had substantially reduced the incidence of this national scourge. In 1978 the Brazilian government awarded the Adventist Church an Indigenous Medal of Merit largely because of its work for victims of *fogo selvagem*. During these same years the Adventist medical ministry in Brazil came of age after its precarious beginnings in 1942. During the 1960s and 70s Adventist health-care institutions in Brazil, scattered from the Amazon to the far south, expanded their capacity from approximately 200 beds to nearly 600. The activity at Penfigo Hospital was not the only contributing factor, but it had helped to establish a reputation for the Adventist medical ministry.

Although Adventist medical enterprises experienced a late start in Latin America, it was in the South and Inter-American divisions that the education of health professionals reached its highest levels outside North America. An unforeseen and rapid chain of events in Mexico led to a new charter granting official degree-granting status for the Adventist college at Montemorelos in 1973. With this change also came permission to establish a medical school. Classes for medical students began in 1975. Nineteen years later in 1994 River Plate Adventist University in Argentina opened its doors to its first class of medical students, thus becoming the third denominational institution to offer a medical doctorate.

Throughout the Adventist world more than 5,000 students enrolled in health and medical related programs in 1995.

Innovative Health-care Projects

One of the most colorful innovations in Adventist health care was the medical-missionary launch. Ever since the *Pitcairn*, Adventists had operated a variety of mission vessels, principally designed to carry evangelistic workers and colporteurs among the islands of the Pacific or to facilitate the work of the ship missionaries who labored primarily during the years

1890-1910 in the major harbors of Europe and the United States.

It was Leo Halliwell who originated the idea of a medical-missionary launch. After several years of missionary service in Brazil he took charge of the Lower Amazon Mission in 1928. To survey his huge parish he traveled by riverboat and canoe along the Amazon, part of the trip in a mission launch owned by Hans Mayr, a German-born Adventist worker living in Maues. Dismayed with the poverty, superstition, and disease he saw, he told his wife, Jessie, that they would have to acquire a boat to move about in the Ama-



Leo (1891-1967) and Jessie (1894-1962) Halliwell, right, receive news from Dr. E. M. Berger, left, in 1958 that the Brazilian government had awarded them the National Order of the Southern Cross for their success in cleansing the Amazon basin and making it an inhabitable region. The Southern Cross is the highest civilian award in Brazil. R. R. Figuhr (1896-1983), center, General Conference president and a former president of the South American Division, looks on.

zon system. He also observed that they would have to concentrate on relieving the sick before their spiritual message would have any meaning.

The mission budget contained no money for a boat, but during their next furlough home, the Halliwells presented their need to churches across the United States. Contributions poured in and they returned to Brazil with US\$4500. Fortunately, Leo held a degree in electrical engineering; he also had considerable practical skill and had spent much of his furlough reading about boat design. He had taken note of the high, storm-driven waves and the wide variations in tides and depths of the Amazon, especially in its estuary, and designed a thirty-three-foot-long, ten-foot-wide craft with a double-V bottom that would draw only two and a half feet of water.

The boatyard owner was so skeptical about the design that he allowed Halliwell to build the boat only after promises not to hold him responsible for what he predicted would be a disaster. Three months later, on July 4, 1931, Jessie smashed a bottle of soda water against the prow and launched the *Luzeiro*, the Lightbearer. The first person aboard was the boatyard owner, convinced after all about the design and proud to be a part of something new.

Jessie Halliwell was a nurse and Leo himself had prepared for this moment by taking a course in tropical diseases. For more than twenty-five years they plied the Amazon and its tributaries, averaging 12,000 miles per year and treating more than 250,000 persons infected with malaria, hookworm, yaws, smallpox, and

a host of other tropical maladies. At first Halliwell purchased medicines from the slender mission budget, but in later years American doctors, pharmaceutical houses, and even the Brazilian government supplied them. After treating the sick at a dock site Leo and Jessie habitually set up their phonograph and projector to introduce a waiting crowd to Jesus Christ. Thousands heard Adventism and church after church sprouted up along the Amazon. The Halliwell's Christianity was practical, laced with healing, liberal amounts of nutrition, advice about sanitation, and family counseling.

The *Luzeiro* was the first of a fleet of river launches. In 1941 Halliwell gave his boat to other workers and built a second craft, *Luzeiro II*. Shortly he constructed a third, the *Auxiliadora*, which operated out of Iquitos, Peru at the headwaters of the Amazon. Two more launches, the *Luminar* on the Sao Francisco River and *Luzeiro III* on the Parnahiba River, were in operation by 1950. The *Luminar II*, launched in 1959, was a forty-ton, steel-hulled craft, with X-ray and surgical facilities and beds for six patients. When *Luzeiro XV* went into service in 1979 the fleet of launches numbered fourteen, carrying nine doctors and seventeen nurses besides other employees.

Operating the river launches became a profession. In 1952 the boat captains met in Belem at the mouth of the Amazon to hold their first conference on river launch ministry. Three years later they convened again to plan for more effective medical and evangelistic outreach. By 1980 this medical ministry reached 250,000 persons annually, as many as

Halliwell had treated during his entire career. Evangelism was still a major part of the boat captains' responsibilities.

During the 1980s and 1990s the river launch ministry slackened, partly because of the expense of maintaining a large fleet of river craft. By 1995 the number of launches had shrunk to eight, five of them on the Amazon and the remaining three on other large rivers in Brazil's interior. Out of Belem, the Halliwell's original home base on the Amazon, *Luzeiro XXIII* sailed on regular trips, perpetuating the legacy of the Halliwells. In recognition of the leading role this selfless couple played in purging the Amazon basin of its prevalent diseases and transforming it into a safe place to live, a grateful Brazilian government awarded Leo and Jessie the National Order of the Southern Cross in 1958. It was the first time that a woman had received the medal. As for the church, thousands of Adventists populated the Amazon basin, a living testimony that the saving gospel was also a humanitarian movement.

Travel by air was another transportation development that Adventists used in remote parts of the world. As it developed, the purpose of mission aviation became mixed: not only was it a faster method of general communication, but both medical and evangelistic workers saw aviation as a quick means to lend medical assistance and to supplement the medical launch ministry. As early as 1928 F. H. Stahl jungle hopped in commercial planes in South America, but it was not until after World War II that interest in mission aviation blossomed. Among the war's side effects were public enchantment

with airplanes, improved aviation technology, and more individuals with flying skills. All of this combined with a boom in commercial aviation to produce a vision among some mission workers that planes could make their work easier and more effective.

In 1948 William Baxter took a plane to Mexico to reach villages in the Sierra Madre mountains above Montemorelos. By the mid-1950s other private planes showed up in Borneo and Africa, but it was James J. Aitken, who became president of the South American Division in 1958, who gave mission aviation its greatest impetus. Inspired by the success of the medical launches, the pilots of mission aircraft believed the day would come when air travel would be accepted equally as well. Aitken was convinced that that day had already arrived. He earned a private pilot's license, visited Baxter's airbase in Mexico, and studied aircraft types meticulously. Partly with donated funds he purchased a Helio Courier in 1963, a single-engine plane with a short take off capability, which would be important in jungle settings. In California Ana Stahl, wife of F. H. Stahl, christened it in her husband's memory, and Clyde Peters, a crop duster with more than 3000 hours of flying time, moved to Peru where he would fly it out of a base in the upper Amazon.

Aviation enthusiasts, including Aitken, were delighted. In the first year of service beginning in 1964 Peters airlifted more than 200 persons, most of them patients, from the thirty or more airstrips that Indians had hacked out of the jungle. Baptisms increased. Other planes entered South America, one of

them deep in the heart of Bolivia. Bob Seamount, who had resigned as a member of the King's Heralds Quartet, joined Peters in Peru as a pilot and mechanic.

But mission aviation met obstacles. While it was much more rapid than river launches, it was expensive. The brethren at the General Conference did not share Aitken's enthusiasm for airplanes and the South American Division president found himself debating his case with what he thought were obvious arguments. In his view the speed of service outweighed the cost and he saw to it that men visiting from the world headquarters traveled by air from place to place in South America. They usually went home convinced, but some brethren in influential positions never completely overcame their apprehensions and their suspicion that planes could become toys to workers. When Aitken left South America in 1966 he took much of the powerful support for mission aviation with him, but division leaders maintained their confidence in the program, and the planes remained. A year later the Adventist world learned about the risks of jungle aviation when Peters crashed the Helio Courier in a Peruvian river, but this disaster did not end the program. Shortly after, a newly purchased amphibious aircraft went into service on the Amazon to collaborate with the mission launches in transporting medicines and patients.

Mission aviation also developed in Africa and the South Pacific. Major support came from J. L. Tucker, director of the independent radio broadcast, the Quiet Hour. From the treasury of this ministry came funds for more than thirty

planes destined for the world's out-of-the-way places where, in addition to medical assistance, they provided communication that no other technological means could furnish.

In 1976 the General Conference approved the Adventist Aviation Training and Service Center at Andrews University. Notwithstanding this show of support the peak of mission aviation had passed. The movement never caught on sufficiently to evolve into a widespread institution of air service, nor had a strong tradition of extending medical help comparable to the river launches evolved around aviation. Cautious attitudes among church administrators in fields where aviation had proved useful also contributed to the decline, but rising costs of maintaining aircraft was the key factor. Nevertheless, some planes remained in service. By the mid-1990s Adventist planes were still flying out of bases in South America, Zaire, Tanzania, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and other Indonesian locations. In all, about a dozen planes were in service, considerably fewer than the original promoters of mission aviation had hoped, but still a powerful testimony to the speed and ease with which pilots communicated with the backlands and transported patients to hospitals. For supporters of aviation, this service was a difficult argument to gainsay, despite costs.

The Temperance Movement

From the early days of Adventism Joseph Bates's personal convictions led him to promote abstinence from tobacco and

alcohol, but his position did not become an Adventist teaching until after Ellen White received her health message in 1863. It was in the next decade, the 1870s, that the church actively began denouncing tobacco and alcohol. In 1879 the denomination organized the American Health and Temperance Association, which later became a casualty of the Kellogg controversy, but its demise did not discourage Adventists from participating in anti-liquor agitation.

During the 1870s Ellen White spoke at temperance rallies and Adventists cooperated with “dry” forces in local elections to prohibit alcohol. These activities became awkward for Adventists because they collaborated with evangelical elements that supported local Sunday laws as a means to close saloons and as a first step in their campaign for national prohibition. As a day of leisure, Sunday was an easy day for people to patronize bars, but Adventists opposed Sunday laws of any kind, even if they limited liquor sales. Sincere temperance advocates found it difficult to understand the Adventist position, but the church countered by saying Adventists opposed drinking every day of the week. As the drive for statewide, and then national, prohibition in the United States accelerated just prior to World War I, temperance organizations such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League dropped their patronage of Sunday laws and Adventists enthusiastically joined their efforts to rouse popular support for prohibition.

Charles S. Longacre played a key role in the rapprochement between Adventists

and other Christian groups favoring prohibition. He joined the General Conference Religious Liberty Department in 1913 and soon became chair of the denomination’s temperance committee. Regularly he represented the church at national conventions of the Anti-Saloon League, three times serving as chairman. He also befriended nationally known politicians who were temperance advocates, for example, William Jennings Bryan and Gifford Pinchot. While temperance leaders in Protestant churches found Longacre to be a dedicated opponent of Sunday laws, they also learned to respect him for his persuasiveness in campaigning for prohibition.

By 1919 agitation against liquor generated enough support to produce an amendment to the United States Constitution that proscribed the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. Part of the impetus for the amendment derived from a patriotic mood of self-denial in support of World War I, but the amendment did not go into effect until 1920. By that time the war was over and the mood of self-denial had vanished. A general loosening of morals following the war combined with lackadaisical enforcement raised doubts about the effectiveness of national prohibition. Despite the law to create a dry America the country remained probably as moist as ever.

Fear that the amendment would be repealed prompted the church to resurrect its defunct temperance organization in 1932, under the new title of the American Temperance Society. But the anti-liquor forces were unable to stem the gathering momentum favoring legal al-

cohol, and in 1933 the repeal movement succeeded in ending prohibition, the so-called “noble experiment.” For the next decade and a half the ATS pursued a modest program of promotion, largely within the church, to warn children and youth against the evils of both alcohol and tobacco. Temperance leaders distributed cards among Adventist schools which children signed, pledging themselves to a life of abstinence. The main outreach to non-Adventists was an annual temperance issue of the evangelistic journal, *Signs of the Times*, which circulated into the millions.

In 1947 the Autumn Council organized the International Temperance Association to coordinate temperance societies the church had begun in other countries. W. A. Scharffenberg became executive secretary of both the American Temperance Society and the new international organization. For the next seventeen years he jetted around the world enlisting the support of monarchs, prime ministers, and presidents in the temperance cause. He also promoted new programs to warn the general public against alcohol, tobacco, and other narcotics. In 1960, four years before he retired, the General Conference reorganized these activities into the Temperance Department, which placed temperance on equal footing with other church ministries such as education and the Sabbath School.

Primarily to reach young people, Scharffenberg launched a quarterly journal, *Listen*, featuring testimonials from leading sports and entertainment personalities as well as scientific data and articles in support of abstinence. Public

schools accepted it readily. In 1966 it became a monthly publication; nine years later it achieved a circulation of 200,000. Its editors won the Public Interest Award from the National Safety Council.

As a result of his contacts with community leaders in the United States, Scharffenberg organized the National Committee for the Prevention of Alcoholism. In 1950 he led the first Institute of Scientific Studies for the Prevention of Alcoholism at the College of Medical Evangelists, where presenters of scientific data lectured, held seminars, and led field trips stressing the dangers and social costs of alcohol. The audiences were primarily non-Adventist thought leaders. By duplicating these undertakings in other countries, Scharffenberg created additional international activity, which led to the formation of the International Commission for the Prevention of Alcoholism. He persuaded King Saud of Saudi Arabia to serve as honorary president of the ICPA, which held its first World Congress in Kabul, Afghanistan in 1972.

Scharffenberg retired in 1964, before the Kabul gathering, but his successor, Ernest H. J. Steed, pursued the anti-alcohol program with equal zeal. In 1976 and 1979 the International Commission met in Acapulco, Mexico, for its second and third meetings. Of especial interest at the 1979 session was the delegation from Kenya led by Bernadette Mwaniki, secretary for research in the department of the environment that functioned directly under the Kenyan president. This chief of state had a well-known reputation as a nonsmoker and nondrinker. In 1982 the International Commission re-

sponded to his support by holding its meeting in Nairobi. Two years later it convened in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. More than 400 delegates came from thirty-three countries. Adventists were frequently among the speakers at all of these meetings, but Steed maintained a steady stream of non-Adventist participants from many parts of the world, both as officers of the Commission and planners for future meetings.

The growing concern about alcoholism led some to call it a disease, thus generating a view that its treatment was similar to any other sickness. In 1987 members of the denomination's Study Commission on Chemical Dependency, led by Pat Mutch, apparently agreed, reporting their conclusions to the church by calling alcohol addiction a disease. But with support from studies in psychiatry and reports from the World Health Organization, Steed declared in 1991 that Adventists had consistently based their temperance movement on the conviction that alcoholism is a behavioral problem rather than a disease. He believed that the popular view of the courts and many physicians defining alcoholism as a disease removed moral responsibility from addicts. Other Adventist temperance leaders reflected this view, which placed the responsibility of alcoholism on individuals and implied that addiction was a moral issue. The distinction between disease and behavior was crucial.

The two views within the church differed but were closer together than a first glance would indicate. Although the Study Commission applied the term disease to alcoholism, it rejected the notion that

individuals were not responsible for their condition. Both views in the church held that addiction destroys the capacity of individuals to make moral decisions, but that through divine aid and professional guidance addicts may regain their moral strength. Both views advocated help rather than punishment as the role of treatment but the Study Commission observed that the traditional view of alcoholism as a behavioral problem had led pastors to deal more punitively than redemptively with Adventist alcohol users, much to the detriment of the church. In contrast, the Study Commission emphasized the need to remember that some persons were more vulnerable than others because of their environment and personal traits.

Both views provided a rational justification for education, controls, and prevention programs. Among them was the 4 DK (Dimensional Key) Plan, originated by Steed and Adventist physician L. A. Senseman. In a series of four evening meetings geared for both the alcoholics and their families, a physician-minister team traced alcoholism to the impairment of the physical, mental, social, and spiritual dimensions of the individual and offered counseling sessions to help victims break their dependency on alcohol. Adventists also produced films describing the harmful effects of drugs and alcohol. One of these, "Circle of Love," featured an all-Black cast for the benefit of inner city youth entrapped by drug dependency. By 1975 more than \$2 million worth of these films were sold.

After the repeal of national prohibition in the United States, Adventists promoted liquor controls through local elec-

tions, rehabilitation of alcoholics, and education to avoid the problem in the first place. It is difficult to assess the result of these efforts. Following World War II alcoholism became more prevalent around the world but signs of a growing public awareness of the dangers of alcoholism also became apparent. Insurance companies in the United States and elsewhere gave abstainers favored treatment when writing insurance policies. In the 1980s beer wholesalers in the United States complained about a sharp decline in their sales, blaming general concern about alcohol abuse. In 1990 Australia reported a growing increase of abstainers, especially among young people. In the late years of the twentieth century, church temperance leaders could satisfy themselves that they played leading roles in a larger temperance movement whose message was exerting a positive influence in

many places around the world.

In some respects the church's campaign against tobacco was more successful than against alcohol. In 1954 Scharffenberg began producing films that portrayed the risks to health from tobacco use. The first, "One in 20,000," linked smoking and lung cancer. During the next two decades this movie came out in fourteen languages. An estimated 75 million saw it, including viewers in the Soviet Union. In 1962, members of the British Parliament and medical authorities watched it, which led to a report by the Royal College of Physicians, *Smoking and Health*, which, in turn, triggered a second report, also named *Smoking and Health*, by United States Surgeon General Luther Terry. Five more anti-tobacco films depicting, among other dangers, the impact of smoking on unborn babies and coronary disease, would eventually come



Part of the Adventist campaign against substance abuse targeted liquor. This highway billboard in an unidentified location in the United States prods passersby to question the use of alcohol.

from the Temperance Department.

In 1962, the General Conference carried its program a step further by adopting a plan to assist smokers to break their habit. Known as the Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking, it became a denominational program after several years of testing by a physician, J. Wayne McFarland, and a minister, Elman J. Folkenberg. During five consecutive evenings a doctor-minister team presented a group-therapy approach including information and reasons for quitting, changes in diet, a buddy system for support, and divine aid to assure success. In the United States organizations such as the American Cancer Society frequently cosponsored a Five-Day Plan as a community service. The United States Navy contracted to present the plan on all of its bases. Some Adventist ministers in Europe used the Five-Day Plan to attract attention to their evangelistic campaigns. In Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Kuwait the church gained visibility through the Five-Day Plan and the governments of the Philippines, Ecuador, and Norway approved it. By 1974 Five-Day Plans averaged sixty per week around the world.

Public reaction to anti-smoking campaigns was more positive than against alcohol, partially attributable to the growing belief that smoking caused cancer. In 1965 the United States Congress required warnings on cigarette packages; shortly, cigarette advertising began to disappear from television screens and clean air enthusiasts demanded smoke-free offices and places of public gatherings where they would not have to breathe other people's smoke. Despite pressure, the

cigarette companies denied the culpability of tobacco and were able to sidestep crucial questions, such as revealing the chemicals they added to tobacco even though manufacturers of other products involved in cancer research had to reveal their ingredients. They also avoided conviction in lawsuits charging them with responsibility for the deaths of smokers who contracted cancer.

In the 1980s the United States Congress began clamping down, hitting the tobacco industry with the first increase in excise taxes in more than three decades and demanding more specific warning labels on cigarette packages and in advertisements. Tobacco firms fought back. They diversified their investments for protection against a possible slump in cigarette sales. They also targeted the foreign market to increase sales where tobacco controls did not exist. China, for example, consumed three times as many cigarettes in 1988 as compared to 1978. United States tobacco companies tied themselves to tobacco growers in some developing countries in South America and Africa, thus bringing international pressure against regulatory legislation.

At the 1990 General Conference session the director of the United States Office of Smoking and Health called on Adventists to put their international presence to work by cooperating with world bodies such as the World Health Organization to build coalitions against tobacco. The church could take only partial credit, but when the tobacco industry finally admitted in 1996 to years of deceptive promotion and covering up negative evidence, Adventists could not help but feel

compensated for their forty-year campaign to expose the evils of tobacco use. As rewarding as their accomplishments were, they knew that more challenges lay ahead, because the tobacco industry remained virtually untouched beyond North America.

An increasing drug traffic following World War II reached epidemic proportions in the 1960s, which added new complications to the temperance movement. Because restrictions on drugs were already on the law books in most countries, the church did not feel compelled to lobby for legal controls but could concentrate instead on education and rehabilitation of victims of substance abuse. The net effect of these circumstances was an anti-drug campaign by the church that was less pervasive than those against tobacco and alcohol. But during the 1980s a new twist in the church's temperance program evolved when Adventists became aware that an embarrassing number of victims of all of these substances—tobacco, alcohol, and illegal drugs—were Adventists themselves. Although originally a campaign for non-Adventists, teaching recovery from substance abuse would be a phase of the temperance program that the church would henceforth apply to itself as well.

Health Foods

The church also dealt with diet. Although Ellen White had strongly advocated vegetarianism, a meatless diet was never a test of membership for Adventists, but health conscious members were convinced that they should do

more than discourage eating flesh foods; they should promote alternative dietary habits and encourage substitutions for meat.

Beginning in the 1890s, Adventist views were largely responsible for the development of prepared breakfast cereals and meat analogs from vegetable proteins. Dr. Kellogg's invention of wheat flakes and peanut butter started a revolution in the American breakfast. Outside Adventist circles Nuttose and Protose, both meat substitutes, were not very successful, but they were the forerunners of a long line of Adventist health foods.

In the early years of the twentieth century when Dr. Kellogg's brother, Will Keith Kellogg, developed the breakfast cereal industry, Loma Linda Sanitarium also began a small line of whole-grain breads and wafers for sale. In 1938 the enterprise incorporated as Loma Linda Foods and started production for a national Adventist market. To cereals it added high-protein foods of vegetable origin. In 1951 Loma Linda expanded into Ohio and a decade later it established a division at Oshawa, Ontario, in Canada.

In many parts of the world small health food enterprises sprang up as adjuncts to Adventist medical institutions. Except for the Sanitarium Health Food Company in Australia they catered to vegetarians, primarily Adventists. By the 1970s the Australian firm was operating a chain of twelve factories, eight wholesale distribution agencies, sixty-eight retail stores, and four vegetarian restaurants in Australia and New Zealand.

This sprawling enterprise had begun slowly in the 1890s at Melbourne with

THE HEALTH MOVEMENT

simple products, but complying with counsel from Ellen White, it moved to Coranbong in 1899, where it provided work opportunities for students at Avondale. In 1928 and 1929 it acquired two competitive companies and became the dominant force among producers of breakfast cereals in Australia. It also manufactured peanut butter, soymilk, and a line of meat substitutes. After seven decades it employed more than 1100 workers to produce in excess of 20,000 tons of food annually. From its profits it poured money into the Australasian Division, sometimes amounting to as much as a quarter of the annual budget.

In 1968 the General Conference established the World Foods Service to coordinate the denomination's food factories. At the time they were spread over twenty-three countries in North and South America, Australasia, Europe, Africa,

and Asia. In addition to their major emphasis on vegetable meat substitutes and breakfast cereals, they produced canned legumes, soymilk, and fruit juices. In South America the marketing of honey became a profitable part of the companies' business.

Total sales of foods from all Adventist producers around the world soared during the 1970s, but success in the industry was uneven and troubles showed up. The most successful firm continued to be Sanitarium Health Food in Australia, which owed its prosperity to its control of a large sector of the breakfast cereal industry. Elsewhere Adventist food production did not occupy a place so prominent in the general food market. One notable example was the British Union's Granose plant, which the Australian enterprise began managing in 1979. Another case was North America's Loma



The Sanitarium Health Food manufacturing firm in Australia became the most successful producer of health foods in the Adventist world. With its subsidiaries it captured the health food market in Australia.

Linda Foods, which also passed to Australian control in 1980. Both of these enterprises suffered from weaker marketing practices, but they also felt the growing complexities of food manufacturing that required increased financial support. Not only was the church unable to provide these funds, but denominational leaders were dubious about the likelihood that Adventists would crack the meat analog market.

These doubts derived from an unsuccessful attempt by Miles Laboratories to produce textured vegetarian products for sale on a wide, non-Adventist market. In 1970 Miles purchased Worthington Foods, a privately owned Adventist firm that had been a major supplier of foods to church members. After an unsuccessful advertising blitz in 1974 under the label of Morningstar Farms, Miles sold out, and in 1982 Worthington returned to private Adventist hands.

Through the 1980s denominational leaders parried the question of maintaining a prosperous food manufacturing industry against the financial demands it placed on the church. At stake as well was Ellen White's counsel that the church should not involve itself in food production for its own sake but it should educate people to prepare healthy foods for themselves. Declining sales and growing complexities of management led Loma Linda to sell its Infant Formula Division in 1989 and to reorganize the remaining part of the business as La Loma Foods. However, within a matter of months the church placed a "for sale" sign on La Loma, and in 1990 Worthington purchased the most well-known of all

denominational food enterprises.

The World Foods Service also changed. Renamed the International Health Food Association, in 1985 it convened its first board and established a trust fund to support new work or expand existing factories. Each member of the Association paid a percentage from its profits to maintain the trust fund. By 1995 the church sold several enterprises including Granose in England, and businesses in Scandinavia, France, and Switzerland. Germany's De-Vau-Ge remained the only church-owned production center in Europe. Offsetting these losses were new or expanded plants in Japan and Korea, and increasing prosperity in the South and Inter-American divisions.

The evangelistic aspect of food production was not lost on the Adventist world. Directors of the Association pointed out that the purpose of health food production was to alert the world to the need for nutritious food and to support other health endeavors of the church. Vegetarian restaurants, cooking schools, nutrition classes, stop-smoking programs, and other programs promoting a healthy lifestyle were high on the list of outreach activities that food manufacturers supported. Not to be overlooked was the US\$130 million that the industry poured into the evangelistic aspect of the church during the years 1985-90. With respect to this benefit to the church, Sanitarium Health Food continued to lead all other enterprises, furnishing about half of the budget for the South Pacific Division between 1990 and 1995.

If the church was tempted to ask

whether it was worth all of its efforts to try to make the world a more healthy place, the answers began coming in the 1970s when researchers discovered that Adventists in North America tended to live longer than the general population. Further studies revealed that persons who followed Ellen White's teachings about health were less susceptible to some cardiovascular problems and certain forms of cancer. Scientific findings supporting many tenets of healthful living also produced an unprecedented public appreciation for what came to be known as wellness. While much of the public

seemed content to accept the practical benefits of the church's health movement without agreeing to the religious implications that Adventists preached, the church could rest assured that, for many, especially where health-care was scarce, the health movement was indeed the impetus for new spiritual life and belief in Jesus. The church could also enjoy the satisfaction from identifying with, and sometimes leading, a movement that fulfilled the words of the apostle John to Gaius, an early Christian, "I wish above all things that thou mayest prosper and be in health."

Suggested Topical Reading:

Medical advancements:

Richard Schwarz, "The Healthy Church," *Adventist Review*, September 12, 1991, pp. 16-17, is a short summary of the establishment of the Adventist health program.

Richard Schaefer, *Legacy* (1990 ed.), pp. 1-71, 265-274, tells the story of research at Loma Linda University Medical Center, including heart transplants for children and cancer treatments.

Herbert Ford, *Affair of the Heart* (1970), is an early description of the exploits of the Loma Linda heart team.

Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, vol. 2, (1992), pp. 373-376, relates how Adventists began experimentation to eradicate savage fire disease from Brazil.

Launches and aviation:

Leo Halliwell, *Light Bearer to the Amazon* (1945), and *Light in the Jungle* (1972), are memoirs of pioneer medical launch ministry on the Amazon River.

J. J. and Dorothy Aitken, *White Wings, Green Jungle* (1966), is a participant's account of introducing mission aviation in South America.

Floyd Greenleaf, *ibid.*, vol. 1, (1992), pp. 446-452; vol. 2, pp. 201-204, 395-407, 432-435, summarize the river launch and aviation ministries in the South and Inter-American divisions.

LIGHT BEARERS

Raymond Woolsey, *Flying Doctor of the Philippines* (1972), is an absorbing story of Dr. William Richli, surgeon in the Philippines who took to the air in the 1950s.

Health food industry:

Richard Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M. D.* (1970), pp. 37-47, 116-122, 209-212, provides an interesting account of the beginnings of health food production.

____ “Granola, Postum, Corn Flakes and Peanut Butter,” in *The Vision Bold* (1977), Warren Johns and Richard Utt, eds., pp. 75-93, is a second narrative of the same events.

Harrison W. John, “Adventist Food Industries: Recent Developments,” *Spectrum*, vol. 11 no. 3, February 1981, pp. 28-36, discusses the financial issues related to the health food industry around the world.

Temperance:

Spectrum, vol. 16 no. 5, February 1986, presents the ongoing battle against tobacco in a special section: “The Tobacco Wars,” consisting of several articles.

David Larson, “Adventists Lead in California Battle vs. Tobacco Companies,” *ibid.*, vol. 19, no. 1, August 1988, pp. 52-54, describes Adventist involvement in curtailing tobacco advertising.

Adventist Review; June 28, 1990, p. 10; July 11, 1990, p. 29; May 8, 1997, p. 5 express denominational concern about the spread of tobacco around the world.

Unity and Diversity

One of the knotty social issues that haunted the church from its early days was the question of ethnic diversity. Its most virulent manifestation erupted in relations between Black and White Adventists. It was in the United States itself that the church first faced the problem when workers ventured from the northern to the southern part of the country following the American Civil War. It appeared again in South Africa as the church grew among both the Black and the White populations. Following World War II a wave of emigrants leaving the West Indies to live in England produced another case of diversity within the church. Australian Adventists experienced a touch of the problem in their relationship with aborigines.

In addition to these instances of Black and White diversity within the church, other large migratory movements gave

rise to the problem of how to deal equitably with diverse communities. For most of its history the United States has been a coveted destination for many peoples, but Canada, Australia, and parts of Latin America also received immigrants in large numbers. The question of diversity touched the denomination wherever its members from differing racial or national backgrounds associated together in substantial numbers.

Early Events in North America

In 1909 the General Conference established the North American Negro Department, but not until 1918 did a Black, W. H. Green, head the office, a post he held until his death in 1928. In spite of harsh racial segregation in the American South and a predominantly White denomination, evangelism among African-

Americans had produced about 3500 members when Green assumed his new position. In quick succession George E. Peters, and Frank L. Peterson, both Blacks, followed him. Conferences in the South established Negro Departments patterned after the General Conference North American Negro Department, but Black workers played only supporting roles while White conference presidents chaired their activities.

The 1920s were the period of “Black nationalism,” a stirring within the Black community in New York that produced the Harlem Renaissance. Black intellectuals gravitated to the largest North American city and articulated in song, poetry, and drama their frustrations in being a neglected minority. Black Adventists could not escape the influence of this movement.

In 1929 a majority of Black ministers attending the Spring Council suggested that Black membership would prosper best if they could organize Black conferences where they would handle all the administrative duties, establish appropriate institutions for Blacks, and promote the church to appeal to Black culture. The General Conference Committee was not ready for such a step, but it established a Negro Commission comprising eleven Whites and five Blacks to study the matter. At the Autumn Council that year this group recommended to continue the existing organizational pattern rather than to accept the suggestions from the Black ministry. Some believed that White leaders doubted the administrative skills of Blacks who had not enjoyed many opportunities to develop them. Meanwhile,

J. K. Humphrey, the leading Black pastor in the denomination, seceded from the church with his Harlem congregation.

James K. Humphrey

A native of Jamaica, Humphrey was serving as a Baptist pastor in New York City when J. H. Carroll, a Black Adventist layman, made contact with him. Upon accepting Adventism he threw himself vigorously into evangelistic endeavors for New York’s growing Black population. By 1920 the First Harlem Seventh-day Adventist Church, which he founded, approximated 600 members, which was a sixth of the entire Black Adventist membership in the United States.

Humphrey was a member of the first executive committee of the North American Negro Department after its formation in 1909. Even after W. H. Green became the first Black to head the department, Whites in other positions at the conference and union levels displayed a patronizing attitude toward plans Black pastors submitted. Resentment was strong among many of Humphrey’s fellows, some of whom proposed a schismatic movement, but he would not agree to lead it. In 1922 he assured the General Conference accordingly.

At the Spring Council of 1929 Humphrey supported the recommendation from Black ministers to form separate conferences. It was a loud reminder that except for a smattering of Black representation on local conference and union committees, Blacks had little access to the denomination’s institutions. Black youth encountered difficulty when seeking

to enroll in Adventist schools other than Oakwood and church sanitariums routinely refused to accept Black patients.

After church leaders turned down the proposal for Black conferences, Humphrey decided to move on his own to organize a campaign to establish an exclusively Black colony on the New Jersey coast where Blacks could enjoy health, educational, and recreational facilities. To help finance the project, any Black "of good moral standing" could purchase a lot in what was known as "Utopia Park."

L. K. Dickson, president of the Greater New York Conference, learned about all of this by accident and asked for an explanation. Humphrey told him that Utopia Park was not a denominational affair and refused to explain or justify himself. He further declined to appear before the local conference and union committees to explain his actions.

To break this impasse the conference committee revoked Humphrey's credentials, but the First Harlem Church sided with him and nearly erupted into a riot when General Conference president W. A. Spicer and other denominational leaders tried to explain their decision in a business session. Early the following year, 1930, the conference voted to drop the First Harlem Church from the sisterhood of Adventist churches. Humphrey responded by organizing his congregation into the United Sabbath Day Adventist organization.

Humphrey's defection hurt. The immediate impact was a diminished rate of membership increase among Blacks during the 1930s, but there were com-

pensating signs of growth elsewhere. Nell Druillard, who had helped to found Emmanuel Missionary and Madison colleges as well as pioneering Adventism in South Africa, established Riverside Sanitarium near Nashville, Tennessee in 1927, an institution for Blacks. Despite her more than eighty years, she began a nurses' training program and served as the first instructor. In 1935 she turned the health-care center over to the General Conference. In the same year the Negro Department launched a monthly evangelistic journal, *Message Magazine*, but with a White editor. After a decade its circulation reached 150,000 and Louis B. Reynolds became the first Black editor.

Black leaders could also find encouragement in the fact that by 1936 more than two-thirds of Black employees of the church received their education in Adventist schools, notwithstanding the difficulty they met when enrolling in colleges other than Oakwood. Black professionals, also trained in Adventist schools, were increasing as well, and began to press for more responsibility in church affairs.

The unfortunate Byard affair played into their hands. Lucy Byard, a light-skinned mulatto, entered Washington Sanitarium in the fall of 1943 for treatment of a non-life-threatening illness, but after learning her identity Sanitarium workers told her they had made a mistake and dismissed her. Eventually another hospital admitted her, but she died shortly thereafter from pneumonia. The Black community regarded her as a martyr to church policy and determined to respond.

Leaders of the Black reaction came from Washington's Ephesus Church, a Black congregation with an unusually high percentage of professionals, businessmen, government workers, and Howard University graduate students. Meeting in the back room of a bookstore owned by one of the members, a group of Black Adventists organized the National Association for the Advancement of Worldwide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists. This new entity, directed largely by laymen, began a concerted effort to rouse Black Adventists across the nation, but fear of reprisals made most Black denominational employees reluctant to identify openly with the movement.

Regional Conferences

Meetings between representatives of the Black laity and J. L. McElhany, General Conference president, followed the Byard incident, which led to formal discussions between leading Black ministers and the General Conference Committee at the Spring Council, 1944. The upshot was a revival of the recommendation to organize Black conferences. This time the proposal passed and between 1945 and 1947 six new conferences began operation. These new entities functioned within the boundaries of existing unions and were answerable to the unions in which they operated.

Black conferences were not unanimously acceptable even to the African-Americans themselves. Not until 1952 did the Blacks in the Northern Union organize a conference, raising the total to

seven regional conferences. Only in the Canadian, Pacific, and North Pacific unions were there no Black conferences. Blacks in the Pacific Union rejected the idea of a separate conference in 1945 and again in 1955, 1965, 1975, 1989, and again in the 1990s. The prevailing mood among those Black churches was to remain a part of the existing structure and to press instead for equitable integration.

The Black conferences faced severe problems. They were known as regional conferences because they did not follow state lines as did most of the traditional conferences. Despite their large territory, scattered churches, and lack of office property and equipment to begin operations, membership in the African-American community grew rapidly. The 17,000 Black Adventists in 1944 became more than 60,000 in two decades. Two conferences in the Columbia and Southern unions divided as membership soared. With a total of nine conferences in 1995, Black membership rose to more than 220,000, which constituted more than a fourth of the North American Division. Tithe from this sector of North America exceeded \$90,000,000.

A major disappointment to the denomination occurred soon after forming regional conferences when church leaders attempted to reconcile Humphrey's disaffected congregation and restore it to its former status. They were unsuccessful. By that time most of the members had generally discarded their faith in Ellen White partly because they interpreted some of her statements on race relations as implying racial inferiority of Blacks. The church maintained its separate

existence even after Humphrey's death in 1952.

Regional conferences let little time pass after their organization to launch development programs. In southwestern Michigan the Lake Region Conference established a youth campsite that could also be available for annual camp meetings. In 1946 the Allegheny Conference founded Pine Forge Academy, the first boarding academy for North American Blacks.

All Blacks may not have been convinced in 1944 that separate conferences would succeed or were even appropriate,



E. E. Cleveland, a prominent Black evangelist, contributed to the cause of equality by his powerful preaching that took him to many places around the world to conduct soul-winning campaigns. He also served in the Ministerial Association of the General Conference.

but a half-century of experience demonstrated the success of the plan. In time Blacks came to regard regional conferences as symbolic of their inclusion in the denomination. In 1983 when the president of the Atlantic Union proposed a merger of the Northeastern Conference and the Atlantic Union for more efficient administration of the same territory, the Black community called the idea a bad scheme disguised as integration.

Activity was also occurring at the General Conference where the North American Negro Department changed its name in 1942 to the Colored Department, and again in 1954 to the Regional Department. When Calvin Moseley joined the Colored Department in 1951 he raised the number of Blacks on the General Conference staff to two, but other faces began to appear in Washington. Earl E. Cleveland became associate secretary of the Ministerial Association in 1954; five years later O. A. Troy joined the Sabbath School Department, and in 1962 Frank Peterson became a general vice president of the General Conference.

Later Developments in North America

Notwithstanding these signs of progress, the popular mood in North America during the 1950s and 60s was turbulent and sometimes militant in following the lead of the United States Supreme Court to break down the longstanding notion of "separate but equal" institutions for Blacks and Whites. While the regional conferences appeared to be productive and beneficial, Blacks themselves expected leadership roles

elsewhere in the denomination commensurable to their growing numbers, but some felt that change was not rapid enough. Warren Banfield, later director of the General Conference Office of Human Relations, characterized the situation as one in which Blacks were practically invisible at the union, division, and General Conference levels.

Circumstances were shaping up for more discussion. In the late 1960s North American Adventists talked about organizing Black unions, partially to compensate for the paucity of Blacks in leadership positions in existing unions. A biracial commission charged with studying the issue reported favorably on the financial feasibility of Black unions, but many influential Black church leaders, among them Frank Hale, the president of Oakwood College, warned that these new organizations would encourage segregation while the mood of the time fostered integration. Debate was heated, but the opinion that the church should open up its organization to more Black leadership prevailed over carrying separateness farther than Black conferences. Delegates at the 1970 General Conference session avoided an unsavory confrontation over the question by approving a Declaration on Human Relations that labeled prejudice and discrimination as sins and admitted that the church had not always lived up to the ideal of brotherhood.

The denominational practice of refraining from officially politicizing social issues did not prevent Blacks from participating individually in the Civil Rights movement from the 1950s onward. Many pastors and members alike

participated in activities whose purpose was to break down the wall of segregation. While events in North America during the decades after the 1960s brought integration and Blacks became more numerous in leadership positions in the church, the trend in society at large was to slow the momentum of change. The Annual Council of 1978 disbanded the Regional Affairs Department and created the Office of Ethnic Relations, placing Warren Banfield as director. He had been a former regional conference president and more recently the associate director of the Regional Affairs Department. Later joining him as an associate was Elias Gomez, a Latin American worker with experience in both South America and the Central California Conference.

Shortly, the new office changed its title to Human Relations in place of Ethnic Relations to signify its involvement in all human relationship issues including women's ministries. Early on, both Banfield and Gomez expressed concern that policies and actions, unless accompanied by Christian love, were not enough to achieve the goals of racial harmony. To keep the church aware of its biblical obligations, the Annual Council of 1981 approved "Cross-Cultural Administrative Guidelines," a set of eleven statements declaring integration to be the policy of all Adventist churches and schools and outlining procedures to increase the number of Black leaders in unions, schools, and other institutions.

Beyond the question of Christian love the issue of ethnic relations in the church had revolved around two essential points: how to evangelize most effectively among

a disaffected minority and how to maintain a proportional ethnic representation in the church's leadership. Dramatic change marked the more than half century after regional conferences organized. By the 1990s Black Adventists outnumbered the White membership in the Atlantic and Southern unions. North American Blacks were pleased with the progress they had made but were not convinced that they had yet achieved the equality they desired. Henry Felder, a Black Adventist economist, declared that the flow of integration was in one direction only with approximately 60,000 Blacks integrated into White conferences but with hardly any Whites integrated into

the regional conferences. In response to a new Adventist who was embarrassed that the church organized Black conferences, General Conference vice president Calvin Rock declared that however successful regional conferences had been and despite his support of them, they were still an accommodation to society and represented less than the biblical ideal of human relationships. But to deny the Blacks their own organizations "would be more damaging than helpful."

Whatever the attitudes of North American Adventists may have been as they approached the beginning of the twenty-first century, it had become abundantly evident that Black conferences



To help bridge the gap between Blacks and Whites in the United States, college campuses began annually celebrating Black History Week. Here Mrs. Edna Williamson, left, an assistant high school principal in New York City, discusses the role of Black women in society with E. Wayne Sheppard, center, and Debra Scott, right, planners of Black History Week at Andrews University in 1974.

carried out successful evangelism and that membership growth in North America depended heavily on them. It was also clear that the Black constituency at large was loyal and dedicated to Adventism. During the crisis beginning in the 1970s over the sanctuary doctrine and the role of Ellen White in the church, the African-American sector of the North American Division was barely touched.

The Black Adventist community also demonstrated its collective loyalty to the church following the infamous Rodney King incident in Los Angeles in 1992. On TV screens a stunned nation first watched the police beating of an arrested Black and then survived a wave of riots in the wake of the affair. Black Adventist ministers urged patience and reconciliation in place of revenge. They reminded fellow Adventists that an environment of division was more threatening than the immediate activity of hate groups. They admonished their members to learn from history that inter-racial tranquility would occur only in the world to come. To meet the future in this imperfect world they promoted calm and open dialogue to prepare for the next century when, given the present membership growth rate, minorities in North America would become the majority.

South Africa

The United States was not the only field where Adventists experienced trauma over relations between Black and White members. From the earliest days of Adventist presence in South Africa, church leaders habitually encouraged

ethnic groups to work separately in the region. The South African Union, formed in 1902, became the parent organization for all the Adventist churches and activities in the field, but as conferences and missions sprouted up they assumed definite ethnic character. In general, members of European descent and Coloureds, or persons with mixed blood, formed one sector of the church while Blacks developed their own administrative organizations. The South African Union operated two schools that eventually evolved into Bethel College in East London, devoted primarily to Blacks, and Helderberg College near Cape Town, a predominantly White institution.

The separation of Blacks and Whites was a way of life that became legalized in 1948. What followed was a sequence of legislation regulating nearly every aspect of life—marriage, employment, mobility, education, property, and social relationships—that restricted the Blacks and favored the Whites. One of the most telling of the new laws was the Group Areas Act of 1950, which assigned Blacks to their supposed homelands. Apartheid, a legalized system of racial separation, had become a reality. Adventists were law abiding, albeit some had smitten consciences.

Within the South African Union Blacks and Whites maintained a semblance of unity but commonly split up into different committees to transact church business. This practice ended in 1956 when the Blacks set up a separate headquarters. Ten years later at the 1966 General Conference session separate unions for Blacks and Whites became

official. The South African Union inherited Helderberg College while the newly formed Southern Union assumed control of Bethel College. Except for two differences, the two organizations encompassed the same territory. The White South African Union did not include Lesotho and Swaziland, which were exclusive Black areas. The two unions posed a number of problems, not the least of which was a haunting consciousness that ecclesiastical apartheid was antithetical to biblical ideals of equality and unity. The second question was practical. It was difficult to prevent non-Adventists from believing that there were two Adventist churches in South Africa.

For fifteen years the two unions functioned side by side. In 1981 the General Conference attempted to deal with the unease this situation caused by asking W. Duncan Eva to chair a commission to study the problem of disunity among South African Adventists. Eva's credentials were impressive. He was a South African, had served as president of the South African Union, and was a retired General Conference vice president. For two weeks in May he and his colleagues visited the country, gathering information to prepare recommendations. Many Adventist schools were closed to Blacks, working policies in some churches and conferences included racial discrimination provisions, and salary rates were lower in the Black Southern Union.

No tangible movement toward unity resulted from the Eva commission. In fact, circumstances appeared to harden in 1983 when both South African unions separated from the Trans-Africa Division

to become attached fields administered directly by the General Conference. This state of affairs continued until the 1990 Annual Council appointed a second commission to examine the problem again. The president of the Trans-European Division, Jan Paulsen, chaired the thirteen-member group that included General Conference vice president Matthew Bediako, himself a Black African, and the presidents of both South African unions. Following a ten-day survey in March 1991, the commission recommended merger of the two unions by December 31, 1991 and the unification of all conferences by December 31, 1993.

The rapidity of the schedule was much more surprising than the decision itself. World opinion was set against apartheid and agitation within South Africa against the system was constantly on the rise. Among the ironies in South Africa was phraseology such as "plural democracy" and "separate development," both counterparts to the North American "separate but equal" maxim. Bishop Desmond Tutu, a South African Anglican who won the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, became an especially vocal as well as articulate spokesman for national unity. Black Adventists in North America urged an end to apartheid, among them Delbert Baker, editor of *Message*, who twice traveled to South Africa to prepare articles for his reading audience.

The 1991 Annual Council, meeting in Perth, Australia, approved the commission's recommendations, but not without some debate. Some North American Blacks urged separate conferences in South Africa. Speaking for a compro-

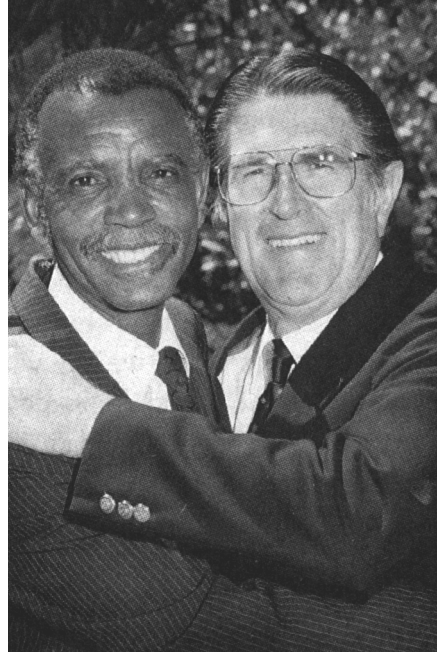
mise, Calvin Rock supported the unification proposal, but probably expressed the sentiment of most North American Blacks when he objected to statements in the document characterizing all racial separateness as wrong. Citing Black conferences in the United States as well as other successful Black institutions, he pointed out that at some levels separateness had been beneficial to Blacks as well as to the church at large. For their part, the South Africans had already studied the North American example of separate conferences and decided against following it. The essential decision to unify was not in question; the issue was how to design a system that would function best in South Africa. In the end the Council approved the recommendations with the controversial rhetoric removed.

Separate constituency meetings in November at Bloemfontein, the headquarters of the Southern Union, produced a quick approval for unity from the Blacks, but the White delegates wanted to see the proposed constitution before voting. A month later, only three weeks before the deadline, 400 delegates from both South African fields met at Helderberg College to prepare the governance document. The representatives met separately, depending on messages going back and forth to communicate with each other. Progress was slow until Bediako, chair of the session, handpicked fifteen of the delegates to meet alone to draft the constitution. The next day the two delegations voted to unify on the terms of the document.

Immediately the new Southern Africa Union elected officers. Emerging as

president was Douglas Chalale, president of the Black Southern Union. James Bradfield, president of the South African Union became vice president, with Bertram Parkerson, a Colored, the new treasurer, and Hennie van der Ness, a White, secretary. Both Parkerson and van der Ness had been officers of the White South African Union.

On the shoulders of these men lay many unresolved problems, among them merging the conferences. This task proved to be more thorny than unifying the unions. The deadline of December 31,



In 1991 the two unions in South Africa merged, thus ending duplicate administrative systems for the Black and White memberships. Douglas Chalale became president of the newly-formed Southern Africa Union. He and James Bradfield, former president of the White union, embrace after the merger.

1993 passed without any of the twelve conferences, missions, and fields merging, but at the end of 1994 the Black Natal Field merged with the White and Coloured Natal-Orange Conference. Discussion among the remaining conferences continued.

At stake in the unification process was the key administrative issue of salaries. The typically lower pay scale in the former Black Southern Union posed financial problems for the proposed new conferences. The matter of voting strength and office holding was a related matter. When the unions joined, the White and Coloured membership approximated 22,000, compared to the 41,000 Black membership. While the membership numbers favored the Blacks, the White and Coloured tithe base was stronger. Uncertainties arose about how many salaried positions the new system could afford and who would occupy them. Also, even after merger the new conferences would have to develop an equitable representational system of administration.

Many practical effects of apartheid remained. Blacks still lived in their separate locations and private sentiments of individual Adventists did not always agree with official decisions. At the occasion of merger in 1991, Bediako called the proceedings a miracle. While separate Adventist unions had come to an end in South Africa, as the twentieth century ground down it remained to be seen how all of these problems of transition would eventuate.

Of unquestioned help to the unification movement among Adventists were national events in South Africa. As world

antagonism toward apartheid intensified, the South African system showed signs of cracking. After his release from prison, Nelson Mandela, the spiritual leader of the Black movement in South Africa, was elected president of the republic. Apartheid was officially dead. Nearly five years after unification of the Adventist Church, Roy Adams, a Black associate editor of the *Review* visiting South Africa, assessed the fundamental attitude among Blacks, Whites, Coloureds, and Asians as optimistic and ready to cooperate to continue the miracle of 1991 and establish a truly unified Adventist Church.

The British Union

On a lesser scale, tensions between Blacks and Whites also boiled up in the British Union after World War II resulting from an influx of people from several parts of the Commonwealth to Great Britain. By 1976 the nearly completely White population was visibly mixed with immigrants from the West Indies, India, and Pakistan. Some attribute this population shift to poor economic conditions and to changes in United States immigration laws in 1952, but whatever the causes were, the impact on the Adventist Church was phenomenal.

In 1953, after more than sixty years of Adventist presence in Britain, membership exceeded only 7,000, but within the next quarter of a century the church added approximately 6,000 members. The growth numbers were impressive, but observant Adventists raised questions about the nature of membership in-

creases. By some estimates the White membership during these years remained virtually static, or possibly declined, which meant that membership increases in the British Union resulted almost exclusively from a growing number of Adventist immigrants or converts from the Blacks rather than productive evangelism among the Whites.

Most of the West Indian Black Adventists emigrated from Jamaica and brought with them a heritage of dynamic church growth. During the quarter century beginning in 1950 Adventist membership on that Caribbean island quadrupled while in the British Union increase was only modest. In places churches dwindled. Some argued that twentieth-century secularism was taking its toll among White Adventists and that membership was suffering. Some White churches became Black and others argued that racial tensions were causing Whites to shun the church. Britons coined the term “white flight” to describe this loss of White membership. Adventists could debate the problem they faced, but the fact that Blacks were becoming a force to be reckoned with was beyond question.

By 1971 the number of Black Adventists had gained enough attention to produce a resolution at the British Union constituency meeting calling for a representative committee to study the new challenges ethnicity was raising. On May 19, 1973, British Adventists observed their first Human Relations Day, a Sabbath set aside for study, prayer, and open discussion about the ethnic problems in the North and South England conferences. E. H. Foster, the union president,

encouraged pastors to preach about the question.

At mid-decade Black Adventists were on the verge of overtaking the White membership, but the newcomers did not occupy a commensurable number of pastorates or positions of leadership. By contrast to their role in Britain, in Jamaica they were leaders of a vibrant church that in 1975 numbered more than 75,000 members. Even though Britain did not practice a systematic separation of the races as in South African apartheid or United States segregation, it was not surprising that Blacks interpreted circumstances in the British Isles as discriminatory. Other complaints included lack of access by Blacks to Adventist schools and a mood to exclude them from the New Gallery, the London evangelistic center.

Black Adventists had already organized to respond to their problems. In 1973 they formed the London Laymen’s Forum, and seven months later in June 1974, this organization began publishing *Comment*, whose columns maintained a steady description of the plight of Blacks. Foster came to their aid by proposing to the 1974 Annual Council plans to supply the growing Black sector of the church with more pastors. The British Union had been unable either to transfer enough Black pastors from the Caribbean or to graduate sufficient Black ministerial students from Newbold College to furnish the needs of the Black churches. The substantial obstacle in Foster’s plan was money, and to his bitter disappointment, the General Conference did not support the Foster Memorandum, as his proposal came to be known.

For the next two years debate in Britain swirled around the question of effective integration as opposed to a regional conference patterned after those in the United States. The push for a regional conference originated in the South England Conference and although the officers of the British Union preferred increased integration, they broke from usual procedure by submitting the decision to a popular vote in October 1976. Instructions in the *Messenger*, the union paper, advised Adventists that only signed ballots would be counted, but assured strict confidentiality of the results. Less than half of British church members voted, but the ones who signed their ballots defeated the proposal by a five to one margin.

As resounding as the vote was, the London-based *Comment* would not allow the issue to die. While its columns continued to argue the benefits of a regional conference, some Blacks complicated the problem by withholding their tithe, a practice that embarrassed the British Union after the *Sunday Observer*, a leading newspaper, informed the public that there was trouble brewing in the Adventist Church. The tension over the so-called tithe war and the issue of a regional conference became so taut that General Conference president Robert Pierson, two vice presidents, and the undertreasurer from the General Conference journeyed to London in March 1978, to seek a settlement. The delegation from Washington opposed a regional conference, offering instead a program of alternatives including proposals to employ more Blacks ranging from clerical to

leadership positions in the conferences and union, to restructure boards and committees to include more Black representation, to foster understanding between the races, and to provide improved access for Blacks to denominational services.

The British Union was left with little choice but to press for a meaningful integration and after agreeing to the recommendations, passed them on to the conferences. At its constituency meeting two months later the South England Conference elected a Black director of lay activities and a Black secretary, Silburn Reid, who succeeded to the presidency three years later. A week later the North British Conference selected a Black secretary, Eric L. Henry. General Conference personnel attended both constituency meetings.

Eighteen months after Pierson's visit, Adventists in London purchased a Catholic secondary school in Tottenham, near London. A year later in October 1980, it began operations as the newly named John Loughborough School. For headmaster the board chose Orville Woolford from the Black constituency, who later became director of education in the Trans-European Division. Support also came from representatives from the High Commissions of Guyana and the East Caribbean, the consul of Antigua, and the High Commissioner of Jamaica, all representing Black cultures from the Caribbean, who drew attention to the international cultural nature of the new school.

Only months later in 1981, Foster's eleven-year career as British Union president ended. His successor was H. L. Calkins, president of the Southern Cali-

fornia Conference in the United States and an unknown in Britain. General Conference president Neal Wilson attended the constituency meeting when this administrative change occurred. The significance of his presence in the four-hour meeting of the nominating committee became apparent when he told the delegates that Calkins had worked through serious ethnic problems in his North American conference. Two days later Wilson challenged the British Union leaders to improve the reputation of their field, which the Adventist world regarded as stagnant. He also spoke of biological and sociological forces that had troubled the British Union. There was little doubt about the meaning of his remarks: Black Adventists in the British Union deserved more attention, evangelism among the Whites was ineffective, and the Adventist world headquarters expected change.

And more change was in the offing. In 1985 Cecil R. Perry became president of the South England Conference after a pastoral career in both the Caribbean and Britain. Six years later in 1991 he entered the presidency of the British Union. At that time Adventists in the British Isles exceeded 17,000, nearly all of them in the North British and South England conferences. The Irish and Welsh missions had a combined membership of less than 1000. British Adventists had worked hard to hold their multicultural church together, but concern persisted over the decline in White membership, known as the indigenous churches. Questions about how to reverse the trend had not produced genuine success.

Under the slogan of "Reorganization

or Rationalization" new leaders of the union began discussions about change, which pivoted on suggestions either to merge the conferences and missions within the British Union or eliminate duplication of effort at the union and conference level. By 1994 the church found itself in the middle of a union-wide debate. Perry surveyed the Union for opinions and ideas, the results of which would be topics for committee deliberations. There were no easy solutions, and as debate heated up some mistook the activity as proposals to reorganize the British Union along racial lines.

Again the church suffered embarrassment when two widely read newspapers published articles in 1996 alleging that



As the Black membership steadily increased in Britain, Cecil R. Perry became the first Black president of the British Union in 1991.

racial contention was at the bottom of the discussion. Emphatic denials from leaders also brought admissions that the British Union was wrestling with a problem that was progressively more difficult. Union officers appealed for brotherhood and Christian love from the membership while the church sought ways to resolve its organizational problems.

While some continued to characterize the decline in White membership as white flight, others insisted that many Adventists, especially younger ones, had become more secular minded and regarded the church as irrelevant. In May 1996, leaders of the North British Conference admitted that during the past thirty years more than twenty Adventist churches had disappeared in their field. No one in Britain would deny that the Christian community in general was suffering from a declining interest in spirituality. While urging a new approach to evangelism in 1991, John Arthur, executive director of ADRA in the Trans-European Division, stated that during the preceding fifteen years 4,200 churches in the United Kingdom had closed and another 2,100 would likely dissolve in the next ten years. Again, the numbers showed that Adventists were not isolated from negative conditions. In response to this alarming trend E. R. Francis, the new Black president of the North British Conference, appointed a coordinator of indigenous evangelism to develop methods of reaching the White population.

Circumstances had done an about-face in the British Union. During the last four decades of the twentieth century in this White field the Adventist Church had

become predominantly immigrant and Black, and Black leadership found it necessary to establish a White director of evangelism to reestablish a connection with the indigenous people. Structural change in the union and conferences had taken place, but the church was still seeking a balance between providing leadership and pastoral services for a Black membership that in numbers was dominating the church while at the same time recognizing that the country at large was approximately 95 percent White and still represented the overwhelming evangelistic challenge. As strongly as they believed in the integrity of a fully integrated church and as sincere as their decisions for change were, union and conference leaders continued to face the human dilemma that the cultural backgrounds of two ethnic groups created.

Other Issues of Diversity

Besides these problems of relations between the Blacks and the Whites, other aspects of ethnicity surfaced. Immigrant communities sprang up in many locations in mid-western United States during the emigration wave from Europe that occurred in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At Ellen White's urging the General Conference gave more attention to these minorities by establishing the Foreign Department in 1905. Changes in United States immigration laws slowed the immigrant flow in the 1920s, but while the immigration movement lasted Adventists organized churches and even college programs for some of the more numerous of the non-American residents,

particularly German and Scandinavian members. Individual ethnic churches never disappeared from North America, but in time the second and third generations acculturated into North American society, and few other evidences were left of the wave of European immigration. The Foreign Department became the Bureau of Home Missions in 1918 and ended its functions in 1951.

It was different with the Hispanic sector of the church. Along the near 2000-mile contiguous Mexican-United States border a fringe of Spanish-speaking churches sprouted up beginning in 1899, functioning within the existing conference organizations. The membership of these congregations was largely United States citizens of Mexican descent. As the twentieth century progressed, political and social adversities in their native countries and a hope for improved living conditions produced a flow of immigrants from Mexico, the Caribbean islands, and Central and South America. The results were large Hispanic enclaves in many major United States cities. Among these communities were many Adventists.

These immigrants brought with them a tradition of strong evangelism that made Latin America one of the fastest growing regions in the Adventist world. By 1989 a combination of Chicano, other Hispanic immigrants, and new converts from Spanish-language evangelism in the United States produced 400 Spanish-speaking churches in the North American Division, scattered not only along the southern edge of the United States but also in urban centers. Aggressive evangelism placed the Hispanic membership among

the fastest growing sectors of North America, but unlike the Black community, Spanish-speaking Adventists did not form separate conferences. Many younger Hispanic members tended to join Anglo churches, but as long as the migration movement continued the desire to keep their cultural identity remained. Spanish language radio evangelism, leadership at all levels of denominational administration, and representation on constituent committees were means the church used to recognize this growing ethnic group in the North American Division. Soon after Warren Banfield became director of the Office of Human Relations, the General Conference appointed Elias Gomez, a Latin American, to be his associate.

Coordinators of Hispanic ministry also appeared at both the conference and union levels. When the North American Division reorganized itself at the 1990 General Conference session, Manuel Vasquez, a United States-born, first generation descendent of Mexican immigrants, became the division vice president in charge of multi-lingual ministry. As the end of the twentieth century approached, Vasquez estimated that North America included approximately 110,000 Hispanic members. To commemorate the century of Adventism among Spanish-speaking members since their first church organized in Arizona, he produced *The Untold Story*, a book describing the origins and growth of Hispanic ministry in North America.

Similar to the North American experience was that of Australia where post-World War II migration created a foreign-born population of nearly

2,000,000 by the late 1970s. In February 1978, a dozen ministers representing nine ethnic groups met with conference, union, and division leaders to plan methods to reach these transplanted peoples, many of them from European communist countries. Literature in various languages, ethnic radio programs, congresses, and youth camps became common Adventist fare for these groups. As had been the case of Black Adventists and the Hispanic community in North America, the ethnic sector of Australia became the most rapidly growing part of the church.

Efforts by the Australians had their impact. As the last decade of the twentieth century began they had organized sixty-eight churches in twenty-nine different languages. A cadre of eighteen pastors served this growing membership, which meant that some ministers were conducting their work in more than one language.

As church leaders called upon Adventists to devote more attention to the ethnic membership they turned to the Aboriginal membership. Adventism had long since spread to this Australian minority, but in January 1993, Australians conducted the Western Australia Institute for Aboriginal Ministry in Perth, an occasion for Whites and Blacks to meet together to plan for cooperation and church advancement. It was the first such gathering in history of Adventism in Australia. One Aboriginal pastor confessed that for the first time in his career he felt accepted in the church. The Perth meeting precipitated a spate of articles in the *South Pacific Record*, the division paper, and letters to

the editor discussing racism in Australia, all reminiscent of the rhetoric already heard in the United States, South Africa, and the British Union.

The Australian experience was yet another chapter in the unfolding story of the impact of mixed populations within the Adventist world and how church leaders coped with this deeply rooted human problem. During the latter half of the twentieth century the population of the world became more mobile and when people in one part of the globe faced threatening problems it was easier for them to move *en masse* to more favorable locations. Peoples of the entire world laid claim to the benefits of the principles of liberty and equality that western democracies espoused, and the spread of technology and education gave rise to new expectations in human dignity and worth. The tradition of a Caucasian-led society seemed not only increasingly unrealistic but contradictory to the moods of the post-World War II world.

The Adventist Church was not immune to these trends. Population shifts unavoidably included church members who posed linguistic and cultural problems when they appeared in large numbers in host countries. With a sharply rising membership among nonwestern and semiwestern populations the overall complexion of the church also changed from White to darker shades. But as the slaughter of Adventists among the Hutu and Tutsi tribes in Rwanda demonstrated in 1994 and 1995, ethnic disputes were not always limited to Whites vis-à-vis dark-skinned people. At times the persistent presence of White/Caucasian leadership

was a moderating influence in local ethnic disputes.

It was inevitable that sooner or later Adventist leaders would have to apply some form of proportional representation when designing the infrastructure of church governance. To the secular democratic principles of liberty and equality Christians added the biblical ideal of brotherhood, but despite these lofty notions the church remained a human organization. It was probably too

much to expect that the Seventh-day Adventist world church could undergo such profound change that ethnic diversity presupposed without experiencing friction. Though flawed by these problems and marred by scars of conflict, at the end of the twentieth century the church remained united and more determined than ever to evangelize the world, a testimony to the superior influence of the Spirit of Christ that motivated its mission and sustained its identity.

Suggested Topical Reading:

The United States:

Anna Knight, *Mississippi Girl: An Autobiography* (1952), is a gripping personal account of the career of a daughter of ex-slaves who became the first Black missionary sent by any denomination to the non-Christian world.

Jacob Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975), contains valuable material about the relationships between Blacks and Whites in the United States.

J. R. Spangler, Warren Banfield, Elias Gomez, "Policies alone are not enough," *Ministry*, February 1981, pp. 4-6, probes the question of policies vis-à-vis attitudes in resolving ethnic issues.

Warren Banfield, "Adventists and Race Relations," *Adventist Review*, January 11, 1990, pp. 14-18, reviews the history of Black/White relationships in North America.

Delbert Baker, "Regional Conferences, 50 Years of Progress," *ibid.*, November 2, 1995, pp. 11-15, summarizes the story of the Black conferences in North America.

_____ *Telling the Story* (1996), is a revealing collection of documents and materials pertaining to the growth of Adventism in Black America.

Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow* (1984), chapters 11-18, depicts the growth of Adventism among Blacks in America into a flourishing movement.

Henry Felder, "Race Matters: In and Out of the Church," *Spectrum*, vol. 23, no. 5, April 1994, pp. 47-53, discusses some of the subtleties of race relations among Adventists in North America.

About South Africa:

Delbert Baker, "Freedom, You, and Apartheid," *Message*, January-February 1987,

pp. 4, 12, calls for an end to the hypocrisies of Black segregation in South Africa.

Curt Dewees, "Whites and Blacks United in South Africa," *Spectrum*, vol. 22, no. 1, March 1992, pp. 3-8, presents a brief background of apartheid and its effect on Adventist policies in South Africa.

Matthew A Bediako, "Miracle in South Africa," *Adventist Review*, February 6, 1992, pp. 12-13, is the author's eyewitness account of the unification of South African Adventists.

Roy Adams, "No Easy Answers," *ibid.*, May 9, 1996, pp. 8-11, looks at both the successes and shortcomings of South African unity after five years of formal unification.

The British Union:

Spectrum presents two opposing views of the situation in the British Union in Dennis Porter, "Crisis in the British Union," vol. 11, no. 4, June 1981, pp. 2-12, and Jeanie Picart, "The British Union: Some Comments on the Issues," *ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

E. H. Foster, "Racial Representation in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the British Isles," *Messenger* [British Union], April 21, 1978, pp. 1, 2, outlines the plan to rectify ethnic issues in the British Union.

Ibid., July 24, 1981, carries several articles about resolving the diversity question in the British Union. Of special interest are Neal Wilson's comments, p. 20.

Hispanic ministry in the United States:

Myrtle A. Pohle, *The Truth Seekers* (1980), is a popular account of the first Adventist Hispanic community in the United States.

Viola M. Payne, *Three Angels Over Rancho Grande* (1975), recounts the introduction of Adventism in New Mexico in the early twentieth century.

Manuel Vasquez, *The Untold Story* (at this writing still unpublished), an information-packed account of the Hispanic ministry in the North American Division, union by union.

Spectrum, vol. 25, no. 2, December 1995, features several articles relating to diversity in the North American Division, especially as it relates to the growth of the Hispanic membership. See Edwin I. Hernandez, "The Browning of American Adventism," pp. 29-50, which suggests changes in the church as a result of membership growth among ethnic minorities.

Adjusting to International Adversities

It would have been a heady experience for the 3,500 Adventists who organized themselves into the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1863 to see the 9,500,000 members in 1997. Besides its size, the most notable change in membership was its composition. In 1996 less than 10 percent of Adventists lived in a North America where the church organized 130 years before. In those early years no one suggested that converts would come easily. Jesus Himself had said that the road to the kingdom of heaven was narrow and that there would be relatively few travelers. But He had also told His followers to go into all the world and teach all nations.

Adventists believed that building a world membership also meant to define who were members and to integrate them into a world organization. It was on this latter point that the denomination

encountered mountainous difficulties as the twentieth century progressed. Rivalry between communist and capitalist spheres of influence threatened to isolate parts of the church from its world headquarters. Broadly speaking, the church found it easier to carry on its work in capitalist regions, but because it could not neglect other areas it had to find ways to compensate for weakened communication or complete separation, by developing organizational techniques and understandings with isolated Adventist populations.

The issue of economic dislocations during the 1930s was worldwide. The combination of a rising tide of nationalism resulting from the breakup of colonial empires and economic troubles deriving from the Great Depression forced church leaders to become progressively more dependent on national leadership.

As committed as the denomination was to the gospel commission, Adventists were probably not prepared for the mushrooming membership in the last quarter of the twentieth century, or for the impact that a predominantly non-American membership would have on the church. The largest membership gains occurred in Latin America and Africa. Questions of isolation and how to maintain an integrated church arose in parts of Europe, Asia, and to a limited extent, in Latin America.

Economic Conditions Encourage National Leadership

In 1907, slightly more than three decades after J. N. Andrews went to Europe, Adventists employed more than 800 missionaries, an average of one missionary for every seventy members in the United States, the point of origin for the vast majority of mission workers. The 21,000 Adventists outside North America at that time amounted to about a fourth of the total denominational membership. Fourteen years later in 1921 the church statistical office reported that for the first time members beyond North America outnumbered Adventists in the United States and Canada, but the North American Division remained the largest single field. For fifty-nine more years this relationship continued, but North American Adventists, while increasing in total numbers, dwindled proportionately, until in 1979 the Inter-American Division nudged ahead with nearly 650,000 members as compared

to North America's approximately 600,000. After the statistics were tabulated in 1996, five divisions surged ahead of North America, each with a membership exceeding 1,100,000. Inter-America still headed the list with more than 1,600,000 members.

The church retained English as the *lingua franca*. Citizens of the United States continued in the General Conference presidency, and Adventists maintained their headquarters in the vicinity of Washington, D. C., but the appearance of the church in 1996 bore radical changes from what it looked like a scant twenty-five years previously. If handling problems of diversity in the church had been difficult, Adventists came to realize that the rise of ethnic and national leadership coincided with a burgeoning membership.

Adventists had long preached that missionaries should be sensitive to the cultures in which they worked and that national workers should assume the responsibility of their home fields. Consciousness of ethnic differences was the key. From Honduras one missionary wrote in the *Review* in 1904 that it was dangerous to try to Americanize people and that workers should observe local customs. Carlyle B. Haynes, president of the South American Division from 1926 to 1930, kept up a steady flow of articles in the division paper, promoting what he called self-support, which meant that South Americans should depend on themselves for human resources and money. He persuasively argued that workers from North America spent thousands of dollars and much time in travel and furloughs, in learning a new language, and in acclimat-

ing to a new environment. Even at that, some missionaries had very short careers. The saving would be enormous if national workers relied on their own resources. So impressed was General Conference president W. A. Spicer with Haynes's arguments that the South American president received the opportunity to present his views to European Adventists.

Not all church leaders agreed with Haynes, and for all of his counsel and similar advice from others, putting it into practice came slowly. Many were prone not to trust national workers in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in leadership roles until they had become thoroughly westernized. For their part, many Adventists in these regions found it difficult to avoid resentment toward attitudes that they thought reflected imperialism. As the twentieth century unfolded, world circumstances rather than voluntary decisions forced the church to rely on national leadership. The driving force behind the first major step in this trend was the economic chaos in the 1930s.

Relative prosperity during the 1920s pushed church offerings to support world missions 125 percent above the previous decade. During the same period the church sent out approximately 1,600 mission workers, an increase of about 25 percent over the previous decade. In the wake of the setbacks of the Great Depression in the 1930s, world divisions cut back their calls for missionaries and increased the proportion of national workers. Meanwhile, the church grew from roughly 200,000 in 1920 to 500,000 in 1940, with nearly two-thirds of that increase occurring during the financially

lean 1930s. This growth occurred despite the fact that mission appointees slumped to fewer than 1,100 during the 1930s and offerings for mission support rose only 10 percent.

The lesson these numbers taught was not lost on national church leaders. The years of economic dislocation were difficult, but not only had the church survived, its membership growth rates remained high in many world fields. In Inter-America the tempo actually increased to 141 percent for the decade of the 1930s, the highest of any world field. In Africa and parts of Asia the rate slackened only slightly during the hard economic years, hovering around 100 percent. By contrast, in North America, Australasia, and Europe, all predominantly White areas, growth was noticeably slower. Europe reported the lowest rate over the decade, 36 percent.

Nothing could have better substantiated Haynes's arguments than statistics from the developing world during the Great Depression. When forced by economic adversity to depend less on the "homeland" for both money and people, Adventists in what came to be called the developing world demonstrated that they rose to the occasion. It was true that North Americans retained positions of top leadership in the world missions during the years of hardship, but the reports show that hard financial times had produced an unprecedented growth of national participation in church affairs. One outstanding example was China, where the number of foreign workers remained constant during the years 1930-36 while national workers increased by 388.

The Church in Communist Europe

World politics before, during, and after World War II forced the church to take another giant step in relying on national leadership. Communication between the Soviet Union and the United States was difficult at best from the late 1920s onward, which left Russian Adventists to fend for themselves. Further, wartime coalitions during World War II cut off additional parts of the church from General Conference administration. By 1950 a communist bloc of nations stretched from Eastern Europe across the Soviet Union to the Pacific Ocean. From Poland in the north to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in the south, Adventists in East Europe remained as parts of existing administrative divisions of the church, but the Cold War made communication with some countries difficult, if not impossible in some cases. After the war the church received no official reports from Adventists in the Soviet Union and only intermittently from Bulgaria. The Albanian Adventist Mission, only of embryonic size, virtually ceased. While Europeans in leadership roles had been common since the early days of Adventist presence on the continent, the post-war communist bloc prevented the General Conference from restoring a well integrated administrative structure after hostilities ended.

The more than forty years of communist domination that followed in East Europe taught Adventists to survive under harsh restrictions and lean budgets. In 1957, at the height of the Cold War, Adventists in the USSR and its satellite

states numbered an estimated 130,000. Of that number more than 90,000 were in East Europe. In East Germany and Yugoslavia the church was able in time to operate schools, and in Poland both a school and a publishing establishment. In the mid-1970s politics had loosened up enough for Adventists to organize a school in every East European country except Albania and Bulgaria. In addition to the publishing office in Poland new printing enterprises appeared in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Yugoslavia.

Membership outside the Soviet Union climbed to about 100,000, but country by country, the growth of the church was uneven. In Hungary and East Germany the number of Adventists appeared to diminish. The largest single Adventist organization among the communist countries of Europe was the Romanian church, which grew from 31,000 to 47,000 between 1957 and 1975. Because of the lack of reports, the denomination still depended on estimates of the membership in Albania and Bulgaria. In addition to the East European bloc the church made a calculated guess of 40,000 Adventists in the Soviet Union.

Mild thaws in the Cold War, beginning in the 1970s, permitted the General Conference to establish some contact with the Adventist church in the Soviet Union. In 1975 Adventist delegates from the USSR attended the General Conference session in Vienna, Austria. Following the session, denominational leaders stepped up their portrayal of Adventism as a politically neutral force, but left little doubt about their support of religious freedom as a human right. Church lead-

ers repeatedly made contacts with Soviet Adventists, until in a bold gesture as an invited guest to the Kremlin to speak before the International Forum for a Non-nuclear World in February, 1987, Neal Wilson offered to share Adventist expertise in medical matters with the Soviet government. While leaving no doubt that Adventists deplored religious proscriptions for which the communist system was so well known, he also unequivocally placed his offer of assistance before the Kremlin. The commissars could not have mistaken his message: the church is an agent of helpfulness and good will, not a political tool, and Christianity is a message of peace.

The facts showed that while communism had acutely restricted religious activity in the USSR, it had not created a completely closed system. To help compensate for the lack of formal training for pastors, Jean Zurcher, secretary of the Euro-Africa Division, received a visa to travel throughout the Soviet Union to conduct ministerial meetings in 1983. Although never out of the sight of watchful government authorities, he preached frequently in the western part of the country and reviewed Adventist teachings before scores of pastors, some of whom traveled from Vladivostok on the Pacific coast to attend. Zurcher reported that a year earlier six pastors from the Soviet Union had attended a Bible conference in East Germany, three were currently studying theology at Friedensau in the German Democratic Republic, and two others were enrolled at Newbold College in England.

One of the problems all Christian

denominations in the USSR and East European countries faced during the years of the Cold War was whether or not to register with the government as official ecclesiastical organizations in exchange for the privilege to worship. For Adventists this decision became crucial, for in some cases governments required children to attend school on Sabbath and denied military personnel the right to refuse to bear arms. Adventist leaders in Russia during the 1920s had decided to leave these questions to individuals rather than to issue blanket rulings for church members to follow.

From the early years of the Stalinist era large numbers of Russian Adventists opposed such government regulation, arguing that, in addition to acceding to an authority that had no right to coerce their consciences, they would have to surrender key beliefs, such as obedience to the Ten Commandments. Rather than to submit they formed an alternative Adventist church, the True and Free Adventists. As long as the government imposed harsh controls on all religious worship the rift between the general Adventists and the True and Free Adventists remained largely an internal disagreement, but many of the True and Free leaders formed an underground movement supporting human rights.

This relationship became more complicated in the 1970s when the Adventist church in the Soviet Union received permission to register as an official body. Organization of conferences followed, but many True and Free Adventists persisted in opposing such compliance with public authority. By the early 1980s it was

estimated that they numbered into the tens of thousands. Reconciliation between the divided Adventist groups became an important item on the agenda of General Conference leaders as their communication with Adventists in the USSR improved during the period of domestic political reform during the 1980s known as *glasnost*.

In 1987 Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs for the Soviet Union, responded to an invitation by General Conference president Neal Wilson to visit Adventist facilities in the United States. Accompanied by M. P. Kulakov, head of the Adventist church



M. P. Kulakov, descendent from a line of Adventist ministers, headed the Adventist work in the Soviet Union beginning in the 1970s until shortly after the communist system collapsed and the General Conference organized a new Euro-Asia Division.

in Russia, he toured denominational hospitals and the Adventist media center in California, where he told employees that new understandings of relationships between church and state were part of the new era of *glasnost*.

Glasnost also had its international implications. At times during the Cold War, restiveness in Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Hungary erupted into open resistance against Soviet domination, only to be crushed by military action from the USSR. Coincident with *glasnost*, the Soviet Union relaxed its grip on its subservient states, which brought hope of increased personal liberty to citizens of the communist empire. In 1987 North American evangelist Mark Finley conducted open evangelistic meetings in Gdansk, Poland, complete with advertising and a fifty-member team that assisted with no-smoking programs, anti-alcohol lectures, and cooking and nutrition seminars. Delmer and Betty Holbrook, retired General Conference workers, reported to the Adventist world in February 1989, that they had recently led meetings in three large Romanian cities, stressing family values.

Despite these signs of optimism, the prevailing atmosphere remained restrictive. Beginning in the late summer and continuing into the fall of 1989, reaction against years of repression intensified and agitation broke out into massive demonstrations. Adventist church leaders officially protested against government policies in Czechoslovakia and East Germany, and some individual Adventists, aroused by the heightening tension,

joined and even helped to lead antigovernment demonstrations. In the face of this mounting grass roots antagonism, one communist regime after another toppled until the entire communist system in East Europe crumbled.

This political storm had been many years in the making, but it surprised many because of its swiftness. Two years later in 1991 the Soviet Union itself fell apart. Shortly, most of the fifteen republics that had formed the union declared their independence. Neither in the East European countries nor in the former Soviet Union did communist parties die, but their control of governments vanished as did their systematic campaign to curtail religious activity.

What followed these cataclysmic events was a realignment of the Adventist Church. In a newly unified Germany the church merged three unions into two, North and South. For the first time in a half-century church leaders visited Albania. New church administrative structure was necessary to recognize the breakup of Yugoslavia into independent states and the separation of Czechoslovakia into two republics. A year before the Soviet Union disintegrated the Adventist church in the USSR reorganized itself into the Euro-Asia Division, but after 1991 three Baltic states that had regained their independence, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, joined the Trans-European Division.

The effect of these changes on the denomination was electric. For the first time in decades the General Conference could communicate normally with some regions. A year following the fall of the

Soviet Union, expatriate church leaders arrived in Moscow to assume key administrative posts in the Euro-Asia Division, but national workers continued to head conferences and unions. Long cut off from traditional church functions, ministers in the division had no experience in organizing and conducting evangelistic meetings, but evangelists from elsewhere in the world church entered once forbidden territory to preach. Crowds, now uninhibited by restrictions, responded in droves. From 1991 to 1996, inclusively, membership in the former Soviet Union more than tripled, rising from 34,000 to approximately 122,000, including the Baltic republics that had transferred to the Trans-European Division. In the former communist bloc of East Europe Adventists numbered more than 116,000 in 1996 as compared to an estimated 100,000 only six years previously when the iron curtain fell.

In former Soviet territory where the church had never established a formal program to prepare pastors, such rapid growth placed a heavy strain on the short supply of ministers. Four years before the communist government collapsed, Adventists received permission to found a seminary at Zaokski, about sixty miles south of Moscow. After nearly two years of construction, the first ministerial students enrolled in 1989 and in 1993 the first class of theology students graduated, but the need for pastors far outstripped the number coming from the seminary. To help meet this demand seminary faculty organized classes for ministers and other church leaders to review denominational history, Adventist doctrine, and

leadership methods. Visitors from Adventist colleges and other world fields were the instructors.

Soon after granting the church permission for a seminary in the USSR, the government approved an Adventist-owned publishing house, which went up adjacent to the seminary. By 1993 the presses were turning out denominational literature, including Sabbath School quarterlies and children's literature. In Tula, less than fifty miles to the south of Zaokski, the church erected a media center to produce radio and television programs and to conduct a Bible correspondence school. In 1995 Ted Wilson, president of the Euro-Asia Division, reported a field fully organized into departments with expatriate workers heading only the treasury and education departments, but with nationals occupying other posts.

As a result of their long experience in an anticapitalist and antireligious environment, Adventists in the Euro-Asia Division also faced two other serious deficiencies besides the shortage of pastors and evangelistic experience: an absence of church buildings and an acute shortage of trained accountants to care for church money. To redress the first problem the General Conference dedicated a world offering in 1997 to erect sanctuaries or to convert existing buildings into churches. To compensate for the absence of trained treasurers, the division organized seminars and concentrated classes to educate national workers in accounting skills. In 1997 the seminary added a short accounting program to its curriculum to prepare financial administrators for the church.

Europe's experiment with communism taught Adventists in socialist countries to rely less on the world church and to content themselves with a less than satisfactory role in denominational affairs. Leaders of the world church had to be confident that Adventists in these isolated and semi-isolated countries would not break away into independent Adventist churches. Once the communist experiment ended, normal relationships resumed quickly. Although controls in East Europe's communist empire had hampered church management and prevented full integration of the region into the Adventist world movement, the intensity of government regulation differed from country to country. Except in the case of Albania, communication had never been completely cut off between the General Conference and Adventist believers.

The quickly growing church organization in the former Soviet Union revealed its resiliency and belied the fact that despite bitter hardship, Adventists had maintained a tenacious grip on their faith and a loyalty to the central authority of the church. In the spirit of *glasnost* Kulakov reported to the 1990 General Conference session that Adventists in the Soviet Union were on the verge of organizing themselves according to procedures set forth in the denominational working policy. Not since 1928 had they enjoyed this privilege, but reform had progressed far enough to permit a new margin of self-governance for the church. In the post-Cold War era it was clear that scientific atheism which Marxism taught

had not destroyed Christianity in general or Adventism in particular.

The Church in China

Communism's claim to be an international movement transcending nationalism may have been a frequently quoted ideal, but events in Europe indicated that nationalism was still strong; often it prevailed over ideology. Although the world regarded the countries of East Europe as satellites of the Soviet Union, they gradually developed their own strains of communism according to their own national interests. Sometimes they conflicted with the Soviet Union and the resulting tension contributed to the demise of the communist system. But China was too large to become a satellite of the Kremlin, and even though Chinese leaders adopted communism, from the onset they decided their own ideology. Even more than the Chinese nationalist movement under Sun Yat-sen in the early years of the twentieth century, the communist revolution in China represented an anti-imperialist mood. It was in China that nationalism and communism combined more effectively than in Europe and taught Adventists that, in addition to being a political principle, self-determination can exert a sweeping influence on religious life.

During the nineteenth century China became a special object for Christian missionaries whose success depended extensively on the protection of imperialist governments. In some instances religious groups helped their home countries to draft treaties that gave extraterritorial

rights to Christian missionaries, which placed them above local law. Abuses ensued. The relationship between the missionary and the Chinese convert was more similar to that of a master and worker than one between brethren. By the time serious Adventist mission activity began in the first years of the twentieth century Chinese resentment against Christians was running high.

At the same time the country degenerated into a near-feudal condition with warring territorial lords battling each other. The future of the imperial family was in doubt. Hostilities between China and Japan during the 1930s further complicated matters. The situation worsened when the conflict evolved into the Pacific phase of World War II. Adventists could not avoid this political chaos. In 1930 the General Conference separated China from the rest of Asia to organize a separate division with 9000 members. Despite uncertain conditions in China, church leaders established a chain of medical centers and schools.

Hardly had the smoke settled from World War II when civil war erupted again. This time the nationalists, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, who had controlled the country during the war against Japan, battled communist forces led by Mao Zedong. Adventist workers who returned to China in 1946 after World War II enjoyed only a short-lived attempt to rebuild the church. Chinese Adventists pointed out that the China Division had developed a strong dependence upon North America for money and personnel, although that relationship had weakened somewhat as

a result of the Great Depression when the ratio of Chinese workers increased. In the interest of continuing that trend Chinese workers requested in 1947 to take over administrative responsibility for the resurrected China Division.

Division leaders gave short shrift to this proposal, but the swift communist conquest of China, culminating in 1949, turned events around. During this civil conflict the China Division moved its offices from Shanghai to Hong Kong, but following the communist takeover, expatriate church officials relinquished all administrative posts to Chinese nationals, from the division down to local conferences.

This transfer of authority was not enough to satisfy Chinese commissars whose anti-Western and anti-religious bias soon sparked a severe repression that destroyed the structure of the church and its relationship with the world headquarters. As a result, Adventists in China were effectively isolated from their fellow believers. By 1952 the China Division ceased operations and soon after, unions and conferences closed down. Church-owned institutions, the publishing house, the fifteen health-care centers, and scores of schools, also became history. Contributing to the loss of church properties was the Korean War, 1950-1953, when China and the United States found themselves fighting each other. Because the Chinese government perceived the Adventist church in China as an American organization, it froze Adventist assets.

The disintegration of the Adventist church resulted from internal problems as well as the activity of China's revolutionary government. From the point of view

of David Lin, the first national secretary of the China Division, one of the leading causes for the church's sudden demise was the lack of Ellen White's books, which he believed would have brought continuity and stability to church members. In 1951 Chinese Adventists had only six of her books.

Related to this opinion was the belief among some Chinese leaders that many Adventists were not truly converted, but joined the church to maintain their jobs or to improve their chances to become upwardly mobile on the social scale. Lin recalled that after the government expropriated the Adventist publishing house, only one employee asked permission to observe Sabbath, despite an official invitation to all employees to petition for Sabbath privileges. Also contributing to the fall of the church were politically active members whose memory of irritants within the denomination fostered an anticolonial spirit and encouraged their cooperation with the revolution.

Beginning in 1958 Adventists faced a new threat from the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, an initiative by Chinese Christians to encourage self-administration, self-support, and self-propagation of Christianity. This organization began in 1950 as a response to government advice that Chinese Christians should control their own religious activities rather than to play a secondary role to foreign dominated churches. Originally, the founders of the Three-Self intended to assist churches in such matters as managing church buildings, training and ordaining ministers, and operating seminaries, but in 1958 its leaders introduced united wor-

ship. This action lumped all Protestant Christians together into a single religious conglomerate, which, practically speaking, meant the end of denominational identities. By worshiping on Saturdays Chinese Adventists maintained a separation, but even this difference became extremely difficult during the Cultural Revolution.

Under the guise of protecting China from counter-revolutionary sentiment, this movement began in 1966 when radical youth elements known as the Red Guards launched a wave of terror to overturn the country's cultural roots by mobbing anyone even suspected of inclinations toward the West or other deviations from the party line. Even many Chinese traditions were questioned. Christianity, a religion brought to China by imperialist powers, was an unquestioned target, and in the wake of the Red Guards' activities all Christian churches closed. Only the boldest of Christians, including Adventists, dared to conduct weekly services even in their homes.

How this repression affected Adventist membership in China is not fully known, but until the excesses of the upheaval ran their course in the 1970s, Christian activity was nearly at a standstill. Some Adventists preached or wrote anyway, and paid for their counter-revolutionary behavior with time in prison or labor camps. The last official report to the General Conference from China in 1951 declared Adventist membership to be 21,168, a figure that remained in the denomination's statistical report for thirty-five years. In reality, the accurate count was probably much smaller. Signs of relaxation appeared before

the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. Three years later, the government began returning churches to their users.

After the communist revolution the General Conference continued to maintain a small China Committee whose activities were limited, but signs of openness brought new anticipation to Seventh-day Adventists. To restore China as an integrated part of the denomination was out of the question, but a newly formed Eastern Asia Committee could arrange communication with groups of believers and render discreet assistance in ways that would not precipitate retaliation. Among the first activities were radio broadcasts out of both Hong Kong and Macao, a nearby Portuguese enclave and remnant of the colonial past. Originally, the broadcasts were in Cantonese, but later Mandarin was added.

Although the Eastern Asia Committee was responsible to the General Conference, it functioned under the guidance of Samuel C. Young, president of the Hong Kong-Macao Mission. Except for a five-year period, 1985-90 when Carl Currie, a career missionary to China headed the committee, Chinese themselves led in its activities. Working out of Hong Kong, this group expanded its radio broadcasts, developed a correspondence school, encouraged printing of Adventist literature in China, and from time to time visited Adventist believers in China. The committee also promoted English language study programs.

China's weakening ideological stance during the 1980s opened the doors for a tide of capitalistic activity and also made it easier for Chinese Christians to prac-

tice their faith. With financial aid from Christians around the world, Chinese Christians dedicated a printing establishment in Nanjing in 1987, which had the capacity to produce a half million Bibles a year. In 1989 some guesses placed Protestant church attendance at approximately 5,000,000 in 5,000 churches. At the same time house churches became popular for several reasons, among them crowded conditions in the sanctuaries and the desire by many Christians to hear sermons and to worship according to a liturgy in keeping with their personal beliefs rather than what they heard in the churches. Estimates of attendance in house churches ranged from a few million to 50,000,000.

The resumption of church attendance also revived the role of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement for which the China Christian Council became the administrative agency for Protestant churches. Because one of the aims of this movement was to eliminate denominational identity through united worship, individual communions as the Western world knew them could not claim members in China. Converts were baptized into Protestantism, not churches. Thus, Adventists reported believers, not members, in China, but in 1989 an educated estimate of Adventist adherents stood at 65,000, a figure several times the number of believers only a decade earlier.

However gratified the church was with these reasons for optimism, Samuel C. Young, who had become associate secretary of the General Conference as well as secretary of the Eastern Asia Committee, reminded Adventists in 1989 that their

fellow believers in China were still under the control of the Three-Self Movement. By implication, mission activity as it was once known was still not possible. Moral support and money would help, and workers would be welcome for brief terms of service if they possessed specific skills in the medical profession or teaching English as a second language. It was clear that China intended that its own people should direct their own affairs.

The attempt by the Three-Self Movement to produce a generic form of Christianity led China into the post-denominational era, a form of ecumenism unknown in the West. In spite of this move toward unity, Adventists requested and received permission to worship on Sabbaths and to practice other elements of their faith, thus retaining more of their identity than many Protestant communions. In a few cases Adventists claimed ownership of churches and posted signs accordingly, but the Three-Self Movement blurred the lines of distinction between Adventists and other groups, especially in the minds of younger believers who had never experienced loyalties to denominations.

In 1994 ordained Adventist pastors numbered only about twenty, hardly more than a gesture in comparison to the total number of Adventist believers, then estimated to exceed 150,000. Most of the ministers were aged seventy or older and were survivors of the communist revolution of the late 1940s and the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. With no prospect in sight to train ministers outside of the Three-Self Movement, the

future identity of Adventism in China was in question. The burden of leadership among Adventist believers fell on the shoulders of lay people, many of whom were women.

With a view of promoting more opportunities to preserve the identity of Adventism, a denominational delegation headed by General Conference vice president Robert J. Kloosterhuis journeyed to Beijing in 1994 to confer with leaders of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. Of special concern was the request to allow a limited amount of Adventist teaching in approved seminaries for the benefit of prospective Adventist ministers. While officials in the Chinese Religious Affairs Bureau did not rebuff Kloosterhuis, they remained firm in their intention to deal with Christians as a single generic group. The delegation left China empty-handed, but the church remained hopeful that in time Adventist believers would experience further liberties.

A year after Kloosterhuis's visit, Eugene Hsu, who had become the head of the Eastern Asia Committee, reported to the General Conference session in Utrecht that Adventist activity in China was picking up. A stream of Bibles and denominational literature, including Ellen White's books, passed from Hong Kong to the interior of China. Each week the Adventist-owned radio station on Guam, KSDA, broadcast 127 hours of programs in four languages spoken in China. Office staff kept busy responding to hundreds of letters and Voice of Prophecy lessons that listeners sent in. Over KSDA the Eastern Asia Committee also broadcast a series of ministerial classes

called the *College of the Air*. To help alleviate the shortage of leadership among Adventist believers, the committee was preparing a training course for lay people. About a dozen prospective ministers were studying in the United States and the Philippines.

Between 1991 and 1995 more than 135 Adventist English language teachers went to Chinese universities and other institutions and had generated considerable inquiry about biblical matters, resulting in some baptisms. The Adventist presence at Sir Run Run Shaw Hospital provided an opportunity to share the Adventist health message in weekly radio programs. Both the General Conference and Loma Linda University were sponsoring public health education seminars and workshops to encourage changes in lifestyle. As a result of such a program in Yanji, 275 new believers attended house churches each Sabbath.

During a visit to Manchuria in 1994 Hsu verified that in July 1992, nearly 2000 Adventist believers were baptized, followed by 4400 in 1993. Another 3000 took the step in 1994 after Hsu's trip. Hsu himself preached to 3000 Christians on a Sunday morning. Adventists assured him that another 2500 attended regularly on Sabbaths in the same building. These converts were primarily the result of witnessing by lay people.

As the end of the twentieth century approached, Chinese Adventist believers experienced a mixed assortment of negative circumstances and blessings. Although the activities of the Eastern Asia Committee, renamed the East Asia Association, had been helpful, it was pri-

marily a liaison with China rather than an instrument of church governance. The reported 219,913 Chinese believers in 1996 were about ten times more numerous than the size of the church in 1950, and leaders among Chinese Adventists viewed them as spiritually stronger. The difficulties of the communist and Cultural revolutions had been severe, but many confessed that those experiences had purged the church of its unconverted elements. They could now worship unmolested in registered churches and houses, and they could circulate literature openly. Within the boundaries of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement they could baptize converts to Christianity, knowing that they were adding to the growing number of Adventist believers.

Ironically, isolation from the rest of the organized Adventist church also saved Chinese believers from debate about women's ordination. Without any quibbling, Chinese women who were ordained as elders in local congregations also performed the normal duties of a minister, including baptisms. A woman pastored a 1000-member congregation in Wuxi, and a seventy-year-old woman elder baptized more than 1100 converts in 1992 and 1993.

On the negative side the many decades of isolation from the church at large had taken its toll. Three-Self proscriptions against denominationalism removed central authority from the church, prevented Adventists from accurately identifying members, organizing a legitimate church, and planning comprehensive evangelistic programs. Even private proselytizing fell under restrictive regulation. Chinese believers

knew very little about the heritage of the Adventist movement, and the lack of formal, systematic denominational education at times produced misunderstandings and divisiveness among believers. Contacts between Chinese believers and Adventists from outside China were still problematical at times.

In 1994 the Far Eastern Division, formed in 1930 when the General Conference separated China into a separate division, reorganized as the Asia-Pacific Division. Two years later it divided into the Northern and the Southern Asia-Pacific divisions. With this change the East Asia Association became an administrative agency of the new Northern Asia-Pacific Division. Although China fell into that same territory, it remained nonintegrated into denominational administrative structure.

Aside from fulfilling the gospel commission, from the vantage point of Chinese Adventists the development of Adventism in China was positive beyond dispute—for nearly a half century Chinese Adventists had endured their problems and proclaimed their faith without depending on external monetary support or foreign leadership. Despite changes, Adventist believers in China remained separated from the world organization, but Chinese church leaders in Hong Kong, Seoul, and the General Conference headquarters were quick to emphasize the gains of the church rather than to dwell on the obstacles that remained. For Adventists the second half of the twentieth century in China had been an arduous struggle with political realities and had tested their best mettle. Shorn of its

identity and its institutions from a prior era, the church assumed a new form to fit the environment. Now only a communion of believers, the more than 200,000 adherents were rapidly increasing and were a testimony to the universal appeal of the gospel.

The Adventist Experience in Cuba

Although not affecting as many Adventists as in East Europe, the Soviet Union, or China, the case of Cuba was equally troublesome for the church. From its lairs in the Sierra Maestra mountains in Oriente Province a band of rebels led by Fidel Castro launched an incessant harassment of the Batista government in November 1956, and finally chased it

from Havana on January 1, 1959. During the next two years political conditions deteriorated until in 1961 the United States closed its Cuban embassy.

Faced with no diplomatic protection, American Adventists who headed the church hastily packed their bags. Before moving the offices of the Antillian Union to Puerto Rico, the union secretary organized the church in Cuba with nationals in charge, and with a gesture of good will, expressed confidence that the Cuban brethren could effectively handle church affairs. Shortly after his rupture with the United States, Castro declared himself to be a Marxist and implemented a program to close down religious activity. The practical effect of these events was to break formal ties between the Cuban Adventists



Seen here in 1950, Antillian Union College in Cuba was developing into one of the most prominent institutions in the Inter-American Division before the Revolution of 1959. Because the school's operations were effectively interrupted, the Antillian Union moved the school to Puerto Rico.

and the denomination at large. The church doggedly kept its college at Santa Clara going, but eventually moved it to Puerto Rico.

The separation of Cuba was especially galling to the church. The island was less than a hundred miles from the United States; in its capital the Inter-American Division had made its headquarters during the 1940s, and it was in Cuba that Adventists operated one of the most promising colleges in Inter-America. Dating from the first half of the nineteenth century some North Americans had looked covetously at this Spanish colony and spoken of it as though it should belong to the United States. After the Spanish-American War in 1898, the United States declared Cuba a protectorate, occupied the island, and guided Cuban affairs paternalistically. It was under the umbrella of this special relationship that Adventist workers entered the island in 1903.

As well meaning as United States policy may have been, it did not assuage widespread Cuban resentment over North American intervention and deprivation of the independence they thought was theirs. In time this attitude showed up in church affairs. At a constituency meeting in 1940, five years after becoming a conference, Cubans' dissatisfaction because of a lack of national membership on committees flared into open dissent. From July 1940, to January 1941, the dispute continued. Finally both sides buried the hatchet by dividing Cuba into two conferences, one with a Cuban president and a North American secretary-treasurer, the second with those offices reversed. At the time of Castro's assumption of power in

1959, Adventists had been working in Cuba for about fifty-five years and showed a membership approximating 5,500. In 1961, when Cuban Adventists gained complete control of the church on the island, there was no room for such negotiation and compromise that had marked the settlement in 1940.

As the noose around religious activity tightened, Adventists stopped distributing literature, halted evangelistic meetings, and seriously cut short their education program. Like other communist states in Europe and Asia, Cuba professed to guarantee religious liberty, but again similar to other communist governments, Cuba's constitutional freedom extended only to personal beliefs and excluded unfettered practice and proselytizing, both regarded as counter-revolutionary. With Adventist activity reduced to hardly more than conducting ordinary church services and with no communication with the world church except by discreet means, Cuban church members spent the remainder of the 1960s and most of the 1970s in isolation.

Returning from a visit to Cuba in 1967, E. W. Pedersen, a Danish citizen and general field secretary of the General Conference, reassured the Adventist world that church organization, denominational beliefs, and the conduct of church services were still intact. Cuban delegates attended the General Conference session in Vienna, Austria, in 1975, but were denied permission to leave Cuba for the 1980 session in Dallas, Texas. Informal communication between the church and Cuban Adventists became more frequent after the United States

lifted travel restrictions in 1977. Within two years both Inter-American Division and General Conference representatives visited the island.

A general climate of relaxation that swept through the Soviet Union, China, and East Europe during the 1980s had its Cuban counterpart as Castro showed signs of softening. Adventists received permission to send representatives to a Pan American youth congress in Mexico City and later, to the General Conference session in New Orleans in 1985. Meeting with Protestant churchmen in 1985, Castro admitted that family values embedded in religious teachings would be helpful in combating social ills. Following their tour of Cuba in 1988, delegates from the New York-based Appeal of Conscience Foundation confirmed that Castro wanted Christian allies in his battle against divorce and juvenile delinquency.

Although only modestly cordial, these signals encouraged Adventists to request approval for expansion of their tiny seminary to permit improved self-governance for Cuban Adventists. Since 1969 Cubans offered training to a restricted number of workers in the central church administrative office building in Havana. The small seminary program was roughly equivalent to a junior college education. Books and teachers came from the University of Montemorelos in Mexico. Adventists' application to enlarge this educational venture resulted in an affiliation with the University of Montemorelos to offer baccalaureate degrees in religion. The first class graduated in 1990; five years later construction began on a new seminary in a Havana suburb. With government of-

ficials attending and General Conference president Robert Folkenberg speaking, Cuban Adventists dedicated their new facility in 1996. It was the first Cuban institution since the loss of the college more than thirty years earlier.

The church itself also enjoyed new liberties. While it had never ceased to function since the revolution, to meet new political conditions it had organized itself into six "delegations," which were comparable to conferences. These six units constituted the National Association of Seventh-day Adventists, which functioned similarly to a union. In 1989 restrictions had loosened sufficiently to permit this body to reorganize itself according to the church manual. The product was a new Cuba Union with three conferences. The government's good will in all of these events did not pass unnoticed. After addressing the audience at the seminary dedication, Caridad Diego, director of the Department of Religious Affairs of the Central Committee in Cuba, seized a shovel to participate in the ceremonial groundbreaking for a new multipurpose building to complete the seminary complex.

These new freedoms in Cuba were not the result of constitutional changes in the government but rather a moderation of policy. As in China, pragmatic considerations of national well-being overrode ideology. Castro had consistently received a certain admiration from fellow Latin American leaders for his stiff resistance to North America, but serious weaknesses appeared in his program that lessened his influence. He had never been able to develop a truly productive

economy, and with the passing years revolutionary fervor evaporated. Repeated waves of refugees departing the island, notably the Mariel exodus in 1980, and the huge size of the transplanted Cuban population in southern Florida testified to the aspiration of tens of thousands to flee to a more congenial political climate. Castro tried to export his revolution to other parts of Latin America, but except for a short-lived experiment with socialism in Nicaragua beginning in 1979, he was unsuccessful. Cuba also lost much support when the underpinnings of the communist world first weakened and then vanished with the fall of the European communist bloc in 1989.

All of these events militated against Castro's attempt to isolate Cubans from the rest of the world. Notwithstanding his dynamic leadership style, he could neither prevent social and economic trends from impacting his people nor destroy spirituality by legislating against it. Against heavy odds in 1979, twenty years after the revolution, the 5,500 Cuban Adventists had grown to 9,300. Membership stood at nearly 10,000 a decade later when the Cuba Union reorganized in 1989. The slowed rate of growth in those ten years was attributable in part to heavy emigration—in the 1980 Mariel exodus alone the Cuban church lost an estimated 1,000 members and fifty pastors.

As their communication with the Inter-American Division resumed in the 1980s, Cuban church leaders accepted membership goals as part of the denominational evangelistic program. By the mid-1990s Adventists were conducting open evangelistic meetings and depend-

ing on government printing houses for literature; at the end of 1996 Cuban Adventists numbered 16,011 and had become the largest Protestant denomination on the island. After sustaining forty years of communism, Cuban Adventists enjoyed an effective relationship with the denomination but remained only partially integrated into its administrative structure. The Cuban experience had been a lesson in church administration policy as well as a lesson in faith.

Summary

Confronting the economic problems of the Great Depression and the international issue of communism were not the first times the Adventist Church had dealt with financial reversals and authoritarianism, but these problems of the twentieth century put a new twist in the administration of a world denomination. For the first time the church faced a worldwide economic disaster as opposed to previous regional problems. Also, for the first time it faced an international movement whose ideology was antithetical to religion. From East Germany across Euro-Asia to China and on to Cuba, the intensity of the movement varied from country to country. Beset with problems of how to maintain a viable global organization in a world fragmented by international politics, denominational leaders learned to rely on whatever methods were feasible and appropriate under the circumstances. Other communist controlled pockets existed, primarily in North Korea and North Vietnam. After the withdrawal of the United States military from

South Vietnam in 1973, the entire country fell under communist domination. From these locales the church received only sketchy information about church activities and membership, but these fields also showed signs of warming during the 1990s.

Although Adventists believed that they bore a special message to the world, the conditions they met in hostile environments brought new meaning to their awareness that organizational machinery is simply an instrument to assist the higher purpose of ministering to human and spiritual needs. With renewed impact Adventists realized that the power of the gospel inheres in the saving message they carried, not in institutions or administrative structure. The biblical injunction to carry the gospel to all the world did not promise immunity from political and economic problems, but it implied that the message was universal and that its adaptability to antagonistic environments was possible. Obstacles to customary denominational procedures required church leaders to define the essence of their universal message and, when necessary, to confine themselves to only limited activity without the customary support of many institutions.

The darkest side of repression was imprisonment. Many Adventists endured it, among them David Lin in China and M. P. Kulakov in the Soviet Union. In Cuba Humberto Noble Alexander spent twenty-two years incarcerated because of alleged crimes against the state. He was among the fifty prisoners Castro released in 1984 following personal conversations with Jesse Jackson, a Protestant minister and

Black American activist, who urged the Cuban dictator to ease the pressure on religious practice. During his years in prison Alexander became a recognized spiritual leader by offering spiritual counsel to fellow prisoners and conducting clandestine interdenominational services.

Never before had the question of national workers in leadership roles been so critical as during the communist experiment. One significant outcome of this reliance on national leadership was to develop a generation of local leaders who were acclimated to the environment in which they worked. Relying extensively on their own resources and ingenuity, these people demonstrated a remarkable loyalty to the world church and its teachings. What they were forced to defend they held dear.

The statistics of church growth also allay any doubt that the transfer of authority to national workers was detrimental to the denomination. Although Adventist record keepers could only guess the membership total for all communist countries combined, between the years 1960 and 1990, or the three decades bounded by the Cuban revolution and the first year when the isolation of communist societies had either disappeared or substantially diminished, Adventists in communist countries increased by approximately 50 percent. No one argued that membership increases and spirituality are equivalents, but this rise in membership indicated that the gospel of Christ's saving grace and His soon return was eliciting an enlarging response from many hearts despite severe adversity.

Suggested Topical Reading:*Soviet Union and East Europe:*

Albert Boiter, "The Truth About Religious Liberty in the U.S.S.R.," *Liberty*, September/October 1983, pp. 13-18, explains the constitutional issues of religious liberty in the Soviet Union on the eve of *glasnost*.

Ibid., May/June, 1987, pp. 2-9, includes several articles regarding Adventist negotiations with Soviet officialdom regarding liberty. Of special interest is Neal Wilson's proposal to offer Adventist expertise in health to assist the USSR.

Neal C. Wilson, "Proposals for Peace and Understanding," *Spectrum*, vol. 19, no. 2, November 1988, pp. 44-48, places Wilson's proposals in historical perspective with an excellent introduction by the editors.

Mikhail Kulakov, *God's Soviet Miracles* (1993), is the author's personal account of establishing the Adventist seminary at Zaokski in 1988, the first Protestant seminary in Russian history.

Ludmilla Alexeyeva, "The Human-Rights Movement and the True and Free Adventists," *Spectrum*, vol. 19, no. 2, November 1988, pp. 25-32, recounts the division of Adventists into two groups during the communist era.

Roy Branson, "Two Years After the Revolution: Germany and Czechoslovakia," *ibid.*, vol. 22, March 1992, pp. 30-42, describes Adventist participation in the collapse of the communist empire.

Ray Dabrowski, "Albania's Dawn," *ibid.*, pp. 24-29, tells the story of Adventists in Albania during the years of communist repression.

Jozsef Szilvasi, "Romanian Adventists Before and After the Revolution," *Spectrum*, vol. 20, no. 4, June 1990, pp. 2-6, recounts life for Adventists in Romania under communism.

Marite Sapiets, *True Witnesses* (1990), is a sympathetic account of the True and Free Adventists in the Soviet Union.

Alf Lohne, *Adventists in Russia* (1987), explains the pre-1917 beginnings and the split among SDAs in the Soviet Union as well as the status of Adventism in the mid-1980s.

Alexander Ponomarov, *Desperate Escape* (1999), offers a personal account of persecution of Adventists in the Soviet Union from the 1920s to the 1960s.

China:

Samuel C. Young, "China," *Adventist Review*, September 7, 14, 1989, is a two-part series revealing the status of Adventists in China after forty years of communist rule.

Myron Widmer, "China," *ibid.*, September 29, October 13, 20, 1994, is a three-part series updating the Adventist world about Adventism in China.

William Johnsson and David Lin, "David Lin on China," *ibid.*, September 5, and "China: Lessons for the World Church," *ibid.*, September 12, 1991, is a two-part interview with David Lin, the former Chinese secretary of the China Division at the time of the communist revolution.

David Lin, "Missionary From Cathay: David Lin's Own Story," *Spectrum*, vol. 21, December 1991, pp. 34-42, discloses what happened to himself and Adventists in China after the communist takeover.

Stanley Maxwell, *The Man Who Couldn't Be Killed* (1995), a story of an Adventist serving time in China's labor camps.

Cuba:

E. W. Pedersen, "An Unexpected Opportunity to Visit Cuba," *Review and Herald*, June 13, 1968, and "Church Leader Reports Recent Visit to Cuba," *ibid.*, June 20, 1968, reports on the condition of Adventists in socialist Cuba nine years after the revolution.

Caleb Rosado, "Religion Under Revolution," *Message*, March-April 1985, pp. 10-13, delineates the problems of religious practice, especially for Adventists, in Cuba after the revolution.

Ronald Geraty, "Cuba: Testimony of a Prisoner of Conscience," *Spectrum*, vol. 15, no. 3, October 1984, pp. 16-23, prints an interview with Noble Alexander, an Adventist minister who served twenty-two years in a Cuban prison.

Noble Alexander with Kay Rizzo, *I Will Die Free* (1991), is a full treatment of Alexander's imprisonment and liberation by Jesse Jackson.

William Johnsson, "Cuba Today," *Adventist Review*, September 15, 1994, pp. 6-8, describes Adventists in Cuba after relaxation of restrictions on religious practice.

Membership Increases in the Developing World

That portions of the denomination could emerge from decades of repression with their identity intact, dynamic, and eager to play a role as integrated parts of the world church was indeed a bittersweet experience for Adventists. At the same time that the church was experiencing those serious problems in many places, membership growth in other regions of what was popularly called the developing world reached unprecedented levels.

Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, and parts of Asia experienced membership explosions beginning in the 1970s, although the roots of growth were visible since the 1920s. In these regions the church felt the external impact of the collapse of differing forms of imperialism. Two major aspects of this church growth were the emergence of national leadership and a trend to adapt both the practice and teaching of Adventism to

differing world cultures. This indigenizing process did not produce doctrinal change, but membership growth resulted in ethnic changes in denominational administration as the church, dominated by North America, made room for leaders from other parts of the world.

While the ethnic nature of membership increases exerted powerful influences for change, at the root of these issues was the arithmetic of church membership. Before World War II Adventists visualized membership growth in the thousands; at the end of the century the measuring rod was millions. Since the beginning of the Adventist world mission program converts included Latin Americans, Africans, and Asians, but it was the sheer volume of this burgeoning, diverse membership during the last part of the twentieth century that dictated modifications in organization,

management, and sometimes philosophy.

Membership growth became the effective step in the globalization process of the church, thus adding up the membership totals became an important issue for the church. The gospel commission that motivated evangelistic programs presupposed some method to measure how effectively the church was fulfilling its task. Geography (where the gospel was going) and baptisms (how well the gospel carriers were doing their job) became key elements in understanding the twentieth-century Adventist Church.

The Growing Church in Latin America and the Caribbean

Noticeably rapid church growth occurred first in Latin America. A change in evangelistic method and widespread participation by the laity were leading characteristics of this development. Reaching the urban population was one of the principal objectives. Effective evangelistic techniques in both South and Inter-America were the product of national workers rather than methods handed down by denominational leaders in Washington. Changes in evangelistic style were perhaps more dramatic in the Spanish-speaking regions of these divisions and in Portuguese-speaking Brazil, but the French- and English-speaking parts of the Inter-American Division also developed similar changes that proved to be equally as effective. Beginning in South America, these new techniques spread to Inter-America. In 1979 Inter-America overtook the North American Division as the largest world field, and

South America followed suit in 1985.

Dating from the introduction of Adventism to South America, church leaders had looked upon the large cities as bountiful sources of converts, but after a half-century of hard labor, Adventists had barely penetrated South American metropolitan areas. Congregations existed in cities, but the numbers were disappointing. Church members came predominantly from rural backgrounds. In 1945 the division claimed 41,000 members, more than a quarter of which were in the Indian missions in the Andes and the upper Amazon. Inter-America, a more geographically fragmented field with fewer large cities than South America, reported 54,000 members in 1945, two-thirds of whom lived in the Caribbean. At that time about one of every six Adventists in the world lived in these two divisions.

The changes that revolutionized evangelism in South and Inter-America began only tentatively in Argentina with Walter Schubert. This German-born, but South American-raised, evangelist became president of the Buenos Aires Conference in 1935 where a woman suggested to him that non-Protestant audiences felt defensive in evangelistic meetings resembling a Protestant church service. Convinced that her point was valid, Schubert reorganized his method by replacing the prophecies of Daniel as the avenue of approach with biblically based lectures on family issues and other social questions. The driving notion behind this technique was to base a sense of confidence in the validity of the Scriptures because of their relevance to immediate personal concerns. It represented a social rather

than a prophetic approach to the Bible.

In carrying out this change Schubert discarded opening prayers, hymn-singing, and offerings until he established a relationship with his audience, but as he progressed through his lectures he introduced his listeners to prophecies and other traditional aspects of religious meetings. These alterations proved effective, but they were in sharp contrast to the traditional Adventist method of validating the Bible by interpreting Daniel's prophecies to show God's intervention in history, a procedure which ministers had used since the Millerite movement.

Schubert's early experiments began after 1935; not until the 1940s did other ministers adopt his style. In 1947 he



Born in Germany and acculturated to South America, Walter Schubert developed new evangelistic techniques that revolutionized evangelism in the South American and Inter-American divisions.

became the first full-time ministerial secretary for the South American Division which gave him a chance to train other evangelists in methods of urban evangelism. The change was striking. The next year South American ministers conducted 158 sets of formal evangelistic meetings. Whereas they usually regarded fifty baptisms as a successful climax to a set of meetings, baptisms from single campaigns commonly began reaching a hundred.

During the early 1950s Schubert added other variations to his methods, sometimes conducting two sets of evangelistic meetings simultaneously in a single large city by alternating the nights when he preached. He also developed evangelistic teams including medical personnel to lecture on health topics. In Quito, Ecuador, he added a daily radio broadcast to his evangelistic schedule. In many cases he conducted field schools of evangelism for fellow ministers who later struck out on their own to organize membership drives in urban centers. The list of large cities where either Schubert or his colleagues preached included nearly every large metropolitan region in the division, but smaller communities of only 25,000 also became targets for the new evangelism.

By the time Schubert left South America to join the General Conference Ministerial Department in 1954 he had infused his ardent commitment to evangelism into a generation of evangelists who carried on his legacy with even more intensity. Among them was Alcides Campolongo, a Brazilian minister who, with the assistance of other pastors, con-

centrated on the city of Sao Paulo, beginning in 1961. After baptizing 135 new members, he returned five years later for an eighteen-month evangelistic blitz that saw 1000 converts join Adventist congregations. This was the beginning of momentous growth for the church in this prosperous commercial center in southern Brazil. In this city and its environs membership growth and the increase in the number of congregations were both so rapid that by 1994 the headquarters for three separate conferences were located in the city of Sao Paulo.

In 1956 the union presidents set a goal of 12,000 baptisms for the division. Although accessions fell 3000 short of the goal, the presidents refused to lessen their objective. Part of their enthusiasm resulted from the fact that the quickened pace of evangelism enabled the division to report more than 100,000 members that year, a net increase of approximately 59,000 in eleven years. In 1964 the division reached 200,000 members, and eight years later it topped 300,000. Achieving this latter figure was part of division plans to reach 500,000 members by 1975. However important and inspirational these accessions were, they drew attention to the annual apostasy rate which fluctuated as high as 45 percent, although more often it was considerably lower. With a more sensitive eye toward membership losses, the division continued its emphasis on evangelism. Nevertheless, South America did not reach its goal of a half million members until 1980.

Beginning in 1954, Schubert and three other South American evangelists, Arturo Schmidt, Carlos Aeschlimann, and Salim

Japas, introduced the new evangelistic method to Inter-America. One after another they organized membership drives in the capital cities of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Colombia, as well as smaller urban areas. Mexico's Adventist population expanded by more than 34,000 between 1950 and 1970. Aeschlimann's meetings in Bogota, Colombia, in 1968 were a hub for a field school and a nationwide evangelistic program involving ninety-one sets of meetings. Baptisms from these efforts exceeded 4000.

Inter-American ministers rapidly picked up the basic characteristics of the new evangelism. Aeschlimann's work in Bogota showed that Colombia was an especially productive field. Jose Osorio, evangelist for the Colombia-Venezuela Union, held massive efforts in Cali and Bucaramanga during 1975 through 1977, baptizing over 2000 and establishing several new congregations. In Caracas, Venezuela, where membership growth had lagged, he also led another series and baptized 400 converts.

To Schubert's basic approach Aeschlimann added the technique of organizing a nationwide evangelistic program to coincide with a large central series of meetings and field school. The plan had worked well in Colombia in 1968, and when carried out elsewhere, less populous areas yielded amazing numbers of baptisms. El Salvador, the smallest of the Central American republics, became the site for such a national campaign in 1979. At the first baptism from these meetings 500 new converts joined the church; two months later 1300

more were baptized.

Although many cultural differences separated the Spanish-speaking countries from each other, a common language and religious tradition bound them together and facilitated the transfer of Schubert's methods from South America to Inter-America. But Adventists among the other two major language groups in Inter-America—English and French—also experienced new evangelistic fervor. After more than a fifty-year presence in Haiti, Adventists could count only about 12,000 members in 1955. The following year this field joined other French-speaking islands to form the Franco-Haitian Union. One result of this organizational change was a spurt of evangelism. Within four years this new field approached 20,000 members, and during the 1960s another 20,000 joined. A net growth of 59,000 during the 1970s raised the membership in Haiti, other French-speaking islands, and French Guiana to nearly 100,000. Mass evangelism had played a vital role in this growth, but unlike the evangelism in Spanish countries, some of the successful meetings were conducted by English speakers from North America.

Conversions in the English-speaking Caribbean had always been high compared to other parts of the Inter-American Division, but a noticeable change in evangelistic style occurred after M. K. Eckenroth, an associate secretary of the Ministerial Department of the General Conference, held a field school in Jamaica in 1950. Besides integrating health lectures into their meetings evangelists preached for spiritual commitment before presenting the distinctive doctrines

of the church. This approach held that conversion was an experience of the heart and that acceptance of specific doctrines would be easier for those who had already committed themselves to a new life in Jesus than for those who were still weighing their decision.

By 1980 Jamaica claimed more than 100,000 Adventists. Large audiences had been a commonplace on this island, but with a spreading mood of evangelism, mass meetings also occurred in Trinidad and Guyana, and to a lesser extent, in smaller locations such as the Cayman Islands and the Bahamas. Most of this evangelism was a product of West Indian ministers, but in some cases North American preachers also conducted large urban campaigns. By 1980 membership in all of these English-speaking regions had climbed to nearly 175,000.

The large influx of membership in the Inter-American Division produced several new unions. In 1985 the Mexican Union split into the North Mexican and South Mexican unions. Swelling membership in the Franco-Haitian Union led to a division in 1989 into two unions—the first consisting of Haiti and the second formed from the smaller French islands and French Guiana. Also in 1989 the Colombia-Venezuela Union divided into separate unions. By 1996, Inter-American membership totaled more than 1,600,000.

The South American Division also experienced organizational change as a result of membership growth. In 1966 Chile broke from the Austral Union to become a separate union. Twenty years later Brazil, which had been divided into

three unions since 1936, carved the new Central Brazil Union out of territory from the North and South Brazil unions. In 1996 a new Northeast Brazil Union organized by slicing territory from the North and East Brazil unions. Brazilian Adventists numbered 796,000 at the end of 1996, or about 55 percent of the division total of more than 1,433,000.

Although Schubert's influence was felt nearly everywhere in South and Inter-America, the post-1950 evangelistic movement differed from region to region. Ministers in English- and French-speaking regions of Inter-America did not regard him as a mentor because they had developed effective evangelistic methods before his techniques became widespread. Schubert's methods were more noticeable in Spanish and Portuguese countries because urban evangelists had been less successful in these regions. Notwithstanding these differences, evangelism in all places held in common the notion that spiritual commitment preceded the acceptance of doctrines in the conversion process. Pastors also worked hard to make the church a legitimate social center for the congregation. In a sense, evangelists changed the packaging of Adventism but not its character.

The new evangelism, which stressed large-scale gatherings, exerted a powerful influence on congregations and communities which tended to attract more attention than personal witnessing. As striking it was, this technique accounted for only a part of the converts. Of primary importance was a pervasive mood of evangelism that permeated both South and Inter-America and inspired individual

soul-winning activities that became a characteristic of Adventist life and produced membership gains.

That church leaders recognized the importance of personal evangelism was evident in 1987 when Inter-American Division president George Brown attributed membership growth not to a different evangelistic style but to the widespread acceptance of evangelism as a joint responsibility of ordained ministers and rank and file members. The same could be said for South America. Whether or not this aspect of church life resulted from Schubert's emphasis on evangelism, it was apparent that after 1950 a soul-winning attitude was a more recognizable part of the Adventist mentality in South and Inter-America.

Part of the impetus for evangelism stemmed from new national leadership in both divisions. From the earliest days of the new evangelism national workers headed conferences and unions, but North Americans led the division. These foreign workers encouraged the wave of soul-winning enthusiasm that swept both fields. After B. L. Archbold became the first national president of the Inter-American Division in 1970, followed five years later by Enoch Oliveira as the first national president of the South American Division, membership increases gained even additional momentum.

A major problem facing Inter-America as well as other fields with such rapidly expanding membership was the lack of church buildings to accommodate new converts. George Brown admitted that thousands of congregations did not have sanctuaries. During the last quarter

of the twentieth century thousands of North American Maranatha volunteers helped to ease this problem by journeying to neighboring countries to the south to build scores of churches in intensive construction programs lasting two or three weeks per building. Similarly, large numbers of secondary and college students from the United States and Canada spent vacation time to erect churches and other buildings in Inter-America.

In 1979 Inter-America became the first of the world divisions to surpass the membership in the North American Division, and seven years later it established another milestone by becoming the first division to reach a million members. In 1987 ministers in Inter-America averaged 8000 baptisms a month. South America also moved ahead of North America in 1985, and in 1990 it passed the million mark.

These results of evangelism were historic for the church. Besides Schubert, two other South American evangelists also joined the General Conference Ministerial Association. Arturo Schmidt moved to Washington in 1975 and Carlos Aeschlimann joined him in 1985. From their new positions they could influence the world. For nearly sixty years Adventists outside North America had outnumbered those in the so-called homeland. The membership growth of the post-World War II era in Latin America and the Caribbean indicated that regions that Adventists once regarded as missions had developed their own successful methods of spreading the gospel and were inspiring the entire denomination.

Church Growth in Africa

No less impressive than membership gains in South and Inter-America was church growth in Africa. Several themes appear in the advance of Adventism in Africa: the non-Christian culture of African peoples in comparison to the Christian background of Latin America, the rapidity of church growth, and the indigenizing process of Christianity are some of the more obvious ones, but the wave of nationalism that burst across Africa in the 1960s is the basic ingredient in African Adventism. Sometimes peacefully, at other times violently, African peoples broke from their European colonial masters and on occasion fought each other while rapidly producing more than fifty new nations. All of these political and cultural characteristics were building blocks of a new Africa, and repeatedly they became the defining marks of reorganization in the Adventist Church as well.

In 1960 parts of the Adventist Church in Africa were organizationally tied to four world divisions, primarily by virtue of their colonial connections. The boundary of the Southern African Division circled broadly northward and eastward to encompass Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya, and the Congo. The Northern European Division included Ethiopia and neighboring regions of eastern Africa besides the heavily populated parts of western Africa along the southern shore of the hump of the continent. Territories of Africa associated with France, Portugal, and Spain were included in the Southern European Division. These parts of Africa were scattered over the continent

from the Mediterranean southward to Angola and eastward to Mozambique and to the nearby islands in the Indian Ocean. The Middle East Division, which was centered in the non-African heartland of the Islamic world, spread across the Red Sea to the North African lands of Egypt and Libya.

Taken as a whole, religion in Africa was predominantly native, although Islam prevailed in North Africa and in some areas in western and eastern Africa. Except in South Africa with its strong English and Dutch heritages, Christianity had made little headway. Adventism had entered Africa from the south, penetrating northward from the British colony of South Africa. There were also nineteenth-century traces of Adventism in western Africa. In 1960 Adventist membership reflected these early beginnings as well as the imperial world in which the church functioned.

One of the great ironies of the post-1960 era in Africa was the wave of Christianity that spread across the formerly colonized continent. Often under the aegis of imperial governments missionaries taught western religion, western liturgy, and western thought to their subjugated peoples. Not surprisingly, Africans viewed Christianity as an aspect of the imperial system. It was not until their white masters withdrew that Africans in large numbers effectively applied Christianity to themselves and converts began overflowing churches.

The Adventist Church felt these movements. In 1960, on the eve of the collapse of the imperial system, the largest single field was the Congo with nearly 65,000

members. Adventist membership in the entire sub-Sahara stood at 236,000. This part of the Adventist church in Africa grew rapidly after 1960—200,000 new members by 1970, a total of 700,000 in 1980, and a membership of 2,900,000 in 1996.

Although conventional wisdom predicted earth-shaking events as imperial powers withdrew from their African holdings, in 1960 Seventh-day Adventist leaders did not foresee this spectacular membership growth. By 1983 Adventists in the majority of the new African nations formed two new African divisions, Africa-Indian Ocean and Eastern Africa. Membership gains in these two new entities enabled them to join the South and Inter-American divisions in superseding the North American Division. But not all of Africa fell under the new divisions. The Euro-African Division still maintained a foothold in Africa; South Africa was a separate field attached to the General Conference; and the Middle East Union, formerly a division, claimed a part of northeastern Africa.

These dizzying changes in the Adventist map of Africa were the product of church leaders' reaction to church growth in the midst of emerging nationalism. The modifications occurred in two sweeping reorganizational movements between 1969 and the early 1980s, but a preliminary step took place in 1964 when the Southern African Division changed its name to Trans-Africa. The first major territorial shuffle began in 1969 and ended a couple of years later. The primary change saw the Mideast Union regain division status as the Afro-Mideast Divi-

sion and take over Ethiopia, Somalia, and Tanzania from other divisions, as well as Kenya and Uganda, which had become fields directly under the General Conference. Two other divisions changed their names but did not alter their territory. The Southern European Division became the Trans-Mediterranean Division and a year later changed again to Euro-Africa. At the same time the Northern European Division changed to Northern Europe-West Africa.

This first wave of change did not completely shake off the colonial heritage of Africa, but the church was headed in that direction. The name changes reflected African nationalism and the church's recognition of the growing importance of African countries as a part of the divisions by including "Africa" or a variation of the name in the division titles. Further, new national nomenclature was appearing on the Adventist organizational map, such as Malawi, Tanzania, Zaire, and Zambia, which had pushed aside colonial terms like the Congo, Bechuanaland, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, and Rhodesia. Membership increases in some of these newly named countries, for example, Zambesi, Zaire, Angola, and Tanzania, all in central and eastern Africa, were creating relatively large fields, comparable in size to Kenya and Rwanda, where heavy concentrations of Adventists existed in 1960.

As gratifying as this expansion of the church was in Africa, denominational leaders acknowledged that church growth and political fluidity posed a progressive round of organizational problems. Between 1973 and 1979 they debated a new

division before presenting a recommendation to the 1979 Annual Council. The heart of the proposal was a new division consisting of the large French-speaking portions of Africa combined with an assortment of other countries, some of them English-speaking. It would drop European connections. Lesser changes would occur in the other three divisions with African territory, but the older Trans-Africa Division would be subject to review five years later in 1984, allowing time to deal with apartheid, the South African version of racial segregation.

The result of these recommendations was the second major territorial move for the church. The first new creation, the Africa-Indian Ocean Division, approved in 1980, spread from the extreme western countries of the continent to central Africa before skipping across eastern Africa to the island of Madagascar and smaller outlying islands in the Indian Ocean. This new entity carved out its territory from the Northern Europe-West Africa, Trans-Africa, and Euro-Africa divisions. Robert Kloosterhuis, a French-speaking North American with experience in the French Caribbean, took over as president. G. S. Valleray, a native of the French Caribbean, became secretary, and J. J. Nortey, an American-trained African accountant from Ghana was chosen treasurer. The headquarters for this new entity were in Abidjan, Ivory Coast in western Africa.

The church did not wait until 1984 to review the Trans-Africa Division. In 1981 the General Conference approved the Eastern Africa Division, forged from eastern African countries ranging from

Ethiopia in the north to Tanzania in the south. Two years later Neal Wilson, accompanied by General Conference secretary Ralph Thompson, toured Africa to explore the feasibility of additional restructuring. One of the primary obstacles was apartheid, a running sore in South Africa that rendered complete merger of Eastern Africa with the Trans-African Division practically impossible. Following this trip the borders of the Eastern Africa Division expanded farther south to include territory of the Trans-Africa Division.

Relatively little African membership remained outside of these two large African divisions. South Africa, a union, fell directly under General Conference control as an attached field. The African regions left in the Afro-Mideast Division were reduced to union status. African territory in the Euro-Africa Division dwindled to only five countries. Although vestiges of the imperial system still remained, these territorial moves, occurring between 1969 and 1983, produced true African divisions. By 1985 Africans themselves had assumed the presidency in both of the two large divisions.

During the years when Adventists were busy reorganizing the church and for years after, new African states endured painful disruption and upheaval. Fratricidal conflict in Zaire, Cuban intervention in Angola, famines in Sudan and Biafran Nigeria, and bitter tyranny in Uganda were only some of the chaotic events. J. J. Nortey, president of the Africa-Indian Ocean Division, observed in 1995 that nearly all of the thirty-two countries in his field had passed through

traumatic events in the preceding five years, most of them relating to the transition to democracy. The same could be said for other parts of Africa.

With African presidents and staffs firmly established in the Africa-Indian Ocean and the Eastern Africa divisions by 1985, church leaders believed that Africans were readied to develop an infrastructure that would strengthen the Adventist movement. But uncertain conditions made effective church organization difficult at best. Socialist experiments in Angola, Mozambique, and Madagascar, and traditional Moslem antagonisms toward Christianity in some countries of eastern and western Africa caused hardships for Adventists. The church was banned in some countries, among them at one time or another, Burundi, Uganda, and Niger. Economic problems abounded. Zairian inflation reached 40 million to the American dollar in 1995, rendering financial administration helpless. One of the most excruciating experiences was the brutal war between the Tutsi and Hutu tribes in Rwanda in 1994. Church leaders estimated that 10,000 Adventists died in this tribal conflict. The church-operated University of Central Africa closed, caught in the conflict between these tribes. Church leaders could see no end to the economic, political, and social disruptions in the foreseeable future.

While much of the world looked with alarm at these events, patient observers, some Adventists among them, pointed out that all countries enjoying democratic institutions had earned their nationhood and freedoms at a high cost of blood and

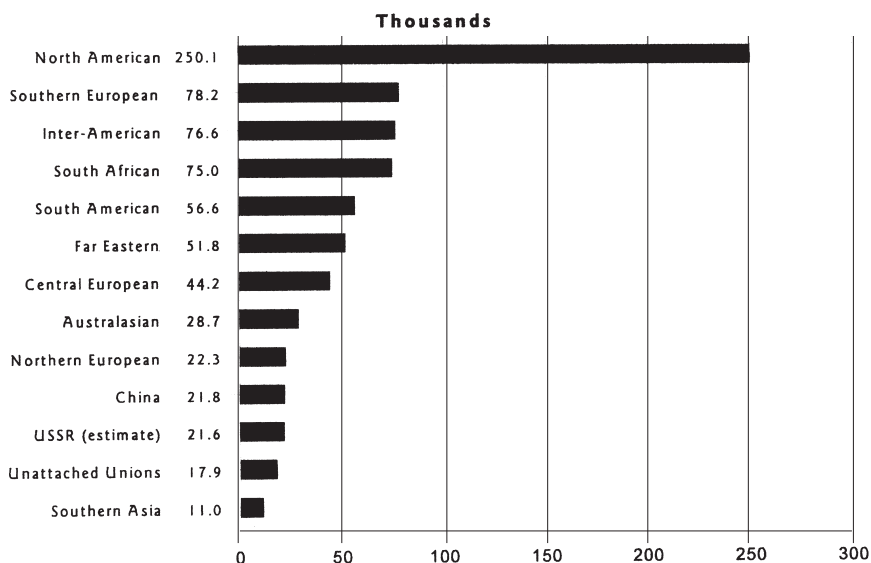
MEMBERSHIP INCREASES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

lives. From the crucible of independence had come not only political autonomy for African countries, but also a release of pent-up and sometime violent desires to build truly African societies.

Membership growth amid these circumstances contrasted decidedly with the Adventist experience in South and Inter-America. Large-scale baptisms in these American fields took place in an already Christian society, but member-

ship increases in Africa emerged from a largely non-Christian environment. Both the South and Inter-American divisions had enjoyed a long history of territorial stability, but for years the African map was fluid. While Adventists in South and Inter-America frequently smarted from North American domination, which they viewed as a form of imperialism, their situation was less acute than that of African Adventists who were proceeding di-

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MEMBERSHIP BY DIVISION, 1950



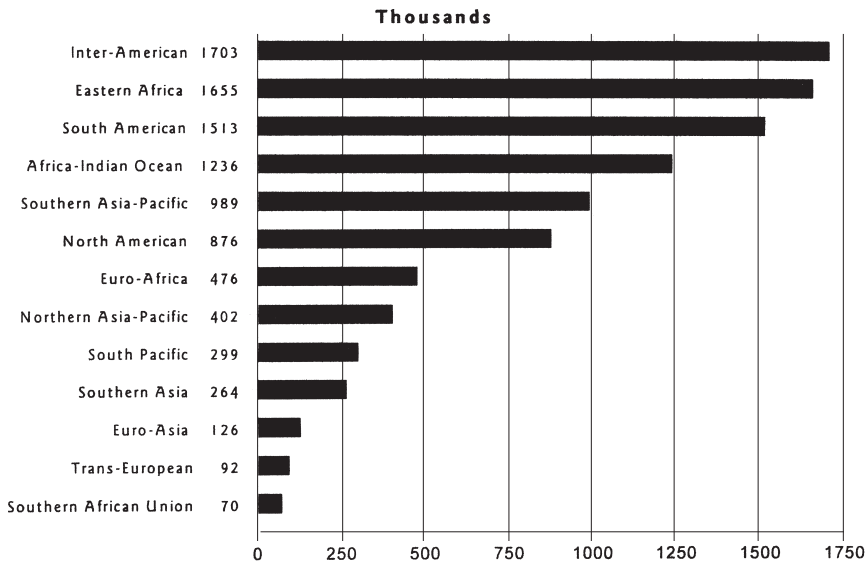
The bars are rounded off to the nearest hundred. Total denominational membership in 1950 stood at 756,712. The North American Division constituted about a third of this total. In 1950 there were four unattached fields—the British Union, Middle East Union, West African Union, and the Israel Mission—not included in any of the divisions. Both the Northern and Southern European divisions included territories in Africa. Adapted from the annual Statistical Report, 1950.

rectly from colonial status to independence with its accompanying expectations of self-governance. Few doubted that the Adventist movement in Africa had psychological connections with nationalism.

While the denomination welcomed rapid membership increases, no one could deny that new members in large numbers strained the financial and human resources of the church. Church

leaders had handled these problems in South and Inter-America with more calculation because their membership growth had not been as rapid as in Africa where growth was more spontaneous and sudden. Adventists in both South and Inter-America had traditions of relatively strong systems of education that had produced national leadership. By the 1970s many church leaders were second-generation national workers; for two decades

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MEMBERSHIP BY DIVISION, 1997



The bars are rounded off to the nearest thousand. Total denominational membership in 1997 was 9,702,834. Although North America more than tripled its membership between 1950 and 1997, it dropped from first to sixth in ranking among the divisions, and from a third of the denominational total to less than a tenth. Inter-America increased more than twenty-two times during the same period. The Northern Asia-Pacific Division included China, and most of the former Soviet Union constituted the Euro-Asia Division. Between three and four million Adventists lived in Africa, more than on any other continent. In 1997 only two divisions, the Euro-Asian and Trans-European, were smaller than North America had been in 1950. Precise comparisons among the divisions is difficult because only the three American divisions have retained their original boundaries. Adapted from the annual Statistical Report, 1997.

some of them had been perfecting an evangelistic methodology specifically designed for their own society. By contrast the lower educational, literacy, and professional levels among African Adventists had produced comparatively few workers.

As much as church leaders tried, their inability to furnish hundreds of thousands of new converts with the institutional amenities of church life continually hounded them. A special project supported by North American Adventists that provided 2700 churches for African congregations emphasized the lack of resources in Africa. Even with this help some groups met outdoors. Overworked ministers found themselves dependent upon poor transportation to communicate with their congregations that sometimes numbered thirty or more.

In addition to seeking ways to handle new members, denominational leaders also sought to explain why the African church was attracting so many converts. African ministers found that mass evangelism in urban centers, a technique that Latin American evangelists had developed so effectively, also produced unprecedented numbers of baptisms in the Eastern Africa Division. Bekele Heye, president of that field, declared in 1985 that using health education and humanitarian projects to satisfy the physical needs of suffering Africans made it easier for the church to attract attention to the spiritual message it offered.

Similar happenings occurred in the Africa-Indian Ocean Division during its first five years. Division president Robert Kloosterhuis reported an increase of more

than 150,000 members during the years, 1981-1984. Tent meetings in urban centers combined with personal witnessing by the rank and file members were important aspects of this growth. Also inspirational for the pastors was an African-produced program of professional development for ministers.

Capitalizing on the mood of self-direction that was sweeping through the African divisions, General Conference leaders at the 1986 annual council in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, unveiled a strategy for Africa. General Conference field secretary Matthew Bediako, a Ghanaian who had served as president of the West Africa Union, advised the Adventist world that if the church expected to maintain a firm hold in Africa, African life must be understood in terms of the gospel and the gospel must be understood as it affects the music, diet, dress, and other customs of African life. Christianity must develop African cultural roots.

This counsel was a reminder that Africans were becoming Christians by choice rather than by imperial pressure. It was also an assurance that African Adventists expected biblical principles to undergird practical applications of Adventism to the African environment. In short, it was a statement of the legitimacy of any ethnic group to indigenize Christianity to give it meaning while protecting its integrity at the same time. In 1987 Bediako predicted that at the current growth rates, Adventist membership in Africa could reach 5,000,000 by the year 2000. A decade after Bediako's statement church leaders forecast that by the new millennium the Eastern Africa Division

would become the largest of the world divisions.

Church growth had become so overwhelming that church leaders were more concerned about how to deal with the influx of converts than how to reach the masses. Bediako suggested that church growth was out of control and to protect this enormous increase from apostasy he advocated a ministerial corps of 5000 that would cost the General Conference millions of dollars. He also called for improved literacy, more literature that would unify the church, deliberate encouragement to Africans for self-support, and substantial reduction of expatriate workers in Africa.

Adventism had never faced these issues in such large proportions. It was an atypical problem and the church could only partially fulfill Bediako's suggestions by working to increase literacy and reduce the number of expatriate workers. The possibility that the majority of Adventists would come from the developing world, the largest single segment from Africa, suggested changes in how the church, cradled, matured, and administered in the West, would function. Adventists began asking themselves how the denomination would organize representation on policy- and decision-making bodies, collect and disburse its funds in the future, and conduct general administrative procedure if the North American Division continued to supply the overwhelming majority of General Conference funds, while the membership originated predominantly in the developing world. Some also questioned how the North American Division would maintain

its world mission orientation if membership became the only measuring rod to determine representation at General Conference sessions and other decision-making bodies.

Africans and African-Americans sought to minimize these problems by reassuring the church that African Adventism was genuine. After a ten-nation tour of Africa in 1988, *Message* editor Delbert W. Baker reflected that the continent had not modernized and westernized enough to lose its spiritual sensitivity. The national heart was open to the spiritual values of Christianity, hence the voluminous conversions from Africa. Zebron M. Ncube, chair of the religion department at Solusi College in Zimbabwe, told Adventists that the movement of the church's center of gravity into the Southern Hemisphere, especially in Africa, was not unique to Adventism but was part of a world trend of Christianity.

In Ncube's view African Adventism was very experiential, and appealed strongly to young people. It was thus more personal than in most other parts of the world, particularly so when compared to technologically advanced countries. Africans accepted evangelism as a prerogative of all members, not as something restricted to professionals. They readily participated in church operations because of biblical promises of a future far different from the difficult present that plagued them.

Unlike imperial Christianity, Adventism had not allowed itself to become an arm of the state. This practice helped the church to avoid creating an impression of mixed motives in a continent rife with po-

litical instability. Historically, Adventists as a people had tended to refrain from participation in politics, although church members in the Caribbean islands had changed this image somewhat. However, it was in Africa that Adventists entered politics as a profession more freely than church members anywhere else in the world. Adventists across the continent were serving as members of legislative bodies, heads of governmental departments, and officials at the ministerial level. The most notable case was Dr. Samson Kisekka, prime minister of Uganda, a post to which Yoweri Museveni, the president, called him to help rebuild the country in the wake of the destructive, twenty-year tyranny of Idi Amin. Adventist schools and ADRA programs in Africa also played a vital role in establishing a favorable image of the denomination, but without doubt, a new generation of public-minded Adventist professionals, committed to lofty ideals of nationalism and to a principled nationhood were also making a difference. It was a case of African Adventists indigenizing their beliefs.

Seventh-day Adventists viewed church growth in Africa as an awakening, and African Adventists remained undaunted in spite of the plethora of problems they faced. In 1993 the Africa-Indian Ocean Division reached a million members; the next year Eastern Africa passed the same milestone. The proliferation of the church was in part the result of a mood of ownership. J. J. Nortey assured fellow Adventists that the blessing of the Lord coupled with African leaders in an African-based division office

had inspired widespread participation by ordinary church members who no longer regarded the church as something foreign. Denominational leaders stood amazed at the growth and influence of the church. William Johnsson, following the annual council in Nairobi in 1988, summed up the attitudes of the church: "Once we taught Africa; now we can learn from Africa."

The Far Eastern Division

The Far Eastern Division was the third region in which Adventism proliferated dramatically after World War II. This administrative unit of the church traced its beginnings to 1919 when the old Asiatic Division split, one part becoming the direct forerunner of the Far Eastern Division. After World War II ended, the division reorganized, encompassing the island countries of Asia from Japan in the north, the Philippines in the center, to Indonesia in the south, and eastward to Guam and the Marshall Islands. Joined to these islands were mainland countries on the fringe of the continent: Korea in the north, and Indochina along the underbelly of Asia, which became Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Thailand, and Malaysia. In 1986 the Far Eastern Division spread westward, embracing Burma (which became Myanmar), Bangladesh (previously East Pakistan), and Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), all three of which had been British holdings until after World War II and were parts of the Southern Asia Division.

Important to the church was the geographic fragmentation of this territory

and its long history of conflict. First was the intrusion of colonialism until successive waves of nationalism washed it from the grasp of foreign powers after World War II. Added to the onerous burden of imperialism was widespread and heavy fighting during World War II that ripped through the Far East and left it prostrate and bleeding. It was also the Far East that suffered two atomic bomb explosions, which shocked the world into the era of nuclear energy. In many places, nationalistic and international rivalries continued the bloodletting into the 1990s.

This region represented many contrasts with other parts of the Adventist world, but overshadowing all other issues facing Adventist church administrators in the Far Eastern division was the broad range of cultural backgrounds among the peoples they served. In Japan, Korea, and parts of southeastern Asia, sophisticated traditions extended back many centuries to pre-Christian times; in other places, particularly among some of the islands of Indonesia, civilization did not make significant inroads until recent times.

The religious history of the people in these lands also presented sharp contrasts. Oriental philosophies dominated much of the region, but Islam was the predominant religion in some countries. Much of the Philippines inherited Christianity as a legacy of the Spanish colonial era; similarly the French left Christianity in parts of Indochina. It is not surprising that as the presence of Adventism continued in this part of the world, its spread was as uneven as the sharply contrasting lands and peoples.

In 1950 the Far Eastern Division with

nearly 52,000 members ranked sixth in membership among the twelve world divisions of the church. Within ten years it had climbed to fourth, but by 1990 it had slipped to fifth behind the membership explosion in Africa. Nevertheless, the Far Eastern Division became the fourth division to surpass North America and to exceed a million members.

Headquarters for the Far Eastern Division were in Singapore, but the heaviest concentration of church members was and continued to be in the Philippines, the former American-held territory and scene of bitter conflict during the war. In 1960 membership in the two Philippine unions totaled more than 72,000, or three out of five Adventists in the division. Through the remaining years of the twentieth century the Philippines held this ratio. In 1996, the final year of the newly named Asia-Pacific Division, Philippine membership approximated 700,000, which represented 63 percent of the division total. Organizationally, the Philippines reflected this increase by creating a new Central Philippine Union out of the South Philippine Union.

This fairly consistent growth rate in the Philippines as compared to the rest of the Far Eastern Division meant that other parts of the field were also increasing comparably. Most notable was Indonesia, which reported 9500 members in 1950, one year after that island nation gained its political independence. Its year-end report in 1996 showed that membership had risen to nearly 159,000. Because of this membership growth the Indonesian Union divided into two unions in 1964.

South Korea was the third location of

rapid church growth. In spite of the Korean War more than 10,000 converts joined the church during the 1950s, an increase approximating 300 percent. From 1990 to 1996 Korean converts averaged 6000 a year, totaling 136,000 in 1996.

During the decade beginning in 1970 church growth made the Far Eastern Division one of the large administrative units of the denomination. W. T. Clark, division president, attributed membership increases to deliberate plans to coordinate activities of all administrative departments for the sole purpose of soul winning. Membership increases were attributable more to techniques adapted from other parts of the Adventist world than to original methods. Similar to Latin America and Africa, widespread participation by church members characterized mass evangelism in urban centers. The process began with extensive personal witnessing, usually Bible study groups and Bible-marking classes that led to small gatherings, called satellite meetings. In a given location many of these gatherings met simultaneously and culminated in the reaping phase, a set of massive central meetings for all participants. Members underwent months of training to conduct this coordinated program that preceded the actual meetings. In many instances lay members preached in the smaller satellite meetings. Baptisms often occurred before the reaping phase began.

The effectiveness of this program became self-evident. Most of the large cities in Korea, Indonesia, and the Philippines were sites for this evangelistic

method similar to mass evangelism in Latin America. This evangelistic style also bore some resemblance to mass evangelism as it was developing in the United States, where the "reaping" innovation had become popular. After 369 converts joined the church in 1980 during the first phases of meetings in Cebu City, Philippines, Violeto Bocala, evangelistic coordinator, estimated that the final number of baptisms could reach 1000. Following later meetings more than 200 new churches sprouted up in the South Philippine Union.

After celebrating the accession of 100,000 members in that field, the division president launched an even more intensive program at the division year-end meetings in November 1980, with the hope of raising the division total to 600,000 by 1985. The program regarded the local pastor as the trainer of an evangelistic team. Among the new innovations was new literature translated into local languages and health lectures to attract interest.

Clark ended his presidency of the Far Eastern Division in 1985. Three years later his successor, Ottis Edwards, led the division past the North American Division in membership. Urban evangelism was high on Edwards's list. With thirty-five cities of a million or more, the Far Eastern Division had the largest metropolitan population of any of the world divisions. Nationwide membership campaigns in the Philippines continued with church leaders employing methods that had previously brought results. As the division neared the million mark Edwards left office in 1992. Replacing him was P.

D. Chun, a Korean with administrative experience at both the union and division levels.

In 1995, after surpassing the North American Division, the Far Eastern Division changed its name to the Asia-Pacific Division. Hardly had the division accustomed itself to its new name when it split into the Northern and the Southern Asia-Pacific divisions. In January 1997, the newly created Northern Asia-Pacific Division, consisting of Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and its environs, Mongolia, and mainland China, began operations. P. D. Chun became president of this new division with offices in Seoul, South Korea. Violeto Bocala, secretary of the Asia-Pacific Division, became president of the remainder of the Asia-Pacific Division, which assumed the new title of Southern Asia-Pacific Division, with offices that moved from Singapore to the Philippines. The membership was lop-sided with the Southern Asia-Pacific Division inheriting about four times as many Adventists as Northern Asia-Pacific.

This reorganization returned China to the denominational division structure for the first time since the China Division ceased operations in 1952. Chinese believers enjoyed enough freedom to worship freely and communication between China and the rest of the world was easier in 1996 than it had been since the formation of the People's Republic. But including China in the Northern Asia-Pacific Division did not mean that the church had resumed control of Chinese Adventists in the same sense that other unions were integrated into church structure. The new

relationship of China to the division meant that the denomination could communicate with believers with greater ease and promote the spread of Adventism within the limits that the political establishment allowed. It resembled the role that Eastern European countries played in European divisions prior to the breakup of the communist system in 1989.

Church growth in the Far Eastern Division occurred in spite of major political, social, and economic changes that began barely after the smoke had settled after World War II. In 1946 the United States handed the Philippines back to the Filipinos who became independent for the first time in centuries; three years later the Netherlands pulled out of its holdings in the southern parts of the Malay Archipelago and the nation of Indonesia was born. The departure of the French from Indochina was not as easy. They fought until 1954 before capitulating to tenacious nationals, but conflict continued into the 1980s as factions battled each other for supremacy, even drawing the United States into the quagmire of international politics. From 1950 to 1953 the United States, under the auspices of the United Nations, also fought a stalemated war against North Korea and the Chinese army.

Political rivalries persistently muddled the waters of this volatile region. Unrest and heavy-handed governance in the Philippines, the heated debate whether Taiwan or mainland China legitimately represented the Chinese people, genocidal practices during the 1970s and 1980s in Cambodia, political turmoil in Burma, and the takeover of South Viet-

nam by North Vietnam all injected uncertainty into the region.

Paradoxically, much of the economy in the Far Eastern Division throbbed with prosperity. Japan, shattered by war and two atomic bomb explosions, emerged from seven years of North American occupation in 1952 to resume its role in the sisterhood of nations. By the mid-1980s it had built the world's second largest economy. Despite its political and economic partition from North Korea along the thirty-eighth parallel, South Korea's industrial productivity surprised the world. Hong Kong and Singapore became highly cosmopolitan centers for international finance.

In some respects Adventism in the part of Asia occupied by the two Asia-Pacific divisions had come full circle by the end of the twentieth century. Upon the ashes of war, out of the fires of nationalism, and over the walls of isolation the church had rebuilt itself. Not since conflict erupted between China and Japan in the 1930s were as many doors open in Asia to the gospel of the three angels' messages.

Membership Comparisons in the Developing World

Similar to the experience of the Seventh-day Adventists in Africa, the church entered many of the countries of the Far Eastern Division before the end of the colonial era and endured the struggles of nationhood that new countries experienced. That the church suffered from a backlash of nationalism was undeniable. Visas for church workers became unob-

tainable in some countries.

Comparable to South and Inter-America, the Far Eastern Division developed an effective institutional infrastructure, especially in education, that produced a generation of national workers throughout the post-World War II period. By the 1970s graduate-level education had appeared spontaneously in the Philippines, and in 1987 the Adventist International Institute for Advanced Studies, a doctoral-degree granting institution, was established in the Central Philippine Union to serve the Far Eastern Division. In Seoul, South Korea, Sahmyook University evolved into one of the denomination's largest educational centers. Other post-secondary institutions existed in Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Sarawak.

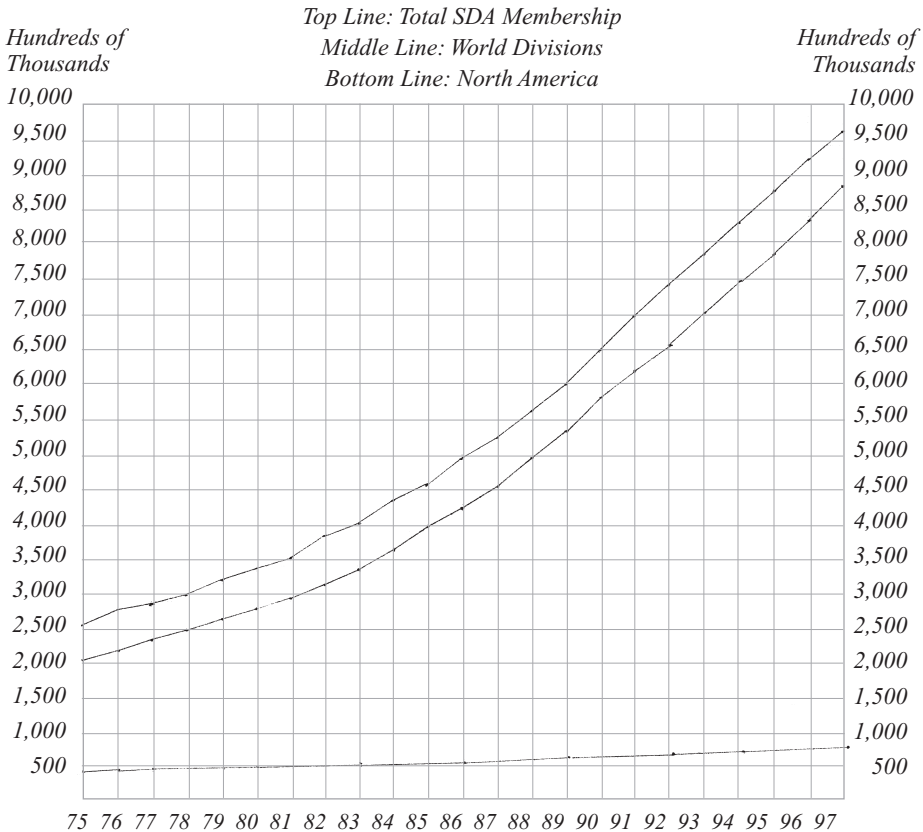
Notwithstanding the mood of nationalism among the new independencies of the Far Eastern Division, the indigenizing process of evangelism and soul winning appeared to be less pronounced than in Africa. Adaptations of evangelism clearly resembled methods used elsewhere, especially the urban evangelism in Latin America, but in some notable cases in Indonesia and the Philippines evangelistic teams from the United States and Australia proved to be very successful.

Membership increases in the Far Eastern Division were spotty. In this respect this part of the church in the developing world resembled Adventists in Africa more than in Latin America and the Caribbean where church growth was spread more evenly. The northern portions of Africa from the western extremities east

along the Mediterranean shore and into the northeastern region did not share the strong growth of Adventism that occurred in the sub-Sahara. Commenting on the

uneven growth in the Far Eastern Division, Ottis Edwards reminded the Adventist world that large memberships in South Korea, the Philippines, and parts

COMPARISON OF MEMBERSHIP GROWTH BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND THE REMAINING WORLD DIVISIONS 1975-1997



This line graph shows the dramatic impact on the church of membership growth outside North America. Each level represents a half million members. During the twenty-two years covered by this graph, North American membership grew from 520,842 to 875,811, but its proportion of total membership shrank from approximately twenty percent to nine percent. The non-North American membership increased from 2,145,642 to 8,437,763, and total membership grew from 2,666,484 to 9,702,834. Adapted from the Annual Statistical Report, 1975 and 1997.

of Indonesia did not compensate for the scarcity of Adventists in North Korea, Bangladesh, and a section of western Indonesia peopled by 27,000,000 where not one known church member existed. Only modest gains came from Sri Lanka, and Myanmar.

Church growth throughout the developing world produced organizational change, but in Latin America and the Caribbean it was confined to new unions and conferences, while in Africa the divisions themselves repeatedly changed both names and territory. Although not as pronounced as Africa, the Far Eastern Division also underwent organizational change at the division level. In the cases of Africa and the Far East political and cultural influences outside the church as well as membership growth contributed to these changes.

Beyond these contrasts of Adventism in parts of the developing world, some clear similarities run through all of the patterns of membership increases in the Far East, Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean. Foremost is the prominent role of the rank and file church member in all three regions. Repeatedly, church leaders at both the division and union levels credited the success of evangelism to the wide participation by the laity. In the Far Eastern Division up to 50 percent of the converts in some fields was attributable to the work of average church members.

The growth of national leadership characterized the period of membership growth in the Far Eastern Division as it had in Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean. Adventists in the Far East ex-

perienced much less trauma from the lack of national leadership than did Africa, partly because of a slower rate of membership growth and partly because of a long history of educational institutions that served the church. By 1970 local workers headed the majority of union missions and lesser entities but the division office was still almost exclusively the domain of overseas workers. Not until 1992 did P. D. Chun, a national worker, assume the presidency of the division, twenty-two years after B. L. Archbold became the first national head of a division in Latin America.

When membership in the Far East passed the million mark in 1994 the majority of expatriate workers had already returned home, leaving nationals in control of the division. Similar to Latin America and the Caribbean and the African fields, these personnel changes reflected the nationalistic character of the times. A corollary to the emergence of national leadership was the sense of ownership that Adventists in all parts of the developing world felt toward the church as interdivisional workers gave way to indigenous leadership. To varying degrees the indigenizing process of soul winning followed.

Adventism Elsewhere

Although church growth which the Far Eastern Division bequeathed to the two Asia-Pacific divisions in 1997 overshadowed membership increases elsewhere in Asia, not to be overlooked were the more than a half million Adventists scattered from Turkey to the eastern ex-

termities of Siberia and south to India. According to available statistics, Seventh-day Adventists in these parts of Asia numbered less than 34,000 in 1946, the first full peace time year following World War II. At the same time the Far Eastern Division reported more than 36,000 members.

Adventists in these other Asian lands found themselves in five different fields: the Australasia, China, and Southern Asia divisions, the Mideast Union and the Soviet Union. India, comprising the substantial territory of the Southern Asia Division, reported only 8100 members in 1946. Independence came to this country in 1947 in the aftermath of struggles between the Hindu and Moslem populations. The upshot was the partition of Pakistan from India. During the second half of the twentieth century a spirit of change in India also brought change to the Adventist Church. By the end of the century two senior colleges and two other post-secondary institutions served the approximately 250,000 Adventists in the Southern Asia Division, a truly impressive increase, but mitigated somewhat by India's population growth from about 400,000,000 to about a billion during the same period. Even with its quarter of a million Adventists, the Southern Asia Division was still smaller than the South Philippine Union.

Nearly as large was the membership increase in the Papua-New Guinea Union of the South Pacific Division, known as the Australasia Division for about sixty years after its formation in 1931. Less than 1300 church members lived in this Polynesian region in 1946. Its member-

ship in 1996 was 168,482.

With the formation of the two Asia-Pacific divisions in 1997, Adventists in Asia remained organized in six divisions: Euro-Asia, Northern Asia-Pacific, Southern Asia-Pacific, Southern Asia, South Pacific, and Trans-European. The combined total of Asian Adventists exceeded 1,700,000, including more than 200,000 Chinese "believers." Although the impact of this Asian block was weakened somewhat because it was scattered, it added substantially to the Adventist membership of the developing world. When combined to South and Inter-America and the African fields, it produced about 8,250,000 of the near 9,500,000 church members in mid-1997.

That Adventism advanced more in some places than in others raises the question of why. Much of the Asian territory outside the Far Eastern Division was Islamic, which was traditionally hardened against Christianity. Other cultures dominated by Buddhism had been historically hostile to Christian penetration. Communist countries tended to retard the progress of Christianity. Many non-Christian populations viewed Christianity as a white man's religion, alien to native culture. To overcome this last obstacle national leadership and the indigenizing process were important for Adventism.

Church Growth in Context

The explosion of Adventism in the developing world did not occur as a random trend. African Adventist Ncube's observation that the church had moved south was applicable to other parts of the

world besides Africa. Activity among Christian groups was typical in the so-called developing world, which was coming to be known as the Two-thirds Countries. In the case of South and Inter-America the spread of Adventism was part of a larger movement of religious ferment in which Christian practices alternative to Roman Catholicism were increasingly common. The political liberalization of formerly autocratic regimes, a process that began in the late nineteenth century, had contributed to this trend, but a new religious fervor at grass roots levels was also at work. Catholicism remained the dominant persuasion, but during the last half of the twentieth century, evangelicalism and Protestantism made serious inroads among the millions who sought a renewal of spiritual meaning and personal experience within Christianity. It was African Christianity that drew the most attention in the developing world. On this continent imperialism had reached its most virulent form, subservience had sunk to its most humiliating depths, and Christianity had assumed its most political shape. As in Latin America, the ballooning of Adventism in Africa was only one act in a larger drama. Roman Catholics, mainline Protestant denominations, and lesser known groups also participated in this phenomenon.

The spread of Christianity was so rapid that any figures would become obsolete overnight, but it is safe to say that as the twentieth century ended, many millions of Africans had converted to Christianity. Unlike Latin America, the new Christianity in Africa grew upon non-Christian cultures, which raised

widespread speculation among theologians and church historians about its nature and the legitimacy of its acculturation. Christian Africans of all communions were affected by a prevalent belief that Christian practices adapted to the African environment did not damage the integrity of their faith.

The uneven spread of Adventism in the Far East makes contextual generalizations difficult. However, it is worth noting that in this part of the developing world, Seventh-day Adventists have had their greatest success in the Philippines, a former colonial possession of the United States where Roman Catholic Christianity had been a prevailing influence since the sixteenth century. The emergence of a strong Adventist Church was only a single strand in the overall pattern of Christianity. In Korea American influence had been strong since World War II, and similar to the Philippines, a large Adventist population was only one part of the growing Christian community.

After 1921 when church membership in the world fields surpassed North America, it became evident that the developing world was contributing most to this growth. But the massive expansion of the 1970s and onward had its counterpart in North America where growth among AfricanAmerican and Hispanic minorities was phenomenal. *Spectrum* writer Edwin Hernandez called this trend among Hispanics the "browning" of American Adventism, and suggested that the monocultural character of the North American church would change to conform to the pluralism that ethnic diversity brought to it. That this change implied a modification of

philosophical moods such as conservatism he regarded as a given.

Probably few Adventists would dispute those observations. In a similar but larger sense membership increases among Adventists in Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, and parts of Asia represented the “browning” of the church. It also meant the dwarfing of American Adventism, measured in terms of its membership. In the 1970s Seventh-day Adventists were experiencing the most threatening doctrinal and philosophical challenges in their history; they approached the end of the century with the practical question of how to organize and manage themselves in light of massive church growth. Doctrinally the church

had not substantially changed, but it had become a global community in a fashion that church fathers had probably not foreseen. With these new relationships it was unavoidable that the denomination also faced the possible evolution of new spiritual moods that the developing world brought to it.

As Seventh-day Adventists stood at the gates of the twenty-first century, the Christian world recognized that they were one of the faster growing Protestant communions. It had been a long road from the Westphals in South America, the Andersons in Africa, and John Tays in the Pacific, but the consistency and balance of the mission movement had finally produced a truly global denomination.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Membership growth:

Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, vol. 2, (1992), pp. 195-199, 301, 331-335, narrates the effect of Schubert's methods in Spanish and Portuguese Latin America, and membership growth in the English and French parts of Inter-America.

Eric John Murray, *A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Trinidad and Tobago, 1891-1981* (1982), provides valuable background for Adventism in the Caribbean.

David Hay, *The Isles No Longer Wait* (1988), relates the advance of Adventism in the Samoan Islands.

Russell Staples, “100th Anniversary of Adventists in Africa,” *Adventist Review*, July 30, 1987, pp. 19-21, summarizes neatly the progress of Adventism in Africa.

Matthew Bediako, “Africa, continent of explosive church growth,” *ibid.*, July 30, 1987, pp. 8-10, is a companion article to Staples's history, elaborating on Africa's special needs in the Global Mission program.

Division presidents' reports to the General Conference in the *Adventist Review* provide a synopsis of events in Africa. For the Africa-Indian Ocean Division: R. J.

Kloosterhuis, July 2, 1985, pp. 24-26; J. J. Nortey, July 10, 1990, pp. 21-23, and July 4, 1995, pp. 9-11. For the Eastern Africa Division: Bekele Heye, July 4, 1985, pp. 5-7, and July 11, 1990, pp. 26-28; L. D. Raelly, July 3, 1995, pp. 21, 22.

W. T. Clark, "Far Eastern Division Reports," *Outlook* [Far Eastern Division], May 1980, pp. 2-9, provides an overall view of the progress of Adventism in the Far Eastern Division.

Oriental Watchman Publishing House, *Images, 1893-1993* (1993), is mainly a pictorial account but includes historically valuable comment about the 100 years of Adventism in India.

Kofi Owusu-Mensa, *Saturday God and Adventism in Ghana* (1993), covers the beginnings of Adventism in Ghana with the last part devoted to the post-World War II era.

K. B. Elineema, ed., *The Development of the SDA Church in Eastern Africa* (1992), traces Adventist membership increases in the most rapidly growing part of the Adventist Church.

Contextual comment:

Delbert Baker, "A Message from Africa and a Look At the Days Ahead," *Message*, November-December 1985, pp. 6, 7, 19, editorializes about the meaning of the growth of Adventism in Africa.

Zebron Ncube, "The church moves south," *Ministry*, August 1990, pp. 16-18, comments upon geographic trends in the spread of Christianity.

_____ "African Adventism's Quest for Self-reliance," *Spectrum*, vol. 20, no. 4, June 1990, pp. 7-13, delves into the nature of African Adventism and its meaning.

Edwin I. Hernandez, "The Browning of American Adventism," *ibid.*, December 1995, pp. 29-50, suggests changes in the church as a result of membership growth among ethnic minorities, which may be applied to the church at large.

Miriam Wood, *Imprison Him!*, presents an absorbing story of political problems that Adventists faced in one African socialist country.

Evangelism and Global Mission

The fact that converts by the hundreds of thousands joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church in developing countries drew attention to the nature of evangelism itself. Although many soul-winning methods originated in North America and spread to the world fields where adaptations appeared, the post-World War II era showed that the fastest growing regions of the world were developing their own evangelistic styles and that evangelism was still central to the mission of Adventism.

Itinerant evangelists played a dominant role for nearly a century following the first tent effort in Battle Creek in 1854, but in the aftermath of World War II, public evangelism underwent pronounced changes. Urban evangelism remained on the North American agenda, but it became more comprehensive and technological. Evangelistic topics broadened to cover health questions. The pro-

phetic charts that had been in use since the early days of Adventism gave way to electronically-produced images on a screen, depicting a variety of aids to explain biblical matters. Sometimes a series of meetings became a complicated and well-coordinated technological production. A single speaker, or even one with an assistant, could no longer carry the entire responsibility of a large evangelistic effort; consequently, a speaker, skilled musicians, health-care professionals, and other support personnel formed teams to conduct meetings. Evangelists learned to use the electronic media. Beginning with standard radio broadcasts, in time they moved to television, short wave radio, and satellite communication. With more sophistication evangelism became more costly.

During the last fifteen years of the twentieth century a revitalized global evange-

listic strategy evolved that coordinated the world evangelistic mission of the church more effectively. It was a deliberate movement to heighten Adventist consciousness that the church's primary mission was to preach the gospel but that the wide variety of activities, including humanitarian projects to portray the compassionate Jesus, were as necessary as teaching the gospel of salvation and the distinctive doctrines of Adventism. It was the parts of the world with glaring needs but still unreached by the church that compelled church leaders to produce what became in Adventist parlance, a global mission.

Public Evangelism in the Post-World War II Era

With bitter post-World War II rivalries and the fear of atomic disaster constantly before them, church leaders promoted evangelism with compelling urgency after the war ended. They made clear the general evangelistic orientation of the Ministerial Association by electing two successful evangelists, Melvin Eckenroth and George Vandeman, as associate secretaries in 1947. Three years later at the 1950 General Conference session, R. Allan Anderson became the first professional evangelist to head the Association.

At the same time William Branson, former president of the China Division, succeeded J. L. McElhany as president of the General Conference. While in China Branson developed a well-known reputation as a strong supporter of public evangelism. Under his direction major campaigns took place in Peiping and other Chinese cities. North American evange-

list Fordyce Detamore followed with meetings in Hong Kong and Shanghai. Thousands of converts joined the church.

The delegates ended the 1950 General Conference session by calling upon church members everywhere to coordinate all of their efforts in unparalleled worldwide evangelism to which every other interest would be subordinate. Church leaders actively encouraged Adventists to support evangelism by donating money from the sale of surplus property and bequeathing funds in their wills. Each minister was to plan an evangelistic series, which would blanket the earth with meetings.

Doubling the denominational membership from 750,000 to 1,500,000 became a viable objective. Fourteen years passed before reaching that mark. All divisions contributed to this growth, but taken as a whole, membership outside North America more than doubled to exceed 1,100,000 and the North American Division increased about 48 percent to report a membership of 370,000.

Mass evangelism in urban centers was the principal method of this evangelistic movement. R. Allan Anderson attracted crowds of 4000 in Carnegie Hall in New York and George Vandeman spoke to audiences of 7000 in London's Coliseum. To maintain a permanent evangelistic presence in the world's large cities the church bought or built centers in which to conduct meetings, hold seminars, and present cultural programs. In London the New Gallery Theater and in New York, first a remodeled hotel and later, the Times Square Center, led the way in this trend. Similar centers went up in Cairo, Beirut,

Osaka, Manila, Rio de Janeiro, and Jakarta. Increased expenditures for evangelism around the world became the norm.

Coincident with this activity was a running debate among prominent evangelists as to the wisdom of identifying their meetings with Seventh-day Adventists. Out of fear that prejudice would discourage many people from attending, evangelists in North America had commonly avoided a denominational label. Some even advertised that they were lecturers for an innocuous-sounding organization such as the "American Bible Institute," under whose auspices J. L. Shuler spoke. Understandably, this practice led to charges of deception and frequently proved embarrassing to church members when questioned by their friends as to why their evangelist was not more candid in identifying himself as an Adventist.

When Melvin Eckenroth held a major campaign in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1946, he announced openly that he was a Seventh-day Adventist. On the first night about 2,300 listeners jammed the theater and several hundred had to be turned away. After this experience Eckenroth concluded that labeling the meetings was beneficial. Fordyce Detamore disagreed. He urged nondisclosure until after the speaker presented the distinctive doctrines of the church. He feared that the unrepresentative appearance of some Adventist churches and the activities of fringe groups in the church would dissuade otherwise willing people from attending evangelistic meetings.

Whatever the reasoning against open identification may have been, through the 1950s evangelists became progressively

more willing to acknowledge at the outset that they were Seventh-day Adventists. L. E. Froom argued that public awareness of denominational hospitals, schools, radio programs, and literature had given a positive image to the church and that evangelists could rely on this identification to foster a favorable public opinion.

While the church debated some ramifications of evangelism, two aspects of the movement were beyond questioning: the general denominational commitment to evangelism and the increasing cost of holding meetings. Ministers sought to promote more participation by the rank and file members not only for participation's sake but also in an effort to reduce expenses. One method of participation was to enroll people in Bible courses offered through the mail. Following a period of correspondence study, an evangelist entered the community to conduct meetings on noncontroversial topics. Often called spearhead evangelism, this technique was similar to short evangelistic meetings lasting one or two weeks, known as reaping or decision meetings, that followed a program of personal witnessing by church members.

Versions of these evangelistic styles also became popular elsewhere. Called satellite meetings in the Orient, small gatherings frequently preceded large central meetings in the Philippines and Indonesia. Small evangelistic meetings culminating in a massive gathering were also common in Latin American cities.

Other changes appeared in the evangelistic format. In 1954 the Missionary Volunteer Department launched the

“Voice of Youth” series, a program of evangelism carried out by the church’s younger members. The movement took hold not only in North America but in other world fields as well. Evangelists also developed panel discussions and small group conversations about biblical topics, one of the most popular being the Revelation Seminar, followed by revival meetings in a local Adventist church.

Evangelists also revised the content of their evangelistic sermons to emphasize basic concepts of salvation that Adventists held in common with other denominations. Health topics frequently became regular segments of an evangelistic series, drawing on local Adventist physicians, dentists, and other health-oriented professionals. The South American-inspired practice of developing adult education lectures on social issues spread to other fields, notably North America. Attendees who showed an interest in spiritual matters were encouraged to enroll in Bible-study classes.

These modifications represented a digression from the long standing evangelistic habit of marshaling a convincing array of biblical lectures to prove to non-Adventists that they held mistaken beliefs and to expect them to make a rational decision to become Adventists. Evangelists progressively acted on the conviction that the central purpose of evangelism was to spread the gospel of salvation through the atoning death of Jesus, to inspire listeners to open their hearts to the Holy Spirit, and to attract them to the church through practical applications of the gospel as well as the distinctive doctrines of Adventism as they were found

in Jesus. The doctrines of the church did not change, but the manner of presentation and the order in which church teachings appeared on evangelists’ agendas differed from previous times. In short, evangelism became less disputatious. Some Adventists saw this trend as part of the pattern of an evolving nonconfrontational public attitude toward religious matters, not only in North America but in other countries as well.

The Radio Ministry

Although evangelistic lectures were the most significant part of Adventist outreach, electronic technologies also impacted Adventism. In 1941 church leaders decided to embark on a major program of radio evangelism. Imaginative ministers had been experimenting with radio for years, but it was left to H. M. S. Richards, a California-based evangelist, to focus the church’s attention on the feasibility of Adventism on radio.

Richards began broadcasting in 1930. In spite of the economic reversals of the depression decade, he kept his broadcasts alive by garnering thousands of dollars in personal donations from local church members. An outstanding feature of his program was his conversational presentation instead of a public lecture style of speaking, which made listeners feel as though he were talking directly to them.

To his format he added a male quartet in 1936, which took the name of the King’s Heralds. Six years later in January 1942, his program, renamed *The Voice of Prophecy*, went coast-to-coast over a national network in the United States.

During the 1940s Richards added contralto Del Delker to the voices of the King's Heralds. These singers learned their repertoires in many different languages in order to sing to non-American audiences as they accompanied Richards on world speaking tours.

Immediately after becoming a network program in 1942, *The Voice of Prophecy* became a paradigm for Adventist radio beyond North America. Before the year was over Braulio Perez began programs in Spanish-speaking America, and in 1943 Brazilian speakers started Portuguese programs. Quartets and speakers appeared in other parts of the world, copying Richards's style and the King's Heralds' harmony. Frequently the term, *Voice of Prophecy*, changed to the *Voice of Hope* in countries outside North America. The Voice of Prophecy also set another standard with its correspondence Bible study school, which became a common feature of Adventist radio wherever it went. Accompanying the broadcasts were invitations to listeners to enroll in a free Bible course. Hundreds of thousands of enrollees around the globe took advantage of this method of studying biblical topics in their own homes. In Japan the radio Bible school enrolled more than 100,000 students in five years; 15,000 completed the course. Correspondence schools operating in Cairo, Beirut, and Teheran reached many Moslems. In the South and Inter-American divisions many unions organized correspondence schools. Thousands of baptisms around the world could be attributed in part to these correspondence courses. In time every world division operated versions of the *Voice of Prophecy*

and *Voice of Hope* radio programs or correspondence schools, or both.

The format of the *Voice of Prophecy* changed as the role of radio changed and new directors took over the program. H. M. S. Richards, Jr., replaced his father in 1969 as director-speaker. Variations to suit specific audiences evolved. Special "Nite Owl" broadcasts had already begun in 1967 for the millions who preferred night programming; now the traditional half-hour program featuring a relatively lengthy discussion shortened in some cases to a quarter-hour or even less. Youth-oriented programs appeared in 1969, and soon thereafter short, one-to-five-minute announcement spots went on the air.

Although the *Voice of Prophecy* became the best known denominational radio broadcast, scores of others, ranging from programs produced by local pastors to conference-sponsored regional broadcasts, were aired in many countries. Adventist colleges in North America commonly owned and operated radio stations which furnished a convenient means to broadcast Christian voices, among them Adventist Church services and other church-produced programming. In 1997 nearly seventy Adventist radio stations were broadcasting in six of the world's twelve divisions, most of them in the three American divisions, but a score or more in European settings as well.

The advent of television as the most popular means for public communication did not prevent radio from remaining an effective device for entertainment and information. In comparison with television, radio was less expensive but more accessible. Manufacturers glutted world

markets with battery-powered sets, some of them small enough to be carried in pockets or worn on clothing. Radio became almost a form of social company, bringing music and talk into the workplace or other places where listeners could hear but could not take the time to watch a television image. Even in remote corners of the earth people were seldom out of range of the radio.

Recognizing the potential of radio, in 1969 the church began investigating the possibility of covering the world with short wave broadcasts as opposed to standard AM or FM signals which faded out in comparatively short distances from the transmission tower. Short wave sometimes penetrated thousands of miles, depending on the power of the transmitter. With only a few short wave broadcast stations the church could cover the earth irrespective of national boundaries. In 1971 Adventist programming began on Radio-Trans-Europe in Lisbon, Portugal. Allen Steele, who had trained as a student manager of an Adventist college radio station, became the manager-coordinator of the project.

The growth of what came to be known as Adventist World Radio was rapid. In 1980 AWR was using four transmitters and had grown from only twelve hours to eighty per week in eighteen languages. In 1984 the General Conference approved a plan to establish a denominationally owned station on Guam which would broadcast to the millions in Asia. An offering at the 1985 General Conference session provided \$5,000,000 for this project. Within two years broadcasts began, which stimulated even more plans to expand to European, African, and Latin

American sites. Another substantial boost from the 1990 General Conference session enabled AWR to produce more than 700 hours of weekly broadcasts in thirty-seven languages from stations in Costa Rica, Italy, Guam, and Gabon on the western coast of central Africa.

With programs in forty-six different languages in 1997, AWR surpassed the language count of both the Voice of America and the BBC. It organized five target areas for its transmitters: Pan-America, Asia, Africa, Europe, and Asian Russia to which it broadcast about 1000 hours weekly. AWR owned broadcast sites in Latin America, Italy, and Guam and leased time on other European stations. Programming depended on thirty production studios around the world to originate programs according to the avail-



Adventist World Radio director Allen Steele, left, receives German-produced tapes from Heinz Kopf. AWR depended on many countries for programming materials.

ability of speakers in needed languages. The strongest station was KSDA in Guam, where the church erected four transmitters by 1996 with a target area in Asia of more than 3 billion persons.

Although AWR programs aired in languages of western countries as well as those of the developing world, one of the leading purposes was to reach the millions in densely populated regions where no Adventist presence existed, or in some cases, was not permitted. Despite attempts by governments in some philosophically threatened locations to jam radio broadcasts, radio signals kept crossing national or ideological boundaries with the message of Adventism. Specific numbers of converts as a result of AWR were unknown, but church leaders measured the success of radio partly in the volume of response from listeners. In 1995 the KSDA office received 100,000 pieces of mail, the majority from China.

In some respects these short wave broadcasts became the voice of the church's global mission, but the emphasis on short wave radio did not diminish the more traditional AM and FM broadcasts in large population centers. AWR began as a move to air officially sponsored Adventist programs from a specific broadcast center, but as it evolved it became an umbrella under which all official denominational radio programming existed.

Adventism on Television

Adventist use of television as an evangelistic tool developed first in the United States following World War II, but spread to other countries as the technology be-

came a possession of the world. Among the Adventist pastors to experiment with this new medium, William Fagal in New York City was the most successful. His first half-hour telecast aired in 1950. Further testing and consultation resulted in a program format revolving around short dramas depicting a common problem, followed by a sermonette. A male quartet provided music, and Fagal's wife, Virginia, appeared on the screen to invite watchers to enroll in a Bible course.

This program, called *Faith for Today*, expanded to other cities in which many stations aired it as a public service with no charge. By 1958 the program was appearing on 130 free stations with a viewing audience estimated at 4 million. Similar to radio, changes in television standards and viewing tastes brought changes to *Faith for Today*. In 1966 the quartet disbanded and in the early 1970s a professionally enacted series of episodes called *Westbrook Hospital* replaced the Fagals' original program. Production of this series ended in 1979, but the scenes continued as local reruns while Dan Matthews, the new director, experimented with a variety of programs, finally settling on a talk-show format called *Christian Lifestyle Magazine*. Later it became simply *Lifestyle Magazine*.

An alternative program, *It Is Written*, began in 1955 with George Vandeman as speaker. Following his evangelistic series in London's Coliseum in the early 1950s, he became convinced that television was the best means to take evangelism to large numbers of city dwellers who wished to attend mass meetings but lived sometimes three hours away from the meeting

site and could attend only with difficulty. From a studio set decorated as a study he spoke directly into the camera and used extensive documentary material to support an openly doctrinal series targeted for large metropolitan viewing markets. Free books and other literature were available to viewers only for the asking, as was a Bible-study course that local church members monitored. Vandeman began with the intention of preparing television audiences for a specific evangelistic campaign, but his success led him to change it to a permanent program.

Vandeman's retirement from active telecasting in 1991 made room for Mark Finley, an experienced evangelist in both Europe and the United States, to replace him as director-speaker. While retaining the basic format of an expository doctrinal program, the new speaker frequently incorporated personally led, video-taped tours to the actual sites, such as biblical locations, where he gathered his documentary material.

A third major program, *Breath of Life*, began in 1974. This telecast, designed for the millions in the Black community, featured Charles D. Brooks as director-speaker, who combined dynamic preaching with conversations and interviews with prominent personalities to discuss not only doctrine but social issues in Black America. Brooks frequently led his production team into Adventist churches to provide his viewers with actual Adventist worship. In 1989 he took his cameras to Adventist churches in the Bahamas to tape a series in that largely Black-populated island country. Walter Arties, the founder of the program, sang

for many years in the Breath of Life quartet that furnished much of the music for the telecasts. In 1997 Walter L. Pearson, a well-known Black pastor and speaker, replaced the retiring Brooks.

These three programs demonstrated three different approaches to televised evangelism, but all with international appeal. *Faith for Today* began as a biblically based commentary on problems of daily living rather than discussions of distinctive denominational teachings. Tens of thousands of viewers enrolled in Bible-study courses where they learned Adventist beliefs. After twenty-five years



Mark Finley took the electronic ministry developed by H. M. S. Richards, William Fagal, and George Vandeman a step farther in 1995 when he launched the Net series, a satellite transmission evangelistic program. By Net '98 Adventists reached a world audience in a single broadcast.

the church attributed about 24,000 baptisms to the program and its correspondence courses. *Faith for Today's* transition to *Westbrook Hospital* and *Lifestyle Magazine* brought stronger emphasis to its mission of reaching unchurched viewers who had little or no apparent interest in religion but who were drawn by discussions of personal involvement in health, ethical, and moral issues. Into these programs Matthews and his co-host injected spiritual values at appropriate moments. On some occasions the discussion topic was a religious one. The denominational name was always present, which notified viewers that the hosts of the program represented Seventh-day Adventism.

Motivating Matthews was the desire to meet people where they were with the hope of stirring up an inquiry into religious matters. In 1983 he organized a systematic visitation program to talk with viewers who responded to his program by mail. By dropping "Christian" and becoming simply *Lifestyle Magazine* in 1991, Faith for Today producers intended to attract Jewish and Moslem as well as other non-Christian viewers.

Faith for Today impacted the Adventist telecasting world beyond North America. Adventists in the Philippines imported the program in 1955. The following year it was the first religious television program in Australia, and from a television station in Nigeria in 1960 it became the first religious telecast in Africa. Periodically it showed in Puerto Rico, Bermuda, and Korea. A South American-produced Portuguese version, known as *Fe para Hoje*, made its debut in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in 1962.

By 1979 Westbrook Hospital became part of the International Satellite Network, a system originating in Canada and relayed to other satellites over Europe, Asia, and South America. The hospital episodes reached Israel, Lebanon, and Jordan by 1981. At the same time eleven Philippine channels were showing Westbrook Hospital. In Japan translators dubbed in voices to the hospital series and renamed the program *Dr. Mason* to prepare for airing in Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe. In Papua, New Guinea in 1986 Faith for Today began with *Westbrook Hospital* and followed with a New Zealand-produced series called *Focus on Living*.

Faith for Today began Russian programming in 1993. The title was the Russian equivalent of "Lifestyle," and the program format followed its American counterpart. Questions relating to health and social matters were topics of interviews and comment, with police, military personnel, civilian leaders, and medical experts appearing on the set as guests.

Breath of Life proved to be an effective Adventist voice to the Black community both within and outside of North America. Brooks and his assistants regularly conducted evangelistic meetings in large cities. During their first ten years they held meetings in the Caribbean, Bermuda, and Palau in the Caroline Islands in the South Pacific. As a result of evangelism in the United States the Breath of Life ministry established new congregations in Memphis, Tennessee, Washington, D. C., and in Los Angeles. Baptisms from these activities reached 3000. In 1986 the program joined the cable television market by securing time on two

satellite systems that gave it access to 2600 stations. With its obvious ethnic orientation *Breath of Life* originally attracted Black audiences in the United States and the Caribbean, but its appeal became more universal as television entertainment, generally, increased the number of ethnic programs.

The proliferation of *It Is Written* was slower, but in time it became the most widespread Adventist telecast. In 1979 it entered the cable television market originating in Atlanta, Georgia. From this point it beamed to most of the rural areas of forty-seven of the fifty United States where conventional telecasts would not reach. Meanwhile, by the mid-1970s the program was available in most of Canada and Australia; in 1973 a French version, *Il Est Ecrit*, appeared in eastern Canada. Super Channel, a satellite system, began carrying *It Is Written* to most of Europe in 1989 where an estimated 500,000 English-speaking viewers watched it on Sundays. Responses came from nearly every European country and reports of baptisms came from Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Netherlands.

In 1991 before the collapse of the communist regime, Vandeman signed a contract with Soviet National Television to air programs for up to seven years from Moscow. Program content included doctrinal, family, and health topics which translators prepared from English scripts to be dubbed in the videos by Russian voices. One of Finley's first moves after he followed Vandeman as director and speaker was to participate in a merger of *It Is Written* and the Canadian Adventist program, *Destiny*. In 1997 a Spanish ver-

sion, *Esta Escrito*, began in Chile and within a year spread by satellite linkages to most of the Spanish-speaking population of the Americas.

Adventists did not extend their television and radio ministries around the globe without having to resolve some problems. One of the first issues was the question of maintaining a balance between the various programs. As each major program evolved it metamorphosed from a privately managed venture to a denominationally owned entity. The result was a galaxy of independent electronic ministries, each competing for money from the same Adventist pocketbook.

At the 1971 Annual Council the General Conference approved a plan to establish a radio, television, and film center to coordinate the denomination's media programs. Located at Thousand Oaks, California, it immediately became the hub for *It Is Written*, the *Voice of Prophecy*, and *Faith for Today*. It contained broadcast and production studios, Bible correspondence schools connected to the programs, and administrative offices. At the Media Center the church also produced film strips and other audio-visual materials for evangelistic purposes. At the time of its founding the Adventist Media Center was a General Conference entity, but in 1996 the denomination transferred ownership and management to the North American Division. By that time two additional programs, *Breath of Life* and *La Voz de la Esperanza*, the Hispanic version of the *Voice of Prophecy*, had become part of the activities of the Media Center.

Other world fields also organized their own coordinating groups and sometimes

built their own media centers. A decade before the General Conference center materialized in California, the South American Division established radio offices in Niteroi, across the bay from Rio de Janeiro. Later, the Adventist System of Media Communication became an umbrella organization for both the *Voice of Prophecy* and *It Is Written* in Brazil. The growing volume of Adventist broadcasts in Europe, including AWR programs, motivated the Trans-European Division to form the Association of Adventist Broadcasters in 1988, with headquarters in Denmark. By the mid-1990s this organization coordinated the work of more than a dozen radio and television production centers scattered around the division.

To help meet the intensifying inquiry into biblical matters in the former Soviet Union, the Euro-Asia Division erected a media center at Tula, about 100 miles south of Moscow. Radio broadcasts, a correspondence school, and production studios at least partially compensated for the paucity of trained ministers in this sprawling field. Serving the South Pacific Division was a media center for radio and television at Wairoa, New South Wales, Australia. Small production centers, primarily for radio broadcasting and correspondence schools, were located in the Euro-Africa and Africa-Indian Ocean divisions.

Less than a decade after it began operations, the Adventist Media Center in California fell upon hard times resulting in part from the double-digit inflation in the United States during the final years of the 1970s and early 1980s, which in

turn caused higher production costs. A series of operational losses at the Media Center precipitated cutbacks. There was even talk of shutting down some programs. A major casualty was the King's Heralds Quartet, which had become one of the most loved of denominational institutions. After more than forty years of service the group left denominational employ to begin a privately managed career in concerts under the name of the Heralds. Fewer free services and curtailed programming were part of the new austerity at the Media Center.

Coincident with these financial difficulties, and possibly contributing to them indirectly, was a series of scandals that besmirched the reputations of several well-known, popular religious television personalities in the United States. One of the best known was charged and convicted of fraudulent use of funds collected from appeals made on his television program. All religious television programs immediately became suspect, and because Adventist producers depended extensively on solicitation of funds, they faced an especially delicate problem of retaining an untarnished image.

Complicating this problem were vehement doctrinal debates within Adventism and disturbing disclosures about questionable investments of denominational money by some church leaders in projects headed by Donald Davenport, an Adventist developer. These issues stirred up discontent and a degree of skepticism about Adventist leadership. Some Adventists reacted by diverting their financial support away from denominational media programs to non-Adventist ones. In an effort to reassure

fellow Adventists that denominational programs were trustworthy and that church members should not be supporting programs whose teachings differed diametrically with Adventism, Dan Matthews informed the church in 1987 that only a small fraction of the donations to the Media Center programs supported overhead expenses, and that Adventist programs functioned on skimpy budgets, sometimes as small as a twentieth of the operational costs of even one of the major non-Adventist television personalities.

One obstacle to airing American-produced programs outside the United States was legislation in many countries requiring television programs to contain a specified amount of local content. To meet these standards technicians sometimes reformatted the programs to allow time to provide a local flavor to the telecast. National speakers commonly introduced the programs or added their own comment. National announcers also gave viewers local addresses from which they could acquire free literature or request Bible correspondence courses.

Related to the question of national control of program content was the availability of English language versions only. These programs were useful in countries where English was a second language or where sizeable pockets of English speakers lived, but otherwise, translations and dubbing were necessary, which added to production expense. Sometimes it was easier to produce a national version. In some countries public attitudes made a national version rather than an American version necessary. In cases of talk-show style programming outside the United

States, it was a necessity for programs to have national hosts who discussed local problems.

Adventist leaders consistently maintained that media programs produced baptisms and therefore deserved financial support by the Adventist public. Seldom was a television or radio program the sole factor in conversions, but frequently it was one of multiple exposures to the church that eventuated in baptisms. It was the intention of program producers to attract the attention of listeners or viewers to Adventism and to pass the names of interested persons to nearby ministers or lay workers who would organize follow-up activities that would lead to baptism. The effectiveness of this plan varied, but the South American Division estimated in 1996 that about a third of the Adventists in Brazil first became acquainted with the church through the *Voice of Prophecy* alone. The first season of the Spanish *It Is Written* in Chile figured in the baptism of 2000 converts. Evangelism in general benefited from media programs as well-known Adventist radio and television personalities often became part of an evangelistic series or in some instances conducted an entire sequence of meetings.

More than anything else it was probably the notion of a massive exposure to Adventism that led to satellite transmission of live evangelistic meetings beginning in 1995. The plan, named Net '95, called for telecasting a single set of meetings by satellite to any site that possessed a dish to receive the signal. Nearly 700 churches in the North American Division set up the equipment to receive the live

telecasts originating in Chattanooga, Tennessee. In February 1995, Net '95 began with more than 22,000 non-Adventists sitting in Adventist churches to hear It Is Written's Mark Finley preach in his well-known expository-documentary style. His *Discoveries in Prophecies* series continued for twenty-four nights. Across the division an estimated 5000 baptisms resulted in the ensuing months.

The following year Net '96, telecast from Orlando, Florida, brought in approximately 17,000 converts. For this series Adventist churches set up more than 1900 downlink sites in the South and Inter-American, divisions and in the Euro-African, and Trans-European divisions. Simultaneous translation into a dozen languages permitted audiences to hear the live programs without waiting for dubbed versions on tape. Finley observed that these telecasts were not simply an evangelistic series, but a systematic method to spread Adventism around the world.

A repeat did not occur in 1997, but Alejandro Bullon, ministerial secretary of the South American Division, produced a satellite reaping series in Portuguese for Brazil. In response to a request from Hispanic Adventists in the North American Division he also delivered a week of reaping lectures from Sao Paulo, Brazil, known as La Red '97, Spanish for Net '97. Although he aimed the program at the North American Division, all Hispanic countries could receive it. Spanish-speaking Adventist churches in the United States and Canada had not widely participated in Net '95 and Net '96, but with newly installed equipment, about 450 congregations opened their doors to

non-Adventists to view the South American-based lectures. Leaders of Hispanic Adventists in North America reported 4000 baptisms resulting in part from this satellite program.

La Red '97 and the Portuguese programs differed from Net '95 and '96 not only in language. The English programs were full sets of doctrinal lectures in contrast to the Spanish and Portuguese short series that were intended as a televised version of the brief reaping or decision meetings that commonly climaxed long evangelistic campaigns in large population centers in Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking America. The immediate significance of La Red '97 was the addition of new members in North America, but it was also one of the most noteworthy instances of interdivisional cooperation in denominational history in which the North American Division was the primary beneficiary rather than the provider. Thoughtful Adventists saw it as a mark of the developing global interdependence of the world church.

Another case of interdivisional cooperation occurred in 1998 in the Africa-Indian Ocean Division, which sponsored its own evangelism by satellite program called Pentecost '98. Following the example of previous transmissions, Fitz Henry, a lay evangelist from Jamaica, launched the five-week series from Soweto to twelve other African countries. On opening night 80,000 attended 500 sites throughout the continent.

Transmitting live evangelism by satellite to the world was a dramatic use of technology in itself, but in spite of its expense, church leaders saw it as a cheap

means to spread the gospel. In no other way could so many hear about Adventism from a single source. Studies showed that the average nightly attendance during Net '96 approximated 100,000 persons, 44,000 of whom were non-Adventists. While the immediate expense of the program dwarfed the cost of a single evangelistic series, the large average attendance reduced the cost per person to a proportionately lesser amount than the cost of enough conventional evangelistic meetings to attract equal numbers, even when taking into account attendance by church members.

The success of the Net programs depended on the participation of members who invited interested persons to attend. Typically, the meeting place was the local Adventist church, although Brazilian Adventists rented auditoriums for large audiences, which cut down the amount of equipment needed to receive the satellite signal. Because satellite television was no longer a novelty to the world, church leaders concluded that consistently large attendance figures demonstrated the holding power of Adventism when carried by a well-known electronic medium. Never before had the denomination drawn so many nonmembers inside Adventist church buildings to hear Adventist teachings. With the successes of Net '95 and Net '96 behind them, church leaders began laying plans for Net '98 which would cover the entire globe.

Global Mission

It was during the 1990 General Conference session at Indianapolis, Indiana,

that the term, Global Mission, became part of the Adventist lexicon. Most Adventists would say unhesitatingly that the church has always had a global mission, but the new term brought new meaning to the biblical injunction to carry the gospel to all the world. Few Adventists realized during the two decades following World War I that the pattern of denominational growth had already shifted in favor of some parts of the non-White world. Observing the disrupted world during and after World War I and experiencing the gloom of the Great Depression, large numbers of Adventists anticipated the imminent return of Christ and did not foresee enough time left in world history for the dramatic church growth in the final thirty years of the twentieth century.

Denominational slogans, "1000 Days of Reaping" before the 1985 General Conference session and "Harvest '90" during the 1985-1990 period helped to inspire membership growth. The goals represented by these slogans focused the energies of the church on its mission to the world, but in spite of a membership nearing 6,500,000 in 1990, it was disturbing to church leaders that large areas of the world remained unaffected by these accessions.

Moslem territory was the prime example. This part of the world included much of Africa, the land extending from parts of Balkan Europe through Turkey and Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan and northward into central Asia, and on to large portions of Malaysia and the Philippines. From these lands converts to Adventism were relatively few. In the heartland of Islam the Adventist Church

barely existed. In some countries the church had not entered. India, with a population approaching a billion in 1990, reported fewer than 170,000 members from its largely Hindu population. Parts of Asia that were predominantly Buddhist had also proved difficult to penetrate; Adventists in Southeast Asia from Myanmar eastward to Vietnam were decidedly fewer than in the Philippines and parts of Indonesia. South Korea was an exception, but after working most of the twentieth century in Japan, the church had fewer than 15,000 members in 1990.

Compared to the United States and Latin America, Europe was inhospitable to Adventism. Historically, Christianity was part of the bedrock of European culture. Germany and Romania had been the most receptive countries to

Adventism, but secularism pervaded the European mind after World War II, and after that conflict Seventh-day Adventism actually shrank in German-speaking Europe.

Adventists believed they had a message for the world, but as they neared the end of the twentieth century, they came to realize that possessing the message did not presuppose that they also knew all of the methods necessary to spread it. Seventh-day Adventism had evolved in a North American, Protestant setting. The early ministers spoke to audiences already familiar with the essential character of Protestant Christianity. To carry Adventism from this beginning point to other places where forms of Christianity differed or where other religions dominated sometimes proved difficult. Serious Adventist



Evangelistic centers such as this one in Jakarta, Indonesia, appeared as Adventism spread to the great cities of the world. The Far Eastern Division contained more of the world's large cities than any other world field.

thinkers knew that changes were needed to fulfill their mission to the world.

Convinced that Adventists faced much unfinished business, General Conference president Neal Wilson challenged the delegates at the 1986 Annual Council in Rio de Janeiro to develop a global strategy to reach those parts of the world where Adventism had not penetrated. His words inspired a reorganization of the Adventist mission movement. Adventists traditionally had measured their fulfillment of the gospel commission by counting the number of countries in which they had established the work of the church, but this practice changed. After a sequence of brainstorming sessions and committee meetings between 1986 and 1989 church leaders called upon Adventists to visualize the world population as consisting of people groups rather than countries. These enclaves of people, defined by culture or language, existed independently or as subgroups in a country. A global strategy meeting in 1989 combined or divided these people groups into population segments, each with about a million persons. Of the 5000 segments in the world, 1800 were unentered by Adventism. In 1990 more than 1100 of the unentered segments were in regions not yet organized in one of the world divisions. Of the remaining segments the largest number, 350, were in the Southern Asia Division, primarily in northern India.

The goal of Global Mission was to establish a new church in each of the 1800 unentered segments between 1990 and the year 2000, which translated to an average of about one new congregation every two days. Modifications in financial

support of missions were necessary to accomplish this goal. In 1990, when Global Mission became an official program of the church, the denomination appropriated approximately 90 percent of its income to support existing institutions and organizations, which meant that the church had little money to open up new fields and would have to locate untapped resources to support the new program.

Appeals to give directly to specific projects became frequent in the months following the 1990 General Conference session. Encouraging large-scale donors to adopt projects became a common means to fund given plans. Saving money by downsizing General Conference operations was part of the plans of the new president, Robert S. Folkenberg. In 1998 he reported that the world headquarters employed 100 fewer persons while overseeing church work in more than 200 countries. From an endowment established from the sale of Loma Linda and La Loma foods came more than a million dollars yearly to support witnessing in unentered areas.

The church also broadened its concept and methods of mission service, most notably by encouraging various forms of independent service. The term, tentmakers, reminiscent of the apostle Paul's practice of supporting himself while conducting missionary tours, was given to church members whose employment in business or government service took them to locations where overt mission activity was not possible. Many of them established an Adventist presence and baptisms frequently resulted from their witnessing.

To enter difficult population segments the church also depended on a privately funded venture, Adventist Frontier Missions. This organization antedated Global Mission, but complemented the program by sending noncredentialed workers to remote locations to plant new churches. Representatives from AFM, some of them physicians and other professionals, fanned out over southern and eastern Asia, islands of the western Pacific, and difficult locations in Europe. To support themselves they raised funds from local churches. In contrast to ADRA employees who deliberately avoided evangelistic or any sectarian activities, workers in AFM openly used the denominational name to identify themselves. Partly as a result of their work, doors later sometimes opened for Adventism.

Heading Global Mission was Mike Ryan, who coordinated all activity in unentered areas, and in effect, provided an overarching entity for all outreach projects. The program was not a traditional department of the denomination, but an initiative to stimulate activity around the world. After five years of operations, Global Mission produced new Adventist congregations in 186 previously unentered population segments and was conducting activity in nearly 400 more. During those five years the denomination had also established itself in ten countries in which it did not exist in 1990.

One of the most noteworthy examples was Mongolia, a land sandwiched between China and Russia, where previous Adventist labors came to an end during hostilities between China and Japan before World War II. Under the auspices of

Adventist Frontier Missions a young couple, Brad and Cathy Jolly, settled in Ulan Bator, the capital. By 1995, three years after moving to Mongolia, they had organized a company of thirteen baptized members. In 1997 fifteen more joined them. Meanwhile, the Jollys returned to the United States for medical reasons.

The Southern Asia Division, with its large number of unentered population segments, appointed a full-time Global Mission coordinator and an assistant, which was the most significant involvement in the program by any of the world divisions. They trained local church elders to assume charge of their congregations, thus permitting ministers to head teams of volunteers in entering 100 population segments. By 1995 new congregations existed in nearly all of these regions. An unheralded example of Global Mission activity in India was the experience of Mavis and Sushil Lall, who were baptized in 1989 and dedicated themselves two years later to a witnessing program. As social workers they visited extensively in their community. Within a year 150 persons committed themselves to a Christian life and a new Adventist congregation began.

During the years immediately following 1990, circumstances in some places changed in favor of Global Mission advancement. In 1991 the collapse of the communist regime in the Soviet Union broke down the already weakening political obstacles to religion. Open evangelism followed with dramatic results. Similar to Russia, relaxation of controls over religion in China provided a more congenial climate for Adventism.

Although population segments were conceived as having a million persons, such groups were rare in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States where membership was already high. In their interest to participate in Global Mission these divisions targeted communities where no Adventist church existed, or ethnic minority groups such as Native American tribes or communities of immigrants. The definition of a segment being a million persons also broke down when applied to megacities with populations at times reaching into double digit millions. Demographic trends pointed toward the twenty-first century when more than half of the world's population would live in metropolitan environments, most of them in the non-Christian parts of the globe.

To continue its emphasis on means to reach new regions, Global Mission set up special centers to study methods to reach people groups in Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic regions, in addition to a Global Urban-Secular Mission for the cities. By the time of Spring Council in 1998 Global Mission could point to 7,000 new congregations in formerly unentered regions. Leaders of the program increasingly directed their attention to what they called the 10/40 Window, a strip of land between the tenth and fortieth parallels north latitude, beginning in western Africa and extending eastward across Asia to Japan. This window housed 60 percent of the world's population and touched eighty-two countries, but was the home of only a tenth of the Adventist world population. Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam were the dominant religions.

Global Mission differed from the

denomination's general mission program in several ways. Never before had the aims and methods of evangelism so purposefully reflected the international character of the church. For decades the church regarded North America as the provider of mission service, but as some fields became self-supporting, they also supplied personnel and funds. Global Mission helped to equalize the concept of mission service but included unentered areas in North America in its program. The plan made use of the notion of people groups and population segments rather than countries, and its aim was to spread Adventism to places where the church did not exist, in contrast to supporting work in territories already entered. The program also represented a calculated attempt to carry the gospel to places that were practically and sometimes officially closed off to Christianity.

After the beginning phases of the world mission movement in the nineteenth century, church leaders consistently depended on the world fields to furnish expansion initiatives. Global Mission was the first substantial effort to strategize the mission program cooperatively on a world scale. World divisions were encouraged to generate initiatives, but Global Mission molded their activities into a comprehensive, worldwide plan that was centrally guided. Regarding the actual methods of spreading the gospel, more than ever before, church leaders recognized the value of local, indirect witnessing through humanitarian and social activities that could lead to permanent church establishments.

The original Global Mission document

proposed goals for the ten years between 1990 and 2000, but as the denomination neared the close of the century it showed no signs of discontinuing the program. While much had been done, there were still people groups and population segments

untouched by the gospel. With its comprehensive concepts of evangelism, Global Mission invigorated the church, but the more energetically members worked, the more it seemed that they still had a full agenda of unfinished business.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Radio:

Virginia Cason, *H. M. S. Richards: Man Alive!* (1974), presents an appealing portrait of the most well known Adventist radio voice.

Robert Edwards, *H. M. S. Richards* (1998), gives readers a view of the speaker and director of the Voice of Prophecy by a former member of the King's Heralds Quartet.

George Vandeman, *My Dream* (1995), is a memoir by the founder of It Is Written.

Allen Steele, *Loud Let It Ring! Adventist World Radio* (1996), covers Adventist World Radio from its beginnings in 1971 to 1996.

Evangelism and Global Mission:

Howard Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (1969), pp. 182-309, is a basic treatment of the shifting philosophies of Adventist evangelism after World War II.

The story of the origin and meaning of Global Mission as told by *Adventist Review*:

A six-part series, July 2-August 6, 1987, under the title, "Global Strategy," introduces the Adventist public to the basic concerns later embodied in Global Mission.

Myron Widmer, "Global Mission," February 20, 1992, pp. 12-14, is a defining interview with the director of Global Mission, Mike Ryan.

Charles Taylor, "Measuring a Dream," June 8, 1995, pp. 8, 9, assesses Global Mission after five years of operation.

The meaning of Global Mission in *Ministry*:

Charles Taylor, "Global Strategy," August 1990, pp. 12-15, presents the underlying rationale for Global Mission.

Russell Staples, "Exclusivism, pluralism, and Global Mission," November 1992, pp. 10-13, explains the uniqueness of the Adventist mission to the world.

Jon Dybdahl, ed., *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century* (1999), expresses the views of more than thirty authors about Global Mission.

Internationalizing Church Polity

Adventists in general as well as denominational leaders were pleased with the unprecedented membership growth around the globe. Its immediate effect was to draw attention to the international character of the church. If there were any doubts left about the need for a more internationally balanced church administration, they faded after the 1980 General Conference session in Dallas, Texas, when the rank of the Inter-American Division as the largest world field became official.

Changes that followed were not all administrative or structural. Some were conceptual. Some were painful. Some were seemingly minor, but meaningful nevertheless. A case in point was the changing denominational vocabulary. As the church grew, the appropriateness of the terms “missionary” and “mission” as they had customarily been used became questionable. The words connoted a rela-

tionship between unequals. The common image of a missionary was someone who went from a superior to an inferior location to improve it, but church growth had created a critical mass of membership beyond North America that called for equality among the geographical divisions of the church.

The terms “interdivisional worker” and “expatriate worker” replaced “missionary,” indicating that the flow of church employees proceeded from many different countries to many other countries, not simply from North America or other western countries as had been the case originally. “Mission” became a term to describe the purpose of church activity more often than a location where activity occurred. Adventists continued to use mission and missionary in common parlance, but their meaning had lost their original impact.

The notion of North America as the denominational “homeland” as contrasted with “foreign” also showed up in telltale details of denominational publications. For decades, when reporting church statistical growth, the *Annual Statistical Report* had customarily listed the North American Division first with all other divisions appearing in alphabetical order. The summary section presented a single line of statistical totals for North America contrasted with a single line of corresponding totals for the rest of the world, which was sometimes called “foreign,” all of which conveyed the impression that the denomination consisted of two parts, North America, sometimes referred to as the home base or the homeland, and the other world fields. In 1977 the General Conference Archives and Statistics office rearranged the order, listing North America alphabetically with the other divisions, thus dropping its statistical contrast between North America and the remaining “foreign” parts of the church.

Similarly, the *SDA Yearbook*, the annual denominational directory of administrative entities, institutions, and personnel, underwent change. From the inception of divisions, North America’s place in the *Yearbook* was immediately following the listing of General Conference officers, departments, and agencies, with the world divisions next in alphabetical order, all of which expressed the “special relationship” of North America to the General Conference. As that special relationship declined the *Yearbook* also changed. In 1982 North America took its

place in the alphabetical listing of all world divisions.

The North American Division and Its Special Relationship

In a sense the perception of the denomination being divided into two parts was a correct one. Changes in the order of listing the divisions were omens of a mounting debate over the role of the North American Division. Local conferences in a given region formed unions, which in turn were joined into divisions. While church leaders regarded unions as the organizational building blocks of the church, the denomination organized divisions as branches of the General Conference to administer the work of the unions. Divisions maintained a full slate of administrative and departmental officers, controlled their own budgets, and developed policy for themselves within the operational latitude for divisions, but a division president was also a vice president of the General Conference assigned to a given territory and theoretically spoke with General Conference authority in his division. A union was the highest administrative authority *emerging from* a field in contrast to a division which was General Conference authority *extending out* to the world fields.

This pattern held true in all divisions except North America. A General Conference vice president was assigned to oversee the North American Division, but did not carry the title of division president. The North American Division had no separate departments or budget; its operational costs were part of the General

Conference budget. General Conference personnel handled all administrative and departmental activities for North America. Practically speaking, the North American Division existed in name only. Some even declared that it had no constituency. It functioned, not as an administrative branch of the General Conference but as an integrated part of the General Conference in what was commonly known as a "special relationship."

Denominational workers viewed this arrangement ambivalently. Most non-North Americans saw the General Conference as an extension of the North American church which gave North America control of the denomination. Others saw the General Conference and the North American Division as practically indistinguishable. The special relationship opened the door for special treatment of North America by the General Conference because North Americans controlled both entities. Membership on the General Conference Executive Committee was largely North American. Until well into the church growth spurt after World War II non-North Americans served in General Conference offices only occasionally.

Most North Americans justified the system by arguing that General Conference operations depended on North American money and that the North American Division was the financial base on which the denomination built its world program. It logically followed that control of church policy and finances was a North American responsibility.

There was probably never a time since divisions began that the role of North

America had not raised questions, but by the 1970s serious doubts cropped up about the *status quo*. The sheer bulk of membership growth was producing world fields that rivaled the size of North America, which in turn constituted a dwindling proportion of members of the world church. In keeping with an expectation that workers from the world fields should share leadership roles at the General Conference, more non-North American faces appeared at the world headquarters. In the interests of fair representation, the church at large applauded this trend, but with increasing frequency North Americans pointed out that notwithstanding its fairness, the increase in interdivisional workers at the General Conference combined with North America's special relationship meant that in years to come persons from all over the world would be administering North American affairs and North Americans would lose control of their own field.

When they first appeared, changes in the listings in the *Annual Statistical Report* and the *SDA Yearbook* did not represent substantive changes in the special relationship, but they reflected a restlessness for a North American Division organized like other divisions. Proponents declared that fair representation in an international church demanded a North American Division that functioned on an equal footing with everyone else. They also argued that because the relative size of North America was shrinking and a growing number of non-North Americans served in the General Conference, a truly North American Division was necessary to preserve its own identity. In their view

it was ironic that North Americans were leaving division positions around the world, giving way to national leaders, while at the same time the special relationship with the General Conference was creating the possibility of non-North Americans administering the North American Division. The Pacific Union Conference and the independent Association of Adventist Forums each established a commission to study the problem. In both cases the commissions advocated an independent North American Division.

North Americans themselves were apprehensive about higher costs of operating the church during the late 1970s and early 1980s, caused by unusually high inflation rates and the declining value of the dollar. These uncertain financial conditions prompted some laity to advise economizing measures. One was to reduce the number of North American unions and their responsibilities, or eliminate them altogether and transfer oversight of the conferences to an independent North American Division. Also fueling the debate over money was a belief that many world divisions were becoming self-supporting. Some fields that the church once viewed as missions were now suppliers of interdivisional workers. The extent of dependence on North American assistance for both money and personnel was still present, but lessening.

Complicating the situation was the tendency of the General Conference to expand its programs and personnel while many conferences in North America were facing reductions in staff and operations because of financial difficulties. Because the General Conference functioned on

North American money rather than from support from the world fields, a growing attitude developed among North Americans that an independent division would require the General Conference to treat its home field in the same way as all divisions, thus diminishing General Conference dependence on North American finance. Leaders from the divisions outside North America also supported equal status for North America, but for a different reason: to reduce the stranglehold North Americans had on the world headquarters.

Doubters of a new role for the North America Division included not only General Conference president Neal Wilson but Charles Bradford, vice president for North America. For them the special relationship had been a providential arrangement that had contributed to the organizational unity of the church. They argued that by combining the North American Division both financially and administratively with the General Conference, church leaders had been able to administer the denomination efficiently. Many were convinced that the world fields would always depend on North American financial strength and if the North American Division became an entity apart from the General Conference the financial underpinnings of the denomination might crumble. Many did not quarrel with the historical truth in these arguments, but they judged that the time had arrived for changes.

In spite of their arguments, both Wilson and Bradford appeared amenable to modify church administration. In 1982, for the first time in the church's history,

General Conference personnel assigned to North America conducted year-end meetings similar to all other world divisions. One of the topics was the formation of a true North American Division. A year later North America developed its own mission statement and in another two years North American Division leaders held their own business session for the first time, complete with discussions about their own budget, although direct appropriations from the General Conference covered North America's operating expenses. In 1986 the church gave

Bradford the title of president of the North American Division as well as vice president of the General Conference, which recognized that he genuinely presided over an entity rather than served as a vice president with a special assignment.

Until 1990 these events were evolutionary, but delegates to the General Conference session that year voted to establish an independent North American Division that would function as other world divisions. The election of a new president, A. C. McClure, with a complete set of



Left, Neal Wilson, General Conference president from 1979 to 1990, moved the General Conference into its new headquarters and conceived the Global Mission program which led to an improved world awareness among Adventists.

Right, C. E. Bradford, president of the North American Division from 1979 to 1990, instituted the first steps toward equalizing the relationships of the world divisions by reducing the "special relationship" between North America and the General Conference. His successor, A. C. McClure, continued the separation by organizing the first full slate of division officers and departmental leaders.

departmental leaders separate from the General Conference, signaled the beginning of a new era for North America. By that time the North American Division approximated only about 10 percent of the denomination but still claimed a disproportionate share of positions at world headquarters. Nonetheless, North Americans greeted the action almost as a declaration of independence. By 1993 additional changes in money management brought the North American Division still more in line with the financial administration of the world divisions.

In some ways North America's special relationship with the General Conference did not disappear. The church continued to depend on North American money to operate the General Conference. Offices of the division remained in the General Conference building and the division president still belonged to PREXAD, the General Conference presidential administrative committee.

At the 1995 General Conference session in Utrecht, Netherlands, it became evident that General Conference leaders intended additional reorganization to reflect the internationalization of the church. The meetings had proceeded only a day when General Conference president Robert Folkenberg proposed a reduction in the size of the Executive Committee from 360 to about 240 and to cap the number of delegates to a General Conference session at 2000. The proposals were separate but both were economizing measures and were designed on the principle of more balanced representation at business meetings of the church. By implication the proposals would also

diminish the number of North Americans on the Nominating Committee, the body that selected officers of the General Conference and the divisions at each General Conference session.

A formula in the denominational constitution dictated the number of delegates to a session, which was based on proportional representation and allowed the number of delegates to increase indefinitely. At the 1995 session the number of delegates reached 2,650; projections pointed to around 3000 at the next session, which would add to the ballooning expenses of the sessions. To control these expenses had been a long-standing problem. In 1970 the denomination reduced costs by scheduling the world meetings every five years instead of the traditional four. The proposal in 1995 would improve control by reducing and capping the number of delegates at 2000. The capping measure assigned about a third of the delegates to the at-large category, or persons in positions in the General Conference and the divisions. The remaining two-thirds were regular delegates selected proportionately according to the size of the world fields they represented. The proposal called for about 50 percent of the delegates to be laypersons.

This proposal did not meet stiff resistance, but some delegates suggested that by reducing the number of delegates church authority would become more centralized and the representation principle would suffer. In the end, delegates approved it with relatively little debate, recognizing not only its practical financial effect but that a statistical sampling of membership in a rapidly expanding

church rather than an ever-growing proportional number of representatives was a fair method to determine the size of representation at a business meeting.

The discussion about the composition of the General Conference Executive Committee was more animated. Between General Conference sessions this body convened weekly for routine matters. Its two major meetings each year were in the fall and spring to approve annual denominational budgets, to review audit reports, and to transact other business of the church. At the weekly meetings only members at church headquarters attended, but at the fall and spring meetings members gathered from all of the world fields. In spite of the personnel changes that had already taken place at the General Conference, North American members still dominated the meetings, sometimes amounting to about 70 percent.

The proposal would reduce the number of members by about a third by eliminating many General Conference personnel and representatives from entities that did not serve a global purpose. Also, the number of hand picked members by the General Conference dropped from eighty to thirty. Officers of the unions and divisions would be members. At least three laypersons would represent each division, and a formula prorated additional representation according to size of each division. The total number of laypersons remained potentially the same, but their relative influence increased because of the smaller size of the committee. To make sure that all members from the world fields attended the fall and spring

meetings, the General Conference agreed to pay their travel expenses. In sum, the Executive Committee was leaner but more representative of the global church it was supposed to represent.

Reactions to this downsizing were mixed. Even though the world divisions would gain a relative advantage, some non-North American delegates opposed it. The common criticism called it a trend toward centralization, primarily because a reduced number of persons would handle church business during the weekly meetings. Enough opposition boiled up to cause refinement of the proposal, but most delegates saw the final form as an improved representation system and passed it with little question. The final size of the Executive Committee approximated 260.

North Americans went home from Utrecht realizing that they had witnessed epoch-making events and the end of an era. The years from 1980 to 1995 saw the separation of the North American Division from the General Conference and a redesigned infrastructure that promoted a more balanced operation of a world organization. The practical effect of internationalization was already in effect and nowhere more emphatically seen than in the debate over the North American Division's proposal that would permit divisions to ordain women at their own discretion. The debate was short but emotional and the defeat of the motion decisive. At face value the decision expressed disapproval of ordaining women to the gospel ministry, but many opposed the motion because they saw it as divisive, an attempt by North America to determine

denominational policy for itself.

After Utrecht North American Division president A. C. McClure called the situation bittersweet. The new relationship between North America and the General Conference recognized Adventists' mission to evangelize the world had succeeded in building a world partnership, but the decline of North American influence would mean that North America would have to accede to the decisions of the world church, and at times, such as the proposal to ordain women, the result would be disappointing. The unspoken implication was that North America had lost much of its special relationship and its dominating position in the church.

Average Adventists probably did not sense anything different about their church as a result of these changes. They continued to worship as always, to give their tithes and offerings in response to both local and worldwide appeals, and to believe the same teachings. Church polity remained distant from them. The most meaningful reaction of most Adventists to the now obvious international character of the church was satisfaction that the church was progressing to the corners of the world.

Institutional Growth

Church growth produced a chain reaction of needs. The immediate need was more institutions that could provide services to the flood of new members. In some places this need became critical. Nowhere did Adventists sense this problem more than in their need of church buildings and schools. Congregations and

schools presupposed ministers and teachers, who in turn needed professional preparation programs in Adventist colleges. All of this translated into more and stronger denominational institutions of higher learning in the world divisions.

The numbers of growth tell the story best. In 1951 Adventist membership crossed the 800,000 mark at 803,270. Around the world there were 10,585 organized congregations, but only 5,999 church buildings. The average size of a church was seventy-six members. Four and a half decades later in 1995 the world church numbered 8,812,555 divided into 40,194 congregations that averaged 219 members. In 1951 the denomination employed one ordained minister for every 185 members and a paid worker for every thirty-one members. In 1995 an ordained minister for every 700 members was average, and a paid worker for each sixty-one members was standard.

These averages reveal that the employment of pastors and workers did not increase proportionately with membership growth. One explanation is that improved technology in communication and transportation increased the productivity of workers and thus fewer workers were necessary, but this conclusion is too simplistic. The ability of the church to produce pastors suffered in many rapidly growing regions and these fields sustained a serious lack of pastoral leadership.

This situation resulted in part from the tendency to spend money on church buildings rather than on pastoral preparation. The 5,999 church buildings in 1951 grew to 40,155 in 1995, a figure that shows relatively few congregations

left without a roof of some kind over their heads. In addition to about 34,000 new church buildings, the size of congregations increased by nearly three times. The needs of congregations amounted to nearly 775 new churches per year, bigger and more complex to accommodate the increasing membership. Instead of maintaining employment levels commensurate to those of 1951, church leaders poured money into real estate that would enhance the life of individual congregations. This trend helps to explain why many Adventist lay people from North America organized and led denominational church construction projects in several world fields.

During these same years the number of church employees also grew, but at a much slower rate. An increase of 8000 ordained ministers and nearly 120,000 other workers presupposed educational programs that would prepare those persons for employment in an increasing number of different professions. In 1951 the denomination operated twenty-nine schools outside North America where students could take post-secondary classes. Only four of them reported an enrollment of 100 or more students: Philippine Union College with 627, Brazil College with 162, West Indies Training College with 112, and Australasian Missionary College with 100. The average enrollment in all Adventist colleges was 272 students. These figures include the self-supporting Madison College, the SDA Theological Seminary, the College of Medical Evangelists, and Home Study Institute. One of every sixty-six Adventists worldwide enrolled in a church college.

By 1995 only one in 156 Adventists enrolled in a denominational institution of higher learning, but the number of such schools had risen to eighty-one and the average size of a student body was nearly 700. Beyond the denominational medical school in California, the church was only beginning to experiment with post-baccalaureate education in 1951. By 1995 fourteen institutions in six of the world divisions outside North America offered graduate courses in their own name; seventeen arranged with other institutions to offer graduate classes on their campuses.

While the denomination needed educated employees, it was simplistic to assume that all Adventist students would enter the church payroll. The leading motivation for post-secondary education may have originally been to prepare denominational employees, but church growth also produced a desire among Adventist youth for professional education on an Adventist campus, whether or not they planned to work for the denomination. North Americans regarded it as almost a right of their membership. A gradual broadening of curricula in non-North American schools reflected traces of a similar trend. Eighteen institutions in the Africa-Indian Ocean, Asia-Pacific, South American, and Inter-American divisions offered four or more degrees in 1995. Three of the schools were in the Philippines.

At the end of the century North American institutions still held the upper hand in breadth and depth of programs, but they no longer had the corner on professional education for the denomination. During the last half of the twentieth

century Adventist education in the world divisions evolved from what were primarily training schools to bona fide educational institutions, staffed largely by nationals who represented the expanding horizon of Adventist professionalism.

Another outcome of church growth was the increasing inadequacy of the headquarters building that had housed the General Conference in Takoma Park since moving from Battle Creek. The structure had undergone repeated expansion, but an ever-mounting volume of business and personnel outstripped the available space.

For years talk echoed through the denomination that the General Conference needed a new office building. The transfer of the Review and Herald Publishing Association from its location adjacent to the General Conference to a new site some sixty miles distant to Hagerstown, Maryland, only whetted the appetite to move the church office. Finally, in 1982, the several buildings comprising the world headquarters went up for sale, and in 1985 General Conference representatives sold the property for \$14,000,000. At the time the cost of the proposed new building was \$17,000,000.

The new location was seven miles north in the upper part of Silver Spring, Maryland. At the time of groundbreaking in 1987, the construction estimate had risen to \$25,000,000, which rose again to nearly \$30,000,000 shortly prior to completion. The final statement showed that the actual costs doubled from the original \$17,000,000 to \$34,000,000.

Changes in construction plans, meeting legal restrictions, and delays accounted for most of the increase. Also

sharing the blame were inflation of construction materials and unforeseen construction problems. For the extra money the church had added about 120,000 square feet to its headquarters, making a total of about 300,000 square feet. Operations once scattered throughout a cluster of buildings were brought together under one roof, and the entire complex rested in an inviting setting of nearly thirty acres of land instead of cramped into tight quarters within the city. Hardly anyone accused the General Conference of extravagance, but neither was the new facility spartan. The offices were smaller and the furnishings were functional but not elegant. Some North American local conference and union office buildings were more commodious.

In 1987 Neal Wilson admitted that for eighteen years he had driven by the location and dreamed of the day when the headquarters could move. About two years after breaking ground, the General Conference in fact did move. The relocation prompted observations that this was the opportune time to move either the North American Division to a different location in the United States or the General Conference to a neutral location such as Switzerland. The ideas surfaced together with arguments favoring the formation of an independent North American Division, and held that the separation of North America from the General Conference would thus be complete. The neutral location for either party would forestall any suspicion that a special relationship existed between any division and the world offices. The ideas were conversation pieces but hardly anyone

took them seriously. When the move from Takoma Park to Silver Spring took place in September 1989, the North American Division moved into its second floor offices with no one complaining. Many felt as though the church finally had a world headquarters representative of the movement which it headed, and since North American Adventists had paid for it, perhaps their division deserved their offices in it.

Contributions of Lay Members to the World Church

There had never been a time when church leaders and pastors had not involved lay members in soul winning. Rapidly growing regions as well as the slower ones rightfully attributed much of their increases to the work of individuals who felt the conviction to share their beliefs. Contributions of laypersons were in two forms, first, participation in direct evangelistic or other programs that the church directed, and second, establishing enterprises or initiatives of their own in cooperation with the church. Adventist leaders commonly taught that participation in church activities not only kept people alive spiritually, but they also recognized that the task of spreading Adventism was too large for church employees to accomplish by themselves.

Self-supporting work epitomized by Madison College in the American South was the beginning point for much of the spirit that evolved into a global movement by the 1970s. Most of the early ventures were small sanitariums or clinics or schools that followed the Madison

model. An important aspect of the self-supporting movement was the Layman Foundation, a philanthropic organization that provided funds for struggling units in the self-supporting chain. Gifts of more than a million dollars from Lida Funk-Scott, the daughter of the co-founder of Funk and Wagnalls Publishing Company, played a key role in establishing the Foundation. Captivated by the principles of education and healthful living which Madison represented, she visited the institution in 1914 and moved there permanently four years later. For twenty years she served as secretary of the Layman Foundation and traveled to remote self-supporting institutions to help improve their performance.

From the time independent work began at Madison, an ambiguous attitude toward self-supporting ventures characterized Adventist leaders. Many church administrators felt uneasy about institutions that they could not control. Consultation between the church and independent organizations was frequently unsatisfactory. Many small enterprises appeared to be perpetually on the verge of financial disaster, and church leaders believed they would put official institutions of the church at risk if they encouraged Adventists to support struggling, independent ones. In spite of these problems they could not overlook Ellen White's abundant support of self-supporting endeavors. Many persons trained in independent schools and sanitariums later gave excellent service to the denomination. It seemed impossible to meet some needs otherwise than through independent institutions.

In 1945 the General Conference urged the formation of an association that would draw the various self-supporting enterprises together for mutual support and to be a point of contact for improved coordination between them and the denomination. A step in that direction occurred the following year when the patriarch of self-supporting work, Dr. E. A. Sutherland, became secretary of the General Conference Commission for Self-Supporting Missionary Work.

With Sutherland's support, representatives of twenty-five independent medical and educational institutions, including the Layman Foundation, organized the Association of Seventh-day Adventist Self-Supporting Institutions in 1947. An eleven-member executive committee directed the new organization, five of whom the General Conference appointed. The General Conference also furnished office space and secretarial help at the world headquarters, and paid the salary and traveling expenses of the association's executive secretary, who became a member of the General Conference Committee. Before the year ended another thirteen institutions joined the association. Four years later the association and the General Conference Commission for Self-Supporting Missionary Work merged. While the members of the ASI, as the association was popularly known, retained their autonomy, the liaison between the denomination and self-supporting ventures had been institutionalized under church control.

After a dozen years the ASI began to question its own philosophy of member-

ship. Relying on Ellen White's advice to remember the importance of farmers, tradesmen, and professionals, ASI directors opened up the association to Adventists engaged in some form of business. Eventually anyone from truck drivers to physicians to industrialists could join. By 1970 enough of these individuals had become members to make it necessary to change the organization's name to Association of Privately Owned Seventh-day Adventist Services and Industries. Nine years later this lengthy title shortened to Adventist-Laymen's Services and Industries, still known as ASI.

The changes in both the membership and the name of ASI gave rise to a change in its emphasis. Its original purpose of harnessing the energies of the laity to engage in projects in cooperation with the denomination never changed, but the organization became more than a consortium for small medical and educational enterprises. Instead, it grew to be a home for all Adventist individuals and institutions that contributed to denominational outreach. ASI did not become a philanthropic organization, but by the end of the century its most visible function was a conduit for money to flow from the private sector of Adventism to official projects of the church. This role overshadowed but did not exclude the original member institutions.

These changes had taken place partly because of the approval of denominational leaders. After attending the annual convention in 1986 J. Robert Spangler confessed he once thought that the church should be a monolithic structure including all institutions and programs and that

independent work was a threat to the denomination, draining money and persons from official church work. The convention convinced him that ASI accomplished work that would never otherwise be done.

The ASI concept did not remain in North America. The organization's commitment to the world church broadened as the change in its emphasis evolved. In 1984 a chapter organized in Britain. In 1996, ASI officials hosted 150 European conventioners in Rome, Italy, who donated 100 million lire (US\$65,000) for six mission projects. Representation came from twelve countries, including three from the former communist bloc. Enthusiasm also spread to Latin America. Honduras formed a chapter in 1996; within a year this group started a bilingual school and established a radio station that became the leading religious broadcasting center in the country. A year later thirty-three interested persons formed another chapter in El Salvador.

Although ASI chapters were appearing beyond North America, the United States organization did not withdraw its attention to non-American needs. In 1997 about 1200 attended the association's convention in Albuquerque, New Mexico to celebrate ASI's fiftieth anniversary. Among the attendees was the General Conference president who expressed delight over the \$1.7 million donated at the convention for twenty-six projects, many of them beyond North America.

Some of the more eye-catching members of ASI were sub-organizations that focused on international projects. One such was Liga, Spanish for "League" and

the North American counterpart of a legal corporation formed in Mexico by Adventist physicians from the United States permitting them to operate clinics. Beginning in the 1940s, Liga members, known as "The Flying Doctors of Mercy," contributed both money and their personal efforts to support projects primarily in Mexico, but in time they extended their service to Central and South America and other developing countries.

Liga's members also widened their activities to include agricultural and humanitarian projects. In northern Mexico they purchased land for a school and helped set up wheat and soy bean production. In Guatemala they assisted in earthquake and hurricane relief programs. In Argentina they contributed livestock to the dairy herd of River Plate College. They purchased a small plane for a mission in Peru and a bulldozer for a government resettlement program in Brazil. Through member contacts with one of southern California's largest producers of vegetable and flower seeds they distributed thousands of dollars' worth of free seeds in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. They supported demonstrations by Adventist agronomist Jacob Mittleider in New Guinea and Fiji, and financed the translation of his agronomy textbook into Spanish.

Another internationally oriented sub-group was Maranatha Volunteers International. This organization began in 1969 when John Freeman, a printer, took twenty-eight persons to the Bahamas to complete the construction of a church during the Christmas holidays. The plan called for the local mission to provide

housing and food while the volunteers gave skilled and unskilled labor. The idea for volunteer laborers to spend working vacations on short mission projects was born.

So successful was this venture that Freeman and some friends organized Maranatha Flights International to sponsor similar trips. Adventist pilots joined who transported volunteers to project sites. By 1976 there were 1200 members. Many were retirees, some were skilled tradesmen, and others were simply interested in volunteering. The original project in the Bahamas became the model for all Maranatha projects. Members paid their own travel expenses to construction locations where, in addition to the actual work, some of the volunteers were assigned to prepare food and other housekeeping duties. By the mid-1970s they had traveled to sites from Latin America to Borneo and to Africa, besides some projects in Canada and the United States.

In 1989 a merger with Volunteers International, another humanitarian organization, produced Maranatha Volunteers International. As more volunteers enrolled in Maranatha projects, the directors tailored their options to attract specific groups of participants. Examples from 1997 included a project in El Salvador that would interest teenagers in secondary school. Another in southern Mexico was designed for young adults. Maranatha also inaugurated the \$10 Church program in 1988, which asked volunteers to commit \$10 a month to a special fund for the purpose of erecting church buildings. Much of the labor for the construction of the new seminary in

Cuba came from Maranatha volunteers. The calendar for 1998 consisted of more than thirty trips, the majority in Latin America, but one as far away as Indonesia.

Between 1969 and 1996 Mexico and the Dominican Republic received the largest share of assistance from Maranatha, but more than 32,000 volunteers traveled to fifty-nine countries on all continents to construct 1,463 buildings, more than half of them churches. The total estimated value of this real estate was nearly US\$75 million. By 1996 Maranatha claimed 10,000 members from about sixty countries. The program had become so complicated that it operated offices in California with a staff of full-time employees.

Personal membership in Maranatha did not mean membership in ASI, but rather in an organization that belonged to ASI. Maranatha appealed to individuals rather than to businesses by providing opportunities for anyone who could afford a plane ticket to a remote location to engage in front-line mission tasks.

For generations North American Adventists had given offerings in response to appeals to carry the gospel to remote parts of the world. Mission stories were the stuff from which Sabbath School programs were made. Through Maranatha these missions became part of the experience of participants who learned first-hand the international character of the church.

International projects sponsored by ASI or a sub-group like Maranatha enabled Adventists to make a personal, emotional investment, and sometimes a

sacrificial one, in another part of the world. On the other side of the coin, the only representatives of Adventism that most non-Americans knew were paid employees of the church. Maranatha projects provided a chance for thousands of Adventists beyond North America to observe Americans as they worked side by side with fellow believers, not because it was their job but because they wanted to do it. Sometimes they could hardly communicate with each other, but such camaraderie resulted in a spirit of unity and Christian brotherhood. The denomination could not measure Maranatha's contributions in dollars because its donations of time, energy, and good will were beyond calculation.

At Columbia Union College in 1959 William Loveless, pastor of the Sligo Church, began a movement to enlist the support of Adventist youth which in time became the Student Missionary program. Loveless suggested that a student who spent a summer fully immersed in mission activity outside the United States would be able to inspire peers more effectively than would traditional appeals in Sabbath School or published reports in church periodicals. After a candidate was selected and financial support was in place, including a scholarship, the college sent the denomination's first student missionary to Mexico.

The idea caught on quickly. Within a decade every Adventist college in the North American Division was sending out student missionaries. Programs varied, but generally students paid their own transportation to their assigned location, and the school which they represented

supplied scholarships for the students after they returned to their campuses. While working, the students received modest stipends. Initially, most of the students went to the Inter-American Division, but by 1975 more than 1200 had gone to eighty-three countries where they spent a year teaching school, helping in youth programs, or participating in direct evangelism.

One of the more successful programs for SMs, as student missionaries were called, was in the Far Eastern Division where M. T. Bascom, evangelist for the Japan Union, organized English language schools as a vehicle to reach the public. Students by the scores from North American colleges jumped at the chance to teach English as a second language to thousands in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and other countries of the Orient. Many of the language students were professionals. By 1980 Bascom reported that 90 percent of the student missionaries in the Far Eastern Division were connected to the language schools.

The successes of the student missionaries convinced church leaders that the program played a vital role in the denomination. Accordingly, the 1982 Annual Council opened the student missions to all Adventist young people between the ages of eighteen and thirty. A year and a half later, youth from seven world divisions were participating. A number of Australian students served in England, assisting pastors in both mundane and spiritual matters in their ministry. In 1982 four students from West Indies College began the student mission program in the Inter-American Division by taking as-

signments in Puerto Rico, Colombia, Haiti, and Panama. A theology student from Greece attending Newbold College in England spent a year in volunteer work with Adventist World Radio in Lisbon, Portugal. A young student from the Marshall Islands joined students from Oakwood and Union colleges in the United States to form a teaching team on the island of Namu.

In 1989 the Far Eastern Division initiated the Rural Health Student Missionary Program which provided an opportunity for youth to assist in clinics, to visit homes in the interests of promoting health, and to take part in evangelistically related projects. Six students from Indonesia and the Philippines were the first to go. The first student missionary from India filled a position in a secondary school in the United States. Shortly after becoming an Adventist in 1992, a young convert from Lithuania enrolled in a North American college, only to interrupt his theology studies to serve a year at an Adventist radio station in Italy. Two Canadian student missionaries kept the Adventist school in Iceland alive where only seven of the sixty students were Adventists.

When the student missionary program began, many church leaders were wary. Some thought it was a madcap idea, but as success stories mounted, doubters became believers. Professionals in large Asian cities taking English as a second language were not hesitant to interrupt their class to ask Adventist youth about their religion. In some instances struggling schools would not have survived if student missionaries had not pitched in

with youthful exuberance. Bascom, who later became lay activities director for the Far Eastern Division, confessed that the students were reaching people that his open evangelism could never touch. By 1980 he reported that hundreds of baptisms had resulted.

It was a multiple-phased, international lay movement in which Adventists participated as the twentieth century approached its end. In those countries where the Adventist population was rapidly growing lay involvement tended to be oriented toward direct evangelism. Church leaders admitted that without the efforts of the laity church growth in Latin America, Africa, and Asia would not have occurred.

In North America where resources were more abundant, volunteerism and financial support characterized the lay movement. The result was a lay program that functioned parallel to the official mission of the church. Maranatha volunteers could be called a part-time, interdivisional worker force, self-financed and self-directed. Independent money and time produced *Amazing Facts*, a television program that featured stirring Adventist preaching which became a staple item in the schedule of 3ABN, a telecasting center likewise owned and operated by an independent Adventist group. J. L. Tucker, founder of *The Quiet Hour*, a nationally known independent Adventist radio broadcast based in California, used his program to raise money to buy more than thirty planes for mission use.

In their attempt to encourage generosity, church leaders sometimes reminded

Adventists that their rate of giving to missions was declining. In a time when the only way to support world evangelism was either to become a missionary or to give money, a decline in mission offerings was a negative trend. But the lay movement produced a different kind of giving few took time to calculate—the value of the real estate constructed by volunteers, or the millions of dollars that Adventists poured into the work through ASI, or the money they spent on transportation to donate free labor that would have otherwise cost the church, or the inspiration of lay support that ASI exported to Adventist businessmen outside North America.

Much of the success of lay involvement depended on project giving. Individuals perhaps put less per capita in the offering plate on Sabbaths, but many North Americans were bypassing the weekly mission offerings while giving to projects around the world by donating both themselves and large sums of money. Their personal identification with a specific need or location sometimes inspired more giving than through the traditional methods. To most Adventists before World War II the different parts of the Adventist world were only pictures or words in a mission appeal, but as they neared the end of the century, thousands of Adventists were involved in the church in ways that had not seemed possible to the previous generation. They were also helping to bind the parts of the Adventist world together in ways the previous generation had not conceived.

For all of the success of lay involvement the same dangers remained in

project giving that had led the denomination to discourage it years before. The difference in the 1990s was a calculated attempt by General Conference leadership to integrate it into Global Mission. While this was largely successful, a parallel mission program emerged that became dependent on philanthropy outside the denominational budget. It made for administrative problems, but most rank and file Adventists viewed it as a blessing.

A Global View of Membership Losses

As the denomination experienced its growth spurt after World War II, membership losses became a haunting concern of church leaders. Critics suggested that mass evangelism produced weak conversions and that growth statistics inflated the effective membership. Especially suspect in their view were territories where church growth reached prodigious levels. Church leaders in these fields were also sensitive to the problem. During the early 1970s the Inter-American Division pointed to a declining rate of membership losses to show that the rapid growth in the Greater Caribbean did not mean quick apostasies. Division leaders argued that part of the reason for a smaller loss rate was the widespread participation of lay members in the evangelistic process. When Inter-America passed the million mark in 1987, division president George Brown reiterated that large numbers of baptisms did not presuppose large numbers of apostasies. While mass evangelism had contributed to church growth he pointed out that the most significant as-

pect of soul winning was the involvement of the rank and file members. His territory had made a special effort to “win, train, and retain.”

“Sowing, Reaping, Conserving,” a similar slogan in South America reminded Adventists that baptizing new members was not the end of soul winning. Recalling the near 14,000 losses in 1979 from South American congregations, one Adventist Brazilian physician observed that conserving members was the Achilles heel of all evangelism. Division leaders pinpointed conserving as a responsibility of the local church. In view of the attention that division leaders gave to the problem, the doctor’s church established a Society of Caring Members to encourage the newly baptized and the discouraged.

Referring to the “alarming number of apostasies” in the Far Eastern Division, F. M. Arrogante, division field secretary, introduced a series of articles in several 1980 and 1981 editions of the *Far Eastern Outlook*, the division magazine, to encourage both ministers and lay members to be sensitive to the spiritual needs of new converts and to develop nurturing programs within the church. He urged his readers to be as eager to prevent apostasy as they were to convert new members. It was a serious warning from an experienced worker who soon retired from the division office. Ottis Edwards, new division president in 1985, regarded the issue seriously enough to include reclamation of inactive members as one of the basic objectives of the division when he published plans to reach the goals of Harvest ’90.

Advice about preventing apostasies varied. Some observed that church dropouts occurred because of a casual attitude toward religious matters. Others called it a lack of genuine commitment to Jesus and to Adventism. An Australian preacher warned that Adventists could best avoid membership losses by unequivocal commitment to Sabbath observance and an unshakable belief in the return of Jesus. Matthew Bediako, a General Conference vice president, counseled that unless denominational literature, including Ellen White’s writings, accompanied the tidal wave of Adventism in Africa, the church would experience widespread apostasy. As Harvest ’90 progressed in North America, warnings came that local churches should keep their back doors closed by making the church as warm and comfortable as possible.

Apostasies had always been a problem, but not one that the church readily discussed. As published in the General Conference *Statistical Report*, rates of membership losses from causes other than death indicated a downward trend from the denominational average exceeding 40 percent in the 1960s to about 25 percent in the mid-1990s. Political considerations sometimes appeared to affect the official loss rate. During its final years of existence the Trans-Africa Division, led by non-Africans, reported some of the most impressive conversion numbers, but likewise some of the highest membership losses. After forming the Africa-Indian Ocean and Eastern Africa divisions where national leadership assumed control, both reported dramatic declines in loss rates. The Far Eastern Division also maintained

one of the smaller apostasy percentages, in spite of Arrogante's characterization of losses as alarming.

Patterns emerged showing some divisions and some local unions within divisions more susceptible to loss than others. North American apostasies were heavy. During the doctrinal debates and the Davenport scandal of the 1970s and 1980s, the church in North America suffered. Australia was also affected negatively. South America consistently reported a high percentage of losses compared to other rapidly growing divisions. A particular trouble spot was the Inca Union where nationalistic sentiment caused breakaways. In some instances in developing countries it appeared that large-scale apostasies had indeed followed rapid growth. Critics were not slow to point to these examples as reasons to be skeptical about quick conversions, or conversions that appeared to be linked to material benefits coming from the church. "Rice Christians" was a common pejorative to describe this category of converts.

The question of how genuine conversions really were arose again during the *Net '95* and *Net '96* programs. Research by Monte Sahlin, assistant to the president of the North American Division, indicated that after more than a year following both campaigns 90 percent of the converts in North America were actively participating in the church. Sahlin told Adventists in the division that the belief that high losses follow public evangelism is a myth.

The global lesson for the church was many faceted. Church leaders around the world urged members to be quick to

encourage but slow to condemn inactive members, and to exert a tender pastoral attitude toward people with a waning interest in spirituality. Repeatedly, surveys showed that many "backslidden" Adventists, even those who no longer were members, still regarded themselves Adventists at heart. Sahlin's study showed that a third of the converts from *Net '95* were former Adventists.

Research on Africa disclosed an opposite trend to Sahlin's conclusions. In one instance after baptizing 1500 converts in Zaire over a three-year period, ministers admitted that only fifty were attending church. Part of this loss was attributable to the Africans' custom of joining more than one religious group, a practice that violated the traditional view of Adventist membership as unique. But however strong this cultural tendency affected membership, a strong suspicion persisted that the processes of integrating converts into the church were weak, making membership easy, and sometimes meaningless.

As the church neared the end of the twentieth century the most pointed lesson the church learned from the problem of membership losses was not to slacken its evangelistic endeavors. Losses would always occur; the question was how to minimize them. In spite of disappointing numbers of apostasies in some fields the church was still convinced it had a message to carry to the world.

Summary

Since the 1870s Seventh-day Adventists had always tried to maintain

a worldview of their work, although they did not always sense the impact that internationalization would have on the church. While the movement had been long in the making it did not culminate until the 1980s and 90s under the leadership of two dominating figures, Neal Wilson and Robert Folkenberg, General Conference presidents from 1979 to 1999. It was Wilson who conceived Global Mission, a program which finally linked J. H. Kellogg's views of humanitarianism to the evangelistic activities of the church to form a new world movement. It was a watershed in denominational history.

As no previous Adventist leader, Wilson had traveled around the world, instilling into the Adventist mind a new consciousness of the global nature of the church. Playing the role of diplomat-at-large, he frequently conferred with heads of state and lesser political leaders, at one time speaking before Soviet leaders in the Kremlin, always improving the image of the church as a force in international humanitarianism without relinquishing its evangelistic aims. Despite his near seventy years, Wilson entered the 1990 General Conference session with every intention of continuing in his post. Without reacting negatively to his proposal for a new global strategy, the nominating committee considered his age and his combined twenty-four-year career as president of the North American Division and the General Conference, and decided to nominate a younger man for such an aggressive program as Global Mission.

The mantle fell on Robert Folkenberg, more than twenty years younger than

Wilson. His election as General Conference president was as close as the church had come to a leader from the developing world. Both he and his wife, Anita, were products of the mission movement, born in Latin America to North American parents who were career missionaries. Both spoke Spanish with native fluency. Aside from a short stint as a North American conference president preceding the 1990 General Conference session, Folkenberg's administrative experience occurred in Latin America and the Caribbean as president of a mission and a union, and field secretary of the Inter-American Division. Because of his ex-



To reflect the global character of the denomination, Robert Folkenberg, General Conference president from 1990 to 1999, led in reorganizing the General Conference Executive Committee and the representation system at General Conference sessions.

perience, in a sense he represented the South and Inter-American divisions, which comprised about a third of the Adventist population.

Folkenberg assumed the responsibility of promoting Global Mission energetically. As tirelessly as Wilson he traveled around the world and kept Adventist workers apprized of his activities by personally producing a computer-generated newsletter each week. He bound the Adventist world together by improved technology and promoted the satellite Net evangelistic series beginning in 1995, which by 1998 enabled speaker Dwight Nelson to address a world audience from the Pioneer Memorial Church at Andrews University.

Folkenberg also believed in lay involvement and spent much of his time raising money from private donors to operate church projects not included in the official denominational budget. In the end these parallel activities, good in themselves, proved to be his undoing. Eventually a relationship with a business acquaintance soured, and the General Conference president found both himself and the world church as defendants in a lawsuit. An investigation by a denominational committee disclosed no blatant dishonesty but dubious judgment and questionable use of authority despite good intentions. Rather than damaging the church as a defendant in a legal case, he resigned the General Conference presidency in February 1999. It was the first time that Seventh-day Adventists had experienced a change in the presidency of the denomination for this kind of reason.

A month later the church took another step in its globalization process by electing Norwegian Jan Paulsen president. The new president was not the first non-American to hold the office, but Adventists generally viewed his election as a climax to the obvious international trend in the church. C. H. Watson from Australia had served as president from 1930 to 1936. Before him O. A. Olsen, also Norwegian-born, had occupied the presidency from 1888 to 1897. Olsen's reputation as a European was blunted by his emigration to the United States with his parents when only five years old; thus he grew up as an American, but he spent two years directing the church in Scandinavia immediately before his election as president of the General Conference.

It is important to remember that from Olsen's term in 1888 onward every General Conference president except George Irwin, 1897-1901, served in a non-North American mission prior to becoming head of the church. After his presidency Irwin served in Australia, and J. N. Andrews, president from 1867 to 1869, became the denomination's first official missionary five years after leaving office. Only three of the sixteen church presidents, John Byington, James White, and George Butler, had no mission service on their record.

The internationalization of the church had not evolved without problems. North American domination of Adventism had probably been inevitable, given the movement's origin in the United States, but in the post-World War II era the top-heavy influence of Americans became an

irritant. Adventists knew, however, that if they carried out the gospel commission of Matthew 24:14, a world church was also inevitable. To their credit Adventist leaders tended to emphasize the biblical character of the mission of the church, thus drawing

attention to the spiritual nature of the task that the church faced, which by implication, minimized the human problems of internationalization and presented globalization as an indication of the strength and success of the church.

Suggested Topical Reading:

The North American Division:

Geri Ann Fuller, "An Independent North American Division: Current Opinion at the General Conference," *Spectrum*, vol. 13, no. 1, September 1982, pp. 15-21, takes a look at varying opinions among Adventist leaders.

Neal Wilson, "The Rationale for a 'Special Relationship,'" *ibid.*, vol. 15, no. 4, December 1984, pp. 22-24, argues in favor of maintaining the special relationship between North America and the General Conference.

Reorganization of the General Conference session and executive committee:

John Brunt, "World Church Takes Control," *ibid.*, vol. 25, no. 1, September 1995, pp. 14-19, reports and analyzes the reorganization actions at the 1995 General Conference session at Utrecht.

New General Conference headquarters:

Myron Widmer, "GC Headquarters," *Adventist Review*, October 5, 1989, pp. 8-10, describes the new building with a pictorial tour.

Beverly Habada and Roy Branson, "The Struggle Over Moving the General Conference," *Spectrum*, vol. 18, no. 2, December 1987, pp. 35-43, summarizes the political background of the new General Conference headquarters.

PART FOUR

MAINTAINING A BIBLICAL MESSAGE

One clear thread that runs through the fabric of Adventism is the objective to maintain a biblical message. Many doctrinal questions revolved around prophecy but were not the core of the gospel. The momentum of these issues rose and fell, depending partially on popular interest and partially on the ability of the debaters to agree on explanations. Denominational interest in some cases dissipated with time, but in contrast, discussion about other issues that derived from fundamental denominational teachings became ongoing.

The two basic questions emerging from these debates asked first, how the church has maintained the integrity of its biblical message and second, how the church has maintained the integrity of its membership. Church leaders supported several initiatives to maintain the biblical integrity of Adventism and to consolidate the beliefs and practices of its members. Bible conferences provided forums for church theologians to exchange views. Denominational publications such as the *Church Manual* and the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* helped to standardize Adventist understandings of church tenets. Stemming from its own needs as well as a recognition that the ministerial world at large was becoming increasingly sophisticated, the church developed an ever-growing dependence on academic professionalism to support its doctrinal positions. Of prime importance were studies in archaeology and geoscience.

The debates also showed that in keeping with a belief in progressive understanding of the Bible, it was necessary for successive generations of Adventists to redefine their understanding of such questions as the doctrine of the sanctuary, a belief in righteousness by faith, the role of Ellen White, and the biblical account of Creation. Debates over these fundamentals during the last quarter of the twentieth century intensified to crisis proportions. Both the ministry and laity, better informed, participated in spoken and written exchanges. Discussions cropped up around the globe unevenly, but the entire denomination was affected. This experience unsettled many and spiritual casualties occurred, but for many other Adventists the experience improved their understanding of the relationship between faith and science and what was fundamental and what was not-so-fundamental.

As the twentieth century drew to an end Adventists appeared more prone to view themselves in a more detached manner than their spiritual forebears, that is, they more readily recognized that they were not a perfect people nor was the church a perfect organization. Both philosophically and organizationally, Adventism was a means to an end. It was not the end itself.

The church changed in comparison to the previous century, but the differences appeared to affect the practice of Adventism rather than the tenets of faith. This difference produced extensive denominational soul-searching after World War II. Despite the turmoil, the onset of Global Mission in the final years of the century revived a Milleresque sense of urgency to spread the gospel. Never more applicable to Adventists did the admonition of John the Revelator seem: “Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.”

Doctrinal Discussions and Dissidence

Denominational leaders have long been ambivalent toward new theological and prophetic interpretations. At the same time they have feared to adopt a formal creed which, in effect, would lock them into fixed positions. They have tried to keep the door open to accept new truth if indeed it is biblical. With varying success church leaders have exercised a deliberate caution to balance the two extremes of complete openness on the one hand and immovable positions on the other.

In the absence of a creed it was still necessary to define fundamental beliefs. Adventist history has shown that unanimity on every point of biblical interpretation was not possible, or even necessary, but agreement on fundamental beliefs was critical. Dissent was not only open departure from an accepted teaching, sometimes it was emotional as well, the result of argumentative intensity.

Adventist history has also shown that church leaders have been less flexible about the distinctive teachings of the church than on the finer details of some prophecies or teachings on which personal salvation does not directly depend.

A major contributing factor to doctrinal discussions was differing views about the literal interpretation of the Bible that leading Adventists held. Also, some leaders saw the body of Adventist doctrine as more nearly fixed than did others. During the early years of the twentieth century W. W. Prescott welcomed debate and told his brethren that if no differences of opinion existed the church had ceased to advance. A. G. Daniells recognized the need to discuss differing points of view but feared that many Adventist leaders and teachers would become confused and disheartened by differing interpretations. The memory of

conflict precipitated by Waggoner's and Jones's high-pitched presentations on righteousness by faith at the 1888 General Conference session was still too vivid to encourage a totally free exchange.

Cautious debate, continued theological study, and the painful task of dealing with dissent characterized Adventist doctrinal history. At no time did theologians stop discussing the Bible and sometimes differing with each other. Although dissidence and apostasy were always possible, many leading lights were able to discuss their views without damaging the church or interfering with its mission.

Doctrinal Discussions

One example of prolonged doctrinal differences was Uriah Smith's disagreement with Waggoner and Jones over the interpretation of the term "law" that Paul uses in Galatians 3:24, 25. In this passage Paul calls the law a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, but the schoolmaster was no longer needed after faith came. Smith stoutly argued that this law was the ceremonial law of the levitical system and did not include the Ten Commandments. This view, he said, was the established Adventist view. Waggoner and Jones taught that Paul was referring to the concept of legalism. That Ellen White appeared to sympathize with Waggoner and Jones did not deter Smith, although he demurred for a while, disclaiming that his view was injurious to the basic doctrine of righteousness by faith.

Smith died in 1903, but other theologians continued to express their differing interpretations, the more staunch support-

ers of Smith's view affirming that Waggoner's and Jones's interpretation did, in fact, weaken the importance of the Sabbath as a binding part of the Ten Commandments. The very fact that some theologians could promote the broader interpretation of "law" in Galatians and remain supportive of the unchanging validity of the Ten Commandments left the door open for legitimate differences. Both Daniells and Prescott appealed to all participants in the debate to emphasize righteousness by faith regardless of what they thought Paul meant by his figure of speech.

Another debate evolved from the doctrine of the deity of Christ. Since the early Christian church, theologians have found it necessary to reaffirm Christianity's belief in Christ as co-eternal with the Father. In spite of this long tradition, an equally long tradition of variant theology has held that in some manner not fully understood Christ was not co-eternal or co-equal with the Father. Strains of these semi-Arian views persisted in Adventism. Calvin P. Bollman, an associate editor of the *Review*, doubted the co-eternality of Christ. W. T. Knox, General Conference treasurer, and L. L. Caviness, another associate editor of the *Review*, also held reservations about the doctrine of the Trinity.

Prescott took sharp exception to them, as did H. Camden Lacey, Bible teacher at Washington Missionary College, both countering that the Deity could not be deity without eternity. They argued that the words "Father" and "Son" were simply human terms to help humans to understand the Deity and should not be construed to indicate that Christ in some way

came into existence by the will of the Father. Others, like A. O. Tait, editor of the *Signs of the Times*, advised theologians not to discuss the matter.

A much more heated discussion arose over the term “daily” in Daniel 8:11-13 and 11:31, where the prophet refers to the daily sacrifice and its removal from the sanctuary. The passage in Daniel 8 was part of the prophecy of the 2300 days which had figured prominently in the preaching of William Miller and other early advent ministers, and was closely related to the belief in Christ’s return and the judgment. Miller connected the “daily” of Daniel 8 to pagan Rome. Some Millerite preachers disagreed, but they were united on the date of 1844 being the end of the 2300-day prophecy. Adventists were not the first to discuss the issue. One pre-Millerite school of opinion assigned a literal meaning to the daily sacrifice by applying it to the Jewish sacrificial system. Since Reformation times, many Protestant thinkers saw the daily symbolically, a corruption of Christianity by the papacy or Moslems.

The Great Disappointment caused reexamination of the point, much of it related to the desire to validate the 2300-day prophecy. James White and Joseph Bates both concluded that the dates of 457 B.C. and A.D. 1844 were immovable, but the definition of the daily continued to elude Adventist theologians. O. R. L. Crossier taught that the daily pointed to Christ’s substitutionary death, a view that drew a negative response from James White, Joseph Bates, and J. N. Andrews. Uriah Smith, recognized as the leading prophetic expositor among Adventists,

disagreed with Crossier’s interpretation with a detailed explanation in his book, *Thoughts on Daniel*.

L. R. Conradi revived the debate early in the twentieth century by publishing his view that the daily was a symbolic reference to Christ’s ministry as High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary. Daniells, Prescott, and Spicer were receptive, but the water was muddied when S. N. Haskell, G. I. Butler, and George Irwin rallied in defense of the Miller-Smith interpretation. Their attempt to substantiate their position with quotes from Ellen White’s *Early Writings* only drew a reprimand from her not to use her writings to settle the argument. She denied knowing anything about the daily or having received any instruction about it, yet the apparent meaning of her statements favored the Miller-Smith view. She tried to clarify her position by declaring that her earlier remarks were meant to validate the 2300-day prophecy, not to define the daily. After her death, Prescott summed up the debate by suggesting that Ellen White was also discouraging time setting.

Like other debates, exchanges over the daily subsided, but a prophetic interpretation broadly known as the eastern question took its place. The specific phrases under study were “the time of the end” in Daniel 11:35 and the “king of the north” who comes to his end with no one helping him, as described in verse 45 of the same chapter. Again, it was Uriah Smith who set the stage by stating that the time of the end began in 1798 when the French army took the pope prisoner. The king of the north was Turkey whose demise was mentioned in Daniel 11:45;

the prophecy was a prediction of that country's expulsion from Europe and the establishment of its capital in Jerusalem. The crux of Smith's exposition rested on the point that Turkey's withdrawal from Europe would be a sign that Christ's return to earth was about to take place.

Smith's convincing exposition prevailed among Adventists for years, but not without some doubters, among them James White. Later, A. O. Tait and *Review* editor M. C. Wilcox also wondered aloud about Smith's interpretations. Given the context of the verses under study, Tait thought that the question was bigger than Smith's explanation allowed. The struggle that the prophet Daniel depicted as finally destroying the king of the north Wilcox saw as earthly events in a phase of the spiritual conflict between forces of good and evil.

Wilcox published his views prior to World War I, but as some Adventist evangelists watched the role that Turkey played in that conflict they became convinced that Uriah Smith was right after all. Spicer and Daniells even published books about it. C. M. Sorenson, dean of theology at Washington Missionary College, and C. S. Longacre, General Conference religious liberty secretary, agreed with Daniells and Spicer. But the final events of World War I did not coincide with their anticipations. Turkey withdrew from some places, but not from Europe as Smith had predicted. Again, Wilcox's exposition gained attention. Tait and Daniells, on opposite sides of the discussion, finally agreed that failure to understand all of these questions would not keep one out of heaven. Some evangelists

continued to preach about the eastern question until mid-twentieth century, but its place in Adventist evangelism became progressively less important.

The meaning of Armageddon, referred to in Revelation 16:16, was yet another debatable detail of prophecy. Nineteenth-century Adventists commonly viewed the battle as a spiritual one, a part of the final struggle of God's people on this earth prior to the second coming of Jesus. During the first decade of the twentieth century the notion of a conflict between the East and the West crept into Adventist circles and became an accepted application of the prophecy.

Probably world events more than biblical exegesis contributed to this view. Even among secular writers Armageddon became a symbol of conflict that would destroy civilization. Daniells taught that Armageddon would emerge from political rivalry to control the territory between Istanbul and the Persian Gulf. The rise of Asia as seen in a strengthening Japan, in the anti-Western sentiment in China, and in an increasing East-West tension, all inspired Adventist evangelists to agree with Daniells that Armageddon would be a gigantic military encounter between the East and the West in Palestine.

Religion teachers in Adventist colleges became dubious of this interpretation during the 1930s and 1940s. By 1960 their substantive study of the Bible and Ellen White led them back to the nineteenth-century position—Armageddon would be primarily a spiritual conflict.

There were still other matters of disagreement. Those who assigned 1798 as the beginning of the prophet Daniel's

“time of the end” ran counter to others who supported 1844. Still others preferred 1793. Probably 1798 was most widely accepted, but Adventists could not decide what actually happened that year that signaled the time of the end. They asked whether it was the French taking the pope prisoner, the civil government of the papacy coming to an end, or the loss of authority by the Catholic Church to deny religious liberty in Italy.

Theologians also disputed the identification of the ten kingdoms of Daniel 2. C. P. Bollman rejected the Heruli that Smith included because the Heruli had disappeared by 533 A. D., which, he argued, was before the papacy arose. He offered the Lombards as a better choice. Prescott pointed out that if Adventists accepted Bollman’s argument, they would be hard put to blame the papacy for attempting to change the Sabbath, which was generally conceded to have taken place in the fourth century.

Identifying the seven heads of the beast of Revelation 17 produced varying lists. Although there was general concurrence on Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, Rome, and the papacy, uncertainty persisted about the remaining two. How to interpret the mystic number, 666, in Revelation 13:18 remained a conundrum, notwithstanding Uriah Smith’s explanation. The prophecy of the seven trumpets in Revelation 8-11 was troublesome. In spite of multiple explanations, unanimity was elusive.

A major lesson from the Great Disappointment had been to avoid setting a time for Christ’s return. Ellen White was emphatic about it. But the statement by

Jesus in Matthew 24:34 that “this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled” prompted a debate about the meaning of “generation,” and therefore, it offered a clue about the most distant possible time humans would have to wait for His return. The most common trap into which Adventists fell was to suggest that the generation of 1844 would not die before Christ came back to earth. Wilcox warned Adventists of the futility of such guesswork when he reminded them that they had successively used 1790, 1798, and 1833 as the beginning point of “this generation,” but they had to recede from those positions. Prescott was also doubtful, urging instead to work to fulfill the gospel commission rather than to speculate about its end.

Observations About Doctrinal Discussions

Adventists’ doctrinal discussions during the seventy-plus years following 1844 revealed more than the simple fact that not all Adventist ministers agreed. The exchange regarding the deity of Christ demonstrated differences in literal interpretation of biblical phraseology. Some early Adventist leaders saw Jesus in lesser stature than the Father. They had been reluctant to relinquish this literalist interpretation of scriptural terms, but by the early twentieth century most of them had passed on, and it became a matter of Adventist orthodoxy to accept Jesus as co-eternal with the Father. Trinitarianism thus became a basic teaching of Adventism much later than other doctrines. The heart of the matter went beyond Adventist

orthodoxy. Without teaching that Christ was indeed eternal and a part of the Trinity, Adventists could hardly claim to be a legitimate Christian body.

The literalist vs. symbolic interpretation of the Bible also figured in the debates about the eastern question and Armageddon. At stake was a fundamental difference in biblical understanding. Many of these doctrinal questions focused on prophecy. The church itself was born from the study of prophecy and it was not surprising that the early leaders of the church cast a long shadow as their views continued to influence later theologians. Prophetic studies, especially apocalyptic passages of the Bible, came to be a hallmark of the church's integrity.

As Adventism's foremost student of prophecy, Uriah Smith's influence was towering, and at times he lent disproportionate credence to his views. When differing, and sometimes mistaken, interpretations appeared, some churchmen were embarrassed and wondered if other mistakes existed that were still not known. Fears arose that new views might bring the entire prophetic framework down as a house of cards, and the church would collapse.

A significant outcome from these debates was the conclusion that unanimity was going to be impossible for Adventists, even though they placed a great amount of stock in accurate biblical interpretation. With a restrained caution we can venture that nineteenth-century Adventist theologians appeared to believe themselves accountable for a correct knowledge of *all* prophecy. The desire to be theologically right, to have an accurate understanding

of all scriptural details was a driving force in their thinking. Such convictions, commendable in themselves, nevertheless produced a legalistic ambience for Adventism.

Without denying the need for an accurate understanding of prophecy, Adventists emerged from these discussions with an improved appreciation of the importance of an experiential understanding of the central teachings of Adventism, which revolved around the atoning death of Christ.

Early Dissenters and Dissidence

The foregoing doctrinal debates did not split the church into factions, although we may assume that not everyone was happy about the general consensus or lack of consensus that developed after each question. Not always did the church manage to settle differences of opinion amicably. Some leading lights as well as lesser ones separated from the church.

From the outset the denomination dealt with dissenters. The Millerite movement splintered badly after 1844, and even before the incipient band of Seventh-day Adventists had chosen a name, it was plagued by dissidents and their followers. Several things seemed to encourage fragmentation: (1) dissatisfaction with leadership, (2) purported discovery of "new light," and (3) personal problems of egocentricity and position seeking, sometimes causing doubts about mental balance. The most well known departure from the church was that of J. H. Kellogg in the early part of the twentieth century. His defec-

tion dealt a severe blow to the denomination, but other cases also threatened the spiritual well-being of Adventists. Some dissidents became severe opponents and tried to establish separate religious movements, others simply went their own way with little fanfare. Ellen White had warned that apostasy would occur, even among those “who, we supposed, were as true as steel to principle.”

H. S. Case and C. P. Russell, ministers in Michigan, were the first serious defectors from the ranks of Sabbatarian Adventists. Harboring resentment against the Whites, in 1853 they charged that Ellen White and her husband were exalting her testimonies above the Bible and that James was profiteering from the sale of Bibles. The unhappy pair formed the Messenger Party and published the *Messenger of Truth* in which they promulgated their views of prophecies in Revelation. Joining them temporarily were J. M. Stephenson and D. P. Hall, ministers in Wisconsin who taught the “age-to-come” theory, an interpretation of the millenium as a post-advent period which would result in the conversion of the world to Christianity.

By 1858 this independent movement had effectively disappeared, but a handful of lingerers coalesced around Gilbert Cranmer, another Michigan minister. Without financial support, many of the group gravitated to Marion, Iowa, where they allied with B. F. Snook and W. H. Brinkerhoff, the former president and secretary of the Iowa Conference who lost their positions in 1865 after leading an anti-White campaign. The next year this disaffected band formed what Ad-

ventists called the Marion Party, named after Marion, Iowa, where it made its headquarters. Continuing with their doctrinal differences, the dissidents gave up their belief in the seventh-day Sabbath, denied the validity of Ellen White’s visions, and pressed for congregational autonomy. Eventually members of the movement established the Church of God (Adventist) from which came the Church of God (Seventh Day).

For nearly three decades following the Snook-Brinkerhoff defection, no major attempt to lead a secession from the church occurred. Then in the early 1890s, disenchantment with church leaders led A. W. Stanton, a Montana layman, to attempt a financial boycott of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. His pamphlet, *The Loud Cry*, claimed that the church had become Babylon and that true believers must “come out of her.” In 1893 a series of four articles in the *Review* by Ellen White entitled “The Remnant Church Not Babylon” headed off Stanton’s movement by admitting that the church had its defects but despite these conditions, it “is the only object upon earth upon which Christ bestows his [sic] supreme regard.”

The Case of Moses Hull

One of the early disappointments was Moses Hull, a convert in 1857 at age twenty-one, already with five years of preaching experience. To his reputation as an eloquent speaker attracting huge audiences, he added debate and frequently faced off in verbal battles, which he usually won. In 1862 he began challenging spiritualists, one of whom he debated at

Paw Paw, Michigan. After the confrontation he admitted he had been bewildered during the debate and made some concessions to spiritualists that he regretted.

In an effort to shield him from contacts with spiritualists, church leaders assigned him to New England as an assistant to J. N. Loughborough. The arrangement appeared successful at first, but in the fall of 1863 Hull decided to stop preaching. An investigation by several members of the General Conference Committee disclosed that he had rejected the Bible as the “rule of life,” denied the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the atonement, questioned the existence of a personal devil, and denied the mortality of man and the future punishment of the wicked. He claimed to write under the influence of spirits.

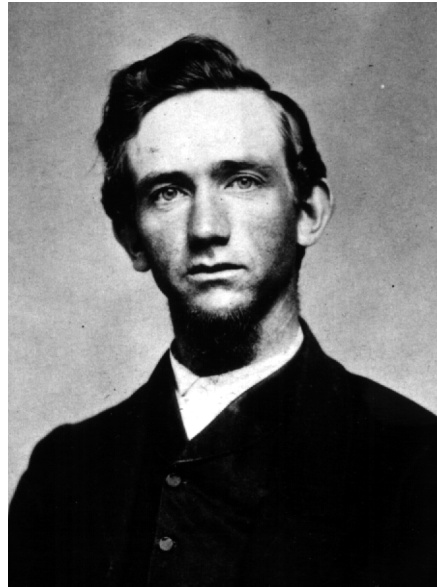
After his separation from the church, Hull actively began promoting spiritualism. He taught that Bible writers were not divinely inspired but wrote under the influence of spirits. Relying on his extensive knowledge of the Bible he became one of the first spiritualist lecturers to appeal to the scriptures as validating spiritualism. Until his death in 1907 he devoted much of his time to lectures, writing, and social reform.

Dudley M. Canright

Because of his denominational stature and defection few other Seventh-day Adventist ministers of influence have gained more notoriety than Dudley M. Canright, who like Hull, converted to Adventism at an early age and quickly ventured into the pulpit. Only twenty-four

at the time of his ordination in 1865, he had been preaching for five years and had gained the attention of church leaders.

Despite his successes as a speaker and a debater, he labored against despondency and the temptation to reject religion altogether. In 1873, following a heated dispute with the Whites over a personal matter, he left the ministry, but within months returned, apparently enthusiastically. Three years later he became a member of the three-member General Conference Executive Committee, and shortly thereafter, president of the Sabbath School Association and president of the Ohio Conference.



D. M. Canright (1840-1919) renounced Adventism in the late nineteenth century after an erratic experience in both church administration and evangelism. With the exception of Kellogg's defection, Canright's separation drew more attention than any other apostasy.

Motivated by “his consuming desire to be a popular public speaker,” he turned to formal training in elocution. In the fall of 1880 he left the ministry to spend four months conducting speaking classes of his own in Michigan and Wisconsin. He admitted later to George I. Butler that he did not observe the Sabbath during part of that time. A return to the ministry was short-lived. In the fall of 1882 he resorted to farming to make a living.

Several issues plagued Canright. Although he defended Ellen White and her writings he held a smoldering dislike for her, which he admitted to Butler. His ambition to become a powerful speaker led him to confess to a colleague that the unpopular Adventist message stood in his way. Personal tragedies, the death of his wife, Lucretia, in 1879, and death of his infant son after his second marriage, were severe blows to his spirit.

Despite an open confession of his bad attitude toward Ellen White and his apparent inability to rise above his problems, his experience in the ministry was erratic. During the fourteen years between 1873 and 1887 he left and returned to the ministry three times. In January 1887 he finally informed Butler, president of the General Conference, that he could no longer be a Seventh-day Adventist. At a business meeting at Canright’s home church in Otsego, Michigan, the disaffected minister made it clear that he did not believe in the Sabbath, the doctrine of the sanctuary, the three angels’ messages, the testimonies of Ellen White, and other teachings of the church.

In view of these doctrinal differences the church had little choice than to with-

draw fellowship from both Canright and his wife, who agreed with him. Several weeks after this action the couple joined the local Baptist congregation. Within a month he was ordained as a Baptist minister but except for three or four years of his life he did not hold a regular pastorate.

Canright pledged to maintain a friendly feeling toward his former Adventist brethren, but his momentary good will quickly evaporated. A *Review* article referred to his apostasy and made a thinly veiled comparison between him and Judas Iscariot. Whether justified or not, he interpreted later *Review* articles condemning rebellion against God as criticism aimed at him. For the remaining thirty years of his life he conducted a campaign to discredit the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Nevertheless, he maintained occasional contacts with former Adventist colleagues, attending a general workers meeting in Battle Creek in 1903 and Ellen White’s funeral in 1915.

In 1889 he published a 413-page book, *Seventh-day Adventism Renounced*, which soon became a leading weapon in evangelical Protestantism’s anti-Adventist arsenal. By the time of his death in 1919 it had gone through fourteen printings and was circulated in many parts of the world. His posthumously published work, *Life of Mrs. E. G. White*, was an attempt to discredit Ellen White’s role as a specially called messenger of God.

The “Holy Flesh” Movement

The “holy flesh” movement that grew up in 1899-1900, almost in the shadow of the Adventist headquarters at Battle Creek, became one of the most troubling

doctrinal trends among Seventh-day Adventists during the post-1888 period, partly because some church leaders themselves subscribed to it. The church-wide revival after the 1888 General Conference in Minneapolis led many members to believe that the great outpouring of the Holy Spirit promised as the “latter rain” was about to occur.

A. F. Ballenger, a popular camp meeting speaker, intensified that expectation with his powerful revival theme, “Receive Ye the Holy Ghost,” during 1897-99. Moved by Ballenger’s statements, S. S. Davis, revivalist in the Indiana Conference, formed a team that crisscrossed the state with its “cleansing message.” Davis admired Pentecostal Christians for their “spirit,” and introduced services characterized by forceful music and clapping of hands, shouting, and leaping, thus hoping to acquire the anointing of the Holy Spirit. Worshipers frequently fell prostrate, and after further tumultuous celebration by the congregation, they were declared to have passed “through the garden experience,” which Christ had in Gethsemane. This newly born person was now free from the power of death because he or she had received “holy flesh” and therefore could sin no more.

S. N. Haskell and A. J. Breed, who represented the General Conference at the 1900 Indiana camp meeting, were alarmed at what they saw. Conference workers, led by their president, R. S. Donnell, denied any similarity between their practices and similar behavior that had cropped up earlier in Adventist history. When the 1901 General Conference session opened, the cleansing message

movement was about to spread to adjoining conferences.

Ellen White did not leave delegates wondering how she stood on the question. During a public meeting she declared holy flesh to be unbiblical and therefore an impossibility, and that the extreme excitement worshipers demonstrated in the “cleansing message” was not only unfavorable to the growth of the church but it also played into the devil’s hands. She stated that people who experienced the extreme emotion of those meetings were incapable of rational judgment.

The movement ended as Donnell, Davis, and other leaders accepted the reproof and resigned along with the entire Indiana Conference executive committee. Donnell transferred to another field but Davis retired and eventually accepted ordination as a Baptist minister.

Jones and Waggoner

The shock of Canright’s departure was nearly equaled by the estrangement of A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner, the two “messengers of 1888.” During the 1890s both men participated in almost all of the General Conference sessions, but both were critical of a strong, centralized church administration. In spite of his views Jones became a member of the General Conference Committee in 1897 but resigned, only to be reelected in 1901. Partly because of Jones’s influence the General Conference revised its constitution in that year to place general supervision of the denomination upon a twenty-five-member committee rather than a president.

Notwithstanding this change, A. G. Daniells, as chair of the Committee, referred to himself as “president” of the General Conference, and in 1903 the term officially returned. Jones, who was adamantly opposed to this action and to Daniells’s persistent use of the term, did not restrain his criticism. Meanwhile, his abrasiveness destroyed his support in the California Conference where he was president. A brief stint as a Bible teacher at Battle Creek Sanitarium ended when Daniells, encouraged by Ellen White, invited him to assume a post at the General Conference.

Jones returned to Battle Creek after only a few weeks, pleading his daughter’s sickness as the reason to leave his new work. Ellen White had long doubted the wisdom of his close association with Dr. J. H. Kellogg, and had further counseled him to soften his voice, but once back in Michigan he threw caution to the wind. Resorting to his longstanding theme of criticism of authority, he accused Daniells of establishing a “papal” dictatorship that persecuted Kellogg. Jones did not deny Ellen White’s special calling, but limited her prophetic pronouncements more narrowly than the brethren deemed valid.

The verbal sparring continued until 1907 when church leaders withdrew his credentials. Two years later Daniells led a three-day discussion of Jones’s views and appealed to him to return to active ministry, but he remained recalcitrant. It was only a matter of time until the Battle Creek Tabernacle dropped his membership.

Jones never renounced his belief in basic Adventist doctrines and continued to agitate for religious liberty, publish-

ing *The American Sentinel of Religious Liberty*. He joined the People’s Church, a black congregation in Washington, D. C. that had separated from the church. Until his death in 1923 he maintained a firm conviction that the church organization was faulty.

While Dr. E. J. Waggoner shared with Jones a common dislike of the power vested in denominational organization, he differed in other respects, mainly in personality and his approach to Bible study. He became entangled in pantheistic theories that invaded Adventist circles, and during the late 1890s began preaching other ideas that aroused doubts about his doctrinal positions.

In 1899 he suggested that all commandment keepers should also possess the gift of prophecy. While serving in England he taught that the earthly sanctuary was a type of the human body and that the cleansing of the sanctuary described in Daniel 8:14 was the Seventh-day Adventist health message. The most damaging of his theories was the doctrine of “spiritual affinities,” which taught that the saved might change their marriage partners in the world to come and therefore one could enjoy a spiritual union with someone other than a spouse in this present life.

Waggoner refused both Ellen White’s invitation to leave England for Australia and her counsel not to return to Battle Creek where he would fall under Kellogg’s influence. She helped to arrange a call to the faculty of Emmanuel Missionary College, but after a single term he left for Battle Creek. Before long Edith Adams, a young woman whom he

had met in England also showed up. By the end of 1905 the Waggoner marriage ended in divorce, and the doctor later married his English friend. After a brief period in Denmark, they returned to Battle Creek in 1910 where he taught in the Kellogg-managed Battle Creek College until his death in 1916.

Unlike Jones, Waggoner abandoned his belief in traditional Adventist doctrines, mainly those relating to the cleansing of the sanctuary and the judgment. Nevertheless, he steadfastly refrained from attacking the church, declaring that “the best way to uproot error is to sow very thickly the seeds of truth.”

A. F. Ballenger

Albion Fox Ballenger may have inspired in part the Holy Flesh movement with his powerful sermons, but it was also in other ways that the church felt his influence. Born in 1861, a son of an Adventist minister, he was only twenty-nine years old when he began a promising career in religious liberty affairs, but within five years the General Conference called him to devote himself to preaching. In 1901 he went to the British Isles, and in time became director of the Irish Mission.

While in Ireland he concluded that the Day of Atonement which fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel 8:14 had not begun in 1844, as Adventists had taught, but started immediately after Christ ascended to heaven following His resurrection. The effect of this belief was to deny the distinctive meaning of 1844. Appearing first before the British Union Conference Committee and later before denominational

leaders in 1905, he failed to convince anyone that he had discovered new light on prophetic interpretations. Neither did the brethren convince him that he was wrong.

Leaders dismissed him from employment in 1905 and rejected his transfer of membership, which effectively separated him from the church, but he did not join any other denomination. Seeking to propagate his views among Adventists, he drummed up only scattered support, primarily from among persons already disgruntled with church leaders. In 1914 he took over a small periodical, *The Gathering Call*, previously edited by a member of the Seventh Day Church of God. Among his followers were his father and brother, both Adventist ministers, who also lost their credentials.

After Albion's death in 1921, his brother, Edward, continued to publish *The Gathering Call*, shifting its emphasis from doctrinal disputes to personal attacks on church leaders. For half a century the Ballengers' activities were a nuisance to the church but the dissident views never generated a substantial following.

Margaret Rowen

About a year after Ellen White's death, Mrs. Margaret W. Rowen of Los Angeles announced that God had selected her to carry on the work of a special messenger to His people. She had a burden to initiate prayer groups in churches and to “reform” the denomination, but remained vague about what problems she was to resolve.

Church leaders adopted a cautious attitude toward her. She was about forty years old, an Adventist for only four

years, and had a non-Adventist husband. In 1917 A. G. Daniells suggested that the brethren suspend judgment while they observed her activities. Meanwhile, a small group of experienced ministers, including I. H. Evans, W. C. White, and E. E. Andross, interviewed her at length. They concluded that while her writing resembled Ellen White's, she provided no convincing evidence that she had received a divine call.

Some other members, including a few ministers, thought otherwise. Mrs. Rowen's physical characteristics during vision were hard to refute. She generally reclined with her hands folded across her breast. Her body was rigid, she appeared not to breathe, and her eyes, unblinking, appeared fixed on far away objects. Exclamations of "Glory, glory, glory," usually signaled both the onset and conclusion of a vision. Both her skeptics and followers agreed on the supernatural character of her experiences but they disagreed about which supernatural source was the origin of her visions.

In time Mrs. Rowen's behavior revealed inconsistencies with principles Ellen White followed. She predicted a famine in the United States and urged stockpiling nonperishable foods. She accepted tithe to support her journal, and through devious means planted a written confirmation of her alleged call from heaven in the White vault at Elmshaven. To explain her purchase of a succession of automobiles she fabricated a story of being the daughter of a wealthy Philadelphia matron who gave her money. In reality, for personal expenditures she was using tithe money given to her by supporters of her Reformed Seventh-day Adventist

organization.

Years passed before all of this fraudulence came to light, but her doctrinal differences with the church were enough in themselves to discredit her claim to be an orthodox Seventh-day Adventist. Among her theological views were: (1) Pilate and those who crucified Jesus would roam the earth in agony during the millennium, (2) Jesus was the first created angel, adopted by God as His Son only after He had chosen a life of righteousness, (3) the 144,000 would come from the United States, and (4) the investigative judgment of the living began on July 23, 1919.

After her prediction failed that Christ would come on February 6, 1925, Dr. B. E. Fullmer, one of her followers, became disillusioned and disclosed her deceptions, which included filching money from supporters and depositing it in private bank accounts. In retaliation she attempted to murder Fullmer, which resulted in a prison sentence for her in San Quentin. Following her parole she faded from the Adventist picture.

The German Reform Movement and L. R. Conradi

A less unsavory but more far-reaching reform movement than the Rowen affair emerged in Germany in 1915. Johann Wick, an Imperial Army recruit who was serving time because of his refusal to be vaccinated when inducted, claimed to have received a vision with the message that probation would end "at the time the stone-fruit trees blossomed in the spring." He prepared his message for publication,

but officials at the church's publishing center in Hamburg refused to disseminate it, a sign to Wick that the church had "fallen."

Meanwhile, he deserted the army and sought refuge in Bremen where more receptive hearts helped him to circulate his vision throughout Germany. Matters became more tense when other lay members reported similar visions, all purporting the close of probation at the same time in the spring. Without any apparent collusion among them, their messages seemed uncannily alike, but their timesetting of end-time events aroused considerable suspicion.



L. R. Conradi (1856-1939), born in Germany, left the church after serving it faithfully and tirelessly for many years spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Conradi was the first vice president of the General Conference to be assigned a world division.

As no evidence surfaced to substantiate their prophecies, the adherents to this movement sought to shift their emphasis and rally support by claiming the church had fallen and become Babylon. They criticized German church leaders for truckling to the government by agreeing that Adventist men could enter the military and serve as combatants and even ignore traditional Sabbath observance.

The reformers had struck a sensitive nerve. The attempt of L. R. Conradi, president of the European Division, to rationalize the situation by explaining that the General Conference had given German Adventists tacit approval for their agreement with the Imperial Army only fueled the controversy. In 1920, after World War I had ended, a General Conference delegation to Europe led by A. G. Daniells tried to heal the growing dissidence by declaring the German leaders of the church to have been wrong, but he also criticized the reformers for setting up a separate organization and using misleading tactics to promote their views.

Some German church leaders admitted the errors of their earlier decisions about military service and sought reconciliation, but Conradi continued to defend himself by explaining that German Adventists were only adapting to national conditions, which included school attendance on Sabbath as well as military service. He argued that General Conference leaders had encouraged them to adapt, telling him and others that they should do the best they could under the circumstances. Reformers pressed for removal of those leaders who had allegedly com-

promised the faith, and in the wake of the controversy, Conradi moved to the General Conference as a field secretary and L. H. Christian succeeded him as president of the European Division.

In the eyes of some this contention appeared to be a power struggle, with the reformers agitating for personal changes despite Daniells's pleas for forgiveness and reconciliation. Although the reform movement lost much of its force soon after the 1920 meeting, criticism of "fallen" Adventism spread to German Adventists in the United States, Canada, Australia, and South America. Meanwhile, the reformers broadened their message to appeal to anyone disenchanted with church leadership.

For Conradi his removal from the presidency of the European Division was a hard if not a spiritually fatal blow. He had been a young German immigrant to the United States, converted in 1878, ordained in 1882, and sent back to Europe in 1886. Operating out of Switzerland, he worked among German-speaking regions and other parts of eastern Europe and even the fringes of Africa.

Conradi was a powerful influence among European Adventists. Ellen White commended him for his indefatigable work, and Daniells spoke of his commitment to the church. But despite his tireless labors there were subtle problems. While translating J. N. Andrews's *History of the Sabbath*, he came to believe that Martin Luther was the first to herald the three angels' messages. He gradually cultivated doubts that Adventists had correctly interpreted the meaning of the cleansing of the sanctuary and held that

the end of the 2300-day prophecy in 1844 did not refer to the heavenly sanctuary. He also concluded that Ellen White was not the chosen messenger the church claimed her to be.

Through the years he had downgraded both the Millerite movement and Ellen White. His embarrassment over the unfortunate military issue in World War I had placed him on the defensive, and combined with his removal from the presidency of the European Division, the situation became very sensitive. Although he remained in church employ, he made the brethren nervous, and after the 1930 General Conference session, they decided to challenge him to defend his views. For four days in October 1931, he unsuccessfully argued his case before a committee of thirty-five. In the end they stripped him of his credentials.

Upon his return to Germany Conradi joined the Seventh Day Baptists. He also wrote a small paperback, *The Founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*, in which he leveled severe attacks at many of the early leaders of the church, most notably the Whites. "Fallacy after fallacy has been an outstanding mark in their history," he wrote about the founders of the church. During the final eight years of his life he organized about 500 Adventists into Seventh Day Baptist churches.

The Shepherd's Rod and the Branch Davidians

From the 1930s through the 1950s the Davidian Seventh-day Adventists, popularized as the "Shepherd's Rod," operated as an offshoot of the Adventist Church.

This group was the product of the teachings of V. T. Houteff, a Bulgarian immigrant to the United States who became a Seventh-day Adventist in Illinois before moving to Southern California.

About the year 1929 he began promoting his notions of the fallen condition of the church and his belief that he was a divinely called messenger for reform. Of the theories he advanced, the central issue was the 144,000—who constituted this group—and teachings related to the second coming of Christ. He interpreted certain apocalyptic prophecies in Revelation by coupling them with passages from the parables of Jesus to substantiate his points about the loud cry and the latter rain. At his request he presented his teachings to Seventh-day Adventist leaders, but neither side of the discussion convinced the other.

Houteff and eleven followers moved from California to Waco, Texas, in 1935 to establish a colony at the “Mount Carmel Center” where “sealed” members of the 144,000 could gather to prepare for their transfer to Palestine. In the Holy Land the kingdom of David, a theocracy, would materialize under whose auspices the work of spreading the gospel would ready the world for Christ’s return to earth. Seven years later in 1942 he organized the Davidian Seventh-day Adventist Church to acquire noncombatant status for his followers who entered military service during World War II. Twenty years after his move to Waco, Houteff died, leaving the direction of the Davidians to his wife.

It is difficult to measure the impact of the Davidians on the Seventh-day

Adventist Church. Probably most rank and file Adventists viewed them almost whimsically, a thorn in the flesh at worst. The actual number of Houteff’s followers is not known, partly because until the formation of a separate organization he advised them to retain their membership in regular Adventist congregations in order to spread his literature and beliefs easier. Houteff accepted tithe and other donations to support his cause but he did not reject Ellen White’s writings or the traditional Adventist view of the sanctuary. Holding to these doctrines represented a major difference with many previous reform movements.

The heart of Davidian theology centered upon the 144,000, a prophetic detail for which Adventists had long admitted they had no definitive explanation. Adventists often discussed the matter, and not surprisingly, their personal views differed. That Shepherd’s Rod believers should initiate discussion on this point was not unique. Church leaders did not regard inconclusive discussions about the 144,000 as harmful. Understandably, Davidians could easily remain members of regular Adventist congregations.

The nub of the dispute with Houteff and the Davidians was his claim that he *did* have the definitive explanation of the 144,000 and that Adventist leadership was fallen because it did not accept his view. His persistent agitation and criticism of the church prompted the withdrawal of his membership. The formation of a separate church organization in 1942 made it necessary for his followers to leave Adventist congregations to join him.

At one time as many as 125 persons

lived at Mount Carmel. When his wife-successor issued a call, several hundred reportedly responded by assembling at the compound on April 22, 1959, to witness a providential intervention in Palestine that would open the way to establish the long-looked for kingdom. The failure of this prediction led to the decline of the movement and its formal closing in 1962.

The dissolution of the Davidian Association opened the door for a struggle to maintain a religious organization and to control Mount Carmel. A small band, reorganized in California as Branch Davidians, made their way back to Waco. After a complicated tangle of power struggles and litigation, Ben and Lois Roden gained the upper hand in the 1960s and 70s, followed by Vernon Howell in the 1980s and early 90s.

Howell, a young, disfellowshipped Seventh-day Adventist who, soon after gaining power, legally changed his name to David Koresh, brought no peace to the erstwhile refuge for the 144,000. The number of his followers was not large, less than a hundred, but many of them were young and former Adventists. Under his leadership rumors of child abuse, sexual misconduct, drinking, and hoarding arms, all activities justified by a message of personal power and apocalyptic doom, leaked out of Mount Carmel and produced unease in the surrounding community. The tension between Koresh and the law snapped on February 23, 1993, when agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms raided Mount Carmel. Four of the agents died in the ensuing gunfire.

Stunned by this tragedy that had

become a national spectacle, the ATF pulled back while the FBI took over the siege that lasted until April 19. On that day a federal force equipped with tear gas and tanks attacked the Branch Davidian compound. Before the day ended Mount Carmel went up in smoke, destroyed by a conflagration that many believed Koresh and his followers had set off. Investigators found seventy-eight bodies in the ashes. Included was Koresh himself.

Notwithstanding the half century of their separate denominational organization, the Davidians and their successors, the Branch Davidians, continued in at least a part of the public eye to have connections with the Seventh-day Adventist Church. There was little question that the church had a major public relations problem on its hands, and to clarify any misconception arising from the confusion of names, Gary Patterson, administrative assistant to the North American Division president, traveled to Waco to handle the issue. In the main, national and international media maintained the rightful separation between the cult and the church.

The Brinsmead Movement

One of the most troublesome movements to emerge from within the church was led by Robert Brinsmead, an Australian student at Avondale College when he began his activities. His parents had participated in the German Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement, but rejoined the church when Robert was ten years old.

As a student at Avondale in 1955, Robert found materials introducing him to Jones and Waggoner's teachings about

righteousness by faith. His study prompted a career in promotion of his views, eventually consisting of a new type of “perfectionism” which he claimed was a miraculous erasure of all sinful thoughts and emotions resulting from the imparted and imputed righteousness of Christ. The latter rain of the Holy Spirit would occur only after all sins were thus blotted out of the heavenly sanctuary. He also advanced the idea that Christ had inherited sinful human flesh at His incarnation, an opinion contrary to statements in the recently published Adventist book, *Questions on Doctrine*. Rounding out his beliefs was his accusation that papal errors were infiltrating the Adventist Church.

Robert, with strong support from his brother, John, spread his ideas through Australia, arousing considerable support. Some of his followers carried the notion of perfection a step further by declaring that people truly cleansed from sin were physically as well as spiritually perfect and would suffer no more illness. Even to casual observers, this teaching was similar to the Holy Flesh movement a half century earlier.

During the decade of the 1960s the Brinsmead movement unsettled many Adventists because of its subtlety. It was especially appealing to new converts and sincere persons seeking to understand better how to prepare for heaven. It was also attractive to persons susceptible to “new light” movements and to those suspicious of church leaders. Attempts to compose the differences between the Brinsmead brothers and the church led to further conflict. Finally, in the summer of 1961, Robert’s membership was

dropped, followed by similar actions against some of his followers. Many of Brinsmead’s sympathizers remained members of the church, which caused difficulties for pastors, but it also produced extensive discussion and study of the Bible and Ellen White’s writings.

Vigorous activity by leaders of the Australasian Division limited the split occurring in many churches, but the Brinsmeads transferred their base of operations to the United States where financial support was easier to come by. Launching the Sanctuary Awakening Fellowship, they spread their ideas throughout the Far Eastern Division and parts of Africa.

Through his years of separation from the church Robert Brinsmead continued contacts with Adventist leaders and theologians, and by the mid-1970s he had discarded his belief about the sinful nature of Christ and perfection and began promoting the doctrine of righteousness by faith in the general Protestant community. His periodical, *Present Truth*, went to 100,000 readers. But his theological journeying led him even farther in the opposite direction he had begun. In 1980 he published *Judged by the Gospel*, in which he argued that Adventists had created their own realities including a compendium of myths about Ellen White and the meaning of 1844. Shortly thereafter he changed *Present Truth* to *Verdict*, and declared that the seventh-day Sabbath was not binding upon Christians. In the name of following only the Bible he reversed his strict interpretation of perfection in the 1950s and eventually rejected identifying marks of Seventh-day Ad-

ventism. By the end of the 1980s his influence in the Adventist community had virtually disappeared.

A Look Back at Dissent

Other instances of dissent occurred, and to varying degrees impacted the church. In many cases the discord arose over practical questions of who would control the church rather than over differing beliefs. Discontent with North American authority was usually at the root of these problems. Resolution of these affairs depended more on pragmatic compromises and appeals to spiritual loyalty than a settlement of doctrinal views.

Dissent related to the biblically based message of the church raised different issues. Spectators both inside and outside the church would nearly always question whether an estranged person was treated fairly. For more than one reason the church could never afford to reach hasty decisions about a person whose doctrinal propositions were under scrutiny. If indeed the “new light” was biblical time would be necessary to absorb it and to relate it to the existing body of beliefs. If, on the other hand, new ideas were unbiblical, the proponent deserved time to change his or her mind.

Questions also arose over how much plurality existed or could exist in a church that described itself as the bearer of a message of truth to a dying world. While the denomination maintained an open door for the possibility of new biblical interpretations, it could not allow a doctrinal free-for-all that destroyed Adventist identity. As one of the defining doctrines

of the church the seventh-day Sabbath was never the subject of debate under the guise of “new light,” but some dissenters eventually rejected it. By contrast, the doctrine of the sanctuary, which had also given the church part of its identity immediately after the Great Disappointment, was a topic that fell under frequent discussion. Church leaders listened but allowed little room for variation of belief on this topic.

In some cases points of dispute revolved around biblical issues that were part of but not central to the gospel. Because Adventist theologians never agreed on all points of biblical interpretation, they seemed to be quite tolerant of views that were open to question in the first place and did not impinge on what were generally regarded as fundamental beliefs. However flexible they were, church leaders would not permit these debates to consume so much of their time that they could not carry out their primary function of spreading the gospel.

The difference between dissent and plurality was sometimes a matter of attitude. Dealing with dissidence was never pleasant for the church, but in some instances when discussions metamorphosed into dissent, vehemence replaced calmness, and sometimes church leadership became, in effect, the point of the dispute. This circumstance muddled the waters by making it easy for many Adventists to believe that the argument was a power struggle rather than an honest difference of opinion over biblical understanding.

Confrontation with dissent was not pleasant, but it was unavoidable. Some of the more serious episodes in some way

related to teachings about the process of salvation rather than upon obscure prophetic details. This recurring pattern of dissidence indicated that Adventists were serious about their convictions and that an underlying belief in human account-

ability to God was alive and well. From the Messenger Party to the Brinsmead movement, the church weathered repeated questioning, but never did it occur without many members at large reviewing and confirming their faith.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Discussions of prophetic interpretation:

Gary Land, "The Perils of Prophesying: Seventh-day Adventists Interpret World War I," *Adventist Heritage* vol. 1, no. 1, January 1974, pp. 28-33, 55, 56, portrays the pitfall of prophetic interpretation.

Arthur L. White, *The Later Elmshaven Years* (1982), vol. 6 of *Ellen G. White*, chap. 19, describes Ellen White's attitude toward doctrinal discussions with emphasis on the "daily."

Gilbert M. Valentine, *The Shaping of Adventism* (1992), chapter 13, discusses doctrinal debate as it involved W. W. Prescott, stressing the "daily."

Calvin W. Edwards and Gary Land, *Seeker After Light: A. F. Ballenger, Adventism, and American Christianity* (at the time of this writing still in preparation), is an incisive description of A. F. Ballenger and his doctrinal struggles.

Bert Haloviak with Gary Land, "Ellen White & Doctrinal Conflict: Context of the 1919 Bible Conference," *Spectrum*, vol. 12, no. 4, June 1982, pp. 19-34, discusses both pantheism and the "daily" as a prelude to the 1919 Bible Conference.

Other reading:

Brad Bailey and Bob Darden, *Mad Man in Waco* (1993), is a non-Adventist view of the Branch Davidian disaster in Waco, with background material about Houteff and the Shepherd's Rod.

D. W. Reavis, *I Remember* (1933?), pp. 117-120, is a personal account of friendship with D. M. Canright and a view of his apostasy.

Daniel Heinz, "Ludwig Richard Conradi: Patriarch of European Adventism," *Adventist Heritage*, vol. 12, no. 1, winter 1987, pp. 17-24, narrates the accomplishments of this Adventist stalwart who forsook Adventism in favor of Seventh Day Baptists.

George Knight, *From 1888 to Apostasy* (1987), a discussion of the defection of A. T. Jones.

The Twentieth-Century Debate Over Fundamentals

Hardly had the dust settled after the height of the Brinsmead controversy when a new struggle erupted over a cluster of issues: Ellen White and the nature of inspiration, the doctrine of righteousness by faith, the sanctuary, the biblical account of creation, and the general integrity of church leadership especially as it affected financial matters. Not a single doctrinal question was new; all of them represented debate about ongoing problems. Most of the issues arose independently of each other but became so intertwined as to be inseparable. By many measuring sticks, this new debate dwarfed any disturbance the church had suffered previously. The roots of the debate about Ellen White that climaxed after 1975 reached far back into the twentieth century, but new circumstances and new information put different twists on the arguments.

Besides the events of the controversy itself two other streams of events flowed through the twentieth century debate over fundamentals. Following World War II, church leadership demonstrated an increasing dependence on academic professionalism for a more scholarly support of denominational beliefs. Especially in fields where objective evidence was discoverable did the church expend money and time. This professionalism became evident in the debates. Secondly, the church endeavored to crystalize its teachings through Bible conferences and repeated review of official statements of beliefs. These documents reflected scholarly material reduced to everyday language.

The Bible Conferences

Maintaining doctrinal discipline after forging a central body of doctrines in the

mid-nineteenth century was not a formal process within Adventism. Theologians studied, preached, taught, and exchanged views informally in periodicals and public gatherings. Because the church did not adopt a formal creed, its only measuring device for doctrinal teachings was consensus regarding what the Bible taught. Occasionally Ellen White confirmed a given view after theologians had studied it for themselves.

Theological ferment had produced the debate about righteousness by faith at Minneapolis in 1888. The assortment of prophetic interpretations appearing both before and after that General Conference session and a variety of opinions on other doctrines convinced church leaders of the need to convene Adventist theologians to foster doctrinal unity, but not until 1919 did they conduct the first denominational Bible conference. It was the first of four conferences in the twentieth century that provided a forum to exchange views, to explore theological insights, and to encourage understanding of fundamental church beliefs. Other conferences convened in 1952 and 1974 in the United States, and in 1977 in Europe.

More than thirty years had elapsed since the debate over righteousness by faith at Minneapolis when about fifty church administrators, editors, and college Bible and history teachers gathered in Takoma Park in 1919 to discuss an agenda that included the work of the Holy Spirit, the ministry of Christ in the sanctuary, the two covenants, and several prophetic topics. The meetings were not secret but they took place behind closed doors and relatively few persons attended. The delegates

met first as participants in the Bible Conference and later most of them reconvened as members of the Bible and History Teachers Council. The most crucial discussions arose during the latter meeting when the delegates broached questions about Ellen White and her writings.

This conference-council occurred only four years after Ellen White's death, but it was obvious that church leaders, theologians, teachers, and many church members had been and still were groping to understand the meaning of her ministry. They attempted to thrash out several questions about her writings: the relation of her writings to the Bible, how to use them in denominational life, the fallacy of verbal inspiration, the possibility of factual errors in her works, why her books sometimes needed revision, and how to deal with the notion of infallibility. The two pivotal issues were infallibility and verbal inspiration.

In the very mass of her writings—which eventually came to be more than 100,000 printed pages—it was inevitable that many subjects were treated more than once, frequently in different ways. These variant wordings provided ample opportunity for conflicting interpretations. Both before and after her death proponents of a particular point of view were quick to seize upon her statements supporting their ideas while opponents scrambled to discover quotations favoring their position. Some debated how much weight they should place on her writings to decide a belief or practice. Although Adventists looked upon her as occupying a prophetic role, she had declared that what she wrote was not to be

an addition to the Word of God. The church consistently denied that her writings were meant to be a new "Bible."

Underlying much of the concern in 1919 was a widespread belief among Adventists in verbal inspiration, that is, that the actual wording of Ellen White's writings was inspired. Many church leaders, Ellen White among them, rejected this view. Also problematical was the opinion of many Adventists who believed that Ellen White wrote out the details of her visions independently from any other source except as she may have been specifically guided to use information gathered from ordinary reading.

At the 1911 Autumn Council W. C. White had denied both of these beliefs by presenting a statement with his mother's approval that explained the relationship of her writings to the Bible. She received "flashlight pictures and other representations" about men's activities, their influence, views of history and the present and the future relative to the work of God. These she explained by choosing her own words. She also read standard historical works which "helped her to locate and describe many of the events and the movements presented to her in vision." She frequently quoted these passages without giving specific credit to her sources since the quotations were "not for the purpose of citing that writer as authority, but because his statements afford a ready and forcible presentation of the subject." The quotations were simply illustrations and did not embody inspired messages themselves.

In spite of these explanations, during the years following Ellen White's death

veneration for her work and her writings increased among many Seventh-day Adventists. Daniells admitted in 1919 that for whatever reason, many people continued to believe that her exact wording was inspired and they thus attributed infallibility to her; consequently, church members expected too much from her and made unfounded claims about her. The church was in difficulty. A. O. Tait observed that a higher-than-normal percentage of apostasies occurred among people who promoted such views. Prescott, who had once argued in favor of verbal inspiration before seeing its fallacy, complained that anyone could remain in good standing in the church without believing in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, but is "discounted right away" by not believing in the verbal inspiration of Ellen White's testimonies. He regarded the situation as spiritually unhealthful because, in his view, it placed the Spirit of Prophecy above the Bible.

Daniells' voice was among the loudest in decrying the claim by some that heaven had dictated every word Ellen White had written. He rejected the practice of using her statements to "prove" the validity of doctrinal positions as Adventists taught them, declaring that the Bible was its own standard and that the scriptures should be the measuring stick to determine the validity of Ellen White herself.

Those propounding verbal inspiration were hard put to explain their position in light of the editing through which Ellen White's writings passed before publication. To improve the general mechanics of her manuscripts, secretaries and edi-

tors frequently made changes in her wording, grammar, and sequence of sentences. Succeeding editions of some of her books underwent change. The best known case was *The Great Controversy* in 1911. Some of her readers believed that her borrowing of historical passages from other authors raised questions about the nature of inspiration, but an even more troublesome problem was an acknowledgment that historical inaccuracies found their way into some of her writing.

In 1911 the revised *Great Controversy* deleted some quotations and included new ones. Other changes included updating the language by replacing terms like “Romish” which had offended some readers. Prescott observed that many of these changes harmonized the details of the narrative with recently discovered information. Although admitting that Ellen White’s treatment of historical topics included some inaccuracies in detail, Daniells and others maintained that her overall interpretations of the events were reliable.

Proponents of verbal inspiration and infallibility may have been perplexed about these questions, but those arguing on the other side of the issue also had their frustrations. They had no convincing rejoinder to the question of how reliable Ellen White’s inspired writing was if it contained inaccuracies. Some questioned that if, with her approval, editors changed successive editions of her books, other possible errors existed that had not yet surfaced, perhaps in matters relating to church organization.

Some delegates to the 1919 Conference suggested that the General Conference officers should issue a statement

about how to understand the Spirit of Prophecy and how to explain it in practical situations such as the college classroom and the pulpit. The inability of the conferees to answer their own questions rendered such a suggestion hopeless. Because he was the General Conference president, Daniells played a central role in the Bible Conference and Council. He traced some of the problems concerning verbal inspiration to the tendency by some preachers to emphasize the miraculous aspects of Ellen White’s life, such as the occasion when she held a large Bible aloft for an extended time during a vision, turning to texts and quoting them without looking at them. He also warned that some Adventists were trying to establish a doctrine of righteousness by works by carrying Ellen White’s statements about diet to the extreme. Although she had counseled against the free use of butter and eggs, Daniels remembered out loud that he had eaten abundantly of both of those items from her table.

He reprimanded the Adventist ministry for fostering a popular view of Ellen White’s writings that practically made them part of the sacred canon, resulting in the habit of testing the Bible by Ellen White. Referring to inconsistencies in two biblical accounts of the same event as recorded in Samuel and Chronicles, Daniells reminded his colleagues that they did not doubt the Bible even though the details of some of its historical accounts differed, and that no one should become distraught if inaccuracies appeared in the Spirit of Prophecy.

If Adventists did not see Ellen White’s role clearly, she herself was never in

doubt about it or the value of what she wrote. It consisted, she believed, of truths given her by God for the benefit of His people in the last days of earth's history. Among the most important benefits were (1) to bring comfort and encouragement, (2) to correct and reprove the erring, (3) to lead readers to the Bible and to help them understand its principles of faith and action, (4) to awaken people to their duty to God and to humanity, (5) to bring unity to the church, and (6) to confirm correct doctrine when necessary.

The 1919 Bible Conference and Teachers Council demonstrated that on this last point many had stumbled. Ellen White did not formulate doctrine through verbally inspired writing, but she often confirmed which line of theological thought was biblical if Adventist theologians had first studied the matter in question. In this manner she represented theological authority only in the sense of confirmation, explanation, or illumination of biblical teaching, but not adding to or defining the scriptural canon. As the Teachers Council drew to an end, the best advice Daniells could offer was to urge common sense when applying Ellen White's statements to any specific situation, to regard the spiritual influence of her works as their chief value, and to honor her own counsel that placed the Bible in its rightful place as the sole source of faith and belief.

The participants agreed upon the validity of her role as a special messenger and her practical and spiritual leadership in the church. There appeared to be common assent that factual accuracy, while expected in any written work, was not an

incontrovertible test of inspiration. Daniells characterized the conference as a step toward unity rather than furthering divisiveness but because misconceptions about Ellen White abounded he advised against a public debate. Unable to agree on a concrete statement about Ellen White, the participants in the 1919 meeting decided to avoid revealing their own uncertainties by not publicizing their discussions except for Daniells' summary of the conference in the *Review* in which he called for another meeting the next year. We may speculate that he wished to conduct conferences until a consensus developed before reaching out to the ministry and the public with a defensible explanation of Ellen White's ministry.

But the hoped-for conference did not take place until 1952. By then the purpose was not to settle the unfinished business of 1919 about which the Adventist world remembered very little. Neither was the purpose to redefine the basic teachings of the church. The issue facing the 450 delegates to the second conference was to refresh and reinvigorate teachers, writers, and other leading Adventists by reviewing the pattern of biblical truth that the church espoused. In the face of mounting attacks on the Bible from outside the church and a creeping secularism in the post-World War II era, General Conference president William H. Branson did not want to leave any doubt that Seventh-day Adventists deserved a reputation as Bible preachers and Bible Christians.

Published under the title of *Our Firm Foundation*, refined versions of the papers presented at the 1952 Bible Confer-

ence became authoritative on significant aspects of Seventh-day Adventist theology. But free discussion was not a part of the agenda and not all of the delegates went away satisfied. Twenty-two years later one participant recalled that some felt frustrated and left the meetings with unanswered questions, hinting that there had been no courage among the delegates for an open exchange of thoughts.

The third conference, the 1974 North American Bible Conference, was a three-in-one series of meetings on the campuses of three North American colleges—Southern Missionary College, Andrews University, and Pacific Union College. The agendas were essentially the same at all three locations and the sessions were public. Interested laypersons were welcome. In part the conference was a product of the Biblical Research Committee which structured the meetings around hermeneutics, the process of biblical interpretation. This plan emphasized the need for correct methodology in arriving at doctrinal positions.

The strength of Adventist scholarship was felt more emphatically in 1974 than during the previous two conferences. Seminary professors presented fifteen topics at each location after which the audience divided into small discussion groups. Questions arising in these smaller meetings became topics for additional discussion in plenary meetings.

No issue was regarded off limits, and many broached questions that had been personally bothersome. In 1974 Adventism was less interested in nuances of prophecy that had attracted so much attention prior to 1919, but was more

concerned about fundamental belief. The church was already entering a period of questioning from within about the role of Ellen White and her writings, but this topic did not dominate the conference. Accordingly, the meetings stressed principles of scriptural interpretation applied to the basic teachings of Adventism. These meetings were repeated three years later in Europe.

Issues of 1919 Resurface

The theological debate that erupted in the 1970s occurred for the most part in the pulpit and the press. Rumbblings were echoing through the church before the first major revisionist literature appeared in 1976 when Ronald L. Numbers published *Prophetess of Health: a Study of Ellen G. White*, in which he made it clear that he thought evidence showed that Mrs. White depended on other sources for information far more than Adventists commonly believed. Numbers had taught at both Andrews and Loma Linda universities, but at the time he published his book he was employed at the University of Wisconsin.

Donald McAdams, history professor at Andrews University and later president of Southwestern Union Adventist College, launched the next phase of the debate by presenting extensive empirical evidence to the Association of Seventh-day Adventist Historians in 1977 that Ellen White's use of sources beyond her visions far exceeded general understanding. Although McAdams' study remained unpublished, it was available in libraries for scrutiny.

Two years later *Spectrum*, the official

publication of the extra-denominational Association of Adventist Forums, published the newly discovered transcribed proceedings of the 1919 Bible Conference and Teachers Council, and for the first time Adventists learned about those critical conversations. Practically overnight the questions of the 1919 meetings were linked to Numbers' and McAdams's studies and became one of the most talked about of denominational issues.

In 1982 Walter T. Rea, a former Adventist minister, released *The White Lie*, which categorized James and Ellen White as frauds. Rea wrote in an obviously angry mood, as one who felt duped by a conspiracy. His book lacked the professional finesse that marked both Numbers' work and McAdams's statement, and he frequently overplayed his evidence, which weakened his arguments, but the essence of the question about the nature of Ellen White's claim to inspiration remained.

Denominational leaders lumped these and other statements together as parts of a trend to discredit Ellen White's ministry. The church had sustained similar allegations previously, but the impact of this new round differed in that it bore the marks of validity based on scholarly respectability. Adventism faced one of the most severe doctrinal struggles in its history. This time the debate did not take place behind closed doors, but before the church could mount a thorough response, it had to consider other issues as well.

Other Controversial Issues

Concurrent with these events was a surge of theological debate that grew

increasingly complicated and to varying degrees engulfed much of the Adventist world, although it occurred largely in the United States and Australia. One of the primary interests was the doctrine of righteousness by faith, the ongoing issue of the 1888 General Conference session. Most of the attention in the 1970s devolved on Desmond Ford, an Australian theologian who had helped to calm the turmoil resulting from the Brinsmead affair. Ford took the lead in enunciating new insights about obedience, legalism, and the saving grace of Jesus, all of which he felt the majority of Adventists understood poorly.

Other prominent ministers, among them Morris Venden, began preaching similar ideas. Their audiences were large, implying that many Adventists were seeking answers for their unresolvable tension between faith and works. Many were assured by the preaching they heard, but others took offense at what they called Ford's doctrine of cheap grace. Geoffrey Paxton, an Anglican cleric also from Australia, entered the debate with his book, *The Shaking of Adventism*, which appeared on the book stands in 1977. From his vantage point outside Adventist circles, he declared that Seventh-day Adventists had inconsistently preached the saving grace of Christ as the central issue of Christianity.

After speaking before several Adventist audiences in North America, Paxton exited the stage, but not before creating a stormy debate. Some warned that the traditional Adventist view of the law of God was at stake. Many churches and Adventist communities divided into "traditional" Adventists and what com-

monly came to be called Fordites. Ford himself carried the debate a step farther on October 27, 1979, when speaking before a meeting of the Adventist Forum at Pacific Union College, he made statements casting doubt on his belief in the long-standing Adventist interpretation of the sanctuary and the meaning of 1844. This issue was also an old question in new garb. College officials released Ford from his duties so he could prepare a statement to be studied by an *ad hoc* Sanctuary Review Committee of 125 church leaders, meeting at Glacier View, Colorado, in 1980. The outcome of this hearing upheld the denominational interpretation of the sanctuary and 1844 and left Ford shorn of his ministerial credentials but with his membership still intact.

Matters worsened when Donald Davenport, a California physician-turned-developer, declared bankruptcy in 1981. Officers in several conferences and unions in the North American Division, sometimes contrary to policy and in conflict of interest, had made unsecured investments with him at favorable interest rates. Approximately eighteen million dollars of church money disappeared. The prospects for recovery were grim at best, but lengthy negotiation with the help of the courts eventually restored most of the lost money. About eighty leaders in both conferences and unions who had invested with Davenport became subject to discipline. Some lost their positions. Adventists responded by demanding more accountability from leaders and more representation in church decision-making.

For some church members the combination of these events was too much—

challenges to Ellen White's writings, the debate about Ford, and the Davenport debacle. Ford's dismissal had not ended the controversy about him. The church at large appeared satisfied that the integrity of the doctrine of the sanctuary was vindicated, but the momentum of the turmoil was overpowering. Some members threw away their collections of Ellen White's books; some congregations split; some churches seceded from the denomination; some pastors forsook their calling, and some pastors and members left the church. *Review* editor William Johnson recalled the pain of seeing churches dividing and pastors leaving their congregations. More former ministers than employed ones lived in his home conference in Australia, he said.

Some saw these events as an opportunity to launch a campaign to purge the church of heresy, commonly dubbed the "new theology." The church was unable to close the door that now stood open for independent reformers who organized private ministries. Many concluded that the best defense for the church would be to unify it through assertive action, such as well publicized financial support. The time was opportune for independently-led activities in collaboration with denominational projects.

Others sought to expose errors in the new theology by establishing an alternative Adventist community, which, from the vantage point of some Adventists, approximated a church within a church. They founded a post-secondary institution (Hartland Institute), adopted a name (Hope International), conducted separate camp meetings, and accepted tithe payments.

They also set up a press which swelled with publications to set the theological record straight. *Our Firm Foundation*, the journal for Hope International, discussed what was popularly called traditional Adventism as opposed to new theology. Among the more prolific writers and speakers were Colin D. and Russell R. Standish, twin brothers from Australia, the first an educator in the United States, and at one time president of Columbia Union College, and the second a physician in Adventist medical centers in Southeast Asia. Together they authored and published a flood of books during the 1980s vigorously reexplaining traditional Adventism in opposition to the ideas from fellow Australian Desmond Ford and to a lesser extent, Robert Brinsmead, who had switched theological trains somewhere in the growing traffic.

Their culminating volume appeared in 1989, *Deceptions of the New Theology*, in which they proposed that all serious theological digressions from Adventism—Canright to Ford—were essentially movements of new theology and centered upon a misunderstanding of the nature of Christ. Besides editing *Our Firm Foundation*, Ron Spear, another Adventist minister of long-standing reputation, also joined in with several titles that reviewed Adventist teachings and warned of the existing crisis in Adventist theology.

A separate strand in the growing complexity of theological discussion originated in a succession of books by Robert J. Wieland and Donald Short, both ministers and one-time-missionaries to Africa, who focused on the 1888 message of righteousness by faith. They argued

that the church had not accepted this teaching as readily as it should have, which was the reason why the full presence of the Holy Spirit was lacking among Adventists and why Adventists were so slow in spreading the gospel around the world. Only corporate repentance would rectify this problem. Corporate repentance taught that the church as a corporate body was guilty of refusing the 1888 message and Adventists as a church would have to repent from this error before the outpouring of the Spirit could occur, which in turn, would enable the church to carry the gospel with the power that heaven designed. To support Wieland and Short an 1888 Message Study Committee formed which published essays and commentary about righteousness by faith, circulated a newsletter, and organized meetings at many North American sites to discuss the topic.

Still another group of theological cleansers became strident critics of the church and its institutions and capitalized on an undercurrent of mistrust of church leadership to solicit money in support of their private programs, which were typically apocalyptic and anti-institutional. Leaders of some of these independent ministries became severe thorns in the flesh of the church and accepted tithe from Adventists who were displeased with the denomination.

All of these movements constituted newer brands of pluralism, which in some instances amounted to dissidence. They caused new problems with which the church found it difficult to cope because usually neither their proponents nor adherents made an attempt to separate from

the church. Instead they maintained their membership within regular Adventist congregations and argued their case within the range of acceptable belief.

The Response of the Church to Controversy

There was little question that the image of both the church and its leadership suffered from these controversies. Not all questions were argued with equal intensity, but discussion of some issues continued for the rest of the century. Likewise, reaction to these events encircled many parts of the Adventist world. Adventist leaders faced a major rehabilitation task, but they also knew that they could not recast the church in the same mold as before the discussions began. As many church leaders saw the problem, the first item on the agenda was to clarify questions relating to Ellen White.

Many Adventists, some of prominence, had to come to grips with the realization that their personal understanding of the nature of inspiration and Ellen White's writings was much too close to the verbal inspirationists and the proponents of infallibility of an earlier era and they would have to modify their understanding. It was obvious that the church had made little progress in correcting the problems that Daniells had identified in 1919. At that time he was reluctant to air the problems of the Conference-Council openly because he feared a destructive reaction.

But in the 1970s the problems had become public. Conversations took place not because denominational leaders decided to submit them for discussion by

the church at large, but because Adventist scholars and laypersons were studying them on their own, raising questions and expressing their own judgments in open meetings and in published articles, sometimes with empirical evidence to support their questions which essentially repeated those of 1919. Jolted, some seriously doubted Ellen White's ministry, but on the other hand many church members needed only a better understanding of the nature of her writing, which in turn would clarify her authority and the relationship of her books to the Bible.

The church's response was to develop both a scholarly and popularized set of explanations, the first for the well informed, the second for the average member whose confidence in the church and Ellen White was important but who wanted short and simplified answers in the place of extensive reading. To know the extent of Ellen White's borrowings from standard historians the church commissioned Fred Veltman, a reputable scholar and religion teacher at Pacific Union College, to undertake a thoroughgoing study. His findings corroborated much of what McAdams had discovered, and like McAdams's statement, his report remained unpublished.

Not until 1988 did Veltman submit his report, meanwhile, during the years 1981-1986 Arthur White, Ellen White's grandson, published a six-volume biography of his grandmother. This voluminous narrative was the most comprehensive description of Ellen White's all-pervasive influence in Adventism that the denomination had seen. In 1998 *Messenger of the Lord* appeared, the work of Herbert E.

Douglass, theologian, editor, Bible teacher, and college president, who was commissioned by both the White Estate and the General Conference Department of Education to prepare his study.

Making wide use of excerpts from Ellen White's writings and applying ample dosages of historical perspective, Douglass tackled all of the criticisms, point by point, that had arisen about her from the 1970s and onward. One of his most effective devices was a system of hermeneutics for the Spirit of Prophecy. The 1974 Bible Conference had centered upon biblical hermeneutics as basic to an understanding of the Scriptures; in effect, Douglass joined this central principle to the questions swirling around Ellen White. Arthur White's biography together with *Messenger of the Lord* provided Adventists the most thorough understanding of Ellen White that they had ever known.

Quickly after the storm broke in 1976-1977 the White Estate issued a spate of articles in the Review to help Adventists rethink their understanding of Ellen White. In 1991 Alden Thompson of Walla Walla College published *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers*, in which he argued an incarnational view of Scripture which accepted the Bible as a blend of human and divine elements. Imperfect humans wrote it and still other imperfect humans carried out His purposes in real life. In this framework troublesome aspects of the Bible may appear, such as factual inconsistencies in narratives and imperfect behavior—polygamy, for example—by men such as Jacob. Other questions, among them the use of sources by biblical writers and

human points of view in biblical literature crop up. Thompson denied that these human elements undermined the authority of the Bible. By inference, similar problems in Ellen White's writings did not destroy her writings.

George Knight, church historian at the Theological Seminary, produced a four-part series: *Meeting Ellen White* in 1996, *Reading Ellen White* in 1997, *Ellen White's World* in 1998, and *Walking with Ellen White* in 1999. By discussing the environment in which Ellen White lived and her experiences as a wife and mother, and suggesting guidelines to keep in mind when reading what she wrote, Knight constructed a context in which he hoped Adventists would improve their understanding of her writings. Juan Carlos Viera of the White Estate put it all in a short, single volume, *The Voice of the Spirit*, in 1998. The principle that A. G. Daniells had enunciated at the 1919 Bible Conference-Council, that of using common sense in understanding Ellen White, was common to all of these titles.

The editors of *Spectrum*, who had helped to create the debate, continued to publish articles, including one by McAdams himself in 1985, in which he observed that many Adventists encountered trouble in resolving questions about Ellen White because they had failed to distinguish between inspiration and authority. He rejected the charge that Ellen White's habit of borrowing extensively from other writers removed her inspiration or destroyed her prophetic role in the church. In a companion *Spectrum* article Jean Zurcher, a highly respected European Adventist scholar,

defended Ellen White's use of standard historical sources.

This debate revealed two crucial points. The nature of most of the defense of Ellen White implied that Adventists had widely accepted the abstract doctrine, or the theology of the gift of prophecy, but did not understand it. This became more evident after *Messenger of the Lord* appeared. It was the last of a series of books since the 1930s that discussed the meaning of Ellen White's ministry, among them F. M. Wilcox's *The Testimony of Jesus* in 1934, A. G. Daniells' *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy* in 1936, L. H. Christian's *The Fruitage of Spiritual Gifts*, in 1947, and F. D. Nichol's *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* in 1951. T. H. Jemison's *A Prophet Among You* in 1953 became the leading work in this group of writings.

All of these authors, including Douglass, defended the theology of the gift of prophecy, but Douglass differed in that he was clearly responding to a glut of questions about Ellen White herself as a special messenger of God. It was his intention to improve Adventists' understanding of the theology by providing better explanations about her. It is doubtful that Adventists were on the verge of rejecting the abstract theology itself.

The second point that emerged from the debate was that the church did not regard the defense of Ellen White in the independent press to be sufficient. Especially from Hope International and *Our Firm Foundation* came ringing arguments in support of Ellen White's ministry, but regarding the explanations of what she said, denominational leaders chose to rely

on individuals who were accountable to the church for their public utterances. As the church dealt with other phases of the theological controversy, this same practice applied.

The church also responded to other questions. The sanctuary, righteousness by faith, and perfection were intricately related, but Adventists commonly saw righteousness by faith as the key issue. Again, although the independent press produced an abundance of material upholding what the authors called historic Adventist positions, new books and fresh articles from denominational sources discussed these matters for the Adventist world.

Either by design or coincidence anniversaries of critical events in Adventist history gave the church an advantage in responding to theological problems. In 1988, a hundred years after Waggoner and Jones had electrified the Minneapolis General Conference, Arnold V. Wallenkampf, an educator with a long and productive career, summarized the salient points of righteousness by faith in *What Every Adventist Should Know about 1888*. A major point was to deny the validity of the doctrine of corporate guilt and corporate confession that the 1888 Message Study Committee propounded. Similarly, 150 years after 1844, Mervyn Maxwell, retired church historian at the Theological Seminary, published *Magnificent Disappointment* which reaffirmed the doctrines of the judgment, the sanctuary, and the Sabbath. Maxwell made certain that no one would miss his point by linking his comments about the sanctuary to the Desmond Ford episode.

George Knight simplified the complexities of righteousness by faith in a unique book, *A User-Friendly Guide to the 1888 Message*, which became available to the Adventist public in 1998. Knight's skill in stating old truths in contemporary, non-scholarly language gave his books a wide appeal.

In two small, aptly titled books, *Adventist Hot Potatoes* and *More Adventist Hot Potatoes*, Martin Weber of *It Is Written* treated not only the question of inspiration, but sought rational explanations for a wide range of issues: lifestyle, liberalism, legalism, the nature of Christ, independent ministries, and aspects of the health movement. In 1994 he followed with *Who's Got the Truth?*, in which he discussed differences among five prominent Adventist theologians. Weber did not reconcile their differences but declared the Bible to be the sole source of belief and Ellen White a support. Above all else he showed that a degree of pluralism was a reality among Adventists.

Some denominational employees, among them the General Conference president, used the columns of *Spectrum* to publish denominational views about the theological controversy. Some denominational workers, intending to protect traditional doctrinal teachings of Seventh-day Adventism and the belief in Ellen White as an inspired messenger of God, formed the Adventist Theological Society in 1988 and began a journal in which to publish their discussions. Similar to the Association of Adventist Forums and *Spectrum*, this body was also extra-denominational.

Other books and papers appeared, published both denominationally and otherwise. Doubtlessly most Adventists were uncomfortable with this debate. Occasionally they even regarded some of the books by the denominational press as controversial as the issues they attempted to settle, but for many there was a new sensitivity to critical issues and an effective acknowledgment that individuals were personally responsible to study, to know, and to live what they professed. In keeping with this spirit the Ministerial Association published *Seventh-day Adventists Believe* in 1988, a new exposition of the twenty-seven fundamental beliefs of the church written in language suitable for laypersons.

This book was an example of the fluidity that had characterized the expression of Adventist doctrine for more than a century. Since the first version of Adventist beliefs in 1872, the church had published revised statements in various editions of the *SDA Yearbook*. The 1872 document contained twenty-five articles of belief. In a new form contained in the 1889 *Yearbook*, the number increased to twenty-eight. A small General Conference committee revised the number to twenty-two which the 1931 *Yearbook* included. This statement stood until the 1980 General Conference when the church adopted new wording for the basic teachings of the denomination. In this revised form the number of articles grew to twenty-seven.

Both the timing of this last action and the increase in number of beliefs were important. The changes were not substantive modifications of belief but they rep-

resented changed phraseology of the existing teachings. The 1931 list devoted two statements to the doctrine of the Trinity and the eternal nature of Jesus, whereas the 1980 version required four propositions for the same beliefs, with each member of the Godhead receiving treatment in a separate statement. Compared to the 1931 document, the 1980 version gave more space to the substitutionary death of Jesus, the doctrine of the sanctuary, and the meaning of salvation. The 1931 edition discussed all spiritual gifts in a single paragraph, but the 1980 statement separated the gift of prophecy into an individual article. Also, for the first time a separate article explaining the traditional Adventist view of creation appeared in the fundamental beliefs. Discussion about these revisions absorbed more time than any other question at the 1980 General Conference session.

The overall effect of the revision of 1980 was to buttress the doctrinal position of Seventh-day Adventists in light of the gathering theological controversy. The new statements made the belief of righteousness by faith more emphatic. The paragraph supporting the gift of prophecy did not argue the nature of inspiration, but added validity to the basic conviction that the church possessed the gift of inspired communication between God and His people. In the face of Desmond Ford's challenges to the doctrine of the sanctuary, the church strengthened its traditional stand. In view of the findings of Adventist scientists and archaeologists the article on creation affirmed the church's belief in the Genesis account. In summary, the changes reflected both the

debates that were attracting the attention of Adventists in the 1970s and the strength of the emphasis that the church wished to place upon what it believed to be fundamental.

The doctrine of the seventh-day Sabbath was not an important part of the theological debate, but during the 1990s Adventists began to hear rumblings of new dissent. Under the rubric of "New Covenant" theology, some former Adventists preached liberation from what they called legalistic and cultic beliefs by reducing seventh-day Sabbath observance to a vestige of the Mosaic Old Covenant, declaring it was no longer binding under the New Covenant. While the phraseology and appeal of New Covenant theology was fresh, the core of the argument itself was old—the notion that the seventh-day Sabbath was of Hebrew origin and that it did not belong in valid Christianity.

Robert Brinsmead had essentially taken that same stand in 1980, but Desmond Ford, although recently defrocked, demonstrated his loyalty to the Sabbath with a fiery defense of the seventh-day Sabbath in *Spectrum*. Responding to the New Covenant theologians in 1999, Samuele Bacchiocchi, a professor of theology at the Adventist Theological Seminary and leading authority on the Sabbath, published *The Sabbath Under Crossfire* in defense of the Adventist position. New Covenant theology among Adventists roughly coincided with similar announcements by the Worldwide Church of God in 1995, a denomination in California of approximately 135,000 members who observed the seventh-day

Sabbath. Changing that doctrine, along with several others, cost that church tens of thousands of members.

The question of private ministries also became a sensitive topic. In 1992 the North American Division attempted to clear the air regarding private ministries by publishing *Issues: The Seventh-day Adventist Church and Certain Private Ministries*, a publication for both ministers and laity that explained differences among these new forces in the church. The book pronounced both commendations and warnings about private ministries. *Ministry* magazine was more explicit, reporting that the General Conference had identified 800 of these ventures “masquerading” as ministries, charging some of them with calculated distortion of Ellen White’s writings to gain support. Noting some of them by name, the magazine warned readers to beware of private appeals for donations for which there were no assurances of accountability.

The Growing Trend for Rational Defense of Doctrine

Probably one of the most significant trends in Adventism affecting the doctrines of the church began twenty years before the tumultuous debates broke out in the 1970s. The early leaders of Adventism who hammered out denominational doctrines in the mid-nineteenth century were self-taught theologians. By the turn of the century many of these original leaders had died; those who remained were aging, but on the foundation that they laid the newer generation relied heavily. A half century later, in the 1950s,

church leaders sensed that Adventists needed to develop academic strength to bolster its teachings and to stay abreast of new understandings of the Bible created by general theological scholarship, technology, science, and archaeological research.

This concern helped to launch a five-year project by the Review and Herald Publishing Association, resulting in the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*. The first volume, covering the first five books of the Bible, came off the press in 1953. Chief editor of the commentary was F. D. Nichol, editor of the *Review*. His corps of assistants completed the seventh and final volume in 1957. This near 8000-page interpretive commentary included historical background, discussions of biblical chronology, and the most recent archaeological findings to support biblical history, besides collations of Ellen White’s comments about specific verses and topics. Three supplementary volumes completed this reference series, the *Bible Dictionary*, the *Bible Students’ Source Book*, and the *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*. Later revisions updated this reference set and made it a best seller among Adventists.

Another means to preserve Adventist doctrines was the Biblical Research Institute. This special study group began in 1952 as the Committee on Biblical Study and Research, evolving into the Biblical Research Committee, and in 1975, the Biblical Research Institute. As a General Conference entity it monitored doctrinal trends within the church. The BRI, as it became known, has dealt with doctrinal statements originating within the church

that purport to bring new light or different emphases on denominational beliefs. It has also concerned itself with questions arising from changing social conditions that impinge on church teachings in new ways (an example being the popular legitimizing of homosexuality as an acceptable sexual orientation). Frequently members of the BRI have published articles in denominational periodicals for public consumption. Occasionally, the group has also sponsored book-length manuscripts. For practical purposes it has become a doctrinal review board.

In 1957 the General Conference established the Geoscience Research Institute to investigate mounting evidence from scientific sources that either challenged or supported the biblical account of Creation, the Flood, and the age of the earth. An entire genre of Adventist literature spun off from the work of the GRI. The GRI journal, *Origins*, has made information available to science libraries. The veteran creationist, George McCready Price, whose long life extended far enough to see the formation of the GRI, set a precedent by being the first Adventist to attempt serious scientific publishing, an example that his successors perpetuated. Frank Marsh, Harold Coffin, Robert Brown, Richard Ritland, and Harold Clark fed a steady flow of books to Adventist publishing houses. In 1998 Ariel Roth, former director of the GRI, published *Origins: Linking Science and Scripture*, which in places is a highly technical work but still contains sufficient simplicity to appeal to readers who are not scientists. In 1973 *Ministry* magazine introduced a new editorial department to

include articles about creation and evolution. Under the title *Our Real Roots*, Leo Van Dolson, associate editor of the *Review*, published a compilation of these articles for the Adventist public.

Belief in the first few chapters of Genesis was crucial for Adventists, for they believed that these passages set the stage for all of the Scripture that followed. As both the Genesis account and the fourth commandment of the decalogue indicated, the seventh-day Sabbath derived from creation. The creation story also produced the Adventist belief that, in the biblical sense, humans are the children of God. Delete the account of man's fall in the Garden of Eden and there would be no need for redemption.

With more than forty years of labor behind them, GRI directors and workers could arrive at some conclusions as the end of the twentieth century approached. The sequence of books about creationism had progressively become more technical and less overtly theological, indicating a growing recognition that the study of creation was a legitimate scientific field of study as well as the conviction that scientific responses should follow scientific queries. But these questions about the origins of life and the age of the earth naturally spilled over into the larger issue of the relationship of faith to science, of the Bible to scientific studies.

To help bridge the gap between the Biblical Research Institute and the GRI, annual meetings of both groups attended by representatives from the science departments in Adventist colleges were organized. These meetings, known as BRISCO (Biblical Research Institute

Science Council), features presentations of new findings and interpretation of data to form the basis of discussions that eventually find their way into college and secondary school classrooms.

The GRI assembled considerable evidence in support of the biblical account of creation, but as Adventist scientists continued their investigations, it also became evident that holes in their understanding remained. Conclusive proof for the Genesis story was still an elusive goal. Adventists continued to argue that there could be no contradictions between the God who created the universe and the God-inspired statements of creation in the Bible, but for all of their efforts, Adventist scientists agreed that a belief in creation was something that ultimately required faith in the Word of God rather than objective knowledge.

Archaeological studies were another attempt by the church to establish scholarly biblical foundations for its beliefs. Interest in archaeology had been building in the church ever since the *Review and Herald* carried its first archaeological news story in 1857. Uriah Smith utilized archaeological discoveries to update his *Daniel and Revelation*, and W. W. Prescott became the first Seventh-day Adventist to publish a book on biblical archaeology. As early as 1937 courses on the topic began appearing at the Seminary; in 1944 Lynn H. Wood became the chair of the newly formed Department of Archaeology and History of Antiquity.

Wood was the first Adventist to receive formal training in archaeology, having participated in several expeditions sponsored by the American School of Oriental

Research in Jerusalem. Following World War II, German-born Siegfried H. Horn, a trained archaeologist, succeeded Wood. Throughout the 1950s Horn traveled extensively in Palestine and visited numerous archaeological sites. After spending three summers in field work at the biblical site of Shechem, he began projects of his own. Financial support from the Archaeological Research Foundation of New York enabled him to arrange with Andrews University to schedule his first expedition in 1967. Negotiations with Jordan's Department of Antiquities led to agreements to excavate Tell Hasban, the reputed site of Amorite King Sihon's capital, the bib-



W. W. Prescott (1855-1944) had a strong educational background and a long association with Ellen White that proved to be invaluable to the church in developing an educational system and in meeting questions relating to inspired writings.

lical Heshbon. Israel's Six-Day War with her Arab neighbors forced Horn to postpone his plans until 1968 when the dig actually began.

Because Heshbon was one of the first cities to fall to the Israelites during their conquest of Canaan, Horn hoped to confirm the date of the exodus from Egypt. Besides other archaeologists, accompanying him were surveyors, photographers, and an anthropologist, all assisted by a group of students, college Bible teachers, and interested amateurs. The team worked its way through Arab, Byzantine, Roman, Hellenistic, and Persian cultural layers of the tell, but after seven weeks the summer dig ended without any evidence of Sihon's Heshbon. Expeditions during four more summers in 1971, 1973, 1974, and 1976 yielded many interesting and valuable data and artifacts, but no remains dating earlier than the twelfth century B. C., which was too recent to apply to Israel's conquest of Canaan. Dr. Lawrence T. Geraty, who directed the 1974 and 1976 expeditions, concluded that the biblical Heshbon was at a different site, but the name had moved to the location of the archaeological dig.

Although neither Horn nor Geraty realized the original hope of the project, the Andrews University Heshbon Expedition contributed a great deal to the knowledge of antiquity. The teams uncovered ruins of twenty-three separate civilizations stretching over a 2700-year period. Dozens of Adventist scholars and ministers who participated in one or more digs received new insights into the culture of Bible times. Expedition members of more than a half dozen Christian faiths

and from as many different nationalities worked together. Adventists gained a new respectability as scholars in the eyes of many who had previously considered them a sect with a curious apocalyptic and legalistic theology. Visits to the site by the royal families of Jordan and Greece, and dozens of diplomats, scholars, and newsmen brought the church much favorable notice.

By law Jordan retained many of the most valuable artifacts discovered at Heshbon, but Andrews University received about 2000 pieces for study and display in an archaeological museum in the university library. To these holdings were added about 5000 additional artifacts, including 3000 cuneiform tablets. Meanwhile, Geraty, who became president of Atlantic Union College and later, La Sierra University, continued his expeditions into the 1990s, concentrating on Tell el-Umeiri in Jordan. These trips were more than Adventist expeditions; sometimes as many as half of the participants were non-Adventists and experts from non-Adventist universities.

Summary About Doctrinal Debates and the Church's Response

Not all Adventists reacted favorably to attempts by thinkers to respond to questions arising about fundamental beliefs or the pursuits of Adventist scholars. They saw these activities as a steady trend away from the simple faith of a child that Jesus had enjoined. But the theologians and the scholars just as convincingly pointed out that Jesus had also encouraged His followers to love and serve Him with all their

mind as well as their heart. This very aspect of the debate demonstrated how, without understanding the unifying principles of Scripture, people could base their conflicting views on the Bible itself.

Although much of the work of Adventist scholars did not directly reach the Adventist public, the general level of understanding of denominational beliefs rose. Teachers in ordinary Sabbath School classes as well as college professors relied on the ten-volume *Commentary* reference series that occupied a conspicuous place in Adventist book stores along the side of more easily read church-produced literature. Thousands of Adventists bought them. The movement to understand the Bible in more sophisticated terms had helped to produce this set of books in the 1950s, but by the end of the century both Adventists and the Christian world in general had accumulated so much more information that Adventist scholars found it difficult to stay abreast with revisions in the *Commentary*. Editors of denominational periodicals, including the *Review*, became more willing to publish technical and semi-scholarly articles for public consumption. Terminology in the Sabbath School quarterlies became more scholarly.

All of this reflected the higher expectation level of the world in academic and professional matters. The explosion of knowledge and of technological methods of communicating data during the last half of the twentieth century created a thirst for sophistication not only in the western world but also in places where less than a century before, hostility toward western civilization had prevailed. The church could not escape the impact

of this global trend.

Throughout its doctrinal turmoil and the publication of new statements of belief the church maintained its intention not to develop a creed. General Conference president Branson told Adventists in 1953 that they should not construe the new *Commentary* as an attempt to establish a creed. The absence of a creed did not mean that denominational leaders were about to change the church's fundamental teachings. After a half century of scholarly emphasis, denominational leaders were probably more strongly confirmed in the long-standing fundamentals than they had ever been. They had also been able to refine their definition of fundamental and not-so-fundamental beliefs and to recognize more latitude in opinion.

Partly because of the debates among Adventists it appeared by the mid-1980s that they practiced their faith within a broader bandwidth without endangering their membership. In the Adventist vocabulary new expressions emerged, some being "inerrancy," "historic" or "traditional Adventism," "evangelical," "fundamentalist," "progressive," and "mainstream." All of these described differing shades of mentality in the church. Despite their differences, Adventists generally agreed on the basic statement of twenty-seven fundamental beliefs. Church leaders sometimes felt compelled to remind Adventists that the unity of the church was more important than persistent promotion of many of their differences.

Differences, even dissidence, was neither new nor surprising, nor did it mean that the church was disintegrating. Despite their apostolic zeal and idealism,

Adventists showed that they were still human and not immune to universal human foibles. Imperfect behavior and understanding were realities that belied the humanity of Adventists but did not deny the truth of the gospel. It was difficult for some to make that distinction, especially in view of the fact that the church was convinced that it was divinely charged with a special message to an errant world. Some used inconsistencies to justify their alienation from the church.

Adventists could never forget that they began their own history as dissidents, evolving as a separate group because they disagreed with the religionists of their time. Adventism encompassed much more than what the original Millerite movement taught, but at its core remained the belief in Christ's imminent return to the earth. Prophecies, both apocalyptic and otherwise, on which this belief rested have historically been fertile ground for variations and disagreements.

The most serious doubters questioned the ministry of Ellen White and the doctrine of the sanctuary. Both of these were among the distinctive marks of Adventist beliefs. Dissidence on these points struck at the very identity of the church, and it was understandable why denominational leaders consistently defended them. Critics

complained that the church stifled discussion on these fundamental issues, but it is noteworthy that no movement splintering from the Seventh-day Adventist church succeeded with a truly convincing and successful alternative to Adventist doctrine.

The tradition of a Bible-based set of teachings remained in Adventism, but the church found it necessary to restate itself in light of the growing body of historical and scientific knowledge, changing social conditions, and improved technology. All of these conditions affected members' understanding of beliefs. One compensating factor in doctrinal debate was the fact that each variant opinion caused many to verify their faith through Bible study. Wounds of the 1970s and onward could heal, but the irony of it all was that the intention to confirm the faith of members in the certainty of salvation occasionally degenerated to rancorous exchange rather than bringing affirmation and peace. Adventist beliefs faced severe tests, but as the end of the twentieth century approached, Adventist fundamentals were still intact and many members appeared to be undergoing a new awakening to an old truth—while doctrinal purity was an ideal never to be relinquished, it was still secondary to the presence of the spirit of Christ their hearts.

Suggested Topical Reading:

Major revisionist works:

Ronald Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: a Study of Ellen G. White* (1976), suggests Ellen White depended on more sources for information than Adventists had believed.

Walter T. Rea, *The White Lie* (1982), attacks James and Ellen White as fraudulently leading the church.

Geoffrey Paxton, *The Shaking of Adventism* (1977), is an Anglican's assessment of Adventist views on Ellen White and basic doctrine.

Molleurus Couperus, "The Bible Conference of 1919," *Spectrum*, vol. 10, no. 1, May 1979, pp. 23-26, is an introduction to the verbatim minutes of the 1919 Bible Conference that follow.

"The Use of the Spirit of Prophecy in Our Teaching of Bible and History," *ibid.*, pp. 27-57, is a verbatim transcript of that part of the 1919 Bible Conference that pertained to the discussion of Ellen White and inspiration.

Responses to revisionist works:

Herbert Douglass, *Messenger of the Lord* (1998), is a direct response to the questions raised by the revisionists. Part VI is a hermeneutic for the gift of prophecy.

Arthur L. White, *The Later Elmhaven Years* (1982), vol. 6 of *Ellen G. White*, chapters 7, 23, 24, treats the question of inspiration as Ellen White understood it and as she applied it to editing, compilations of her writings, and dependence on other historians. The 1911 edition of *The Great Controversy* is detailed.

George Knight's four-part series on Ellen White: *Meeting Ellen White* (1996), *Reading Ellen White* (1997), *Ellen White's World* (1998), and *Walking With Ellen White* (1999).

Juan Carlos Viera, *Voice of the Spirit* (1998), is another brief explanation of Ellen White's ministry.

Other reading:

Keld Reynolds, "The Church Under Stress, 1931-1960," in *Adventism in America* (1986), Gary Land, ed., pp. 170-207, places in perspective the 1952 Bible Conference and other attempts to standardize Adventist belief while protecting a belief in progressive understanding of the Bible.

Gary Land, "Coping With Change, 1961-1980," *ibid.*, pp. 208-230, is an incisive view of the effect of church growth and theological debate on the church.

Ministry, October 1980, entire issue devoted to the debate revolving around Desmond Ford's, views.

Spectrum, vol. 11, no. 2, November, 1980, entire issue discusses the controversy between Desmond Ford and the church.

Lewis Walton, *Omega* (1981), a widely read book during the early 1980s presenting a traditional view of Adventist belief in obedience, judgment, and perfection.

Lawrence Geraty, "A New Statement of Fundamental Beliefs," *Spectrum* vol. 11, no. 1, July 1980, pp. 2-13, analyzes the formation of the twenty-seven fundamental beliefs adopted in 1980.

After a Century and a Half

An old adage declares the paradoxical truth that sometimes the more something changes the more it remains the same. Perhaps this is true of Seventh-day Adventists. When comparing themselves to their nineteenth-century antecedents, Adventists easily conclude that great change has overtaken the church. They are right, but upon closer examination of the essence of Adventism, one may question how much change has actually occurred and the nature of the change.

When dealing with change, sometimes we intuitively sense, or at least we think we perceive, realities that are difficult to measure. Perhaps they are beyond measurement. We must be cautious about sweeping generalizations. Impressions and perceptions exist and are not totally without value, despite their unscientific nature. History purports to tell the facts, but the facts without interpretation are

barren. Looking back upon the history of Seventh-day Adventists, no one would doubt that the group that emerged from the Great Disappointment in 1844 and passed through several phases of organization during the 1860s, the early 1900s, and again in the 1990s was different as it neared the end of the twentieth century. Some of the changes were visible; some were subtle.

The most visible change is the global character and the diversity of the denomination. The commission of Jesus to proclaim His return to all the earth remained one of the strongest motivating elements in the church at the end of the twentieth century. Immediately following 1844 Adventists knew that that directive existed but they did not understand it and hardly had the vaguest notions about how to accomplish it. The concept of a mission to the world came slowly, but in the

1990s Adventists appeared to be bending all their efforts to fulfill the aims of Global Mission. This program became a new statement of the original dynamic of Millerism—to spread the word. It extended the original mission in new ways that were beyond the ken of the founders, James White and Joseph Bates. In some respects the growth of the church into an international body has contributed to most of the visible change in the denomination.

The church had always taught the brotherhood of all people but human conditions have blurred that ideal. Nevertheless, Adventists have propounded it in the context of the gospel, which in turn has produced a need to organize a global program that reflects the principle of brotherhood. And so the composition of the church changed as world evangelism succeeded. As the twentieth century wound down it became obvious that leadership was no longer a White man's domain or, more specifically, it was no longer a North American prerogative. The belief of brotherhood was stronger than ever, but modified by understandings different from those that the founders of Adventism possessed or even imagined. Unfortunately, disappointments because of frustrated ideals were also closer to the surface.

Broadly speaking, in 1844 the doctrinal understanding Adventists held about the Bible conformed to the general Protestant world, but they were a people with essentially one defining doctrine—the pre-millennial return of Jesus to this earth, which was contrary if not heretical to mainstream Protestantism at the

time. The Great Disappointment drove the group that became Seventh-day Adventists to their Bibles to discover what had gone wrong, and by 1850 they were able to buttress their belief in the Advent with a full slate of doctrines. The 1844 experience had been painful for Adventists, but it showed them that a belief in the Second Coming was not enough and that their identity should rest on a thorough understanding of all fundamental biblical doctrines.

Seventh-day Adventists have maintained a conviction in progressive understanding of the Bible and have persistently refused to adopt a creed. With one possible exception, the body of teachings making up Adventism did not materially change since the church founders arrived at their doctrinal conclusions at mid-nineteenth century. The one exception was the doctrine of the Trinity, which included beliefs about the nature of Christ, all of which Adventists did not clearly understand until the 1890s.

At the end of the twentieth century basic Adventist doctrines remained constant. The seventh day of the week was still the Sabbath, the dead were still in their graves rather than enjoying the bliss of heaven or enduring the horrors of hell, the death and resurrection of Jesus assured sinners of forgiveness and made eternal life possible, the prophetic gift as seen in the ministry of Ellen White was a heaven-sent blessing to the church, and Jesus would return to earth to claim the faithful. About their beliefs, Adventists in the late twentieth century differed from their nineteenth-century counterparts by seeming to be more concerned with their

scripturally based relationship with Jesus than they were in knowing the details of prophecy or in conjecturing about the time when Jesus might return.

Adventists had always believed and taught that they were a legitimate part of the Christian community, that their message was based on the Bible alone. One of the most unfortunate impressions in the non-Adventist world was quite the opposite. For many reasons, among them the interpretation that many Adventists placed on Ellen White, many outside the church viewed Adventism as something less than Christian, perhaps even a cult. Partially as a result of a strengthened emphasis on the biblical doctrine of righteousness by faith, which is central to the gospel of Jesus, and partially as a result of Adventists' persistent arguments that they believed in the principle of *sola scriptura*, by the end of the twentieth century increasingly more agreement evolved in the Protestant community that Seventh-day Adventists rightfully belonged in the sisterhood of Christian denominations.

Reciprocally, among Adventists was a growing appreciation for the broad Christian movement of which they were a part. Adventists continued in their belief that their message was distinct, that they had a special, divinely originated mission to the world, but they became less judgmental and more desirous of understanding other Christian communions. A tendency to take advantage of similarities between themselves and other Christians rather than to play upon differences became more visible.

Perhaps we can say that Adventists in

the 1990s held a less legalistic view of their doctrines than did their forefathers. The belief in the soon return of Jesus had not disappeared—we have noted that it was the prime motivating factor in Global Mission—but the essence of the message was readiness for the Second Coming because of a relationship with Jesus rather than readiness produced by a confessed belief in a set of doctrines. The doctrines remained important and identifying, but Adventists in the 1990s understood their role differently than did their forefathers. It was still true that the identifying teachings had lost none of their significance and that no one could become an Adventist without assenting to the church's doctrines, but meeting Jesus at His coming required a different kind of spiritual experience. This change in understanding was a matter of emphasis, one of mentality or attitude, not a change of doctrinal belief itself, but an important distinction nonetheless.

Seventh-day Adventists have probably become more socially conscious than in the century before 1950. They have always taught that individuality, human dignity, and the ability to make choices are God-given rights, that God Himself will not violate these gifts to mankind. Humans should much less presume to abuse them. An important shift that occurred in the last half of the twentieth century was a stronger orientation toward humanitarianism than the church had ever known. Church leaders became convinced that as followers of Jesus they were not neglecting the gospel if they spent much more of their time and money binding up the wounds of humanity, wounds frequently

caused by violations of human dignity inflicted by human instruments. Adventists took a certain pride in knowing that socially, they were making a difference. Among their more notable international successes in education and healthcare had been the improvement they encouraged in the quality of life in the Peruvian Andes, in helping to cleanse the Amazon basin, and in bringing better living to many countries in Africa.

Unfortunately, as the church became larger, progressively more of its own members suffered from the very hurts it sought to assuage. Church leaders came to realize more emphatically than ever before that Adventists could not escape chronic woes such as hunger, oppression, and vulnerability to natural disaster, or on the other hand, racism, gender discrimination, marital failure, abusive behavior, and addictive weaknesses. The church learned that its impact for spiritual reform would be more telling if it became more inclusive and less exclusive in its dealings with human hardship and inequities, and more pastoral and less punitive toward its erring members. In short, the church learned that if it deliberately sought to emulate better the grace as seen in the ministry of Jesus its message would be more meaningful.

Adventists had a history of taking very seriously the biblical injunction to love the Lord with all one's mind, as well as the body and heart. The early Sabbatarian Adventists were gifted with keen minds, which they used tirelessly to study the timeless truths of the Bible and to assemble a set of beliefs. But the Seventh-day Adventist Church that

approached the twenty-first century was more sophisticated and more professionally inclined than it had been in the nineteenth century. Besides health, education was one of the most emphasized programs of the church. The health movement itself became more academic and more closely linked to education. College degrees were a commonplace. Adventist thinkers were undeviating in their quest to understand the natural and social order around them in light of the Bible and to bridge the gaps of misunderstanding that remained, especially in the fields of evolution, the age of the world, and archaeological findings. Some Adventist educational enterprises and professionals became well known. Adventists' impact in health and healthcare was more than commensurable to their numbers.

In part these changes were the product of the church's greater affluence. The church had always taught sacrifice. Many of the founders of Adventism lived from hand to mouth, and the next generation, though better off, still struggled. But in time the membership of the church developed considerable capital. As Adventists faced the twenty-first century they could entertain larger expectations because they could afford bigger programs. Some pointed to imposing buildings and sophisticated programs as an indication that the church had lost its simplicity and the meaning of sacrifice. Adventists had not exhausted their generosity, but no one could convince them otherwise than that the prosperity they enjoyed testified to the divine multiplication of God's gifts to His people as surely as Jesus had fed the five thousand

from a handful of loaves and fish.

The Adventist Church of the late twentieth century appeared to be less concerned about maintaining the *traditions* of Adventist lifestyle but more concerned with the *meaning* of lifestyle. Very early the principles of simplicity, modesty, healthful living, and the like had become benchmarks of Adventism. Through the years Adventists had practiced these convictions so well that many non-Adventists believed lifestyle *was* the message of the church. To their chagrin many Adventists came to realize that vegetarian meals and bodies with no jewelry, though legitimate in themselves, were the popular perceptions of Adventism rather than its being a message of Christ's atoning death, His imminent return, and an unfailing Christlike spirit. As the twentieth century neared its end, Adventists came to regard their traditional lifestyle as less mandatory and more voluntary, more a matter of individual conscience. Some members viewed this change as a betrayal of principles. Others saw it as an opportunity to understand better the applications of their principles. However they saw the trend, both groups remained welcome in the church.

These changes in Adventism were more than superficial modifications, but at the risk of splitting hairs we might say that they all added up to a change in denominational personality rather than in character. But Adventists still had their questions, some of them unsettling. A growing diversity in membership and the theological debates of the late twentieth century helped to produce a degree of pluralism in the church that

previous generations of Adventists had not contemplated. In spite of their belief in progressive understanding of the Bible and their refusal to adopt a hard and fast creed, Adventists had gone to great lengths to maintain a level of sameness among themselves, not only for the sake of unity, but because they simply did not believe in deviation from the central line of truth as they taught it. It was a subtle mindset that could accommodate a *de jure* belief in progressive understanding of the Bible and at the same time a *de facto* belief in something resembling a closed system.

One aspect of pluralism that became more evident in the last half of the twentieth century was a growing mood of congregationalism. It was evident in many ways, one of the more prominent in differing styles of worship. This manifestation was more than the sociological phenomenon of contextualizing Adventism as it spread around the world. It also resulted from differences in opinion about what constituted both appealing and appropriate worship. Age, taste, and expectation as well as culture figured into the equation. As the end of the century approached, these differences became more frequent and open. Some worship services drew upon high church formality and even Hebrew liturgy while emphasizing the quality of awe in worship. Others became more informal and participatory, sometimes assuming a "celebration" character. In some instances churches offered two services each Sabbath, one for each category of worshipers. Some congregations divided into two separately organized churches.

A more serious kind of congregation-

alism derived from differing shades of doctrinal beliefs, which at times expressed an attempt to frustrate denominational administrative authority, both in matters of doctrine and financial accountability. Regarding the latter question, a debate arose about the meaning of the biblical term, “storehouse,” into which members should pay their tithe. Adventists viewed congregationalism ambivalently: beneficial if its primary goal was to enhance the act of worship without diminishing its sacredness, but threatening if the local church arrogated to itself ultimate control of its own affairs in matters of doctrine and finance in spite of legitimate denominational authority.

One of the largest unanswered questions of Adventism at the end of the twentieth century was how extensive pluralism of beliefs and practice could or should become. Some argued that differences suggested that pluralism was a natural result of the passage of time, of study, and of people from different cultures contextualizing or indigenizing Adventism, but these circumstances only led logically to questions about maintaining the integrity of Adventism in the face of pluralism.

Related to the question of pluralism was a growing amenability among Adventists, or at least an apparent willingness, to question themselves. The evolution of the extra-denominational press gave rise to open discussions about doctrine, social practices, and decision-making in the church. Church members could study controversial questions about policy or events in independently

produced books and periodicals without arousing suspicion about their integrity. Adventists in the 1990s were more aware than their counterparts in previous generations that the church as an organization had neither a monopoly on information nor on doctrinal interpretation, even though, very legitimately, it retained the last word on orthodoxy.

The church was also prone to more soul-searching about how it was accomplishing its mission. Seen more simply in earlier times, fulfilling its mission meant preaching, teaching, distributing literature, and healing the sick, but thoughtful Adventists in the late twentieth century began to rethink these processes. Two books, Gottfried Oosterwal’s *Mission Possible* in 1972, and Jon Dybdahl’s edited work, *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century* in 1999, jolted Adventist perceptions about how well they were fulfilling the commission to reach the *entire* world. In light of altering patterns in world population and church membership growth, Oosterwal, at the time of his authorship the director of the Institute of World Mission at Andrews University, advocated changes in the perception of mission and how to carry it out.

Twenty-five years later Dybdahl, chair of the Department of World Mission at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, praised Global Mission but pointed out that vast portions of the world, primarily the Islamic and Buddhist peoples, still remained nearly impervious to Christianity in general and Adventism in particular. Contributors to Dybdahl’s book urged Adventists to remember while

measuring their success they should recognize that their ten million members were not evenly spread around the globe and that they should keep in mind the magnitude of the uncompleted aspect of their mission. The book implied that failure to make hardly more than a dent in some parts of the world did not mean that the gospel commission was an impossibility.

If Adventism experienced a revolution during the 1950s regarding its attitude toward intellectual matters, it underwent another in the 1990s regarding its view of mission. Oosterwal called for change. His book did not produce Global Mission, but Global Mission responded to his arguments. This program, conceived in the 1980s by the Neal Wilson presidency and launched in the 1990s during the Robert Folkenberg era, was a complete overhaul of the church's methodology of mission and the measurement of its advances. Reviewing these changes, Dybdahl urged the church on to even bolder creativity. All of this represented a change of processes to accomplish the original mission, not to change the mission itself.

One of the noteworthy aspects of change was that change itself affected the church with differing levels of intensity. Probably the white-skinned parts of the church bore the greatest impact of secularism, the debate over fundamentals, and congregationalism. The darker-skinned parts of the church were more conscious of some social issues. But the technology and rising levels of literacy and professionalism that were transforming the planet into a global village were also

contributing to a global church, and the diffusion of issues to the corners of the world church became increasingly common.

Perhaps because of the denomination's size, maybe because of the church's ethnic diversity, possibly as a result of the theological struggles they passed through after 1970, Adventists standing on the threshold of the twenty-first century appeared to view themselves in a more detached manner than their forebears had been able to do. While their membership in the church was still a very personal experience, they seemed to be able to separate the ideals and teachings of the church from the sometimes too human instruments that led the church. Humans constituted the church, but Adventists seemed to accept with more equanimity that they were not the source of its power.

Throughout much of its history the Seventh-day Adventist Church felt embattled because of its separateness from the mainstream of Christianity. Doctrines such as the seventh-day Sabbath, the sanctuary, and the state of the dead combined with the ministry of Ellen White and a conservative lifestyle set Adventists apart. They found themselves in a continual mood of self-defense because of an unfriendly environment. In the final years of the twentieth century the church still found itself embattled, but more from within than without. The multi-faceted question of pluralism—settlement of theological issues, continuation of lifestyle traditions, and how to compose social problems—had probably become a greater threat to the unity of the church than external problems.

Despite their problems, Adventists, including church leaders, generally sensed more optimism than despair. As they prepared to enter the twenty-first century they realized that the church was not flawless, but they believed that their ten million members were not a happenstance. Of all the various strands within the Millerite movement none had survived the Great Disappointment as well

as the small, nearly obscure, band that became Seventh-day Adventists. They continued to preach with conviction that in His time Jesus would return to this earth, that He would make all things new again, and that He would present His people to the Father, without spot or blemish because they were covered by His atoning blood. At its core it was still the message of 1844.

Selected Topical Reading:

General Views:

Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream* (1989), is a look at Adventism as a creator of a lifestyle separate from the mainstream of American culture.

George Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, (1994), presents in chapter 15 a thought-provoking discussion of the status of Adventism in the 1990s in comparison to its origins.

Harold Bloom, *The American Religion* (1992), is an interesting commentary about Adventism by a non-Adventist who describes Adventism as a religion of health in chapter 8, "Seventh-day Adventism: Health, Prophecy, and Ellen White."

Paul Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity* (1997), in contrast to Bloom, views Seventh-day Adventism as a church with an apocalyptic message on the fringe of evangelicalism, but with a strong health message.

Russell Staples, "Adventism," in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism* (1991), Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston, eds., pp. 57-71, explains how Adventism differs from contemporary evangelical communions.

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

- 1826 The first of the Albury Conferences, discussing the second coming of Christ.
- 1827 Ellen G. Harmon is born in Gorham, Maine.
- 1831 William Miller begins to preach.
- 1839 Joshua Himes begins to proclaim the Advent imminent.
- 1840 *The Signs of the Times* begins publication.
The first General Conference of Advent believers.
- 1842 James White begins to preach.
- 1844 The Great Disappointment
Rachel Preston introduces the Sabbath truth.
Hiram Edson introduces sanctuary truth.
- 1845 Ellen Harmon presents her first vision.
Joseph Bates begins to keep the Sabbath.
- 1848 First general meeting of Sabbath keepers held in Rocky Hill, Connecticut.
- 1849 *Present Truth* first published.
First issue of *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*.
Death of William Miller.
Issue of first advent hymnbook.
- 1852 Washington hand press used in Rochester, New York.
First number of *The Youth's Instructor*.
- 1853 First regular Sabbath Schools organized.
Martha Byington starts first Adventist church school.
- 1854 Loughborough and Cornell conduct first tent meeting in Battle Creek.
First sale of denominational literature.
- 1859 "Systematic benevolence" plan of funding adopted.
- 1860 The name "Seventh-day Adventist" adopted.
- 1861 Churches first formally organized. Michigan Conference, the first conference, organized.
- 1863 Organization of General Conference with twenty delegates from six conferences.
- 1865 First health publication, *How to Live*.
- 1866 Publication of journal, *Health Reformer*.
Health Reform Institute opened in Battle Creek.
- 1868 First local tract and missionary society organized in South Lancaster, Massachusetts.
First general camp meeting held at Wright, Michigan.
- 1872 First denominational school opened under G. H. Bell.
First foreign periodical issued, *Advent Tidende*.
- 1874 Battle Creek College established.
First number of *Signs of the Times* issued, Oakland, California.
J. N. Andrews, first foreign missionary, sent out.

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

- 1875 Pacific Press Publishing Association incorporated.
- 1878 Battle Creek tabernacle built.
- 1879 First local Young People's Society, Hazelton, Michigan.
- 1881 Death of James White.
First canvassing work begun.
- 1882 First subscription book sold by George A. King.
- 1883 Death of J. N. Andrews, Switzerland.
First denominational *Yearbook* issued.
- 1884 First denominational training school for nurses at Battle Creek.
- 1885 Haskell and Corliss and others sail to Australia.
Ellen White goes to Europe.
- 1887 First missionaries sent to Africa.
Abram La Rue, goes as self-supporting missionary to China.
- 1888 Jones and Waggoner present "righteousness by faith" at General Conference.
- 1889 National Religious Liberty Association formed.
Foreign Mission Board formed.
- 1890 The sailing of the *Pitcairn*.
- 1891 Ellen White and company visit Australia.
- 1894 Avondale School established, Australia.
First union conference organized, Australia.
- 1896 American Medical Missionary College opened.
Oakwood Manual Training School opened.
- 1899 Christian Record Braille Foundation opened.
- 1901 A world network of union conferences founded.
Budget financing instituted.
Southern Publishing Association established.
- 1902 Sanitarium and Review buildings burn in Battle Creek.
Battle Creek College moves to Berrien Springs, Michigan.
- 1903 World headquarters moves to Washington, D. C.
Jasper Wayne begins Ingathering work.
- 1905 Loma Linda Sanitarium established.
- 1906 Pacific Press building burns.
- 1908 Yearly Morning Watch Calendar first issued.
- 1910 College of Medical Evangelists (now L.L.U.) opened.
General Conference establishes sustentation fund.
- 1911 Sabbath School offerings reach one million dollars.
- 1913 General Conference adopts world division system.
- 1915 Ellen White dies, age 87.
- 1919 Birthday offering system established for opening new work.
- 1924 Death of J. N. Loughborough, last of the early pioneers.
- 1934 S.D.A. Theological Seminary opened.

LIGHT BEARERS

- 1935 Loma Linda Foods established.
- 1942 First *Voice of Prophecy* nationwide broadcast.
- 1945 First regional conferences formed.
- 1950 *Faith for Today* telecast begun.
- 1957 Potomac University (now A. U.) organized.
- 1961 Loma Linda University formed (previously C. M. E. and La Sierra College).
- 1966 Institute of World Mission established.
- 1971 Adventist World Radio launched.
- 1973 Second S.D.A. medical school established at Montemorelos, Mexico.
- 1975 First General Conference session held outside North America in Vienna, Austria.
- 1976 East Asia Committee formed.
- 1979 Inter-American Division becomes largest world division.
- 1980 Twenty-seven fundamental beliefs adopted.
- 1985 Program launched to establish AWR station on Guam.
- 1987 Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies opens in Philippines.
Inter-American Division becomes first world division to reach one million membership.
- 1989 New General Conference headquarters moves to Silver Spring, Maryland.
- 1990 Global Mission adopted.
Euro-Asia Division (former Soviet Union) formed.
North American Division severs administrative ties with the General Conference.
- 1991 Black and White unions merged in South Africa.
- 1995 Satellite evangelism launched.
- 1999 First European, Jan Paulsen, elected president of the General Conference.

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

Presidents of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

1. John Byington	1863-1865
2. James White	1865-1867
3. J. N. Andrews	1867-1869
4. James White	1869-1871
5. George I. Butler	1871-1874
6. James White	1874-1880
7. George I. Butler	1880-1888
8. O. A. Olsen	1888-1897
9. G. A. Irwin	1897-1901
10. A. G. Daniels	1901-1922
11. W. A. Spicer	1922-1930
12. C. H. Watson	1930-1936
13. J. L. McElheny	1936-1950
14. W. H. Branson	1950-1954
15. R. R. Figuhr	1954-1966
16. Robert H. Pierson	1966-1979
17. Neal C. Wilson	1979-1990
18. R. S. Folkenberg	1990-1999
19. Jan Paulsen	1999-

Secretaries of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

1. Uriah Smith	1863-1873
2. Sidney Brownsberger	1873-1874
3. Uriah Smith	1874-1876
4. C. W. Stone	1876-1877
5. Uriah Smith	1877-1881
6. A. B. Oyen	1881-1883
7. Uriah Smith	1883-1888
8. Daniel T. Jones	1888-1891
9. W. A. Colcord	1891-1893
10. L. T. Nicola	1893-1897
11. L. A. Hoopes	1897-1901
12. H. E. Osborne	1901-1903
13. W. A. Spicer	1903-1922

14. A. G. Daniels	1922-1926
15. C. K. Meyers	1926-1933
16. M. E. Kern	1933-1936
17. E. D. Dick	1936-1952
18. D. E. Rebok	1952-1954
19. W. R. Beach	1954-1970
20. Clyde O. Franz	1970-1980
21. G. Ralph Thompson	1980-2000
22. Matthew Bediako	2000-

Treasurers of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

1. E. S. Walker	1863-1865
2. I. D. Van Horn	1865-1868
3. J. N. Loughborough	1868-1869
4. E. S. Walker	1869-1870
5. G. H. Bell	1870-1871
6. Adelia P. Van Horn	1871-1873
7. E. B. Gaskill	1873-1874
8. Harmon Lindsay	1874-1875
9. Fredericka House	1875-1876
10. Uriah Smith	1876-1877
11. Minerva Chapman	1877-1883
12. A. R. Henry	1883-1888
13. Harmon Lindsay	1888-1893
14. W. H. Edwards	1893-1897
15. A. G. Adams	1897-1900
16. H. M. Mitchell	1900-1903
17. I. H. Evans	1903-1909
18. W. T. Knox	1909-1922
19. J. L. Shaw	1922-1936
20. W. E. Nelson	1936-1950
21. C. L. Torrey	1950-1966
22. K. H. Emmerson	1966-1980
23. L. L. Butler	1980-1985
24. Donald F. Gilbert	1985-1995
25. Robert L. Rawson	1995-

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