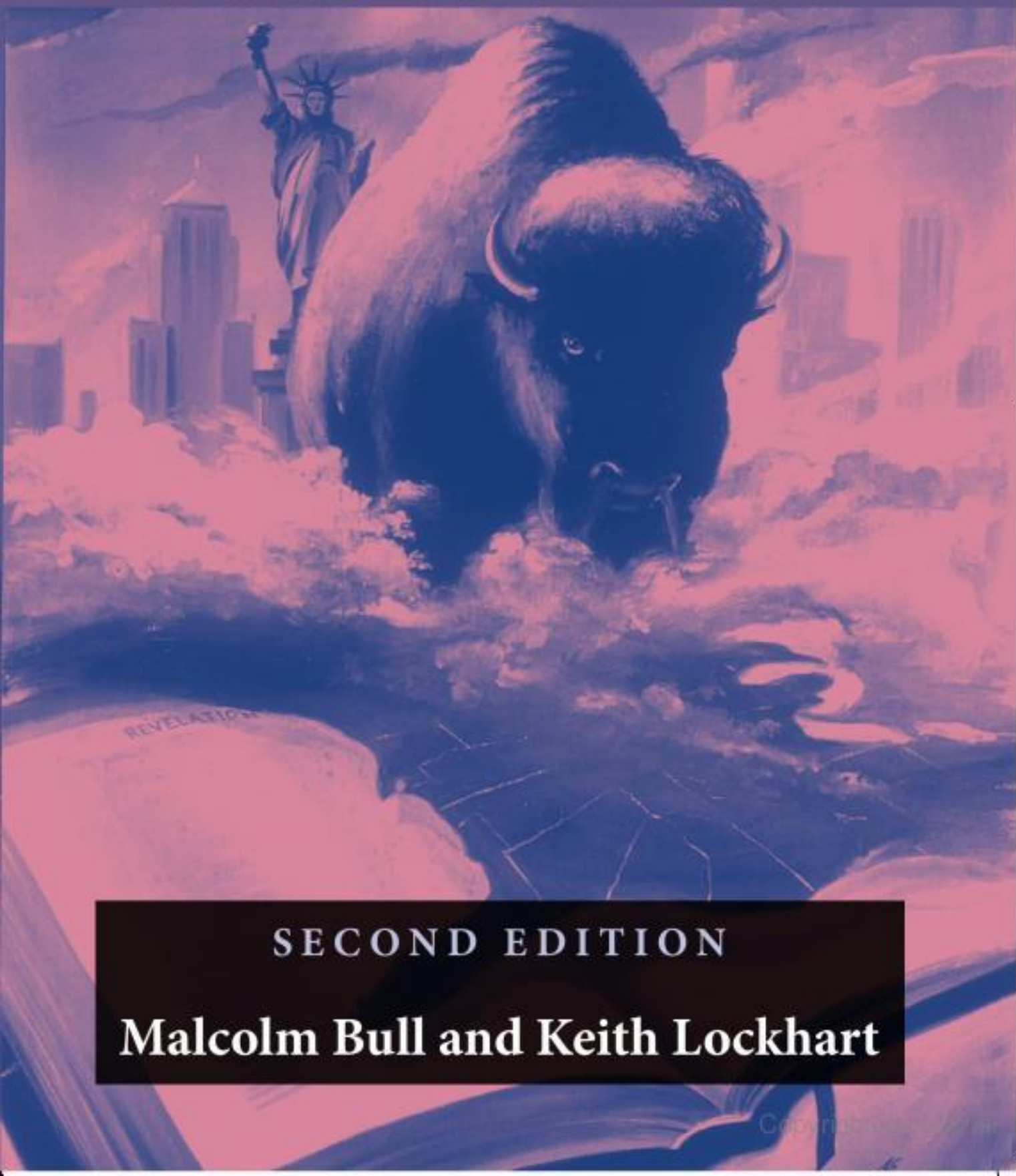


SEEKING A SANCTUARY

*Seventh-day Adventism
and the American Dream*



SECOND EDITION

Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart

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For Simon and Esther
and
In memory of Ernest Merchant

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MALCOLM BULL
KEITH LOCKHART
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May 2006

PROLOGUE

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM is one of the most subtly differentiated, systematically developed, and institutionally successful of all alternatives to the American way of life. A nineteenth-century religious sect that observes a seventh-day Sabbath, proclaims the imminent end of the world, and practices health reform, Seventh-day Adventism is now on the way to becoming a major world religion. It already has more than fourteen million members, plus a similar number of unbaptized children and casual adherents. During the last century, it consistently doubled its membership every fifteen years or less, with the rate accelerating over time. Even if the current rate of growth were to slow, there is every reason to suppose that by the mid-twenty-first century there will be over 100 million adherents to Adventism worldwide.

Although its membership has overtaken that of the Latter-day Saints and the Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-day Adventism is still largely ignored. Unlike the Mormons and the Witnesses, Adventists have never gained notoriety through open opposition to the state. But neither do they form part of the Protestant mainstream that sustains the national religious identity. In this, as in other respects, Adventism seems ambiguous. This book argues that the ambiguity of Adventism's relationship to America is the source of its identity and global success.

If the American dream can be defined, it would include the following elements: (1) the belief that the American Revolution created a state uniquely blessed by God in which human beings have unprecedented opportunities for self-realization and material gain; (2) the conviction that the American nation, through both example and leadership, offers hope for the rest of the world; and (3) the assumption that it is through individual, rather than collective, effort that the progress of humanity will be achieved.

In their formative years, the Seventh-day Adventists rejected the essentials of the American myth. They did not accept that the republican experiment

would lead to the betterment of humanity or that it would be a lasting success. They consigned America to eventual destruction, and in place of the nation, they daringly substituted themselves as the true vehicle for the redemption of the world. America had offered sanctuary to generations of immigrants from Europe; Adventism sought to provide a sanctuary from America. By presenting itself as an alternative to the republic in this way, the church rapidly came to operate as an alternative to America in the social sphere as well, as Adventists replicated the institutions and functions of American society.

This book examines the Adventist experience in light of the church's response to the American nation. It aims to give an accurate, up-to-date account of all aspects of Adventist belief and practice and to provide a framework within which the complexities of the Adventist tradition can be understood. After an introductory review of the images of Adventism disseminated by the media, the argument is developed in three stages. In part one, the main developments in Adventist theology are chronicled in an effort to define the ideological boundaries between the church and the world. Part two deals more directly with Adventism and America and argues that many aspects of the church—its organizational and financial structure, its worldwide evangelistic success, its attitude toward health, its dealings with the state, the character of its offshoots, even the quality of its art—reveal its ambiguous position in American society. In part three, the subculture of the church is examined in more detail, while the concluding chapter relates the diversity within Adventism to its deviant response to the American dream.

Although the structure remains the same as that of the first edition published in 1989, this edition of *Seeking a Sanctuary* contains enough new material to fill a second book. It takes the story of Adventism in America from the mid-1980s into the twenty-first century and deals with all the theological controversies and social changes that have taken place during that time. Much new information has been incorporated on earlier periods as well. The authors have benefited greatly from the increased openness of the church's administration to enquiries from outside researchers and from the abundance of information on Adventist topics to be found on the Internet. As before, we have adopted an interdisciplinary approach in order to do justice to the full range of the Adventist experience. But this is no longer a book based primarily on official and scholarly publications; it also includes material drawn from the vibrant popular culture of the church, and it makes use of a wealth of statistical data previously unavailable or unexploited.

In the course of revision, it became apparent that the first edition had certain blind spots, and we have tried to address them. This edition is, we hope, more sensitive to the importance of geography and region in the United States and to the shifting patterns of ethnic diversity that have shaped Adventism from the beginning. We have also given more attention to both the roots and the off-

shoots of Seventh-day Adventism and have devoted an entirely new chapter to schismatic groups such as the Branch Davidians. When working on the first edition, we omitted discussion of such dissident movements because they seemed too small to warrant notice. The siege at Waco proved us wrong. To most students of American religion, Adventism also seems too insignificant to merit much attention. The object of this edition, as it was of the first, is to draw attention to Adventism's unusual, but still largely unrecognized, importance.

SEEKING A SANCTUARY

Public Images

IN A SURVEY conducted in North America in 2003, 44 percent of those questioned said that they had not heard of Seventh-day Adventism. Of those who had, two-thirds were able to provide further information. Some were aware that Adventism was “a religion,” and many knew that Saturday was observed as the Sabbath. Fifteen percent confused Adventists either with Mormons or Jehovah’s Witnesses. Apart from the Saturday Sabbath, popular awareness of the church’s beliefs and practices was vague. One in fifteen knew of an Adventist hospital in their locality, but among those who muddled Adventists and Jehovah’s Witnesses, the church was believed to oppose blood transfusions. Altogether, a third of respondents viewed Adventism positively, while a fifth perceived it negatively.¹

This is not the profile of a religious group that has captured the popular imagination. Indeed, younger people and some ethnic minorities are even less likely to have heard of the church. Sixty-two percent of adults born after 1964 know nothing of Seventh-day Adventism, as is the case with 38 percent of Caucasians as a whole, 43 percent of African Americans, 67 percent of Hispanics, and 75 percent of Asians.² Such findings among the young and among rising racial groups indicate that ignorance of the church may actually be growing as time passes. The 44 percent average in 2003 was slightly down from the 47 percent who had not heard of the denomination in 1994, but it was a marked increase from the 30–35 percent who professed ignorance of Adventism in similar polls conducted in the 1970s and 1980s.³

After more than a century and a half of rapid growth, Adventism is, if anything, becoming less familiar. Not that increased knowledge of the church would necessarily engender more positive feelings. A small-scale study of public attitudes toward Adventists in 1981 compared a town with only thirty-five Adventist church members to one with an Adventist institution. The survey indicated that the

large Adventist presence was associated with a markedly higher level of public hostility.⁴ A 1977 Gallup poll revealed that of those who held an opinion, 27 percent disliked Seventh-day Adventists, a negative rating significantly higher than those of mainstream Protestant groups (4 to 8 percent) and marginally greater than that given to the Mormons.⁵ In sum, Americans are ignorant of Adventism but inclined to view the church negatively relative to other Christian groups.

This is hardly surprising. Adventism is a discreet sect with firm moral and religious standards, and the public seems to view churches more negatively the more rigorous they are. In this respect, Adventism appears to be only partially distinguishable from several other groups at the margins of American religion. Public perceptions are presumably derived from direct contact with Adventists who are friends, relatives, or engaged in evangelism. But the image of the group is also formed indirectly from non-Adventist accounts of Adventism given by the media and other churches. In many ways, the latter sources seem more likely to shape public opinion, for they provide a context within which Adventism can be related to the rest of society. Since most people's direct experience is too limited to provide an alternative, this is probably the framework that informs the popular understanding of Adventist practices.

The picture of Adventism disseminated by the media draws on a long tradition rooted in the newspaper coverage of the Millerites in the 1830s and 1840s. William Miller was a farmer from Low Hampton in upstate New York. He fought in the War of 1812 but lost his faith in patriotism and endured a profound spiritual crisis. He was converted from deism to Christianity in 1816 and joined the Baptist church. Devoting himself to Bible study, he gradually became convinced that the prophecies of Daniel would reach their final fulfillment in the Second Advent of Christ around 1843. Commencing in 1831, he preached throughout New England, slowly building up a widespread network of lecturers and followers who also proclaimed his message. In this he was assisted by Joshua Himes, minister of the Chardon Street Chapel in Boston and a man with a unique talent for religious propaganda. As the date drew near, the Millerites rallied support at a series of camp meetings.⁶

Although Miller himself was an unassuming man, the alarming nature of his message and the numerous publications sponsored by Himes naturally attracted popular attention. The matter was taken none too seriously, however, in at least one spinning-room in New England. In mocking verse, a worker wondered:

Oh dear! oh dear! what shall we do
In eighteen hundred and forty-two?

Oh dear! oh dear! where shall we be
In eighteen hundred and forty-three?

Oh dear! oh dear! we shall be no more
In eighteen hundred and forty-four.⁷

MILLER PREACHING IN THE GREAT TENT.

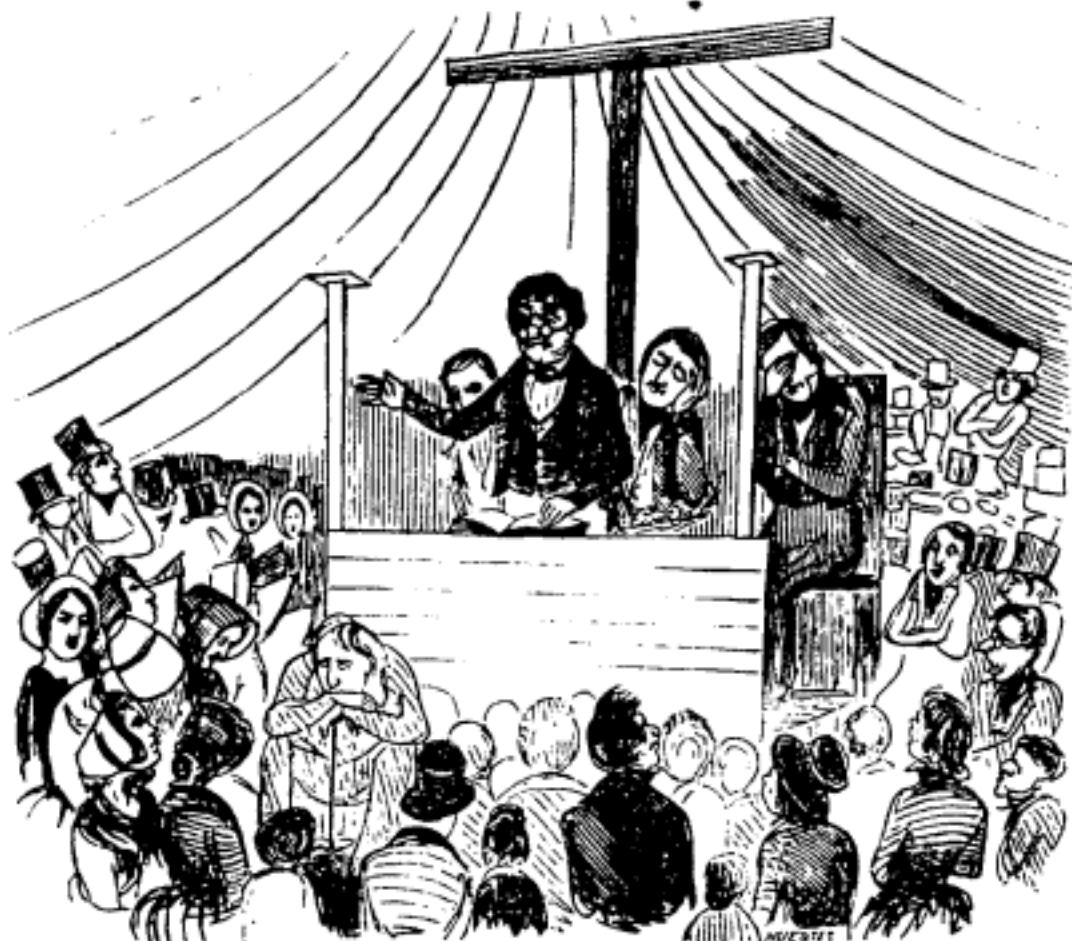


Figure 1. Prophet of doom: caricature of William Miller and associates at a New Jersey camp meeting. Woodcut, New York Herald, 1842. Courtesy James Nix.

Yet despite such doggerel, there was a sense of unease, for the idea that the history of the world was approaching its final culmination was popular. Most people, however, expected this ending to involve the progressive perfection of the existing world rather than its annihilation. The Millerites warned of destruction at the very time that most Americans anticipated progress. It was an unsettling combination.⁸ The poet John Greenleaf Whittier commented on the incongruity after a visit to a Millerite camp meeting:

How was it possible in the midst of so much life, in that sunrise light, and in view of all abounding beauty, that the idea of the death of Nature — the baptism of the world in fire — could take such a practical shape as this? Yet here were sober, intelligent men, gentle and pious women, who, verily believing the end to be close at hand, had left their counting-rooms, and work-shops, and household cares to publish the great tidings, and to startle, if possible, a careless and unbelieving generation into preparation for the day of the Lord and for that blessed millennium — the restored paradise — when, renovated

and renewed by its fire-purgation, the earth shall become as of old the garden of the Lord, and the saints alone shall inherit it.⁹

Whittier realized that Miller's message was not a novelty but just the most recent manifestation of the long millenarian tradition. But he remained skeptical: "The effect of this belief in the speedy destruction of the world and the personal coming of the Messiah, acting upon a class of uncultivated, and, in some cases, gross minds, is," he observed, "not always in keeping with the enlightened Christian's ideal of the better day."¹⁰

Miller argued that the world would end sometime between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844. It did not. But Miller believed his calculations to be substantially accurate, and the enthusiasm of his followers could not be quenched. On August 12, 1844, a Millerite minister, Samuel Snow, interrupted a camp meeting to announce that he had discovered the true date of the Second Advent—October 22 of that year. The new date was quickly adopted, and preparations for it were undertaken with renewed zeal.¹¹ Millerism was now seen to exemplify a second type of incongruity. Earlier reports had concentrated on the peculiarity of a movement that prophesied catastrophe in an ever-improving world; during 1843 and 1844, the focus changed. The essential characteristic of the Millerites was perceived to be their absurd attempt to prepare for heaven in the trivializing surroundings of this world.¹²

Reports dwelt on the Millerites' supposedly careless indifference to worldly goods. For example, it was widely rumored that Abraham Riker, a well-known shoe dealer of Division Street, New York, was scattering his goods in the street and that crowds gathered nightly at his door until his son had him committed to an asylum. Riker was later said to have committed suicide.¹³ The newspapers published many similar tales, some even more bizarre. The case of Mr. Shortridge was an early example of the genre: "In Pelham, New Hampshire, Mr. Shortridge formally enrobed himself in a long white dress, and climbed into a tree, to be prepared to ascend, believing that the Second Advent was to take place on that day—in attempting to *rise* he fell to the ground and broke his neck."¹⁴

The Shortridge story included an element of particular significance to the popular perception of Millerism: the ascension robe. From early in 1843, the press reported that Millerites had taken to wearing peculiar garments in readiness for their ascent to heaven. The New York correspondent of the *National Intelligencer* stated that "several believers in Miller's theory were nearly frozen to death last Wednesday, on the heights of Hoboken, sitting in the snow in their ascension robes."¹⁵ The description given of these robes varied. The *Gazette of Springfield, Massachusetts*, commented that "these ascension robes have created a great demand for drab Mackintosh cloth, and other draperies suitable for the liveries of the saints."¹⁶ Another paper implied that the robes were of more expensive material, noting that Millerites in one town had ordered "\$5,000

worth of silk."¹⁷ A further alternative was suggested by a Bowery dry-goods store that had a sign in its window reading, "Muslin for Ascension Robes."¹⁸

All of these traditions about the Millerites were brought together in the reports of their activities in Philadelphia on October 22, 1844.¹⁹ It was said that several hundred Millerites had left the city on the morning of October 21 to set up camp outside in anticipation of the end of the world. As they left, one of them threw away money in the streets. Once at the campground, the Millerites were ill prepared for the elements. On October 24 one newspaper reported that "four of the converts to the Miller humbug who went to the encampment near Darby are dead from the effects of over-excitements and exposure. We understand that one of the female believers gave birth to a child in one of the tents."²⁰ The *Pennsylvania Inquirer* quickly conflated the two stories, reporting that "two little children were found in the encampment, perfectly cold, stiff and dead."²¹ As if this were not bad enough, two days later the *United States Saturday Post* noted that the leaders of the expedition had absconded with large sums of money.²² Forty years later, historians added the detail that the unfortunate Millerites had all been "clad in thin white 'ascension robes.'"²³

There is no firm evidence for this or any of the other embellishments to the story. As F. D. Nichol demonstrated in *The Midnight Cry*, his defense of the Millerites published a century after the "Great Disappointment," as the events of October 22, 1844, came to be known, the rumors of the time were mostly unfounded. Mr. Shortridge, the man reported to have broken his neck after climbing a tree in an ascension robe, had written to the newspapers complaining about reports of his death.²⁴ Abraham Riker, the shoe dealer, had been able to discount reports of his suicide when the coroner called at his house to hold an inquest.²⁵

Despite their slender basis in fact, the tales of Millerite madness did not disappear. On the contrary, they were perpetuated. There had been about 50,000 active Millerites, and their beliefs were well known and widely reported. Numerous writers reflected on the significance of the movement.²⁶ In 1843 Nathaniel Hawthorne had written a romance entitled *The New Adam and Eve*, based on the supposition that Miller's prophecies had come true.²⁷ Ralph Waldo Emerson had contacts with Millerites that he noted in his journals, and the transcendentalists Theodore Parker, Bronson Alcott, George Ripley, and Christopher Cranch all visited a Millerite meeting.²⁸ Later writers continued to explore Millerite themes. In Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Kavanaugh*, published in 1849, there is a fictional account of a Millerite camp meeting that emphasizes the pessimistic aspect of the movement and culminates in the suicide of an orphan who drowns herself in a river in the belief that she is damned.²⁹

The most important literary account of Millerism is Edward Eggleston's realist novel *The End of the World*. Set in Indiana in 1842–1844, the book recounts the adventures of two young lovers, Julia Anderson and August Wehle, who are

eventually united on the very day, August 11, that the world is expected to end. The contrast between the Millerite experience and the assumptions and routines of everyday life is made clear in order to explain the attraction of the apocalyptic message: "Now in all the region about Sugar Grove school-house there was a great dearth of sensation. . . . Into this still pool Elder Hankins [the Millerite preacher] threw the vials, the trumpets, the thunders, the beast with ten horns, the he goat, and all the other apocalyptic symbols understood in an absurdly literal way. The world was to come to an end in the following August. Here was an excitement worth living for."³⁰ The author points out that this enthusiasm led to irresponsible behavior: "This fever of excitement kept alive Samuel Anderson's [Julia's father] determination to sell his farms for a trifle as a testimony to unbelievers. He found that fifty dollars would meet his expenses until the eleventh of August, and so the price was set at that."³¹ But the Millerite message was unable to suppress natural human optimism. As August Wehle asks, after his marriage to Julia on the fateful day: "Can it be possible that God, who made this world so beautiful, will burn it up tonight? It used to seem a hard world to me when I was away from you, and I didn't care how quickly it burned up. But now —"³²

It would be wrong to disregard the literary and journalistic traditions about Millerism. They may contain little accurate historical information, but they are invaluable sources for understanding the relationship between the Millerites and the rest of society. Almost all of the stories hinge on the idea that Millerism reversed customary patterns of behavior. The accounts present images of a group whose logic is inverted: a shopkeeper who throws his goods onto the street, a man who climbs a tree hoping to take off like a bird, farmers who do not plant their crops, people who sit in the snow wearing flimsy clothing. In Edgar Allan Poe's "Eureka," the author refers to "one Miller or Mill" as the cleverest of logicians.³³ It is a telling juxtaposition. John Stuart Mill, the British philosopher and exponent of utilitarianism, sought the amelioration of society; William Miller predicted its destruction. As Whittier had noted, the essential peculiarity of Millerism was its insistence, at a time when many other people considered society to be approaching perfection, that the world would be destroyed. The reversal of established beliefs seemed to position the Millerites outside contemporary culture, almost beyond the boundaries of civilization itself.³⁴

This situation is reflected not only in the frequently repeated tales of the Millerites' self-destructive behavior but also in the tradition that the Millerites behaved irrationally in all possible ways. Because they were seen to have placed themselves in opposition to conventional assumptions about the future, the Millerites were presumed to be muddled in other spheres of life. The humor of the stories about the Millerites is grounded in this supposed peculiarity. There is no real evidence that the Millerites suffered from such confusions, but because they stood outside the general cultural optimism of the period, they were

imagined to be innocent of the basic scientific and moral beliefs that structured life for society in general. The Millerites were probably normal in all respects save their Millerism, but because of their Millerism, they were deemed abnormal in every other respect as well.

Seventh-day Adventism emerged in the years after the Great Disappointment. Its earliest leaders, Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen Harmon, were all former Millerites. For the first seven years, adherents to the movement were drawn almost exclusively from those who had waited in vain on October 22, 1844; salvation was considered impossible for those who had not lived through that traumatic experience. Adventism thus originated, not from within wider society, but from a disintegrating tradition that was considered thoroughly anti-social in its beliefs and practices. The Adventists did not attempt to shake off the legacy of Millerism. By reinterpreting the significance of October 22, 1844, they enshrined the date and Miller's movement as an important episode in salvation history. It was on that date, Adventists came to believe, that the judgment of saints and sinners began in heaven. The Second Advent, meanwhile, was expected to take place at some unspecified but imminent time after the judgment had been completed. The other major innovation in Adventist thinking was the belief that God's law required the observance of the Sabbath on Saturday rather than Sunday. This doctrine owed much of its prestige within Adventism to the authority of Ellen Harmon, from 1846 the wife of James White, whose visions were accepted as revelations of God's will. Inspired by Ellen White and organized by her husband, the Adventist community expanded from about 100 in 1849 to a membership of 3,500 at the time of the church's formal incorporation in 1863.³⁵

Initially, of course, the denomination was too small to attract public attention. But as the church grew, particularly in foreign lands, references to Adventists once more found their way into literature.³⁶ Their image differed from that of the Millerites only in the absence of a clearly defined theological context. Everyone had known what Millerites believed. The only thing that appeared to characterize Adventists was their marginality to the mainstream of society. They are presented as just one amid a host of deviant orientations.³⁷ In *Elmer Gantry*, a novel by the Nobel prize winner Sinclair Lewis, one character complains to another: "It's fellows like you who break down the dike of true belief, and open a channel for higher criticism and sabellianism and nymphomania and agnosticism and heresy and Catholicism and Seventh-day Adventism and all those horrible German inventions!"³⁸ In Jerome Charyn's novel *On the Darkening Green*, a rabbi comments that although no black Jews attend his synagogue, he does have "Seventh-day Adventists and Abyssinian Baptists up here for sermons. And occasionally a Holy Roller."³⁹ The English novelist Lawrence Durrell places Adventists in different, but comparably obscure, company in *Balthazar*, the second volume of the *Alexandria Quartet*: "Alexandria is a city of

sects . . . groups akin to the one concerned with the hermetic philosophy . . . Steinerites, Christian Scientists, Ouspenskyists, Adventists."⁴² In Zadie Smith's *White Teeth*, a woman musing about ethnic minorities in a London neighborhood, thinks of "Mr Van, the Chinese chiropodist, Mr Segal, a Jewish carpenter," and "Rosie, a Dominican woman who continuously popped round . . . in an attempt to convert her into a Seventh-Day Adventist."⁴³

The black novelist Richard Wright grew up in the 1920s and 1930s. He lived for a time in Mississippi with his grandmother. His autobiography, *Black Boy*, gives a personal account of life at the margins of society:

Granny was an ardent member of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church and I was compelled to make a pretence of worshipping her God, which was her exaction for my keep. The elders of her church expounded a gospel clogged with images of vast lakes of eternal fire, of seas vanishing, of valleys of dry bones, of the sun burning to ashes, of the moon turning to blood, of stars falling to earth . . . a salvation that teemed with fantastic beasts having multiple heads and horns and eyes and feet.⁴⁴

Like Whittier, Wright found the Adventist vision incompatible with what he saw around him: "While listening to the vivid language of the sermons I was pulled toward emotional belief, but as soon as I went out of the church and saw the bright sunshine and felt the throbbing life of the people in the streets I knew that none of it was true and that nothing would happen."⁴⁵ When he left church school to attend public school, Wright sensed acutely the discrepancy between the values of his home and those of the world outside. Forbidden to work on Saturdays, Wright had less money than his schoolmates:

I could not bribe Granny with a promise of half or two-thirds of my salary; her answer was no and never. Her refusal wrought me up to a high pitch of nervousness and I cursed myself for being made to live a different and crazy life. . . . To protect myself against pointed questions about my home and my life, to avoid being invited out when I knew that I could not accept, I was reserved with the boys and girls at school, seeking their company but never letting them guess how much I was being kept out of the world in which they lived.⁴⁶

Wright's account of his experience picks up many of the themes prominent in the work of Whittier, Eggleston, and other authors. Like the Millerites, Adventists are portrayed as adherents of a bizarre religious system expressed in lurid, apocalyptic symbols. Their beliefs are perceived to alienate them from, and to be incompatible with, a normal, healthy appreciation of the world. Wright emphasizes that while forced to live as an Adventist, he was trapped within a deviant subculture so strange he could not even risk explaining his predicament to his friends. He presents Adventism as an enclosed world of dark delusions, which evaporate when brought into the clear light of day. A similar observation was

made later by the humorist Art Buchwald, who spent the ages of one to five in a Seventh-day Adventist children's home. Even in those formative years he perceived his guardians to be of an alien world. "Somehow I knew . . . I didn't belong to the people who were taking me to church," he writes. "Although they took care of all our physical needs, they showed no love or affection that I can recall. They scared me with all their religious dogma."⁴⁵

The sinister element implicit in this understanding of Adventism was brought dramatically to the surface in Australia in the 1980s when Lindy Chamberlain, the wife of a Seventh-day Adventist pastor, reported that her nine-week-old baby had been carried off by a dingo while she and her family were camped at Ayers Rock.⁴⁶ Mrs. Chamberlain was later imprisoned for the murder of her child. The long-running legal battle that led to her eventual acquittal became the most famous in Australian history, made headlines all over the world, and was the subject of the 1988 film *A Cry in the Dark*, with Meryl Streep as Lindy Chamberlain. The name of the child was Azaria, which was widely, but incorrectly, believed to mean "sacrifice in the wilderness." The rumor quickly spread that the Chamberlains were following their religious beliefs in practicing sacrificial murder. Adventists became the object of suspicion and derision.⁴⁷

Evil Angels, the account of the Chamberlain case written by the Australian lawyer John Bryson, opens not at Ayers Rock but in Pennsylvania, on October 22, 1844, with a description of the Great Disappointment. All the old Millerite traditions are repeated. Some characters are portrayed as dressed in white muslin ascension robes; there is an empty space reserved for the late Mr. Shortridge, who fell out of the tree; the two dead babies lie frozen under a dray.⁴⁸ These are the images that the author, himself sympathetic to Lindy Chamberlain's defense, felt to be most pertinent to an appreciation of modern Adventism. Whether such images contribute directly to an understanding of Adventism is doubtful. But it is certainly true that they inform the public responses to the church, illustrate the way in which Adventism is conceived by outsiders, and illuminate the relationship between the denomination and the world.

This was underlined by an even bigger media story that broke in America in 1993. It centered on David Koresh, who led a small band of followers at a settlement called Mount Carmel, situated just outside Waco in Texas. Koresh had narrowly avoided a prison sentence in 1988 after becoming involved in a gunfight with a rival in the group. After this, the company, known as the "Branch Davidians," lowered their profile. But gradually word of their activities began to seep out to the community outside. The group's practice of stockpiling weapons brought them to the attention federal agencies like the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF), and tales of physical and sexual abuse attracted the opprobrium of the local press.

On February 27, 1993, the *Waco Tribune-Herald* printed a detailed exposé of the regime inside Mount Carmel. The paper called Koresh "the sinful messiah,"

which set the tone for the subsequent coverage.⁴⁹ A day later, the ATF made its now famous attempt to raid the compound. The exchange of gunfire that ensued left four ATF agents and six Branch Davidians dead. Tape of the failed arrest was instantly conveyed to TV stations across the globe, and over the following week the hitherto unknown cult was on the front page of virtually every newspaper in the world. For fifty-one days millions watched as America's various law enforcement agencies laid siege to the tiny center. Inside Mount Carmel the Davidians wondered whether the end of the world, which they had long expected from their obsessive study of the book of Revelation, was about to be visited on earth.

The discovery was soon made that the Branch Davidians were actually an offshoot of the Adventist church. Their apocalyptic outlook had been inherited from the Adventists, who, as newspapers were quick to remind readers, had acquired their own millenarianism from William Miller.⁵⁰ Almost all the people within the compound were recruited from Seventh-day Adventist congregations, with Koresh himself being an expelled member of the church who nevertheless observed the Saturday Sabbath, and who presented himself as a successor to Ellen White. One study of Waco concluded that Koresh was an Adventist "from start to finish."⁵¹ The evident connection to the Branch Davidians only deepened the public's mistrust of the church. Adventists as far away as England reported that, as a result of the events in Texas, hooligans were vandalizing their churches.⁵²

On April 19, 1993, Attorney General Janet Reno agreed to a second attempt to capture the errant messiah. It was another ill-fated decision. As the FBI (which had taken over from the ATF) moved in, a mysterious fire engulfed the compound, killing at least 74 Davidians, including Koresh and, tragically, 21 children. Throughout the standoff the apparent vulnerability of the youngsters inside probably did more than anything else to shape the public's perception of the story. The Waco siege, in many ways, revived exactly the same fears as the dingo baby trial. With the Chamberlains, it was suggestions of infant sacrifice that had horrified the public. With the Davidians, it was reports of child abuse that prompted the April 19 storming of the center, even though the authorities never found enough evidence to make the allegations part of the initial arrest warrant and the attorney general later conceded that her public comments suggesting that child abuse had continued during the siege were largely unjustified.⁵³

It is perhaps unwise to compare the Chamberlain and Koresh episodes too directly. But in both cases, rumors of ill-treated minors, like the frozen babies of Millerite legend, served to strengthen the idea that Adventists do not share the cultural assumptions that bind society together. Adventism's values are presumed to be the very opposite. All "normal" people take particular care to preserve the lives of young children; thus Adventists, being by definition "abnormal," may be supposed to be indifferent or hostile to the welfare of infants. As one FBI man said of the Waco people: "We thought that their instincts, their motherly instincts,

would take place, and that they would want their children out of that environment." But the fact that they stayed in the compound in spite of an intimidatory show of force outside was proof to the FBI that the followers of Koresh did not "care that much about their children."⁵⁴ It is a crude logic, but one that has governed public reactions to the Adventist movement from its inception and is firmly embedded in the collective memory of the Millerite disappointment.

That this picture is incomplete, even as a characterization of public perceptions, is evident from the public awareness polls. Few seemed to register the kind of hostility that is detectable in most of the literature on Adventists. It may be that fear of Adventist peculiarity is latent because of the church's low public profile. Certainly, when opposition is aroused, the language used tends to be extreme. In 1979, for example, a city council candidate in Riverside, California, who was opposed to the church's local political influence, compared Adventism to the People's Temple cult responsible for the 1978 mass suicide in Jonestown, Guyana.⁵⁵ But there is another factor in the generally muted response to Adventism: the existence of an alternative image of the church, one completely at odds with the picture of apocalyptic fanaticism.

Hints of this alternative image are evident in the responses given to the public perception surveys, which revealed that very few people are aware that Adventists are unusually concerned with the end of the world. What emerged clearly in the 2003 poll was the public's strong association of Adventists with health. Of those who were aware of the church, 19 percent were acquainted with the health-oriented Adventist television program *Lifestyle Magazine*, hosted by the Adventist actor Clifton Davis. More than 6 percent knew of an Adventist medical center in their community, and 4 percent said they or a relative had been treated in an Adventist hospital.⁵⁶ Such activities are very different from the other-worldly obsessions often thought to characterize the church. Adventist practices are seen as this-worldly in emphasis, concerned not with the end of life on the planet but with its improvement.

To trace the development of this other image of Adventism, it is necessary to return once again to the nineteenth century. The subject of health reform was widely discussed in the world in which the Millerites lived. Throughout the 1830s, Sylvester Graham, inventor of the famous graham cracker, lectured on the benefits of temperance and vegetarianism. Although some Millerites were sympathetic to his cause, the more pressing question of the Second Advent remained uppermost in their minds. Seventh-day Adventists, however, had more time in which to contemplate the correct way to live on this earth. In 1863 Ellen White had a vision that revealed that the health reform movement was correct in its insistence on abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, meat, and rich foods, and in its advocacy of natural cures by fresh air and water.⁵⁷

Three years later, the church put these ideas into practice with the opening in Michigan of the Western Health Reform Institute, later renamed the Battle

Creek Sanitarium after the town where it was located. In 1876 a young Adventist doctor, John Harvey Kellogg, was appointed medical director. From that time onward, the development of Adventism's interest in health was largely Kellogg's responsibility. He expanded the sanitarium and hospital, founded a school of nursing, and in 1895 was instrumental in creating the American Medical Missionary College for the education of Adventist physicians. During this period, he also edited the journal *The Health Reformer* (later *Good Health*) and wrote several voluminous books. In the early years of the twentieth century, Kellogg disputed the control of medical institutions and the orientation of the church's message. As a result, Kellogg retained ownership of the sanitarium but lost his church membership.⁵⁸

However, the medical emphasis in Adventism was now well established. The church opened an alternative center for medical training in Loma Linda, California, in 1905, and the range of medical and health services provided by the church continued to expand. As a result, by the end of the century Adventist health corporations were among America's leading suppliers of medical care. The church also exercised considerable influence in the medical world beyond its boundaries. Henry Wellcome, founder of the famous pharmaceutical company and the world-renowned medical research charity, the Wellcome Trust, was raised as a Seventh-day Adventist in the Midwest in the 1850s and 1860s.⁵⁹ His father was S. C. Wellcome, a minister and a regular early contributor to the Adventist paper, the *Review*.⁶⁰ Henry later left the denomination and the United States to make his fortune in England. But the principles of health reform he learned as a child were values that he carried over into his life and work.⁶¹

This relationship between Adventism and health has not gone unobserved. Kellogg himself was an ardent publicist. In 1876 he exhibited health literature at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia; at the Columbian exhibition in Chicago, the sanitarium ran a cooking school; at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904, September 29 was officially proclaimed Battle Creek Sanitarium Day.⁶² At the end of his life, Kellogg estimated that his work had brought him into personal contact with a quarter of a million people.⁶³ Some were famous. The sanitarium was visited by state governors, tycoons such as John D. Rockefeller Jr., Arctic explorer Roald Amundsen, composer Percy Grainger, U.S. Attorney General George Wickersham, and many others. Its 100,000th patient was former President William Howard Taft, and at the institution's jubilee celebrations in 1916, former Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan delivered the major address.⁶⁴

Kellogg was something of a celebrity. The historian Will Durant considered Kellogg's book *The New Dietetics* to be one of the hundred best books ever published. Henry Finck, editor of the *New York Evening Post*, thought Kellogg worthy of a Nobel prize.⁶⁵ Kellogg's books sold more than a million copies, and his *Plain Facts for Old and Young* was perhaps the most significant sex manual of the late nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Phenomenally creative, Kellogg invented corn

flakes and numerous other health food products, and patented several mechanical devices. In the early 1920s, he produced for the Columbia Gramophone Company what must have been one of the first exercise records.⁶⁷ His religious interests were not hidden. In 1906 he was featured in a series on “The Spiritual Life of Great Men” by the *New York Magazine of Mysteries*.⁶⁸ Although he left the denomination in 1907, Kellogg established an alternative frame of reference within which Adventists could be viewed.

It was this side of the church that the author Upton Sinclair saw at the time when the doctor’s fame was at its height. Sinclair arrived at Battle Creek in 1908, two years after publishing *The Jungle*, the novel that made him a household name. The book was an unsparing attack on the meat packing industry, and it led directly to the passing of the first effective laws in the United States—the Pure Food and Drug and Meat Inspection Acts of 1906—regulating the production of food. At Battle Creek, Sinclair gave up meat altogether after hearing Kellogg “set forth the horrors of a carnivorous diet.”⁶⁹

Sinclair’s vegetarianism did not last. But his early contact with Kellogg, whom he called “one of the great humanitarians of the time,” was the start of a long flirtation with the church.⁷⁰ The summer following his stay at the sanitarium, his family invited a female Adventist student from Battle Creek to accompany them to their holiday retreat.⁷¹ In the late 1940s, Sinclair and his second wife visited the denomination’s college in La Sierra, in the Riverside area of California, and moved into a cottage in the vicinity. There he hired as his laundry, or “washer” woman, a steadfast church member, who had a conscientious daughter. She was a student at La Sierra and was one of the “blooming girls” who impressed him at the college. It was shortly after meeting such people that Sinclair cast a young Seventh-day Adventist in the title role of *Another Pamela, or, Virtue Still Rewarded*, borrowing the book’s name and theme from the eighteenth-century novel by Samuel Richardson.⁷²

As Sinclair presents her, the eponymous Pamela comes from a poor family who live in California in the 1920s. She shares a battered tin shack with her mother, grandfather, and sister, who is away studying pre-medicine at an Adventist college. The harshness of her daily existence abruptly changes on the day she meets the wealthy Mrs. Harries, who has found her way to the family onion patch after a chance sequence of events. Struck by Pamela’s chaste beauty and obliging behavior, Mrs. Harries proposes that she come to work for her as a maid. This she does after her mother makes it clear that her daughter’s beliefs and practices must not be compromised. Mrs. Harries already knows what these are, however, having earlier been drawn into a conversation about Adventism by Pamela’s disclosure that she does not “eat flesh.”⁷³

Pamela is whisked away to her new palatial home, where she comes across the other key figure in the story, Mrs. Harries’s nephew, Master Charles. He is her opposite—rich, alcoholic, and lecherous. When he inevitably makes a pass at

her, she escapes with her virtue intact. But Pamela is nonetheless attracted to Charles and thereafter proceeds to set herself up as the means of his redemption. As she tells Mrs. Harries, whom she finds one day in tears over her nephew's ruinous lifestyle, "the people of our faith do not drink, they do not smoke, they do not gamble and they do not go a-whoring. If Master Charles could be persuaded to join our church he would be saved from all these evils that distress you so greatly."⁷⁴

Unlike other Seventh-day Adventists in literature who point up the apocalyptic tradition of the denomination, Pamela places the emphasis on health and its effectiveness in transforming degenerate lives. Her message is aimed chiefly at a certain debauched section of America's upper class, which, given that Sinclair was also a practicing socialist, is perhaps unsurprising. When she is not repelling Charles's advances or reproving him for his drinking, Pamela finds time to reflect on the plight of the dispossessed as well. She feels for those in "dire want," adopts progressive attitudes so far as these have "to do with earthly affairs," and even becomes a little "class conscious."⁷⁵ In visiting a prisoner convicted for organizing agricultural workers, she says: "I want you to know that I am a religious girl, but it is not the pie in the sky sort, but the kind that believes in the brotherhood of man now."⁷⁶

This is exactly the face of Adventism that Kellogg presented to the world. In T. Coraghessan Boyle's *The Road to Welville*, published in 1993, a fictionalized Kellogg praises *The Jungle* and numbers Sinclair among "all of us who seek to pursue a sanitary, progressive, pure, kind, and enlightened life."⁷⁷ In 1994 these attitudes were brought to the wider public in a film of Boyle's satirical novel in which Anthony Hopkins played the ebullient doctor.⁷⁸ It was Kellogg's dream that "the whole Seventh-day Adventist denomination would sometime become . . . the medical missionary people of the world."⁷⁹ Despite his estrangement from the denomination, Kellogg's vision has been realized. In a speech at Loma Linda delivered in 1971, U.S. President Richard Nixon recalled that in 1953:

Mrs. Nixon and I took a trip clear around the world. And as we visited the countries of southeast Asia and southern Asia, we saw several hospitals run by various organizations. The most impressive ones were the ones run by the Seventh-Day Adventists, people who were dedicated. There were doctors, there were nurses, there were others who were giving their lives for the purpose of helping those people in those poor countries to develop a better system of medicine. . . . I [can] think of nothing that does more to make friends for America abroad than that kind of selfless service by people like those from Loma Linda who have gone out through the world.⁸⁰

Writers of various descriptions celebrated Adventist medical missionary endeavor in similar terms. In 1960 Booton Herndon noted that "in some countries, particularly the Near and Far East . . . the Adventist hospitals are by far the largest and best."⁸¹ The Latin American novelist Gabriel García Márquez



Figure 2. Medical missionary: John Harvey Kellogg, in characteristic white attire, leaving his home for the Battle Creek Sanitarium in 1940.

Photo courtesy Heritage Room, Loma Linda University.

more lyrically described an Adventist hospital in Panama as “an immense white warehouse”—a place of spiritual seclusion, where the wealthy in particular find a settled peace.⁸² Herndon, however, went further in emphasizing that Adventism had something to offer to America as well as to the Third World:

By almost any criterion of the Western world for human happiness, the . . . members of the Seventh-Day Adventist church . . . must be rated as one of the most fortunate groups on Earth. . . . Their children will enjoy better health, and enjoy it longer, than the children of their non-Adventist neighbors, they will be singularly free of such killing diseases as lung cancer, and they will have less than half the amount of tooth decay of their playmates (and their parents will have commensurately lower dental bills to pay!).⁸³

As the twentieth century drew to a close, this picture of Adventists as an insurance company’s dream was further elaborated. For an increasingly body-conscious society, Adventism sounded more and more like an attractive option. Scientific studies, mainly conducted at the denomination’s Loma Linda University, began to show that Adventists were relatively unaffected by various forms of disease.⁸⁴ In 1984 the *Saturday Evening Post* ran a feature that described Adventists as “the healthiest group of people in the country” and *National Geographic* reported in 2005 that church members live four to ten years longer than their non-Adventist neighbors.⁸⁵

Adventist doctors themselves were lauded for their often groundbreaking attempts to extend the lives of their fellow citizens. In 1984 Leonard Bailey, a surgeon at Loma Linda Medical Center, replaced the defective heart of a 12-day-old girl, called Baby Fae, with that of a baboon. It was the first such operation on a human child, and it generated a burst of favorable publicity for the church. The *Philadelphia Daily News* commented that “as the days go by and Baby Fae’s new heart keeps pumping blood through her tiny body, Bailey’s accomplishment is losing its unbelievable air and making the names of this obscure researcher and his obscure institution into household words.”⁸⁶ Three years later another Adventist, Ben Carson, operating at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Maryland, became the first surgeon to separate successfully Siamese twins joined at the head.⁸⁷ CNN and *Time* magazine subsequently named Carson the nation’s best pediatrician and one of the top twenty scientists in America.⁸⁸

It would be difficult to exaggerate the discrepancies between this picture of Adventism, which is rooted in the achievements of John Harvey Kellogg, and its alternative, which draws on the legacy of William Miller. The divergence is not due simply to the differing standpoints of the commentators. One image is not the exclusive preserve of the church’s critics, and the other is not confined to sympathizers. The differences are more fundamental. The two pictures represent two independent traditions; they are grounded in different historical events, focused on different aspects of the church’s work, and sustained by different types of information. At one extreme, Adventists are seen to be at odds with socially accepted values, obsessed with the end of the world, and pessimistically inclined to self-destructive behavior. At the other, they are perceived to endorse social norms and to be peculiarly successful in attempting to realize life-enhancing goals. The first picture was drawn in the 1840s and is retouched whenever new stories of Adventist eccentricity occur. The second was based on the success of the Battle Creek Sanitarium and is enlarged by reports of Adventist achievements in the health field. Of the two pictures, the former is the more colorful, appealing to the popular press, creative writers, and the ministers of rival denominations; the latter is prosaic by comparison, having immediate relevance to foreign travelers, health professionals, and social reformers, with a more limited impact on others.

Occasionally the two images overlap. Some commentators connected the Baby Fae operation, for example, with the picture of Adventists as deviant and socially marginal, particularly after the baby died after twenty days.⁸⁹ The writer Joan Didion, investigating a notorious murder in the Loma Linda community in the 1960s, detected a dark underbelly to Adventism in its medical heartland.⁹⁰ In 2002, a non-Adventist therapist who styled himself an “Angel of Death” was convicted for killing a string of patients at the Glendale Adventist Medical Center in California.⁹¹ But in general, the two streams of images do not flow together but run separately: the one dark and heavy, carrying visions of the

midnight disappointment of the Millerites, the strange beasts of the apocalypse, and the sinister currents of the dingo baby case and the Waco standoff; the other reflecting images of light—Dr. Kellogg dressed entirely in white, the “white warehouses” in Márquez’s stories, the bright sun overhead at the mission hospital.

The public is too dimly aware of Adventism to be troubled by this apparent discontinuity. Most people are likely to have only occasional contact with the church, and for them there is no need to form a coherent picture. But for Adventists seeking to appreciate their own heritage and for non-Adventists who wish to understand the character of Adventism, the task of drawing these diverse strands together has proved perplexing. Several approaches have been tried. The simplest is to deny outright the validity of one of the two traditions. This is the position adopted by both the critics and the apologists of the church. The critics focus on the apocalyptic tradition, perceiving Adventists as deluded fanatics who persistently resort to dishonesty to cover their past mistakes. For the apologists, however, Adventists have always been rational people, behaving in a socially acceptable fashion and outdoing their fellows in health, vitality, and generosity.

More sophisticated commentators usually perceive that historical change accounts for the discrepancy between the two traditional images of Adventism. In the nineteenth century, it is argued, Adventists took more radical positions that, with the passage of time, have been modified to bring Adventist doctrine into alignment with the beliefs of other Christians. This line of reasoning informs the work of LeRoy Edwin Froom, Adventism’s greatest apologetic historian, and the non-Adventist evangelicals, Walter Martin and Donald Barnhouse, who in the late 1950s took it upon themselves to welcome Adventism into the evangelical fold.⁹²

Sociologists who examine Adventism in a social rather than a religious context note a similar development. Gary Schwartz suggests that becoming a medical missionary was the goal of an Adventist work ethic that promoted upward social mobility among church members.⁹³ Robin Theobald, a British sociologist, suggests that Adventism’s increasing concentration on health and welfare work was prompted by the need to modernize and adapt to urban environments.⁹⁴ For Bryan Wilson, the Oxford sociologist who studied Adventism in the 1970s, and Ronald Lawson, an Adventist social scientist who has written extensively about the church since the end of the 1980s, the process of change is seen as denominationalization—the move from a hostile and sectarian response to the world to an accommodating position akin to that of more established churches.⁹⁵

All of these approaches are illuminating in that they highlight the progress of the denomination and reveal the range of views and experience that Adventism has encompassed. But insofar as they are attempts to yoke together the seemingly divergent traditions of apocalypticism and health reform, they are distinctly

incomplete. The public images of Adventism do not reflect the whole picture. The two traditions are only partially representative. Not only is Adventism a little-known group, but the historical figures most closely associated with it were not even lifelong church members. Miller was never a Seventh-day Adventist; Kellogg ceased to be one thirty-six years before his death.

Meanwhile, the central figure in Adventism has remained largely out of public view. Ellen White, Adventism's prophetess and founder in all but name, is the crucial missing link between Miller and Kellogg. She was a devoted follower of the former and the spiritual guide of the latter. Her life and thought shaped the characteristic features of Adventism. To understand how and why Adventism has impinged on the public consciousness, a detailed analysis of Ellen White's writings and Adventist theology is necessary. Tracing the public traditions about Adventism to their sources does not uncover the heart of the church's message. A more direct approach is essential. To comprehend public perceptions of Adventism, it is vital to grasp the way Adventists conceive of themselves and the world in which they live.

PART 1

Adventist Theology

Authority

BORN IN 1827, the daughter of a hatter from Gorham, Maine, Ellen Gould Harmon had an uneventful childhood. At the age of nine, however, she was accidentally hit on the head by a stone, and her injuries prevented further formal education. She first heard about the imminent end of the world at twelve, when her parents took her to a meeting that William Miller was holding in her neighborhood. She waited until she was fifteen before fully committing herself to his movement, but when she did, she was expelled from the Methodist Church, into which she had been born, along with other members of her family.¹

Her first vision occurred when she was still only seventeen, two months after the *débâcle* of October 22, 1844. This was a comforting revelation in which she saw that the saints would ascend from the earth to the Holy City after all. She continued to have such visions until 1878, although the frequency declined markedly in the 1860s, and she probably did not have more than about two hundred altogether. In 1846 she married James White, formerly a minister of the Christian Connection and a fellow disappointed Millerite.² Together they worked for the Seventh-day Adventist denomination until James's death in 1881. After this, Willie, one of Ellen White's two surviving sons, became her closest confidant. She spent most of her life in the northern United States, but she visited Europe from 1885 to 1887 and lived in Australia between 1891 and 1900. On her return to America she settled near St. Helena, California, where she died in 1915. She never accepted formal office, thereby establishing a distinction between her charismatic role and the bureaucracy of the church. But throughout her long career, Ellen White wrote and spoke to Adventist audiences,

who received her in the belief that she was the “spirit of prophecy” identified in the book of Revelation.³

In the beginning, her religious experience followed a pattern similar to that of many previous mystics. In 1842 she went through a typical “dark night of the soul” occasioned by her fear of praying in public: “I remained for three weeks with not one ray of light to pierce the thick clouds of darkness around me,” White related later. “I then had two dreams which gave me a faint ray of light and hope.”⁴ In one of these, she ascended a stairway. At the top she was brought to Jesus. Like other female mystics, such as St. Teresa, she was immediately attracted by his beauty, but she had to be reassured before being able to experience the full joy of his presence.⁵ Shortly after this dream, she uttered her first public prayer, during which she experienced an overwhelming sense of love for Jesus: “Wave after wave of glory rolled over me, until my body grew stiff.”⁶ Just as St. Teresa had written of her transverberation that her soul could not “be content with anything less than God,” so White wrote, “I could not be satisfied till I was filled with the fullness of God.”⁷ This intense desire for experience of the divine presence is an aspect of White’s development that is often overlooked. Her exceptional religious propensities originated, not from a search for doctrinal or ethical information, but from a simple desire to feel the love of Jesus.

Such experiences were accompanied by striking physical manifestations, and these were fundamental to her acceptance as a source of authority within the emergent denomination. At the onset of vision, she usually uttered the words “Glory! Glory! Glory!” She would enter a trance-like state, stop breathing, and because of this apparent cessation of normal bodily functions, seem “lost to the world.” This phenomenon was very important to her contemporaries, who made a concerted effort to establish her indifference to earthly things. They covered her nose and mouth, held a mirror up to her face, pinched her, felt her chest, pretended to hit her, and shone bright lights in her eyes, all in an effort to see if she would breathe, flinch, or blink.⁸

The attempt to establish that Ellen White was lost to this world was based on the implicit understanding that if she were, she would be more open to the spiritual world.⁹ In her first vision, she had experienced it so directly that afterwards she wept and felt homesick for the better land she had seen.¹⁰ This ability to see the heavenly world was vital to the early Adventists, who, after the Great Disappointment, had begun to doubt that what was visible on earth revealed eternal truth. Thus, through her revelations of heaven, Ellen White could inform the faithful of what ought to be believed on earth. The most literal example of how this worked was White’s vision of the Ten Commandments written on tables of stone in the heavenly sanctuary. Reading them, she observed that God had not changed the wording of the fourth commandment in favor of Sunday, the first day of the week. Therefore, she concluded that God required the observance of Saturday, the seventh-day Sabbath, on earth.¹¹



Figure 3. Lost to the world: an idealized Ellen White in vision, with the two other members of Adventism's founding triumvirate, James White, left, and Joseph Bates, taking notes. Harry Anderson, *Streams of Light*, watercolor, 22" x 30", 1944. © Review and Herald Publishing Association.

This approach attracted criticism from the church's early opponents. In 1866, in *The Visions of Mrs. White Not of God*, two disaffected Adventists, B. F. Snook and W. H. Brinkerhoff, alleged that many of the things Ellen White claimed to see in heaven were false, or not in accord with descriptions in Scripture.¹² Their critique was taken up by the Sunday-keeping Advent Christians, who, like the Adventists, were previously followers of William Miller. They pointed out that Ellen White had never had the revelation about the Ten Commandments while she was a Sunday observer herself. It was only after she received "the theory of the seventh-day Sabbath at the hand of a man," one Advent Christian wrote in 1867, that her visions came into "harmony with her new feature of theology."¹³ Such objections, and the accusations of Snook and Brinkerhoff, were answered by the church writer and editor Uriah Smith in a booklet issued in the following year. He maintained that what White saw in heaven was accurate, in harmony with Scripture, and the basis of sound Adventist doctrine.¹⁴

Even so, it was some time before the "Testimonies," as her writings became known, led rather than followed the group to which they were addressed. For

the first ten years, she tended to confirm belief rather than admonish believers. Indeed, the quantity of her output was regulated by the attitude of the community. As she herself noted in 1855: "The reasons why visions had not been more frequent of late, is, they have not been appreciated by the church."¹⁵ In practice, the extent to which the visions could be appreciated by Adventists was dependent on the frequency of their publication. As the church expanded, its chief means of communication became the press. Ellen White's religious experience, once validated to the scientific satisfaction of her peers, became the raw material on which a publishing industry was based. The financial and technological development of Adventist publishing may not have influenced White's experience, but it certainly determined the extent and form in which that experience could be communicated.

The nineteenth century witnessed a revolution in American publishing, and the Adventist press followed the general trend.¹⁶ As technology improved, it became easier to produce longer books. This advance also necessitated a constant flow of copy, an example of which can be seen in the books dealing with the "great controversy" theme — White's classic exposition of the ongoing battle between good and evil. The central idea of the great controversy is a cosmic struggle between Christ and Satan, which the prophetess traced from its origins in heaven to its final resolution at the close of the millennium. The great controversy theme first appeared in the first volume of *Spiritual Gifts* in 1858. Material from the *Spiritual Gifts* series was expanded to form the four-volume *Spirit of Prophecy* series in 1870–1884. Between 1888 and 1917, this series was transformed into the *Conflict of the Ages* series that comprised five books: *Patriarchs and Prophets* and *Prophets and Kings* (accounts of Old Testament history), the *Desire of Ages* (a biography of Christ), *Acts of the Apostles* (a history of early Christianity), and the *Great Controversy* (which related the battle between Christ and Satan from the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 to the millennium at the end of time).

In the course of this process, the content and style of the books underwent significant alteration. Some idea of the stylistic changes may be gained by comparing the account of the fall of man given in volume one of *Spiritual Gifts* (1858) with the accounts found in volume one of the *Spirit of Prophecy* (1870) and in volume one of the *Conflict of the Ages* series, *Patriarchs and Prophets* (1890). Ellen White's writing in 1858 reveals both the deficiencies in her education and the intensity of her experience. The narrative style is simple but compelling. The account is given in the past tense, not so much because the events described happened in the past as because the visions were in the past. By 1870 White had acquired many of the techniques of contemporary religious novelists.¹⁷ Making much use of the vivid present, she emphasizes narrative detail and the emotional state of the characters involved. The short sentences found in *Spiritual Gifts* are filled out by abundant adjectives and adverbs and ex-

panded by additional clauses. Thus the angels that in 1858 “gave instruction to Adam and Eve,” in 1870 “graciously and lovingly gave them the information they desired.”¹⁸ While in 1858 Eve simply “offered the fruit to her husband,” in 1870 “she was in a strange and unnatural excitement as she sought her husband, with her hands filled with the forbidden fruit.”¹⁹

In 1890 a much more sophisticated writer appears, concerned not with narrative details but with moral exhortation. The vivid present is replaced by past or future tenses, depending on when the events described took place. The simple connectives used in 1870 give way to dependent clauses of time and purpose. Abstract nouns make an increasing appearance, along with the passive voice and impersonal constructions. The statement that “Satan assumes the form of a serpent and enters Eden” gives way to the observation that “in order to accomplish his work unperceived, Satan chose to employ as his medium the serpent—a disguise well adapted for his purpose of deception.”²⁰ White also cuts back on the superfluous use of adverbs in favor of a richer vocabulary. So the serpent that in 1870 “commenced leisurely eating” is in 1890 “regaling itself” with the same fruit.²¹

While there is no doubt that these developments indicate an increase in the literacy of the prophetic, Ellen White’s earliest work shows an intuitive awareness of the dramatic potential of narrative that is obscured by the sentimental and moralizing tone of her later books. This diminution in the power of her language is, however, partly explained by the fact that her books decreasingly represented her unique experience. As the demands on her time increased, she relied on assistants to do research and prepare copy. Moreover, the outlines of her narratives were frequently supplemented by material drawn from other writers. This is particularly true of the *Conflict of the Ages* series. *Patriarchs and Prophets* and *Prophets and Kings* owe something to Daniel March’s *Night Scenes of the Bible* and to books by Alfred Edersheim. The *Desire of Ages* is indebted to both of these authors and to William Hanna’s *Life of Christ*. The *Acts of the Apostles* borrows from William Conybeare and John Howson’s *The Life and Epistles of the Apostle Paul*, as well as from two of White’s favorite writers, John Harris and Daniel March. The *Great Controversy* contains substantial sections from the historians J. A. Wylie and Merle D’Aubigné.²²

None of this was generally known until it was exposed by a former Adventist, Dudley M. Canright, in his *Seventh-day Adventism Renounced*, of 1889. Accusing White of “stealing her ideas” from other authors, Canright calculated that up to a quarter of all her writings had been plagiarized up to this point.²³ This revelation cast renewed doubt on White’s claim to heavenly inspiration. But it was a question of production as well of inspiration. As one historian has noted, nineteenth-century publishers “encouraged high productivity in their authors,” since they felt that “to keep up demand, the public must be constantly reminded that a particular writer existed.”²⁴ Adventist publishing was no exception, and

White's increasing use of sources enabled the press to engage in the almost continuous publication of "new" material. This, in turn, enabled the church to disseminate her somewhat diluted influence more widely. Thus, the authority accorded to White by the small circle familiar with her visions expanded to encompass a much wider audience. Since many of these people had no contact with White as an individual, her writings were the focus of their recognition of her as God's messenger.

By acknowledging Ellen White's statements as divinely inspired, the church thereby understood God as having two authorized channels of revelation: the Bible and the Testimonies. The human intellect was not considered by most Adventists to be a reliable source of knowledge. Unsurprisingly, White was the strongest proponent of this view. She maintained that "to man's unaided reason, nature's teaching cannot but be contradictory and disappointing. Only in the light of revelation can it be read aright."²⁵ In taking this position, she distanced the church from the Millerites, who had placed great faith in "unaided reason" and placed "no reliance whatever upon any visions or dreams, mere impressions, or private revelations."²⁶

It was, after all, William Miller's sense of obligation to the requirements of rationality that prompted his study of the Bible. He had had an emotional conversion in which he had said he felt the loveliness of a Savior. "But the question arose How can it be proved that such a being does exist?" Considering that "to believe in such a Savior without evidence would be visionary in the extreme," he turned to the Bible as the only source of information. Miller reasoned that since the Bible "must have been given for man's instruction," it "must be adapted to his understanding." And he resolved to remain a deist if he could not harmonize all the apparent contradictions.²⁷

This deference to reason was not just the legacy of the Enlightenment skeptics Miller had read twelve years previously. It is better understood in the context of the Common-Sense philosophy that was becoming popular in nineteenth-century New England. The Scottish philosophy, as it was also known, was a form of realism, and its reliance on individual common sense appealed to American Protestants as a bulwark against doubt. Although the philosophy derived from the work of Thomas Reid, the seventeenth-century philosopher Francis Bacon was seen as the founder of the school. The Scottish philosophy denied that anything intervenes between the mind and its apprehension of external facts. If the systematic study of these facts was undertaken by a mind unprejudiced by theory, it was believed that knowledge of a limited certainty would be obtained. In a religious context, Baconianism became identified with the Reformation principle of *sola scriptura*, or the Bible alone, and it was later influential in the dispensationalist school of prophetic interpretation that divided past and future biblical events into distinct eras.²⁸

Baconianism was not alien to the Millerite world. The Disciples of Christ,

who founded Bacon College in Kentucky in 1836, disseminated a popularized version of the philosophy for every level of society. Their leader, Alexander Campbell, in arguing that faith was grounded in "Experience," as opposed to skepticism that was based on "Assumption," cited Bacon as having laid "the foundation of correct reasonings."²⁹ Campbell, who took a close interest in the prophecies in the book of Daniel, had been introduced to Boston audiences by Miller's publisher Joshua Himes and was one of the Millerites' most sympathetic critics.³⁰

This was because Miller followed the Baconian injunction "to proceed regularly and gradually from one axiom to another."³¹ As he recalled, "I determined to lay aside all my prepossessions, to thoroughly compare Scripture with Scripture, and to pursue its study in a regular and methodical manner."³² The result of this endeavor was Miller's conclusion that the Second Advent would occur around 1843. Adopting the motto, "Prove all things; hold fast to that which is good," Miller accumulated scriptural and historical facts to support his conclusion. Like the contemporary revivalist Charles Finney, Miller spoke to audiences as if to a jury, gradually building up the evidence for his case.³³ This approach appealed to exponents of the Common-Sense philosophy. As Alexander Campbell noted, Miller benefited from his critics' un-Baconian arguments, which far transcended "the oracles of reason and the canons of common sense."³⁴

Despite Miller's careful methods, he was disappointed in both 1843 and 1844. For Miller, there was nothing to do but add this rather disconcerting fact to all the others and to reassess his conclusions. However, the Baconian doctrine of "restraint," which asserted that no belief should transcend observable facts, was not followed by all in the Millerite movement. Some in the radical wing could not tolerate the prospect of revising their calculations. For them, it proved easier to renounce Miller's Baconianism than to abandon the specific date for which they had suffered. The Great Disappointment was a watershed in the thinking of this group. October 22, 1844, was to have been the ultimate conclusion to which all the carefully assembled facts of Scripture and history pointed; instead, it became an unassailable premise to which all future knowledge must conform.³⁵

The implicit conclusion of the radicals was that since no extraordinary phenomena had been observed on October 22, observation was not the best way to monitor such events. Reassurance came in the form of direct, and often ecstatic, religious experience. When these groups, which included the future founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, held meetings, they fell on the floor, groaned, shouted, and sang. It was in this atmosphere (which was far more emotional than the rather orderly scene imagined by later Adventists in figure 3) that Ellen White rose to prominence.³⁶ Her ability to receive direct communications from God was of particular value because the Great Disappointment had shown more established channels—such as human reason—to be flawed.

Yet the acceptance of Ellen White's visions was also facilitated by two aspects

of the Common-Sense philosophy that underlay the early Adventist view of the world. First, the realist theory of perception emphasized that the apprehension of objects was direct and not influenced by mental constructs. So it was quite possible to believe, for example, that Ellen White literally saw what was written on the Ten Commandments. Second, it was presumed that language was perspicuous, that it was the servant rather than the master of thought, and that words corresponded directly to objects. Language could be trusted. (When White had a vision of heathens and Christians gathered under their respective banners, the Christian banner bore words; the banner of the heathens, symbols.) Accordingly, when White related her visions, it was assumed that what she had seen determined the words she used. Her accounts were as authoritative as what she had experienced.³⁷

Thus the process by which the mystical proclivities of a teenage girl were recognized as the revelations of an authoritative prophet was aided at every step by the underlying philosophical assumptions of the Adventist community. Unlike the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, Ellen White did not proclaim her revelation and gather a following; rather, she had a particular kind of religious experience that came to be accepted as authoritative within an existing group. The prophetic ministry of Ellen White was an aspect of Adventist social experience, not just the psychological experience of a single individual.

Throughout the process in which Miller's original emphasis on the priority of reason was overturned, the one constant was the Bible. From 1844 onward, Adventist publications are replete with statements to the effect that the Bible is God's word and is the only rule of faith and practice. Similarly, the priority of the Bible over any other revelation was reiterated in church publications on countless occasions. The statement made by the church president G. I. Butler in 1883 was typically categorical: "The Scriptures are our rule to test everything by, the visions as well as all other things. That rule, therefore, is of the highest authority; the standard is higher than the thing tested by it. If the Bible should show the visions were not in harmony with it, the Bible would stand and the visions would be given up."³⁸ It would be difficult to find an official statement from any period that contradicted this one.

But this undeviating line on the Bible often concealed important shifts in the balance of authority. For Miller, the Bible had been completely perspicuous to reason. It was "a system of revealed truths so clearly and simply given that the 'wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein.'"³⁹ For the Adventist pioneers, biblical interpretation proved a great deal more problematic. As Ellen White recalled, "Again and again these brethren came together to study the Bible, in order that they might know its meaning, and be prepared to teach it with power."⁴⁰ Although they sometimes spent the entire night searching the Scriptures, there were in 1848 "hardly two agreed. Each was strenuous for his views, declaring that they were according to the Bible." Understandably, these

frustrated students came to the point where they said, "We can do nothing more."⁴⁴

Ellen White, meanwhile, found all these discussions somewhat above her head. "During this whole time I could not understand the reasoning of the brethren. My mind was locked, as it were, and I could not comprehend the meaning of the scriptures we were studying."⁴⁵ Fortunately for her and the Adventist community, aid came from another source. She would be taken off in vision and given clear explanation of the passages under consideration. Her accompanying angel would indicate who was right and who was wrong, explaining "that these discordant views, which they claimed to be according to the Bible, were only according to their opinion of the Bible, and that their errors must be yielded."⁴⁵

William Miller, for whom the Bible was "a feast of reason," would have found this conflict unwarranted and its supernatural resolution distasteful. Among the early Adventists, however, such guidance was obviously a practical necessity. Without it, the fledgling church would have been stranded in the disintegrating nest of Millerism. In later years, things appeared rather differently. The reason given in 1871 for the existence of the Testimonies was the neglect of the Bible rather than the inability of its students to agree on the correct interpretation.⁴⁶ But the principle remained the same. When the church needed doctrinal or practical guidance, it could, during her lifetime, turn to Ellen White for advice specifically related to the question at issue. The Bible contained truths of eternal validity, but it was not always clear how they applied in a particular case. The Bible might set the agenda for discussion, but White usually had the last word. The reason for this was not that the Bible was deemed incomprehensible but that Adventists, as a group, were unable to reach complete agreement on its meaning. The significance of this distinction proved difficult to convey to the church's membership. As the Adventist president A. G. Daniells remembered, it was not long before some preached that "the only way we could understand the Bible was through the writings of the spirit of prophecy." Daniells denounced this view as "heathenish," although the president would not have been far from the truth if he had replaced his "could" with a "did."⁴⁵

By the time of her death in 1915, Ellen White functioned as the acknowledged interpreter of Scripture for the Adventist church. She might not be considered as infallible, but most Adventists preferred to suspend judgment rather than admit her error on any specific point. The relative importance of reason, the Bible, and visionary authority was now the reverse of what it had been for the Millerites. Reason had once tested and expounded the Bible and discounted individual revelation; it was now considered unfit to test or expound either Scripture or the spirit of prophecy. The authority of White's visions, however, could define the meaning of the Bible and the status of reason. Certainly, the Bible was supposed to test the prophet, but if it could not be understood without the prophet, such an investigation was hard to initiate.

Thus, although Ellen White was never accorded theological primacy, her methodological priority made her position inviolable. Indeed, many Adventists believed that her actual words had been dictated by the Holy Spirit through the process known as “verbal inspiration.” Again, the church leadership was not entirely comfortable with this idea, especially as members did not always appear to hold the biblical writers in the same esteem. At a Bible conference the church convened in 1919 to assess the legacy of White’s writings, an Adventist educator, W. W. Prescott, observed that the denomination had reached the point where “if a man does not believe in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, he is still in good standing; but if he says he does not believe in the verbal inspiration of the Testimonies, he is discounted right away.”⁴⁶ Participants at the conference were well aware that far from being verbally inspired, many of the prophetess’s words were copied from other authors. But they chose to look the other way. “Adventist leaders affirmed their belief in Ellen White’s prophetic gift,” Adventist historian Gary Land commented, “and placed increasing emphasis on her writings.”⁴⁷

For nearly a century the Bible had seemed securely fixed at the center of the seesaw of reason and prophecy. In the 1920s, however, events in the wider world threatened to dislodge the Scriptures from the pivotal position they had enjoyed in the worldview of most nineteenth-century Protestants. Higher criticism, which introduced a scientific approach to the study of the Bible, had been influencing academic circles since the turn of the century. But during World War I the proponents of this new method, the “modernists,” became more vocal. In particular, they resented the wartime spread of the premillennialist view that Christ would soon return to inaugurate a thousand years of peace and happiness. The modernists attacked the millenarian fundamentalists for lacking both patriotism and theological sophistication. While Adventists were not directly accused, their views were similar to the ideas of those who were. Understandably, when the millenarians counterattacked in the early 1920s, Adventists, who had been divided on such questions as the verbal inspiration of the Bible, aligned themselves firmly with the fundamentalist cause.⁴⁸

In 1924 William G. Wirth, an Adventist Bible teacher, published *The Battle of the Churches: Modernism or Fundamentalism*, a book designed to “help the reader, if he be inclined to favor Modernism, to see the weakness of its claims.”⁴⁹ The same year, the popular Adventist writer Carlyle B. Haynes echoed the conservative Baptist E. Y. Mullins in the title of his pamphlet *Christianity at the Crossroads*. Its cover depicted a man faced with signs labeled “fundamentalism” and “modernism” pointing in opposite directions. The tone of the book left little doubt as to which route was considered preferable.⁵⁰ At the same time, an Adventist creationist, George McCready Price, published a series of detailed geological books refuting Darwinism that soon became required reading for anti-evolutionists beyond the denomination.⁵¹

Involvement in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy had far-reaching

consequences. Although the question of Ellen White's authority was not involved, the defense of the Bible resulted in greater insistence on its inspiration and inerrancy. Alongside this concentration on the Bible came a revival in the rhetoric of Baconianism. It was once again emphasized that the Bible was a collection of readily comprehensible facts. Similarly, it was argued that unless confused by the hypotheses of the liberals and evolutionists, the evidence of nature was clear. It was, as Price had written in 1913, because "the current geology has never used a trace of sound Baconian science" that it had fallen into evolutionary thinking.⁵³ But the Baconianism of the 1920s differed from that popular a century earlier. In the 1820s Baconianism had been directed against the skeptics who felt they could know nothing. In the 1920s it was directed against the scientists who claimed to know too much.⁵³ The basic thrust of the new Baconianism was anti-intellectual. It was to an audience of Seventh-day Adventists in 1924 that William Jennings Bryan, the former secretary of state and anti-evolution crusader, proclaimed: "All the ills from which America suffers can be traced back to the teaching of evolution. It would be better to destroy every other book ever written, and save just the first three verses of Genesis."⁵⁴

From the 1920s to the 1950s, the attitude toward authority found within Adventism was more or less static. The Bible and Ellen White existed in symbiosis. White's writings clarified and elaborated the Scriptures; the Scriptures confirmed and clarified her prophetic role. In keeping with this understanding, F. D. Nichol, the editor of the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, made it a policy that no interpretation given in the commentary should appear to conflict with a statement by Ellen White.⁵⁵ Also in line with this understanding was the universal adoption of the "proof-text" method, in which church members used isolated passages from the Scriptures or the spirit of prophecy to "prove" their distinctive doctrines. To Adventists there was hardly a single human experience on which some sentence from the Bible or Ellen White did not have bearing. The need to use human reason thus rarely arose.

The stability afforded by this structure of authority obviated the necessity of engaging in any major doctrinal discussions between the Bible Conference of 1919 and the church's next Bible Conference held in 1952. However, this stable era came to an end, largely because the church felt the need to impress a new configuration within America's Protestant community that was becoming known as evangelicalism. This movement was associated with the emergence of Billy Graham as a national figure in the 1940s and with Graham's friend, Donald Barnhouse, editor of *Eternity* magazine. The evangelicals placed all their emphasis on the Bible but were attempting to free themselves from the negative image of fundamentalism.⁵⁶ In 1949 an Adventist administrator, T. E. Unruh, sent Barnhouse a copy of Ellen White's book *Steps to Christ*, but he was unresponsive and reported that the Adventist publication was littered with unscriptural doctrine.⁵⁷

The 1952 conference was the first chance to correct outside impressions, but the opportunity passed, largely because the deliberations of the gathering as a whole, which were published under the rubric of *Our Firm Foundation*, amounted to a statement of Adventist thought as it had developed since the alignment with fundamentalism.⁵⁸ However, a second chance to remedy the situation occurred in 1955 when the Baptist researcher Walter Martin, in an initial attempt to classify the denomination, placed Adventism in the same category as Jehovah's Witnesses and the Mormons, partly because of "Mrs. White's strange interpretation" of certain passages of Scripture.⁵⁹ According to Martin, it was again Unruh who contacted him, strongly objecting to his categorization and suggesting that they open a dialogue. Martin approached Barnhouse, who agreed to meet Unruh, Froom, and a few other trusted Adventist officials, in the hope of finally establishing whether Adventism was a Christian church or a heretical cult.⁶⁰

In *Questions on Doctrine*, the book published as a result of these discussions, the Adventist representatives sought to restrict the scope of the prophetess's authority. They declared that she was not in the same category as the biblical writers, that the Bible, not Ellen White, was the "source of our expositions," and that her influence was limited to matters of "personal religion" and "the conduct of our denominational work."⁶¹ It was one of the few times in the denomination's history when the Bible was given unambiguous precedence over Ellen White, and it helped to convince Martin and Barnhouse that Adventism was indeed a part of the evangelical family.⁶² But it shocked the church's older workers like M. L. Andreasen, who believed that Ellen White's purpose was to prevent the church's "departure from sound doctrine."⁶³ The idea that she never "initially contributed any doctrinal truth or prophetic interpretation will not be believed by her thousands and millions of readers who all have been benefited by her works," he commented bitterly, and warned that "the present attempt to lessen and destroy confidence in the Spirit of Prophecy may deceive . . . many, but the foundation upon which we have built these many years, still stands."⁶⁴

Despite Andreasen's convictions, Ellen White's authority was further undermined in the following decade. The leader of a dissident movement in Australia, Robert Brinsmead, started to propound new ideas on the doctrine of salvation, and he produced quotations from White to support his conclusions. But as his Adventist critics also found passages from the Testimonies to confirm their conflicting views, the dispute exposed the problem of using the proof-text method with the statements of White.⁶⁵ It became obvious that an appeal to the prophetess was no longer a sure way to resolve doctrinal conflict. The situation was analogous to that of the 1840s, except that on this occasion the disputants were searching the Testimonies rather than the Bible. While in 1848 the supernatural authority of visions had settled discussion, in the 1960s there seemed to be no court of appeal. It was clear that the Bible and the Testimonies were by

themselves incapable of producing answers that would satisfy more than one section of the church.

It was in this climate that two Adventist academics, Roy Branson and Herold Weiss, published an appeal to make Ellen White “a subject for Adventist scholarship.”⁶⁶ The motivation for this plea was to find a means of solving the confusion generated by the indiscriminate use of the proof-text method and to “recapture Ellen White’s original intentions,” and “the absolute truth of what she meant.”⁶⁷ So now reason, shaped by the tools of historical scholarship, was called to clarify White’s pronouncements just as she had once clarified the Bible. As it turned out, the only thing that was clarified was the difficulty of using Ellen White as an authority at all. The research of the 1970s did little to establish what she meant. Rather, it confirmed that not everything she had written was of her own invention, let alone of God’s direct revelation. It was evident that she changed her mind on various questions and that she held a number of beliefs about history and science with which no contemporary scholar would agree.

The key figures in establishing these facts were William S. Peterson, Donald McAdams, and Walter Rea, who between them documented the sources of the *Conflict of Ages* series; and Ronald Numbers, whose findings on the sources of White’s health visions shook the denomination when they were first published in 1976.⁶⁸ Following these independent studies, the church attempted in 1980 to regain control over the information by commissioning an Adventist professor, Fred Veltman, to examine the unacknowledged references in one of the books in the *Conflict of the Ages* series, the *Desire of Ages*. However, after an extensive eight-year investigation, Veltman’s study corroborated much of the work of Peterson, McAdams, and Rea. Veltman emphasized that White, rather than her assistants, selected material from other authors, and concluded that the prophetess used a minimum of twenty-three sources in compiling the *Desire of Ages*, including works of fiction.⁶⁹

Reason was now allowed to judge the Testimonies on questions of history, but the Bible was still the only rule for judging White’s theology. In the early 1980s, the work of the Adventist theologian Desmond Ford on the significance of the Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844, was to reveal the potential for conflicts in this area as well.⁷⁰ In 1985, Herold Weiss looked back on fifteen years of Ellen White scholarship and concluded: “Mrs. White’s formal authority—the readiness of her readers, that is, to accept what she said as true just because a prophet said it—has in fact been shattered. From now on no one should be able to end a theological dialogue by giving a quotation from Mrs. White.”⁷¹

In the event, Weiss spoke too soon. Scholars, like prophets, live and think within a particular historical framework. When the framework changes, their own prophecies are not always fulfilled. The history of modern biblical scholarship is itself an example of how academic fashions can change. Higher criticism dominated the academic study of the Bible until the last quarter of the

twentieth century. Its tools, like the historical-critical method, employed the analysis of forms and sources to break up the biblical text into numerous competing traditions.⁷³ This often undermined traditional beliefs about the date, authorship, and historicity of biblical books, which is why Adventists, like other conservative Christians, reacted defensively. Specific doctrines anchored Adventists in particular to a conservative position: the Sabbath demanded the historicity of the Pentateuch; prophetic interpretation required a sixth-century (rather than the customary second-century) date for the book of Daniel. Similarly, the habitual reliance on proof texts led Adventists to be wary of any doctrine of inspiration that suggested that the Bible was not a compendium of revealed propositions but simply an expression of its authors' encounters with God.⁷³ Thus in Old Testament studies, Adventist scholars traditionally concerned themselves with archaeology and chronology, and in the New Testament, with linguistic and textual criticism.⁷⁴ In neither area was it possible for them to do substantial theological or literary work, since their conservative presuppositions were not shared by most of the academic world.

Nonetheless, in the 1960s Adventists accepted the general case for an academic approach to the Bible and began to differentiate themselves from fundamentalists on this account. In 1966, the *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* complained that "fundamentalists have ignored or rejected valid findings of Biblical scholarship."⁷⁵ After this, the church's more adventurous theologians pushed things further. Weiss, for example, argued that to "equate God's word with a book is the work of a corrupted faith which sets for itself an idol."⁷⁶ The theologian Jerry Gladson suggested in 1985 that the Bible was a book of only "limited inerrancy," and in 1991 Alden Thompson, professor of biblical studies at the denomination's Walla Walla College in Washington, found in Scripture "a generous sprinkling of human 'imperfections.'"⁷⁷ Six years later another Walla Walla professor, John Brunt, spelled out the philosophy that informed these critical approaches to the Bible, which was that "without reason, there can be no understanding of Scripture."⁷⁸

But no sooner had these attitudes gained footholds in the denomination than church leaders took steps to restore the traditional authority of the Bible in the Adventist community. In 1986, in what became known as the "Rio Document," the church formally banned the use of the historical-critical method.⁷⁹ And in 1996, the statement criticizing fundamentalists for ignoring the findings of biblical scholarship was quietly, but tellingly, dropped from the third edition of the *SDA Encyclopedia*.⁸⁰ Church scholars, too, felt they needed to do something to bridge the widening chasm between themselves and the laity. This sentiment produced the *Bible Amplifier* series, in which they endeavored to write readable commentaries on all sixty-six books of the Bible for the man or woman in the pew. They published fourteen volumes between 1994 and 1997, but the initiative was aborted due to lack of interest among Adventist members.⁸¹

However, there were two notably more successful efforts to return to a “plain reading” of the Bible. One was *The Clear Word Bible*, a paraphrase of the entire Scriptures by Jack J. Blanco, chair of the religion department at the denomination’s Southern College, in 1994.⁸² It was written in chapter and verse form, like a traditional Bible but incorporated Ellen White’s interpretations in the text. It was viewed as distorted by some, and the “Bible” part of the title was dropped in subsequent editions. Nonetheless, this was a highly popular first attempt at writing an “Adventist” bible.⁸³ The other initiative was made by an Adventist doctoral student, Samuel Koranteng-Pipim, who published the book *Receiving the Word* in 1996. Aimed partly at Alden Thompson, the author argued that in “studying the Scriptures, reason must be humble enough to accept and obey what it finds in those sacred pages.”⁸⁴ Like *The Clear Word Bible*, Pipim’s book sold in large numbers. But Brunt’s feeling was that the Bible did not fare well in the church in the 1990s.⁸⁵ While Pipim partially blamed Thompson for this state of affairs, Brunt blamed Pipim.⁸⁶

These squabbles were soon overtaken, however, by new developments in biblical studies that came to fruition in the 1990s. Drawing on postmodernist literary theories like poststructuralism, narratology, and reader-response criticism, new academic approaches to the Bible stopped trying to take the text apart and accepted it at face value.⁸⁷ Such trends were resisted by some Adventists, such as Norman R. Gulley, who perceived a threat to the church’s propositional understanding of inspiration in his mammoth *Systematic Theology*.⁸⁸ But other Adventist theologians recognized that such an approach permitted the re-colonization of biblical studies by conservative evangelicals like themselves. Fernando L. Canale, a professor at the Adventist seminary at Andrews University, considered that postmodern criticism provided “an opportunity to show how the interpretation of the epistemological origin of theological knowledge could be attempted on the basis of faithfulness to the *sola Scriptura* principle rather than to a philosophical or scientific teaching.”⁸⁹ For the first time an Adventist Old Testament scholar, Laurence Turner, was able to write a volume in a well-known academic commentary series without fearing for his job. Instead of looking for things that were “inconsistent, redundantly repetitious or contradictory,” Turner approached Genesis from a “holistic final form perspective” focusing on intertextuality, plot, characterization, and ambiguity. As a consequence, he did not have to discuss the book’s date or sources, and the text was “allowed to display its integrity as a cohesive composition,” almost as though (as Adventists had always argued) Moses had written it himself.⁹⁰

It was due to a similar maneuver that Ellen White started to emerge from the cloud she had been under since *Questions on Doctrine*. After Fred Veltman’s exhaustive report appeared in 1988, Adventist writers on Ellen White wiped the slate clean and started again. In 1996 the historian George Knight, in the first of a four-volume series on the prophetess, began with the question

"Who is Ellen White?" and proceeded to reintroduce her to the Adventist public with barely an acknowledgment of recent controversies.⁹¹ The effect of more than three decades of Ellen White scholarship was more obvious in Herbert Douglass's *Messenger of the Lord*, published in 1998. But his conclusion, like Knight's, was that "Ellen White's writings speak pointedly to our day, and are increasingly relevant in this end-time."⁹²

Nevertheless, *Messenger of the Lord* was a significant publication. Like the new generation of biblical scholars for whom sources were not an issue since all texts are "intertextual" rewritings of other texts, Douglass simultaneously accepted that Ellen White used unacknowledged sources and cleared her of all charges of plagiarism. He quoted a sympathetic investigator who argued: "The critics have missed the boat badly by focusing upon Mrs. White's *writings*, instead of focusing upon the *messages* in Mrs. White's writings. . . . where the *words* come from is really not that important."⁹³ This process of rehabilitation was completed two years later by the denomination's *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*. This work reverted to Andreasen's idea that White's purpose was to "protect from doctrinal error."⁹⁴ More liberal voices obviously disagreed with this view.⁹⁵ But by indicating that she had the final say on doctrine, the *Handbook* once more gave Ellen White methodological priority above human reason and, despite the usual caveats to the contrary, above the Bible as well. At the same time, the numbers of younger Adventists believing that Ellen White was a true prophet rose from 53 percent in 1991 to 73 percent in 1997.⁹⁶

The structure of authority within Adventism has, from the time of William Miller, gone through numerous permutations. For Miller, reason came first; it expounded the Bible, and visions were disregarded. The Great Disappointment inverted this order; visions expounded the Bible, and reason was disregarded. The spread of Ellen White's published work then allowed this order to stabilize, with the Testimonies clarifying the Scriptures. The modernist challenge to the Bible aligned Adventism with fundamentalism and made the Bible and the Testimonies mutually explanatory. The Adventist encounter with evangelicalism, both outside and inside the denomination, created embarrassment and frustration about the way the spirit of prophecy was used. The open season on Ellen White research that followed made reason and the Bible her two judges. And after the church accepted the legitimacy of biblical scholarship, reason became the arbiter of the Scriptures as well, provoking an angry reaction from conservative Adventists. At the turn of the century, these tensions were fading, thanks to new approaches to literary texts. This also allowed White to shake off her critics, to win new support among the membership, and to reclaim her place as the church's final source of authority.

These developments were all prompted by specific historical events, but it is possible to observe several patterns. A major restructuring of authority usually takes place when existing sources of authority fail to generate clear-cut answers,

as was the case in the 1840s, 1960s, and the 1990s. The rise of an alternative source of authority is usually facilitated by appeal to the one that is being disregarded. Thus, the early Adventists subjected Ellen White to empirical investigation, the scholars in the 1960s and 70s quoted White about the need for “new light” in the church, and recent commentators have used secular theory to free themselves from higher criticism.⁹⁷ This dependence of new authorities on the old builds instability into the system. If one source fails to provide the answers, it can always be undermined by the source that gave it authority in the first place.

In other words, Adventist ideology is defined by a process in which reason, prophecy, and Scripture are constantly battling each other for priority. Today it would seem that the visions of Ellen White have prevailed over the competing imperatives of the other two sources. But this is not to say that the demands of human reason or the appeals of the Bible may not become dominant once more. The church’s sources of authority are always interchanging, and it is this phenomenon, as much as anything else, that allows Adventism constantly to redefine itself without undermining its own identity.

Identity

WILLIAM MILLER HAD NO desire to found a church; he hoped that his message would be received by members of all denominations. Millerite publications were circulated widely, but Millerite lecturers were drawn predominantly from Methodist or Baptist backgrounds.¹ Although Miller's teaching focused on a single theme that transcended sectarian differences, it was inevitable that those who believed the Second Advent to be only a few years distant felt more solidarity with fellow Millerites than with their coreligionists. Some Millerites freed themselves of their previous affiliations; others, like the Harmon family, were expelled from the churches they were attending.² A gulf emerged between the Millerites and the Protestant denominations from which they were drawn.

In 1843 the Millerite leader Charles Fitch published a sermon, "Come Out of Her, My People," in which he concluded that "[Babylon] is everything that rises in opposition to the personal reign of Christ on David's throne, and to the revealed time for his appearing; and here we do find the professed Christian world, Catholic and Protestant, on the side of Antichrist."³ This application of the concept of Babylon—traditionally used by Protestants for the Roman Catholic Church—to non-Millerite Protestantism was inspired by the experience of rejection. As Fitch commented: "Speak to them about the coming of Christ . . . and they show themselves sufficiently disgusted to spit on your face. Ask them to read anything on the subject and they put on every possible expression of scorn."⁴ Those who believed Miller's predictions should, Fitch argued, separate themselves from other religious groups: "Just remember then what must be the consequence of refusing to receive the truth and abide by it. Babylon must be destroyed and you with it."⁵ His final appeal was direct: "Come out of Babylon or perish."⁶

This belief in the imminent Second Advent was enough to distinguish the Millerites from other religious movements of the time. The Millerites were derided, and they in turn consigned their opponents to eternal destruction. After the Great Disappointment, the dividing line was blurred. It had been expected that saints and sinners would be forever parted on October 22, 1844. But no visible division had taken place. Where now was the promised destruction of Babylon? The Great Disappointment not only appeared to undermine Millerite theology, it also threatened the identity of the movement itself.⁷

The initial reaction was to reassert that the world had been irrevocably but invisibly divided on October 22. It was argued that the door of mercy had been shut and that only faithful Millerites could wait for the delayed Second Advent with any hope. Miller himself wrote on the eighteenth of November: "We have done our work in warning sinners, and in trying to awake a formal church. God in his providence had shut the door; we can only stir one another to be *patient*; and be diligent to make our calling and election sure."⁸ Other leading Millerites, notably Joshua Himes, rejected the "Shut-Door," as this doctrine was termed and soon persuaded Miller to renounce the idea as well. But among the radicals, the theory persisted. Their basic idea was summarized thus: "A wicked world, and a corrupt apostate, world-loving church, no longer shares our sympathies, our labors or our prayers. Their doom is sealed and it is just." As Ellen White put it in her account of her first vision, redemption was impossible for "all the wicked world which God had rejected."⁹

The criterion by which the Adventist movement identified itself was thus reinterpreted. Before the Great Disappointment, the movement was united by a common belief. After October 22, the shared experience of the disappointment became a further identifying characteristic. A movement that first defined itself with reference to the future began to perceive itself also in terms of the past. But what of the present? How could those who believed in the Shut-Door distinguish themselves from their fellow Millerites who did not? Both groups had passed through the Great Disappointment; history did not separate them. It was to differentiate themselves that many who believed in the Shut-Door sought some hitherto neglected commandment that could be observed as a token of complete loyalty to the divine will.¹⁰

One of the commandments that the Shut-Door believers reinstated was Jesus' directive that his disciples should wash one another's feet. As one correspondent wrote to the *Day Star*, a leading journal of the radical Millerites: "This, I believe, is the last test for the little children, but every *little* child can stand it."¹¹ Associated with the foot washing was the ritual of the holy salutation: sacramental kissing. Neither practice was undertaken lightly. As another correspondent, Benjamin Spaulding, reported in an early Adventist paper the *Hope of Israel*: "Washing the *Saints'* feet and the 'holy' salutation are also being observed. Some at first rather shrank away from these Bible duties; but after investigating the

matter with mature deliberation, they cannot say they are not binding."¹³ These rituals, in which both men and women engaged, provoked criticism. As Himes's paper, the *Morning Watch*, commented: "It is a singular and mournful fact that fanaticism inevitably runs into acts that are in the first stage, *doubtful*, and in the next, *licentious*."¹⁴

But those who practiced foot washing and kissing were not easily deterred: "We FEEL the reproach, we know the shame, and have counted the cost, but still we dare not disobey what we believe to be the will and purpose of God in us, as we follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth."¹⁵ Indeed, they soon focused on another test, the Jewish Sabbath, which some Adventists had started to observe as early as 1844 as a result of the activities of a Seventh Day Baptist, Rachel Oakes. She converted a Millerite preacher, Frederick Wheeler, and one of his congregations at a church of the Christian Connection in Washington, New Hampshire.¹⁶ A *Tract Showing That the Seventh Day Should Be Observed as the Sabbath* published in 1845 by another minister, T. M. Preble, was also influential among this group, as was a pamphlet, *The Seventh-day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign*, issued by Joseph Bates, a former Christian Connection minister himself, in 1846.¹⁷ The observance of Saturday was also seen as a means of distinguishing the saints. One correspondent of the *Day Star* described how he saw the purpose of these tests: "The *spirit of Elijah* has been sifting, fanning, and purging out all the dross and chaff, and the Lord has taken his own way to sanctify us 'through the TRUTH' by the different sieves of feet-washing, the holy salutation, keeping the Sabbath."¹⁸

In her first vision, Ellen White concentrated on foot washing and kissing as the distinguishing characteristics of the saints: "The 144,000 [the number of the righteous described in the book of Revelation] were all sealed and perfectly united. . . . Then it was that the synagogue of Satan knew that God had loved us who could wash one another's feet and salute the brethren with a holy kiss, and they worshipped at our feet."¹⁹ After reading Bates's pamphlet, she presented Sabbath keeping as the unique characteristic of the saints. In 1847 she wrote: "The holy Sabbath is, and will be, the separating wall between the true Israel of God and unbelievers."²⁰ Despite this, Ellen White continued to regard kissing and foot washing as defining characteristics of the group to which she belonged. As late as 1851 she exultantly described how one Brother Baker had "a baptism of the Holy Ghost . . . [and] has come into the salutation and washing the saints feet which he never believed in before."²¹

As far as the mainstream of the Millerite movement was concerned, all tests were abhorrent. At the Albany Conference of 1845, where Miller, Himes, and others who opposed the Shut-Door met to decide future policy, it was resolved:

That we have no fellowship with any of the *new tests* as conditions of salvation. . . . That we have no fellowship for Jewish fables and command-

ments of men, that turn from the truth, or for any of the distinctive characteristics of modern Judaism. And that the act of promiscuous feet-washing and the salutation kiss, as practiced by some professing Adventists *as religious ceremonies* . . . are not only unscriptural, but subversive—if persevered in—of purity and morality.”

The radical Adventists had distanced themselves from the rest of the world by the Shut-Door doctrine. By the adoption of tests, they distinguished themselves from Open-Door Adventists. Their identifying characteristics were highly specific. Not only was belief in the Second Advent required but also the experience of the Great Disappointment and the observance of forgotten commandments, of which the Sabbath was emerging as the most prominent. The founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church were thus known as “the Sabbath and the shut door” people, a name resembling a botanical specimen that enabled identification to be made according to genus and species.²²

The Shut-Door did not survive for very long, however, as a means of classifying this group of Adventists. The problem was that it did not actually keep out outsiders. Toward the end of the 1840s, Adventist leaders received news that individuals had entered their ranks who were either previous believers or had no experience of the Great Disappointment. A skeptical Ellen White at first described these conversions as bogus, arguing in a vision that she had in March 1849 that the new adherents were trying “to deceive God’s people.”²³ But she found that reports of further accessions could not be contradicted. In 1851 she acknowledged the demise of the doctrine by producing *A Sketch of the Experience and Views of Mrs. E. G. White*, which removed the Shut-Door reference in her first vision and also the passage on bogus conversions in her revelation of March 1849.²⁴ The following year James White spoke approvingly of an “Open Door,” and in 1854 the prophetess finally disowned the theory by stating that salvation was available for “those who have not heard and have not rejected the doctrine of the Second Advent.”²⁵

While the Shut-Door steadily lost its purpose, the seventh-day Sabbath, by contrast, continued to grow in significance. Initially, it had been introduced as only one of a number of tests designed to separate faithful from unfaithful in the brief period prior to the Second Advent. In the words of one hymn:

The Sabbath is a sign
A mark which all may see
And sure will draw a line
When servants all are sealed
And while destruction’s in the land
This mark will guard the waiting band.²⁶

But after the Shut-Door was abandoned, the focus broadened. The Sabbath was viewed as more than a mark that labeled a particular subgroup of former

Millerites. In the first volume of *Spiritual Gifts*, published in 1858, Ellen White argued that the Sabbath was also a memorial of the six-day creation described in Genesis, that the day was a continuing symbol of loyalty to God's law, and that it was at the center of the conflict between Christ and Satan, which connected the Sabbath to her great controversy theme. She explained that in heaven, before the creation of the earth, Satan had rebelled against the Ten Commandments, knowing that "if he can cause others to violate God's law, he is sure of them; for every transgressor of his [God's] law must die."²⁷ Accordingly, he then "led on his representatives to attempt to change the Sabbath, and alter the only commandment of the ten which brings to view the true God, the maker of the heavens and the earth."²⁸ Ellen White identified these "representatives" as the early Catholic popes, whom she accused of transferring the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday.²⁹ The early Adventists came to believe that to observe the seventh-day Sabbath was to value the Bible above the authority of the papacy. For Seventh-day Adventists, the Sabbath was the logical expression of the Protestant tradition.

In 1859 J. N. Andrews, a scholarly young Adventist, published a substantial tract, the *History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week*, in which he quoted a Catholic source to show that it was contradictory for Protestants to observe Sunday: "The word of God commandeth the seventh day to be the Sabbath of the Lord, and to be kept holy: you [Protestants] without any precept of scripture, change it to the first day of the week, only authorized by our traditions."³⁰ The argument is clear. To observe Sunday is to be a crypto-Catholic. Adventists went on to show how, before the end of the world, this implicit acknowledgment of papal authority would become explicit through the enforcement of Sunday laws, which "will be a virtual recognition of the principles which are the very cornerstone of Romanism."³¹ As Ellen White commented: "When our nation shall so abjure the principles of its government as to enact a Sunday law, Protestantism will in this act join hands with popery."³²

Although Adventists continued to regard the Sabbath as a badge of identity, the context of this belief shifted. In the 1840s the Sabbath was understood to be a "present test" for those who had passed through the Great Disappointment.³³ The Sabbath divided one group of Adventists from the others. After the Shut-Door doctrine had been given up, the Sabbath was seen, not as a present but as a future test, and one of universal applicability. It would, it was argued, only become a test when Sunday laws were enforced, which would make public the division between those who obeyed the laws enacted by the American government and those who remained loyal to God's law. The Sabbath would thus eventually separate Seventh-day Adventists from other Americans who followed Satan's representative, the pope.

As they established the doctrinal significance of the Sabbath, the early Adventists also gave considerable thought to the precise manner of keeping the

day. After some years of disagreement as to when the Sabbath should begin and end, they agreed in 1855 that Adventists, like orthodox Jews, must observe the Sabbath from sundown on Friday to sundown on Saturday.³⁴ "Every moment between these points of time," the church later said, "is consecrated holy time."³⁵ The early Adventists, again like the Jews, and like the devout Sunday-keepers of the time, defined the Sabbath as a day of rest. As such, Saturday was to be devoted strictly to the worship of God and to meditation on his word. All secular work, activity, and entertainment were to be given up for twenty-four hours. Ellen White instructed Adventists that they should have the Sabbath in mind throughout the week.³⁶ But Friday was the special day of preparation. "See that all the clothing is in readiness and that all the cooking is done," she directed. "Let the boots be blacked and the baths be taken," for "the Sabbath is not to be given to the repairing of garments, to the cooking of food, to pleasure seeking, or to any other worldly employment. Before the setting of the sun let all secular work be laid aside and all secular papers be put out of sight."³⁷

After the Shut-Door period, it was no longer considered necessary to have passed through the Great Disappointment in order to be saved. But in addition to the Sabbath, another experience was considered necessary—the experience of repentance and baptism. The first significant tract on the subject, B. F. Snook's *The Nature, Subjects and Design of Christian Baptism*, argued that baptism was essential to salvation, that it must be preceded by true repentance and was thus not required of infants, and that immersion was the only divinely authorized form of the rite.³⁸ Although Snook himself soon left the church, other Adventists agreed with his arguments. As Ellen White wrote in 1876 to children raised in the church: "Heaven and immortal life are valuable treasures that cannot be obtained without an effort on your part. No matter how faultless may have been your lives, as sinners you have steps to take. You are required to repent, believe and be baptized."³⁹

The Seventh-day Adventist denomination was an organization that catered to the needs of those who believed in the Second Advent and observed the seventh-day Sabbath. It could be joined by adults who underwent baptism. But it did not, as an organization, impose an identity on an amorphous religious movement. That identity already existed; the organization simply gave formal recognition to a body whose boundaries were already defined by its distinctive theology and peculiar religious practices. Having left other churches in order to join the Adventist movement, many doubted the desirability of a formally organized church, or even of the need to decide upon an agreed name. This was partly due to the influence of the Millerite preacher George Storrs, who declared that a religious group became Babylon "the moment it is organized."⁴⁰ Many also felt that by taking a title they would add the group to the 666 churches that Adventists then believed made up the number of the beast.⁴¹ The name "Seventh-day Adventist," which showcased the doctrines of the Sabbath

and the Second Advent, was therefore not adopted until 1860.⁴² And organization was only accepted in 1863 with a view to “securing unity and efficiency in labor and promoting the general interest of the cause.”⁴³ As a body, the Adventists derived their sense of identity not from membership of a particular denomination but from a shared understanding of the significance of the Sabbath and the role of those who observed it.

This was clearly demonstrated in the development of the concept of the “remnant.” The term had been used in the 1840s more for its descriptive than for its theological value when the Sabbatarian Adventists felt themselves to be the true remnant of the Millerite movement. The theological meaning of this idea was, however, soon elaborated. A reference in Revelation 12:17 suggested that the remnant could be recognized by two criteria: the keeping of the commandments and the faith (or testimony) of Jesus. The latter criterion was defined, by reference to Revelation 19:10, as the spirit of prophecy. Since the Sabbatarians kept all the commandments (particularly the fourth) and possessed the spirit of prophecy (in the person of Ellen White), they believed they bore the identifying marks of the remnant people.

In addition, the early Adventists located themselves in Revelation 14:12, where those who “keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus” are depicted at the end of a sequence of three angelic proclamations. These “messages” were believed to describe the last three stages in the last mission of the remnant. As such, they provided the Adventist pioneers with more evidence, not only of who they were but also of where they were in prophetic time.⁴⁴ The messages of the first two angels—“the hour of his judgment is come” and “Babylon is fallen”—were thought to have been disseminated by the Millerites: the first through the teaching of the impending Apocalypse; the second by the application of Babylon to the “fallen” churches. Adventists continued to preach both of these prophecies but felt themselves specially called to present the message of the third angel. This emissary warned of the terrible fate awaiting those who bore the “mark of the beast,” which the Adventists equated, in the light of their Sabbath keeping, with Sunday worship. Conversely, they believed that the Sabbath conferred on them “the seal of the living God” that would save them at the end. The Adventists thus construed their role as the last-day remnant as a call to their fellow Americans to switch the day of their allegiance from Sunday to Saturday.⁴⁵

In 1856 Uriah Smith, editor of the Seventh-day Adventist paper the *Review*, replied to a correspondent who wanted to know “What are you the remnant of?” by saying that Adventists were the remnant of the primitive church, “who are found in these last days keeping the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus.” But he emphasized: “That remnant we claim to be, inasmuch as we bear their characteristics.”⁴⁶ It was a claim validated by specific criteria, but it was an inclusive rather than an exclusive concept. As Smith remarked, “Show us the



Figure 4. Last call: *The Three Angels of the Apocalypse* by Alan Collins, glassfibre relief sculpture, 14', 1963. This representation of the three angels' messages hangs outside the church's Trans-European headquarters building, St. Albans, England. Photo © John Surridge.

church besides those who profess the Third Angel's Message, who are keeping the Commandments of God *and* the Faith of Jesus, and we will go with them; for they are our people."⁴⁷ The concept of the remnant, like denominational organization itself, was thus a secondary characteristic of a movement defined by its religious practices, most particularly by the observance of the Sabbath.

This state of affairs was reflected in the high degree of contact between Seventh-day Adventists and members of the other major Sabbatarian church, the Seventh Day Baptists. Adventists had adopted Sabbatarianism as a result of Seventh Day Baptist influence, and early Adventist writings on the Sabbath, such as Andrews's *History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week*, owed much to Seventh Day Baptist publications.⁴⁸ The association continued. In 1876 James White was an official delegate at the General Conference session of Seventh Day Baptists, and in 1879, at a Seventh-day Adventist conference, delegates resolved "that we deem them [Seventh Day Baptists] worthy of our respect and love, and that it is for the interest of the Sabbath cause that the two bodies of Christian commandment-keepers labor to sustain friendly relations to

each other.”⁴⁹ James White explained the implications: “We further recommend that Seventh-day Adventists in their aggressive work avoid laboring to build up Seventh-day Adventist churches where Seventh Day Baptist churches are already established.”⁵⁰ Such cordiality was the natural result of a self-perception that concentrated primarily on the Sabbath and not on denominational affiliation. A belief that had originally defined the identity of a subgroup of Shut-Door Adventists was now seen as effectively dividing the world into two opposing camps in which non-Adventist Sabbatharians were allies, but non-Sabbatarian Adventists were not.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church was founded in order to overcome the practical difficulties encountered by an expanding religious movement that had no legal status. The justification was not so much that God was calling for the creation of a new denomination but rather that there was no overwhelming reason not to organize, provided this would facilitate the spread of the message. Once established, however, church organization quickly came to be seen as desirable in itself. In 1873 James White asserted: “We unhesitatingly express our firm conviction that organization with us was by the direct providence of God. And to disregard our organization is an insult to God’s providential dealings with us, and a sin of no small magnitude.”⁵¹ In 1880 White was able to note with satisfaction that Adventists “are said to be the most thoroughly organized Christian people known.”⁵² In 1911 his wife expressed sentiments similar to those of her husband. “The church,” she wrote, “is God’s fortress, His city of refuge, which he holds in a revolted world. Any betrayal of the church is treachery to Him.”⁵³ James White was referring to the Adventist denomination, his wife to the church of God in history, but their ideas overlapped, for the Seventh-day Adventist Church was understood to be the last manifestation of God’s church in history.

This idea had been developed in the *Great Controversy*, first published in 1888. In this book Ellen White argued: “Different periods in the history of the church have each been marked by the development of some special truth, adapted to the necessities of God’s people at that time. Every new truth has made its way against hatred and opposition; those who were blessed with its light were tempted and tried.”⁵⁴ When Adventists experienced rejection by the world, they could thus not only look forward to the Second Advent but also back to “Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, Tyndale, Baxter [and] Wesley,” knowing that “the same trials have been experienced by men of God in ages past.”⁵⁵ Adventists might be distanced from contemporary Lutherans and Methodists, but beginning in the 1880s, they started to proclaim their common heritage. At the same time, however, Adventists broke with their former allies, the Seventh Day Baptists, by proselytizing among Baptist congregations. Thus at the very moment that Adventists were looking back to their Protestant forebears, they isolated themselves from the one contemporary Protestant group with which they

had friendly relations.⁵⁶ These concurrent developments may appear contradictory. But the irony is explained if viewed in the context of a shift in Adventist self-understanding. Amity with Seventh Day Baptists was possible if Adventist identity was based primarily on the practice of Sabbath observance but awkward if it was understood in ecclesiological terms, for then the Seventh Day Baptists appeared as rivals rather than friends. The Protestant heroes of previous centuries were, however, more easily accommodated by a self-perception that focused on the presence of God's guiding hand in church history.

This conception of the Adventist church as the culmination of centuries of Christian progress was further developed in the histories of the denomination that Adventists started writing in the twentieth century. In the 1905 work *The Great Second Advent Movement*, J. N. Loughborough placed Adventism at the end of a story that in fact began with Adam and Eve.⁵⁷ The book that replaced Loughborough's, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*, published by M. E. Olsen in 1925, argued that "Adventists are in no true sense of the word innovators," as the "truths they stand for are old and fundamental, taught by all the holy apostles and prophets."⁵⁸ In the four-volume *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* published in 1961, A. W. Spalding described his fellow believers as "People of the Advent," just one of a number of groups that had kept alive the promise of Christ's return.⁵⁹

This approach to Adventist history reached its peak in the work of LeRoy Edwin Froom. In the four massive volumes of *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, published in the 1950s, and the two volumes of *The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers*, published in the 1960s, Froom compiled a vast library of detailed evidence to show that even Adventism's more distinctive views on biblical prophecy and the human soul, which the church believes is not immortal, were part of an established intellectual tradition.⁶⁰ In Froom's words: "We are tied inseparably into His [God's] unbroken line of witnesses and heralds of saving truth covering the entire Christian Era. We are simply at the end of the line, with the cumulative light, and privileges, and responsibilities of the centuries shining full upon us."⁶¹

Combined with this idea of the Adventists as the heirs of tradition was the concept that Adventism constituted a tradition in its own right. In Froom's 1971 history of the church, *Movement of Destiny*, he presented the view that the Adventist movement was an ongoing tradition in which early beliefs were perhaps only rough approximations of final truth. "The development of truth is ever progressive. Light unfolds gradually, like the dawn, and puts darkness and error to flight."⁶² Froom drew out the implications of this belief still further. It was not so much the present position of the church that was significant but the direction of the journey it was taking. "History attests that God is at the helm of the ship of Zion. He guides through rock and shoal to the harbor of truth. He is leading a people on to victory."⁶³

Froom's switch from the Sabbath to an identity based more on tradition and an ongoing journey of truth was partly necessitated by wider changes in society. When the Sabbath was introduced, it was taken for granted that all would want to keep at least one day of the week holy and that only one day was available for the purpose. By the 1970s, it was becoming more difficult for the Sabbath to function in the same way. Not only was the observance of Sunday as a Sabbath now comparatively rare, but flexible working patterns allowed many people to pick and choose their days of rest. Seventh-day Adventists were increasingly unusual, not so much in observing Saturday as in keeping a Sabbath at all.

The decline of the Sabbath's ability to divide Adventists from the rest of society was reflected in the work of many of the church's theologians of the period. In 1977 Samuele Bacchiocchi published *From Sabbath to Sunday*, a modern version of Andrews's *History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week*, written as a thesis at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. In this study, Bacchiocchi gave limited support to the Adventist view that the pope had overturned the Sabbath commandment, but he did not identify Saturday with the seal of God or Sunday with the mark of the beast.⁶⁴ Another work, *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, written by several Adventist scholars in 1982, relegated the end-time significance of Saturday to a historical discussion and an appendix on Joseph Bates.⁶⁵ Another Adventist writer stated his view that the anticipated Sabbath-Sunday controversy "will be centered . . . not merely in the issue of Sunday laws."⁶⁶

As such ideas became current, other Adventist theologians like Niels-Erik Andreasen concentrated on the sacred understanding of time rather than on the question of which segment of time is the most sacred.⁶⁷ Bacchiocchi, who appeared to gain some of his ideas from Andreasen, subsequently emphasized that the Sabbath was not just a time of obligation but was a period for friends, family, even recreation.⁶⁸ Certainly, from the 1970s onward, many Adventists allowed themselves considerable freedom in making use of the opportunities the Sabbath provided. Few worked, but surveys conducted in the 1990s indicated that some felt that visiting friends, reading nonreligious material such as *National Geographic*, watching television, and making love were all legitimate Sabbath activities.⁶⁹ Evidently, individual Adventists had moved a long way from the time when Ellen White set a blanket ban on almost any type of "pleasure seeking." But Adventists were now defining themselves less by how the Sabbath should be kept than by a collective understanding of the religious significance of the church.

This was evident in the declarations of principles that the church periodically published as representative statements of its beliefs. Adventists have produced three such major pronouncements in its history: in 1872, 1931, and 1980.⁷⁰ In the 1872 and 1931 declarations, there is no doctrine of the church, reflecting the continuing focus on the denomination's beliefs like the Sabbath rather

than on the denomination itself. But in the 1980 statement of "Twenty-Seven Fundamental Beliefs," there was a sequence of doctrines (two of them wholly new) that related directly to the church. The first defined the church as "the body of Christ, a community of faith of which Christ Himself is the Head."⁷² The second codified the doctrine of the remnant, and the third, reflecting growing multiculturalism in the denomination, emphasized the need for unity between members of different racial and social backgrounds so that the church could "reach out in one witness to all."⁷³ The effect of this sequence was to put the full weight of Christian ecclesiology behind a new quest for denominational uniformity.

Adventists were not entirely alone in this, since there was a late-twentieth-century rediscovery of the doctrine of the church on the part of other evangelicals. This was partly in response to the identity crisis that had developed in churches like the Presbyterians, which since 1967 had not required its officers to adhere to any creedal statements, and partly due to pressure from Roman Catholics, who criticized evangelicals for their "inadequate" ecclesiology in the dialogue that followed the publication of the landmark document "Evangelicals and Catholics Together" in 1994.⁷⁴ Shortly after this, the Baptist David L. Smith called on his fellow evangelicals to adopt a more Catholic approach to the church.⁷⁵ However, the denominations themselves did not make the same clear declarations as the Adventists, who had already underlined the seriousness with which they took their ecclesiology by trademarking the Seventh-day Adventist name in 1981.⁷⁶ This enabled the denomination to control the use of the church's title, especially when Adventism, like other evangelical denominations, experienced a massive growth of parachurch organizations and ministries in the 1980s and 1990s.⁷⁶

None of this was accepted by those church members for whom being a Seventh-day Adventist remained primarily a matter of subscribing to a specific body of doctrine. One such Adventist was David Mould, who in 1992 put up dozens of billboards in Florida in an effort to put across the church's teaching about the Sabbath more directly. Among the posters was a series of twelve, each containing a huge photograph of the pope with the legend: "Why Is the Vatican Trying to Change Our Constitution?" and an invitation to purchase the *Great Controversy* for the answer. The campaign was an effective piece of Adventist marketing—thousands, apparently, enquired about the Ellen White book. But it also provoked a Catholic backlash that unnerved the denomination. Despite Mould's protestations that he was acting on Adventist beliefs "one hundred percent," the Adventist leadership in Florida took out newspaper advertisements dissociating the church from his campaign.⁷⁷

A similar story emerged from the activities of another Adventist, Raphael Perez, the leader of another Florida-based group that called itself the Eternal Gospel Church of Seventh-day Adventists. From the mid-1990s the group

started placing graphic, full-page advertisements in newspapers around the country that focused on the importance of keeping the seventh-day Sabbath rather than the Catholic Sunday.⁷⁶ Even Adventists uncomfortable with these tactics recognized that Perez was presenting standard Adventist teaching.⁷⁹ But once again, church spokespeople repudiated the advertisements.⁸⁰ In 1998 the denomination began proceedings in a federal court in Miami to stop the Eternal Gospel Church using the Adventist name in its title. The court ruled in the Adventists' favor. But in the face of Perez's intention to appeal, they agreed, in a compromise settlement, to allow the Eternal Gospel Church to state in its title that it was founded by "Seventh-day Adventist Believers."⁸¹

Throughout the hearings, the Eternal Gospel Church maintained that the Adventist identity rested on specific doctrines, not on loyalty to a particular denomination. Making the same argument as the Adventist pioneers, they contended: "The name Seventh-day Adventist describes people who wholeheartedly adhere to a set of religious beliefs. Seventh-day Adventism identifies our faith, NOT denominational affiliation. . . . No one has the right to dictate to others as to whether or not they can be a practicing Seventh-day Adventist."⁸² But this was evidently no longer the case. The Mould and Perez episodes revealed how far the identity of the church had shifted from the time when Uriah Smith regarded the idea of the remnant as an inclusive concept. It was now possible to believe in Ellen White, the three angels' messages, and the Sabbath, and not be accepted as a Seventh-day Adventist.

During the 1990s the church sued several other Adventist groups it claimed had misappropriated its name. Not all of these actions were successful. But in a test case in 1996, the church's right to trademark its title was upheld.⁸³ A year later, in a development that was part of the same process, the church imposed its first standardized logo on the denomination. Hitherto, the Adventist leadership had presided over something of a free-for-all, with each region or organization of the church coming up with its own design. Usually, it entailed some representation of the three angels and their messages. In the new logo, the three angels were transformed into three strands of a spherical flame that burned above a cross and an open Bible. In the notes that accompanied its introduction, the badge was described as "a new visual identity for the Seventh-day Adventist Church." It was "not to be re-sold or given to any person or organization not considered an official church entity." Only those who received the logo were "considered official entities of the Seventh-day Adventist Church."⁸⁴ So where once the church's identity was stamped by the Sabbath, it was finally sealed by a graphic sign, in keeping with an age in which corporate branding was seen as the best way to stand out in a globalized world (see figure 5).

After the abandonment of the Shut-Door, Adventists defined themselves by a Sabbath theology. They created a church organization for the benefit of those who believed in the seventh-day Sabbath. The success of that organization al-



Figure 5. Sign of the times: the church's global logo, introduced in 1997.
Used by permission.

lowed Adventists to perceive their own history as the embodiment of God's purposes. From the security provided by this understanding, they formulated their own ecclesiology, trademarked the Adventist name, and instituted a uniform logo. These developments, however, brought with them a sense of exclusivity, as some Adventists feared they might. At the time when the denomination was first including the doctrine of the church in its statement of beliefs, one Adventist academic warned: "If our ecclesiology fails to reflect the notion of unity in diversity, we become guilty of what has become known as 'structural fundamentalism' which identifies the structure with fundamental or absolute truth."⁸⁵

To a large degree this is what has happened. The development of a high view of the church led to a stress on unity rather than diversity and to a drawing in of Adventism's boundaries. While the Sabbath remains fundamental to what it means to belong to the church, Seventh-day Adventists are now identified by their allegiance to Adventism's "structure" rather than to the structure of Adventism's beliefs and practices. A Seventh-day Adventist™ who spends the Sabbath hours at home reading *National Geographic* is now more a part of the remnant than the "Seventh-day Adventist" studying the seal of God in an unapproved meeting place on a Saturday morning.

The End of the World

THE ADVENTIST BELIEF that the earth is in its last days comes largely from a series of prophecies in the book of Daniel. Originally interpreted by the Millerites, the starting point was Nebuchadnezzar's statue in Daniel 2, which was thought to depict the global empires to appear on the world's stage. The head was Nebuchadnezzar's own kingdom of Babylon; the upper body represented Medo-Persia; the midriff, ancient Greece; the legs, the Roman empire; and the iron and clay toes, the nations of present-day Europe, before the stone representing Christ's kingdom symbolically crushed the colossus and became the "great mountain" that took over the earth. The four beasts of Daniel 7 were believed to describe the same four empires, with the ten horns on the fourth beast symbolizing Europe, and the little horn that "came up among them," the papacy at the start of its final phase.¹

The most important prophecy, however, was the prediction in Daniel 8 which declared that at the end of 2,300 days the sanctuary would be "cleansed."² According to Miller, this time span began in 457 BC, the year when Artaxerxes, the Persian king, issued a decree to rebuild Jerusalem. It ended in 1843–1844 when the Second Advent would purify the sanctuary, which Miller took to be the earth. The expositor based his arithmetic on the convention that one day stands for one year in a time prophecy of this kind.³ It was simply by adding 2,300 years to 457 BC that he came up with his nineteenth-century dates for the Second Coming, when Christ would come "in the clouds of heaven, with all his saints and angels."⁴ But this was only the start of a complex series of events.

Miller's view (which Seventh-day Adventists later modified in certain important respects) was that at Christ's arrival there would be a resurrection of the righteous, who with the living righteous would get "caught up" to meet Jesus in

the heavens. There the saints are judged and presented to the Father, and while suspended in this "middle air," the Father presides over the marriage of his Son to the Holy City, the New Jerusalem. The earth is then to be purified by fire—according to Miller, the actual "cleansing of the sanctuary." At the same time, the wicked are annihilated and Satan and "all evil spirits" are "banished from earth, shut up in the pit or place prepared for the devil and his angels." Christ and the saints then descend to the cleansed earth to inaugurate the millennial reign. At the end of this period, there is finally a resurrection of the wicked, followed by their failed attack on the Holy City and their eternal damnation in the lake of fire.⁵

After the spring of 1844, Miller gave no further indication as to when these proceedings would begin. But this did not stop a follower, Samuel Snow, who came to believe that the Second Coming was the antitype of the Day of Atonement. This event, in which the high priest purged the Old Testament sanctuary of the sins of the Israelite people, occurred each year on the tenth day of the seventh month. Snow therefore suggested in the summer of 1844 that Christ would return to cleanse the earth on the tenth day of the seventh month on the Jewish calendar, or on October 22. Snow's idea was given recognition as the "Seventh-month" movement and was the theory that actually carried the Millerites to the expected day.⁶ The founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church accepted the validity of the Seventh-month movement, but the Great Disappointment was the point at which their view of the end of the world departed from that of Miller and Snow. Millerite eschatology was designed to predict the exact time of Christ's return. Sabbatarian Adventists, on the other hand, constructed theirs to explain the delay of the Second Coming.

A review of the Seventh-month movement led Adventists to conclude that the sanctuary was not the earth, as Miller had supposed, but a sanctuary in heaven that Christ began to cleanse on October 22, 1844. The Second Advent would occur only when this work, which entails the blotting out of human sins, is finished. In the meantime, humanity is on "probation." Adventists take the opportunity to publicize the final warning messages of the three angels, which provides the world with one last chance to accept or reject them. Right at the end, church members expect to be assisted by a Pentecost-type outpouring of the Holy Spirit known as the "latter rain," and by the "loud cry" of the angel of Revelation 18. This will finally bring the messages to the notice of everyone in the world. But when Christ completes his work in the sanctuary, the time of probation comes to an end. There then follows a brief interlude before the Second Coming known as the "time of trouble," when the fate of saints and sinners remains sealed.

The Adventist pioneers worked out a detailed timetable of these final days that depended not only on their understanding of Daniel but also on fresh interpretations of a number of symbols in the book of Revelation. Their picture of

the end also drew together many of the elements that made up the church's identity. As custodian of the three angels' messages and the only body to bear the credentials of the remnant, the Adventist church itself plays the crucial role in the last struggle between good and evil. Opposing Adventism in the final conflict are the two beasts of Revelation 13 and the diabolical tripartite conglomerate, Babylon, of Revelation 16. The Roman Catholic Church is the first beast and resembles a leopard. The United States, in this view, is the second beast and has "two horns like a lamb" but speaks "as a dragon," and Babylon is composed of the papacy, Protestantism, and spiritualism.

Egged on by demonic powers, the Roman and Protestant churches combine with the American government to force all people in the United States, as well as in every other country of the world, to worship on Sunday and receive the mark of the beast, without which no one is able to "buy or sell."⁷ This international law, which everyone must obey on pain of death, signifies the close of probation. Christ completes his work in the heavenly sanctuary and shuts the door of mercy forever. This precipitates the time of trouble—a sudden outbreak of virulent epidemics and natural disasters caused by the outpouring of the Seven Last Plagues of Revelation 16.

At this time Satan takes total control of the impenitent who wage unceasing war against those who worship on Saturday, the bearers of the seal of God. The faithful now leave the cities and take to the mountains and hills, where the seal of God and unseen angels protect them from the fury of their opponents. This is nonetheless a time when the saints suffer intense mental anguish as they have to survive without their Mediator, whose intercessory efforts on their behalf have ceased, following his exit from the sanctuary. Matters come to a head at the battle of Armageddon, where the world's religious and political powers unite in a final effort to hunt down and kill God's people. But it is now that the Second Advent finally occurs. The infidels are stopped in their tracks, Christ destroys them by the brightness of his presence, and the beleaguered Sabbath keepers hail their conquering Redeemer.

The return of Jesus is not, however, the end of this eschatological story. For the Second Coming inaugurates the millennium—a millennium Adventists believe is accompanied by three resurrections. In the first, those who have played the greatest roles on either side of the great controversy between good and evil are raised to life to witness Christ's return. In the second, which happens at the moment of his appearing, Jesus' followers throughout history are called to meet their Savior. The wicked, including those specially resurrected to observe the event, are destroyed, while the wicked of previous generations remain in their graves. The resurrected righteous and the living righteous are taken to heaven, where they reside for a thousand years. This is not, however, an idle period. In fulfillment of the statement "judgment was given unto them," the righteous spend their time investigating the records of the wicked.⁸ The purpose is not so



Figure 6. Clouds of heaven: illustration of the Adventist concept of Christ's return. On the left are the living righteous, on the right, the resurrected righteous from different ages, while at the bottom of the picture are the living wicked, turning away in horror moments before their annihilation. Franklin Booth, *The Second Coming*, pencil on paper, 16" x 20", 1944.
© Review and Herald Publishing Association.

much to decide the cases as it is to confirm the judgments of the Father so that the saints can see that God is just in his dealings with humanity.

For the duration of the thousand years, the earth remains desolate, and Satan is left to roam the world, effectively "bound" because he has no one to tempt. At the close of the millennium, the third resurrection takes place, and the damned of every generation are then brought from the dead. The devil immediately prepares the wicked to attack the Holy City, which has in the meantime been transported from heaven to earth. This is the battle of Gog and Magog, the postmillennial equivalent of Armageddon. But the murderous hordes are once more halted by the appearance of Christ, and in the final judgment, he condemns the wicked, fire falls from heaven and devours them, and Satan, for so long Christ's antagonist in the great controversy, is consumed in the lake of fire. With the defeat of Satan, a new heaven and a new earth are established, and the righteous reign with Christ for all eternity in a society free from sin and evil.⁹

This understanding of the thousand-year reign conforms broadly to the premillennialist pattern in that the Second Advent inaugurates the millennium. But it is also partly postmillennialist insofar as Christ returns to the earth again at the end of the thousand-year period. It also appears to be unique in treating the millennium as an age outside earth's history, since no people are alive on the planet to experience the reign. Initially, this unusual view helped to resolve what was seen as the main problem with Miller's expectation of an earthly millennium. Many could not see how the wicked could be resurrected on a cleansed earth after Christ and the saints had lived in it for a thousand years. By 1845 some former Millerites were arguing that the new heaven and new earth would be established only after the millennium.¹⁰ Others got round the problem by proposing a single resurrection of the righteous and the wicked at the beginning of the millennium, which is the position the Advent Christian Church officially holds.¹¹ The Adventist solution, with its three resurrections, also ensured that the wicked would "never desecrate the earth made new," as Ellen White later put it.¹² But it was only the Adventists who further distinguished themselves by locating the righteous in heaven in the intervening thousand years.

Adventist eschatology not only separated the church from rival groups of former Millerites in this way, however. It also differentiated the church from, and predicted its triumph over, every other religious and political body of the time. This was an obvious inversion of the actual state of affairs in mid-nineteenth-century America, where Adventists were very much on the defensive after Christ's failure to return in 1844. By contrast, the Protestant churches were well established, the Catholic church was growing in influence, spiritualism was in tremendous vogue, and the founding of America looked as if it was going to be a lasting and successful venture. But at the end of time, it is not Adventism but the traditions of Protestantism, Catholicism, spiritualism, and American republicanism that are shown to be false.

The most important element in this conception was the American nation. Because their beliefs were in conflict with those of the Catholic and Protestant churches and with spiritualists, one can understand why Adventists identified them with the dark symbols of the Apocalypse. It is less easy to see why the United States should also have been included. However, although the New World provided the conditions for the movement to flourish, there was a sense in which America's republican experiment posed a challenge to the Adventist worldview. The nature of that challenge lay in America's millennial self-understanding. From its beginnings, America had used the framework of Christian eschatology to describe itself as a nation apart, chosen by God and destined for a special purpose.¹³ This was especially true in the early nineteenth century, when America was "drunk on millennium" and "Americans vied with each other in producing grander and more glorious prospects for the United States."¹⁴ But Adventists also saw themselves as marked out for a special purpose, and the church and the nation and could not, in the end, both be chosen.

J. N. Andrews was the first Adventist to respond to the problem. In an article in the *Review* in 1851, he suggested that America was not divinely favored, but was rather the second, or two-horned beast of Revelation 13 that had risen from the earth. Its "two horns like a lamb" denoted "the civil and religious power of this nation—its Republican civil power, and its Protestant ecclesiastical power."¹⁵ Its rise from the earth signified the rapid expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century, and its "lamb-like character" was typified by the egalitarian sentiments in the Declaration of Independence.¹⁶ However, the mark of this beast was its advocacy of Sunday as the Sabbath, and its number, 666, the "six hundred three score and six" Protestant sects that Andrews claimed existed in America.¹⁷ Although the two-horned beast was in appearance "the mildest power that ever arose," its capacity to speak "as a dragon" was revealed in the present by the existence of slavery and by the expulsion of Millerites from the churches, and it would be demonstrated in the future when America would enact a Sunday law and "the two-horned beast shall cause the world to worship the image of the first (leopard-like) beast and to receive his mark."¹⁸

Andrews's interpretation of the lamb-like beast synthesized many elements of the church's eschatology. But by giving the image a religious and a political dimension, he was also making a wider point about the dangers of the union of church and state in present-day America. The obvious cause for concern was the Whig administration, which was enjoying a second term in the White House at the time Andrews published his article. The Whigs believed that religion and politics went hand in hand. They were generally strict Sunday-keepers and thought that government had a duty to maintain the sacredness of the day.¹⁹ As one of their supporters declared, the state "must have its *holy time*, set apart, not simply for rest or worship, but for the religious and moral instruction of the

people.”²⁰ This attitude was probably the immediate cause of Andrews’s observation that the beast’s horns “denote the civil and religious power of this nation” and of his view that the promotion of Sunday observance was the animal’s distinguishing mark.

The philosophy of the Whigs and Andrews’s apparent response to it were not, however, new phenomena. Attempts to unite church and state, and efforts to resist them, were regular occurrences in the early republic. The federal Constitution of 1787 had been welcomed by some as an opportunity to unify “a people . . . professing the same religion,” a notion opposed by the Antifederalists, who campaigned against the Constitution and who, post-ratification, insisted upon the First Amendment safeguard that “Congress shall pass no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”²¹ The Federalist governments of the 1790s also consistently mixed religion with politics, and it was two former Antifederalists, Isaac Backus and John Bacon, who became the first individuals in the new republic to associate America with the two-horned beast. Backus saw parts of the United States taking on the contours of the monster in 1791 and later defined the two horns as “the officers of church and state, uniting their influence in schemes of power and gain, under the name of religion and government.”²² In 1799 John Bacon described the beast’s dragon voice as the Protestant intolerance that he saw spreading across the country. To “speak as a dragon,” he said, is “to advocate with vehemence the cause of civil despotism, and to thunder out anathemas against all who oppose.”²³

Andrews’s employment of the two-horned beast motif at the time of the Whigs thus had a precedent in the commentaries of Backus and Bacon during the period of the Federalists. This was not the only instance, however, when Andrews used concepts that had been earlier developed by others. The idea that Sunday legislation would represent an ultimate act of state oppression had been established by the Jacksonian Democrat Richard Johnson in two famous Senate and House reports issued in 1829 and 1830, which rejected the petitioning of religious lobbyists who sought a national law banning the Sunday mail.²⁴ Andrews’s view that slavery was a key example of the tyranny of the republic was also not new. The argument was advanced by the Antifederalists, who used it to denounce the new Constitution, and it was repeated in the 1830s by the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, who popularized the idea that, on account of slavery, the United States was doomed.²⁵

The two-horned beast was the first new doctrine the Adventists introduced after coming out of the Shut-Door period. Its significance is that it took Adventist eschatology decisively out of Miller’s religious framework and located it in the Antifederalist strand in U.S. politics that had lived on in the libertarian traditions of the Jeffersonians, the Jacksonians, the anti-Sunday campaigners of the early republic, and in the abolitionism of William Lloyd Garrison.²⁶ That it was Andrews who led Adventism in this new direction was also significant. An-

drews was the most political of all the Adventist pioneers and had once contemplated standing for elected office himself.²⁷ His uncle, Charles Andrews, with whom he lived for a time, was a member of the Democratic Party, then the main alternative to the Whigs. Charles had entered the House of Representatives in March 1851, and it is possible that Andrews reflected some of the family opposition to the Whigs when he published his article a few weeks later.²⁸

Whatever the precise motivations, Andrews's theory quickly gained ground. In 1854 J. N. Loughborough, in an article on the two-horned beast, referred to the earlier Sunday mail campaign as an example of the ease with which America could be coerced into enacting a Sunday law and quoted from second of Richard Johnson's congressional reports that had rebuffed the Sunday lobbyists.²⁹ In addition, a long and passionate disquisition on slavery's incompatibility with the Declaration of Independence emphasized the discrepancy between the beast's lamb-like appearance and dragon-like voice.³⁰ Yet though both Andrews and Loughborough took the hypocrisy of America as a clear sign of the republic's imminent downfall, they were still awed by the development of their country. Andrews wrote of its "wonderful" progress and the "wonder" of its system of government.³¹ Indeed, it was to some degree because of this progress that divine intervention was needed to curtail it: "Mark its onward progress and tell, if it be possible, what would be [America's] destiny, if the coming of the Just One should not check its astonishing career?"³²

More significantly, however, Andrews felt that the postmillennial understanding America bequeathed to its people competed with the Adventist idea of a heavenly millennium that occurs before the earth is renewed. Contrasting the two views, Andrews observed: "We look forward indeed to the time when the Lamb, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords shall reign in person over the whole earth. But with the mass this view has given place to the more congenial idea of the spiritual reign, and of temporal prosperity and triumph."³³ With these two visions of the millennium thus in conflict, Andrews transformed the United States (like other contemporary bodies in opposition to the church) into an eschatological adversary that would persecute Adventists for their beliefs.

Details of what this meant were spelled out in Ellen White's frightening visions of the time of trouble. "As the saints left the cities and villages," she saw in one, "they were pursued by the wicked, who sought to slay them." This revelation, which appeared in her *Early Writings*, and was elaborated upon in the *Great Controversy*, left a permanent mark on the Adventist psyche.³⁴ Many years later, in his memoir of his Adventist upbringing, Andy Nash recounts how his friends devised a game based on Ellen White's vision of the time of trouble. One group would play the part of the persecuted and hide in the woods with their cornbread rations. Another would act out the roles of the persecutors and hunt them down. Then the game would break up, and life would carry on as normal.³⁵ But the real persecution was something that Nash found more difficult to es-

cape. "I thought about it a lot as a child," he wrote. "I think a lot of Adventist children do. Baptist children hear about hellfire; we hear about persecution."³⁶

In 1964 a 17-year-old Adventist student, Merikay McLeod, imagined what it would be like to go through the time of trouble. Her short story *NOW!* gripped its Adventist audience from its dramatic opening line: "U.N. troops are moving into Iraq."³⁷ McLeod described the essential features of the time of trouble: the passing of the Sabbath-Sunday law, a U.S. president urging other national leaders to do the same, the compulsory "Permission to Buy and Sell" card, the departure to the hills, the death decree, and the pestilences caused by the Seven Last Plagues. But it was the scenes of being hunted that evoked the fears that all Adventists shared: "Blindly I ran. I could hear the dog barking behind me. The men were screaming and the dog sounded crazed. I ran. My side hurt. My throat ached. I ran. Always there was the dog. I kept running. . . ." ³⁸ This unrelenting chase formed the main narrative thread of subsequent Adventist time of trouble novels. In Penny Estes Wheeler's *The Appearing* (1979), the Sabbath keepers are pursued into the Smoky Mountains and the wastelands of upper New Mexico.³⁹ In Elaine Egbert's 1999 novel, *The Edge of Eternity*, the Adventists are flushed out by reconnaissance planes and police helicopters.⁴⁰

The transformation of America into a persecuting state was, like all the other elements in Adventist eschatology, expected to occur within the pioneers' lifetimes. This conviction, which successive generations of Adventists kept alive, led to further efforts to set dates for the Second Coming. One Adventist theologian has calculated that after 1844 church members made more than twenty attempts to pinpoint the exact time of Christ's return.⁴¹ Although not one of these was officially endorsed, Adventists nonetheless became obsessive watchers of "the signs of the times," producing a succession of individuals who provided an almost continuous apocalyptic commentary on national and international events. James White, following the lead of the Millerites and other current commentators, put together a pamphlet in 1859 that suggested that Muslims, or "Mahometans" as they were then known, were depicted in the "three woes" of Revelation 8 and 9, and that the contemporaneous decline of the Ottoman empire foreshadowed the millennium.⁴²

The next to contribute was the editor, Uriah Smith. In 1882 he published a considerable work called *Daniel and the Revelation*. This was reprinted throughout the twentieth century and for many years remained Adventism's standard text on prophetic interpretation. True to the tradition that Andrews and Loughborough established, Smith saw signs of America's impending fall in the appearance of new Sunday organizations like the National Reform Association formed in 1863.⁴³ He also followed James White in believing that the demise of the Ottoman empire would herald the Second Advent, with the consequence that Adventist writers monitored the so-called "Eastern Question" right up to the First World War.⁴⁴ But Smith also introduced some new ideas. He

suggested, after the church formally joined the ranks of America's Protestant sects in 1863, that the number of the beast referred to the pope's title, "Vicar of the Son of God," in which the Roman numerals of the Latin, *Vicarius Filii Dei*, apparently added up to 666.⁴⁵ And he argued that the battle of Armageddon, which he connected to Turkey, would be fought near the literal Jerusalem.⁴⁶

After *Daniel and the Revelation*, Ellen White published her own apocalyptic masterwork, the *Great Controversy*, in 1888. She painted a vivid picture of the time of trouble and placed more emphasis on the supernatural forces behind world events. And she stressed the imminence of the end: "The destiny of earth's teeming multitudes is about to be decided."⁴⁷ She added little, though, to the church's eschatology, and many of the prophetic interpretations in her book were derived from Smith.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the *Great Controversy*, as well as *Daniel and the Revelation*, determined how Adventists thought the world would end in the years leading up to the First World War. After White's death in 1915, however, the Adventists who wrote about final events updated the church's eschatology to include events that neither she nor Smith anticipated. The new eschatologists embraced the new order ushered in after 1914: an era of world wars and global politics, and a world marked by rapid progress in science and technology.

This broadening of Adventist eschatology was no doubt facilitated by the fact that non-American Adventists were now contributing to it. One of the prominent figures to emerge in this period was the Englishman Arthur S. Maxwell, who produced a continuous stream of apocalyptic material from the 1920s to the 1960s. Maxwell epitomized the changed outlook of Adventists after the First World War. In 1924, in *Christ's Glorious Return*, he discussed new signs of the Second Advent: the war itself, recent tragedies such as the flu pandemic of 1918, and the shrinking world caused by increased travel and better communications.⁴⁹

An evangelist, John L. Shuler, also gave a clear indication that the post-World War I generation expected the world to end rather differently than had their nineteenth-century forebears. His 1929 book, *The Coming Conflict*, listed nine "outstanding movements . . . destined to be among the principal factors in the final scenes of earth's great drama." Although Shuler asserted that "prophecy shows that they will all soon come to a head . . . for the final world crisis," the first four of these points would have been unrecognizable to Ellen White or to any Adventist of her generation. The four points were: the world peace movement as embodied by the League of Nations; the development of deadly new weapons; the rise of Japan; and the Zionist movement, which sought a Jewish state in Palestine.⁵⁰ Unlike other fundamentalists, Adventists were not greatly exercised by the rise of modern Israel.⁵¹ But Zionism, like the other three movements, was front-page news in the 1920s.

Despite the fact that their eschatological perspective had changed in accordance with changing circumstances, Adventists still expected the end to occur

soon. They generally agreed that the momentous events of the new century amounted to *Civilization's Last Stand*, as the title of LeRoy Edwin Froom's book put it in 1928. In the book, Froom summed up the Adventist attitude to the changing times: "Our vaunted civilization is honeycombed with dry rot; our golden age is soon to meet with a crash that will shake it from center to circumference; our prideful civilization is approaching a catastrophe that will involve the shipwreck of the world."⁵²

Froom's language was remarkably prescient in view of the fact that just such a "crash" famously befell Wall Street in 1929. The global slump that followed certainly appeared for a time to be the predicted "catastrophe" that involved "the shipwreck of the world." The general turmoil encouraged other Adventists like Carlyle B. Haynes, who perhaps best embodied the church's outlook in this pessimistic era. Like Arthur Maxwell, Haynes produced apocalyptic material at a prodigious rate. In his numerous books, he held no hope for civilization and claimed on more than one occasion that his generation would witness the Second Coming.⁵³ These forecasts seemed particularly credible after cataclysms like Hiroshima, where the dropping of the first atomic bomb appeared, again for a brief moment, to provide "a last warning of the fearful scenes shortly to burst upon mankind."⁵⁴

After the Second World War, Adventists said relatively little about the prophetic significance of the Cold War that broke out between the United States and the Soviet Union and that was to dominate international relations almost to the end of the century. In contrast to their counterparts in fundamentalist circles, they showed almost no interest in finding the Soviet Union in the Scriptures, because they continued to regard the United States as the greater apocalyptic threat in the world.⁵⁵ This did, however, make it easier for Adventists to readjust their eschatology after America eventually won the Cold War in the early 1990s. As Paul Boyer showed in his survey of apocalyptic belief in America, the prophecy writers of other denominations initially carried on as if nothing had happened.⁵⁶ By contrast, the Adventist Clifford Goldstein interpreted the ending of the conflict as a new sign of the end. As he explained in *Day of the Dragon*, "Once the Soviet Union became a superpower on a par with the United States, it was hard to see how America could ever fulfill its prophetic role. If, because of the Soviets, the U.S. couldn't kick Fidel out of Cuba, how could it ever enforce the mark of the beast upon the world?" But now, "the Soviet Union has disappeared, and with it the most implacable barrier to Adventist eschatology."⁵⁷

With the Adventist commentary on world events continuing more or less unabated since 1844, it might be thought that the church's eschatology thrives whenever there is political disorder or natural disaster. But this is not so. Adventist apocalyptic does not always flourish in crisis situations. It tends to reach a peak just before or after an upheaval, when comparatively little is happening.

In an actual crisis, the force of Adventist apocalyptic is deliberately muted. This is a curious phenomenon. Dire predictions of the end of the world usually gain currency during times of stress. A classic example of this was the growth of premillennialism in the United States during World War I. Dispensationalist journals of the time such as *Our Hope* almost gloried in the fact that the war had shattered dreams of unending progress, and they confidently predicted that the end was near.⁵⁸

The *Review*, by contrast, was uncertain. The paper's editor, F. M. Wilcox, wrote: "We cannot predict with confidence the outcome of the present struggle. We do not know whether this war will drag along until it finally ends in Armageddon, or whether there will be for a time a cessation of hostilities."⁵⁹ Such restraint was again apparent when America itself entered the war in 1917. "Let us not hazard our reputation . . . by making wild statements," Wilcox counseled. Bible prophecies "deal with the course of the nations in general outline. . . . They do not reveal how events will shape in reaching the final conclusion."⁶⁰

But almost as soon as the war was over, Wilcox published a small book called *Facing the Crisis: Present World Conditions in the Light of the Scriptures*. Here, against the background of a comparatively peaceful world, Wilcox was, paradoxically, much more pessimistic about the times. Previously, he could not say whether the Great War heralded Armageddon, but now he felt confident that the "growing agitation in every country over preparedness for war is . . . a herald of the last great conflict, when the nations shall be gathered at Armageddon."⁶¹ The irony was also evident in the pages of the Adventist evangelistic weekly, *Signs of the Times*. In April 1914, the paper printed a front-page article that effectively said that the current war preparations would end in Armageddon. When the war duly arrived six months later, the paper promptly argued that the current conflict could not be the final eschatological battle.⁶²

The outbreak of the Second World War provided another instance of Adventist caution when faced with real crisis. On September 14, 1939, the president of the church, J. L. McElhany, advised the membership in the *Review* that speculating about the outcome of the war was "unwise."⁶³ A little later, F. D. Nichol, associate editor of the church paper, reiterated this view in a strongly worded editorial.⁶⁴ Yet the membership could be forgiven for being somewhat bewildered by these statements. The apocalyptic literature that had continued to pour forth from denominational publishing houses in the 1930s had conditioned Adventists to expect the next war to be Armageddon. As late as 1938, for example, Arthur Maxwell, correctly anticipating the outbreak of hostilities, declared: "We are sweeping with incredible rapidity toward the final crisis of human affairs."⁶⁵ Indeed, Adventists generally dismissed the peacemaking efforts of the 1930s as a delusion, so sure were they of the imminence of the final conflict.⁶⁶

Perhaps the best example of the deliberate softening of Adventist eschatology came with the election in 1960 of the Roman Catholic president, John F.

Kennedy. The church had long warned about the union of the American nation with the Catholic church, and indeed parts of the denomination publicly opposed the new man in the White House when the prophecy appeared to come true in his presidency.⁶⁷ However, the *Review* dissociated itself from this position shortly before Kennedy's inauguration. An editorial advised American Adventists to give the new president "loyal support" and, quite remarkably, urged them "to guard against imputing sinister motives to the President every time he takes a step that looks dangerous, as viewed from the Adventist prophetic frame of reference."⁶⁸

The most recent illustration came in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001. Adventists shared in the national grief after suffering ten deaths themselves, one of whom was the co-pilot of one of the hijacked planes.⁶⁹ Other members not immediately involved, however, recalled an Ellen White statement made in 1904 indicating there would be a destruction of skyscrapers in New York just before the Second Coming. Uncannily, she had foreseen that "these buildings were consumed as if made of pitch," and that "the fire engines could do nothing to stay the destruction. The firemen were unable to operate the engines."⁷⁰ Within days of the tragedy, these passages were being passed around the Internet. The *Washington Post* ran a feature on one Adventist who believed that White's prophecy was a reference to September 11.⁷¹ But once again the *Review* denied it, and the church president, Jan Paulsen, linked up by satellite to calm the situation. Echoing counsels past, he said: "It is important to remember that God only knows precisely how the future will develop and how events will play themselves out. It helps no one, and it does not help the mission which God has entrusted to His church to carry out, for you or I to become overly speculative about that which is yet to happen."⁷²

Paulsen was only being realistic in view of the fact that previous prophecies had obviously not turned out as planned. Turkey was defeated without precipitating the end. The two world wars did not produce Armageddon, and the election of a Catholic president failed to realize the universal Sunday law. It was probably because of such failures that in the 1970s a new strand started to develop in Adventist eschatology—one that played down the interpretation of apocalyptic signs and looked toward an understanding of the Advent hope itself. In part, this was a reaction to the obsession with specifying the political details of the time of trouble, but it was also a response to the rival eschatology of Hal Lindsey's dispensationalist classic, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, published in 1970.

This multimillion best-seller made a deep impression on the denomination, and Adventists such as Hans K. LaRondelle subsequently spent much time attempting to discredit it.⁷³ In many ways Lindsey's detailed panoramas of the end were actually very similar to those that characterized Adventist apocalyp-

tic. He even had a period called the "Great Tribulation," which roughly equated to Adventism's time of trouble, an interlude that occurred just before the Second Advent.⁷⁴ But the key point of difference was over the destination of the saints at this crucial time. Adventists insisted that the redeemed would stay here and suffer terrible persecution, whereas Lindsey argued that the saved would be secretly translated or "raptured" to heaven and would escape the continuing mayhem on earth.⁷⁵

It was perhaps the feeling that the secret rapture allowed the saints to avoid the stern test of the time of trouble that fuelled the Adventist hostility toward the theory. But at the same time, the success of Lindsey's book had the paradoxical effect of making Adventists more critical of their own eschatology. Commenting on the power of *The Late Great Planet Earth*, Sakae Kubo noted that the book "proves how much people grasp at something that paints the future in detail. It is why . . . astrology and fortune telling are so popular. . . . To know what will happen in minutest detail before it does gives one a sense of being able to control destiny."⁷⁶ It was during this moment of reflection in 1978 that Kubo himself published *God Meets Man*, which included a pioneering attempt at a theology of the Second Advent. In this, he took his own advice and refrained from painting the future in detail, being more concerned about the application of the Second Advent belief to Christian living. It was the fact, not the timing, of the Second Advent that Kubo claimed was important: "God's plans know no haste or delay," he argued. "His promises are sure, and they will take place in the appointed time. We must live with that fact in mind rather than on the basis of the momentary feverish excitement of every passing crisis."⁷⁷

These thoughts were echoed in Samuele Bacchiocchi's *The Advent Hope for Human Hopelessness*, a comprehensive theology of the Second Coming published in 1986. Significantly, the book was written partly to combat the tendency of writers who, according to Bacchiocchi, showed "more interest in formulating timetables . . . leading to and following the Second Advent than in helping believers to understand the relevance of the Advent Hope for their lives today."⁷⁸ In 1994 the Andrews University professor Jon Paulien produced *What the Bible Says About the End-Time*, which sought "to highlight the text of the Bible rather than comment on the conflicting swirl of current events," and the *Review* editor, William G. Johnsson, published a long article on the book of Revelation that refused to give symbols like the two-horned beast any political meaning whatever.⁷⁹ "Our chief aim," said Johnsson, "is to study Revelation in its own right," in order to allow "the text to point the way to its own interpretation."⁸⁰

This retreat from the church's eschatology might have happened in any event, as inevitably some Adventists felt that they could not keep on finding new signs to interpret, but it would not have taken quite this form if it had not been for the emergence of Hal Lindsey. Interestingly, this was not the only time that a rival visionary caused Adventists to behave in this paradoxical fashion.

Two other phenomena in the 1990s led Adventists to question further the basis of their apocalypticism. One was Tim Lahaye's and Jerry Jenkins's enormously successful *Left Behind* novels; the other was the cataclysmic events precipitated by David Koresh at Waco. Lahaye's and Jenkins's books, which were based on the same dispensationalist assumptions as Lindsey's, caused one Adventist to comment on "the dangers of using Scripture as a crossword puzzle for last day events."⁸² After Koresh, whose eschatology was of course even closer to the church than that of the dispensationalists, a few Adventists argued that the time had come for Adventism to abandon its apocalyptic system altogether.⁸³

It would be misleading to assume that such calls indicated a widespread loss of faith in the function of the church's eschatology, for Adventist apocalypticism underwent a revival in the final two decades of the twentieth century. The number of Adventist apocalyptic novelists rose markedly in this period, and their books paralleled the success of the *Left Behind* series in the wider Protestant world. The most popular was June Strong's 1980 novel, *Project Sunlight*, a didactic tale of one woman's progress in the final days that sold more than 500,000 copies over the next twenty years.⁸⁴ There was also the emergence of prolific new nonfiction writers such as G. Edward Reid, who suggested in 1996 that the unity that led to "Evangelicals and Catholics Together" would bring about the Sunday legislation the church had long anticipated.⁸⁵ Another, Marvin Moore, influenced by contemporary astronomical literature, predicted in 1997 that the earth would soon be struck by immense meteorites. The devastation would be so traumatic, Moore argued, that it would produce the necessary "paradigm shift" in which governments of the world would turn to religion and, assisted by a sinister order of Marian Catholics, would vent their anger on the Sabbath-keeping remnant.⁸⁶

Added to this, other Adventists found more signs of the end in the internal dissension the church was experiencing at the time. In 1981 an Adventist lawyer, Lewis Walton, produced another best-seller called *Omega*. This was aimed largely at the theologian Desmond Ford and suggested that his repudiation of the church's Sanctuary doctrine fulfilled certain Ellen White prophecies.⁸⁷ In 1994 another Adventist layman, Keavin Hayden, wrote a book in the same genre, *The Shaking Among God's People*. This one, however, targeted those on the opposite side to Ford: self-supporting, conservative Adventists who would be found in the last days, according to Hayden, following "a course independent of God's acknowledged church."⁸⁸

Hayden took the title of his book from a phrase of Ellen White. The "shaking," or the "shaking time," as she defined it, entailed a process by which antagonistic members renounce Adventism and leave the denomination. The prophetess believed that this exodus had begun in her day, but its true fulfillment was put at a time, just before the Second Advent, when a mass apostasy would take place.⁸⁹ In this way even schism, the most dangerous moment in

the life of any denomination, was safely locked into the eschatological timetable of the church. As Hayden tried to show, the shaking was thus one more experience the faithful had to endure before Christ could come back, which meant that it was really just one more way of rationalizing the problem that arguably provided the time for the infighting to break out in the first place, namely, the continuing delay of the Second Coming.

In this sense, the shaking time was not so much a sign of the end as it was a product or consequence of delay. But then that has been the case with most of the elements in the church's eschatology. In Adventism, it is Jesus' nonappearance rather than his imminent reappearance that tends to drive the church's apocalypticism. The heavenly sanctuary, the three angels' messages, the two-horned beast, and the time of trouble were all essentially devised to explain why Adventists were still on the earth.⁸⁹ For until all these things reached their fulfillment, Christ would not be returning to take his people home. Ellen White made more direct comments about the delay while she lived. But it was perhaps not until after the Second World War that Adventists started to treat the delay itself as a specific component of the church's eschatology.

In the compilation *Evangelism*, published in 1946, church officials collected together Ellen White's scattered passages on the subject. Under the heading "The Reason for the Delay," they offered two main explanations: First, Christ had not come because his people were not ready. Second, he had not come because Adventists had not preached the gospel—and by this they meant the three angels' messages—as they had been commissioned to do. The solution, therefore, was in their hands: Jesus would return just as soon as his people perfected their characters and brought the gospel to the world.⁹⁰ As White commented in 1883: "It is true that time has continued longer than we expected in the early days of this message. . . . But has the word of the Lord failed? Never! It should be remembered that the promises and the threatenings of God are alike conditional."⁹¹

Although not all Adventists subscribed to the theory, the conditional nature of the timing of Christ's return became the church's most accepted explanation of the delay.⁹² Its chief advocate in modern Adventism is the theologian Herbert E. Douglass. In a paper presented at the denomination's Bible Conference in 1974 and in his books *Why Jesus Waits* (1976) and *The End* (1979), Douglass amplified Ellen White's theme, particularly the need to perfect Christian character. His belief is that "God will wait for the maturing of Christian character in a significant number of people as the chief condition determining those events which affect the time when probation will close, and thus the time of the Advent."⁹³

Douglass makes explicit what has always been implicit in the church's eschatology: the end of the world is contingent on the success of Seventh-day Adventists. The converse of this relationship is also true: the vindication of Seventh-day Adventists is contingent on the end of the world. This connection between

the Adventist church and the Second Advent was established on the day the movement was born—October 22, 1844. But the fact that Christ did not appear on that day ensured that Adventism would never be fully validated until he did. In the meantime, the church's eschatology, which depicted the Adventism's most prominent opponents as demonic beasts and projected its eventual triumph over them, came to serve as a kind of substitute for the Second Coming, a means of providing members with the reassurance of victory that they needed in the continuing absence of their Lord.

Of course, Adventist views of the last days have been updated with time. But the idea of Adventism's pivotal end-time role has not changed. The Adventist picture of the Second Advent is of an event that makes absolute the division between those who repudiate American jurisdiction and worship on Saturday, and those who obey American law and observe Sunday. In anticipation of this final separation, Adventists have maintained the distance between themselves and the rest of the world. Thus, the Second Coming, although scheduled for some unknown time in the future, defines the shape of the present. It is retroactive, creating social divisions within the world that it will end.

Yet the timing of the Second Advent is understood to be in the control of the movement called upon to await it. The saints must be perfect in readiness for heaven; the gospel must be preached throughout the globe. The world contains the catalyst of its own destruction: the Adventist church. The Second Coming will take place only when Adventists have fulfilled the gospel commission and realized God's perfect ideals. Thus, while the end of the world is, for most non-Adventists, an external event liable to break unexpectedly into their lives, for Adventists it is an internal matter, an occurrence integral to the progress of the church. Other people endure the Second Advent only long enough to register surprise and horror that it is taking place. They experience the event only as an ending. But for Adventists, it is also a new beginning as they leave the earth to enter the divine realm.

The Divine Realm

IT TOOK THE EARLY Christian church almost four centuries to reach agreement on the doctrine of the Trinity. During that time, there was fierce controversy about the nature of the three divine persons, particularly the relationship between the Father and the Son. Some, following the fourth-century priest Arius, believed the Son to be the first created being, while others taught that Father and Son were of the same substance and co-eternal. The latter view prevailed and has subsequently been accepted by almost all Christians, whether Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant.

Today, Seventh-day Adventists are categorical in their affirmation of this traditional Christian teaching. The second of their current fundamental beliefs asserts that “there is one God: Father, Son and Holy Spirit, a unity of three co-eternal Persons.” The nature of God is further clarified as being “immortal, all-powerful, all-knowing, above all, and ever present.”¹ The issue appears to be above discussion. In the first edition of his textbook *The Reign of God*, published in 1985, the Adventist theologian Richard Rice argued that “a truly Christian doctrine of God is unavoidably trinitarian.”² And yet in the nineteenth century, Adventists took the opposite view. In the words of one church historian, they were “about as uniform in opposing Trinitarianism as they were in advocating belief in the Second Coming.”³ But even then, Adventists only knew what they did *not* believe; some were Arians, denying the eternity of the Son, while others were close to orthodoxy.

In the nineteenth century, this diversity of opinion was facilitated by the absence of any fixed statement of beliefs to which members’ views were expected to conform. As long as Adventists were united on the core of their faith, there was some scope for individual opinion on other issues. It is thus difficult to

know which Adventist writers are representative. The problem is compounded by the fact that Adventism's one authoritative writer, Ellen White, often appears to synthesize conflicting views. Because of this lack of uniformity, it is perhaps more helpful to examine not *what* but *how* Adventists thought, to explore the framework within which major ideas developed rather than to try to disentangle every strand of opinion.

This chapter looks at the way in which nineteenth-century Adventists thought about God. Anti-Trinitarianism was one of several positions that reflected the hierarchical understanding of the divine realm revealed by Ellen White's visions. The same hierarchical model also provided the context for Adventist views on the heavenly sanctuary and the nature of the atonement. The doctrine of the Trinity was eventually accepted after an alternative, spiritual conception of divine activity became influential toward the end of the century. In Adventism, the history of ideas about God seems to follow a dialectical pattern. Two complementary models emerged after the Great Disappointment, neither of which provided the complete account of the Trinity that their eventual synthesis made possible.

Even in her first vision, which describes the saints' entry into the Holy City, Ellen White's description of the divine realm included elements characteristic of the early Adventist understanding of God. The prophetess actually witnessed the Second Coming and traveled with the saved, with an accompanying angel, to the New Jerusalem. When they arrived, Jesus decorated them with crowns, golden harps, palms of victory, and long white mantles. The righteous, 144,000 in number, assembled on a "perfect" square, on a sea of glass, from where they marched to the gates of the city. Then, as Mrs. White saw it: "Jesus raised his mighty, glorious arm . . . and said to us 'you have washed your robes in My blood, stood stiffly for My truth, enter in.'"⁴

Although this description uses common Christian symbols, unusual emphases are also apparent. There is a marked, almost military concentration on order. The 144,000 stand in formation; they march rather than walk. Jesus welcomes those who have "stood stiffly," like soldiers, for truth. The saints are also differentiated by their uniform — martyrs have a red border on their robes — and by their insignia of achievement. "Some of them had very bright crowns, others not so bright. Some crowns appeared heavy with stars while others had but a few."⁵ Despite these inequalities, discipline prevails. "All," Ellen White assured her readers, "were perfectly satisfied with their crowns."⁶ All, too, could have the satisfaction of seeing their salvation confirmed in writing: their names were engraved, in letters of gold, on tables of stone within the temple.⁷ The New Jerusalem revealed in this vision is not a place of unrestrained luxury, still less of ill-defined piety. It is a city of organized grandeur, carefully planned, even down to the golden shelves that are provided in every home for the crowns of the saints.⁸ Nothing has been left to chance. The sinful world is characterized by darkness and disorder; the divine realm, by decorum. As Ellen White wrote



Figure 7. Enter in: Heaven, Jesus Shows New Home by Vernon Nye, watercolor, 22" x 30", 1952. © Review and Herald Publishing Association.

some years later: "In heaven there is perfect order, perfect obedience, perfect peace and harmony."⁹

At the apex of the heavenly formation is the Godhead, the Father and Son. Although she does not go as far as the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, who taught that God the Father had a human body, Ellen White leaves little doubt that both Father and Son are material beings. Jesus stands "head and shoulders above the saints and above the angels," with white, curly hair down to his shoulders.¹⁰ As for God the Father, Ellen White asked Jesus, in one visionary conversation, "if his Father was a person and had a form like Himself." Jesus replied: "I am in the express *image* of My Father's *person*."¹¹ Jesus also shares with his Father a multitude of royal appellations. As king, monarch, sovereign, and ruler, the Godhead holds sway over the universe. Where Father and Son are distinguished, the Father is described as the owner or proprietor of the universe, and the Son, as "a prince in the royal courts of heaven."¹²

The exact distribution of power in this relationship, however, is perhaps best described, not in Ellen White's reports of her various encounters with the

Godhead, but in her version of the event that destroyed the unity of the divine realm—the rebellion of Satan. As White related in the *Spirit of Prophecy*, the devil's revolt against divine law came about precisely because Satan was unwilling to accept Jesus' position in the heavenly hierarchy. At that time Satan, who was then known as Lucifer, was "a high and exalted angel, next in honor to God's dear Son."¹³ It was an arrangement with which he had been happy, according to White, until a primordial ceremony formalized the supremacy of Jesus: "The Father then made known that it was ordained by himself that Christ, his Son, should be equal with himself."¹⁴ However, Satan believed that this decision had been taken without prior consultation, and he convened a meeting of the angels to air his grievances. A ruler had now been appointed over them, he said, and "he would no longer submit to this invasion of his rights and theirs."¹⁵

Through Satan's discontent, sin entered the universe for the first time. White wrote that Satan "claimed that angels needed no law" and "promised them a new and better government than they then had in which all would be freedom."¹⁶ Satan's radical platform apparently won the support of many angels, but his ultimate ambitions were denied. When this became clear, he urged his recruits to "assert their liberty and gain by force the position and authority which was not willingly accorded to them."¹⁷ In the ensuing battle, Jesus and the loyal angels defeated Satan and his followers, who were then banished from heaven. This mass expulsion created vacancies in the heavenly court; and in what was to become an important element in Adventist thinking, White taught that these vacancies would be filled by the saints at the Second Coming.¹⁸ Satan himself went on to the newly created earth, successfully tempted Adam and Eve into sin, and thereby became the source of evil and suffering in the world.

White was clear that the great controversy originated in Lucifer's attempt to topple Jesus from his throne. Against the mercenary Satan, she sees Jesus as the "mighty commander of the hosts of heaven" and identifies him, contrary to Christian tradition, as Michael the archangel, who leads the heavenly army in the war against the devil.¹⁹ Although otherwise differentiated from the angels, Christ appeared, according to Ellen White, in the form of an angel on various occasions in the Old Testament.²⁰ The angels themselves are envisaged as glorious beings, possessed of intelligence a little higher than that of Adam and Eve.²¹ With the departure of Satan, Gabriel now stands "next in honor to the Son of God" and is responsible for conveying messages of particular importance to humanity.²²

The bearing of messages is just one of the angels' tasks. White described how people on earth have guardian angels who keep them from harm and influence their actions.²³ A special angel records the deeds of humans in books.²⁴ Others play in the heavenly band, while the cherubim and seraphim minister in the heavenly sanctuary.²⁵ Some have especially demanding tasks: "The very highest

angels in the heavenly courts are appointed to work out the prayers which ascend to God for the advancement of the cause of God. Each angel has his particular post of duty which he is not permitted to leave for any other place."²⁶ All these duties form part of "the great conflict going on between invisible agencies, the controversy between loyal and disloyal angels."²⁷ When not actively engaged in this struggle, the angels act as observers. At Jesus' arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane, "many companies of holy angels, each with a tall commanding angel at their head, were sent to witness the scene."²⁸

Less exalted than the angels are the sinless inhabitants of other worlds. White believed that God created other beings on other planets who, unlike Adam and Eve, did not fall into sin when the devil also tried to tempt them to disobey God. She visited one such "unfallen" population on the planet Saturn in an early vision and described the inhabitants of the place as "a tall, majestic people."²⁹ These sinless beings enjoy only observer status in the great controversy, acting as a kind of chorus, watching and being edified by the drama of redemption.

Ellen White did not originate this idea, for belief in extraterrestrials was widespread in the nineteenth century. It was a product of recent advances in astronomy and the realization that the earth was but a small part of a vast cosmos. The Scottish clergyman Thomas Chalmers, in a best-selling book with which White could have been acquainted, described a universe of myriad worlds, populated by extraterrestrials who benefited from observing "the plan of redemption" unfold on this planet.³⁰ The Mormons were another group that believed in other worlds.³¹ But it was Ellen White whose writings informed the most extravagant extraterrestrial theology of the twentieth century, *The Urantia Book*, which was communicated by extraterrestrials to a member of the Kellogg family, and a former Adventist psychiatrist, William Sadler, in the 1930s.³²

Rarely are all the orders of heavenly being described together. When they are, as in Ellen White's description of Christ's reception in heaven on his ascension, they constitute the full court of heaven:

There is the throne, and around it the rainbow of promise. There are cherubim and seraphim. The commanders of the angel hosts, the sons of God, the representatives of the unfallen worlds, are assembled. The heavenly council before which Lucifer had accused God and his Son, the representatives of those sinless realms over which Satan had thought to establish his dominion—all are there to welcome the Redeemer. They are eager to celebrate His triumph and to glorify their King.³³

Ellen White described heaven as a court and emphasized the similarities between the divine King and an earthly monarch. With her preference for literal language, she indeed seemed to suggest that the Son was subordinate to the Father as a prince is to a king. But that conclusion might not have been drawn

by her contemporaries if it had not been for the influence of spiritualism, a new movement whose chief practice was contacting the spirits of dead people.

Adventists demonstrated an immediate hostility to this phenomenon, and had identified spiritualism as a component of eschatological Babylon.³⁴ But there was a little more to their opposition than that. Adventists were often mistaken for spiritualists and thus felt an urgent need to distinguish themselves from them.³⁵ Today the possibility of confusing the two movements seems remote, but in the 1840s and 1850s, the two groups stood back to back. The mysterious rappings that sparked the growth of spiritualism occurred in the Fox household in Hydesville near Rochester, New York, the very town from which Adventists published their paper, the *Review*, between 1852 and 1855. Ellen White had also spoken with dead Millerites in her first vision.³⁶ She, of course, regarded the purported communications of the deceased as resulting from the deception of evil angels, and her own experience as different. (She had been taken in vision to the New Jerusalem; the dead had not spoken to her on earth as spirits.) But the distinction was one that was easily missed by the casual observer.

However, it was not simply that Adventists and spiritualists lived in the same town and had superficially similar experiences. There were also “spiritualizers” within Adventism who had associations with the Shakers, a communitarian sect that had been visited by the spirits of the dead since 1837. Their practices and beliefs paralleled those of the Shakers themselves: they were highly introverted; they frequently shouted and fell on the floor during worship; some adopted the Shaker habit of crawling around on all fours; others espoused the Shaker view that Christ was a spirit.³⁷ Some of these practices were defended by the Whites; others, criticized. While Ellen resolutely argued in favor of ecstatic worship, both she and James firmly opposed any suggestion that the Second Advent had already taken place as a spiritual event.³⁸

It was specifically in order to distinguish herself from those spiritualizers who believed Christ to be a spirit that Ellen White emphasized the material reality of Jesus’ person.³⁹ James White went further, and linked the literal hierarchy of heaven with anti-Trinitarianism. In a letter to the *Day Star* in January 1846, he argued that the spiritualizers came to their beliefs by “using the old unscriptural trinitarian creed, viz., that Jesus Christ is the eternal God, though they have not one passage to support it, while we have plain scripture testimony in abundance that he is the Son of the eternal God.”⁴⁰ His arguments did not impress Enoch Jacobs, the editor of the paper. In that same year, Jacobs followed the example of many other Millerites in renouncing Adventism to enter a Shaker commune.⁴¹

Such defections only served to confirm James White’s suspicions. In 1852 he again denounced “the old trinitarian absurdity that Jesus Christ is the very and Eternal God.”⁴² Much of this attitude reflected White’s roots in the Christian Connection, which taught anti-Trinitarianism.⁴³ This influence extended to

Uriah Smith. In 1865, he referred to Christ as "the first created being," and he continued to hold an Arian or semi-Arian position for the rest of his life.⁴⁴ He was not alone. J. H. Waggoner, editor of the denomination's *Signs of the Times*, was unequivocal in asserting that Christ was God only in a sense subordinate to the Father.⁴⁵ With Adventism's most articulate spokesmen so implacably opposed to the doctrine of the Trinity, it is unsurprising that one researcher was forced to conclude that he was "unable to discover any evidence that 'many were Trinitarians' before 1898, nor has there been found any Trinitarian declaration written, prior to that date, by an Adventist writer other than Ellen G. White."⁴⁶ But even this is an overstatement. Although not actively anti-Trinitarian, Ellen White always carefully avoided using the term "Trinity," and her husband stated categorically that her visions did not support the Trinitarian creed.⁴⁷

Adventist resistance to Trinitarianism went hand in hand with an understanding of the divine realm as a hierarchical court and the need to define Jesus as a distinct person. Both of these elements were also the key to the development of Adventism's doctrine of the Sanctuary. This idea was originally presented in the *Day Star* extra of February 7, 1846, by O. R. L. Crosier. He suggested that the appropriate referent of the sanctuary in Daniel 8:14 could only be the sanctuary in heaven. On October 22, 1844, Jesus had simply moved from the Holy to the Most Holy apartment. This much had already been vouchsafed to Crosier's friend Hiram Edson in a vision on the morning after the Great Disappointment. The complex question that Crosier broached was that of Jesus' purpose in making this transition.

Crosier argued that Jesus' movements in the heavenly sanctuary were analogous to those of the Levite priests. This tribe ministered in the Old Testament tabernacle, whose structure, with its Holy and Most Holy apartments, was understood to be a replica of the sanctuary in heaven. In the Jewish sanctuary, the Holy Place was where the priest daily purged the Israelites of their sins, while the Most Holy Place, which the high priest entered once every year on the Day of Atonement, was where the sanctuary was cleansed of the accumulated sins of the people, by the ceremonious placing of them on the head of the scapegoat, which was then sent out into the wilderness.

In the same way, Crosier believed, Christ entered the Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary after his ascension in order to mediate between humans and God. On October 22, 1844, he moved into the Most Holy Place. He there performed two ceremonial functions: in his capacity as high priest, he entered to cleanse the sanctuary of the sins of his people by placing them on the head of Satan, who Crosier identified as the antitypical scapegoat; in his role as bridegroom, he entered to be wedded to his bride, the New Jerusalem. Both of these ceremonies were necessary before the Second Advent so that the saved could be brought guiltless to heaven and the wedding formalities could be completed by the time the saints arrived to share the feast.⁴⁸

Crosier's account, with its focus on the proper performance of ceremonial duties, fitted harmoniously with the thought of Ellen White. It also explained why Jesus had failed to return to earth on October 22, 1844, but it did not explain further delay. Neither an act of ritual purification nor a wedding would normally be expected to last for years. However, in the 1850s, Bates, Loughborough, Smith, and James White developed an idea that easily accounted for an extended delay.⁴⁹ This concept, known as the "investigative judgment," was expounded at length by Ellen White in the *Great Controversy*.

Here, the court of the King is temporarily transformed into a court of law. God the Father presides as the "Ancient of Days," while Satan acts as prosecutor and Jesus as counsel for the defense. The angels are interested spectators. Commencing with "those who first lived upon the earth," the court deals with "each successive generation and closes with the living. Every name is mentioned, every case closely investigated." (The court is only concerned with professed believers. The investigation of the wicked, as discussed in the previous chapter, takes place during the millennium.) The procedure is methodical. All the evidence is written in three books of heaven: a book of life in which the names of professed Christians are registered, a book of remembrance in which their good deeds are recorded, and a book in which "opposite each name . . . is entered with terrible exactness every wrong word, every selfish act, every unfulfilled duty, and every secret sin, with every artful dissembling." If Jesus is able to show that the people Satan accused have repented of their sins, the record is blotted out. If not, the name of the sinner is blotted out from the book of life. This laborious process, Ellen White argues, began on October 22, 1844, and is necessary so that the saints are separated from their sins in time for the Second Advent. When it is over, Satan once again functions as the scapegoat and is "sent out" into the wilderness of the desolate earth during the thousand-year period.⁵⁰

The Sanctuary doctrine explained the Great Disappointment, and according to the denomination, it fulfilled the prophecy of the continual "daily sacrifice," referred to in Daniel 8:11–14.⁵¹ But with its emphasis on the literal details of celestial geography and personnel, the Sanctuary doctrine also provided a further bulwark against spiritualistic interpretations of the divine realm. It dovetailed neatly with Ellen White's conception of a struggle between opposing hierarchies of good and evil. The investigative judgment brings the Advocate and the adversary of men and women face to face. It presents the great controversy in microcosm. In so doing, it represents God the Father as above the dispute between Christ and Satan. It is a picture that, although not designed for the purpose, fed the Arian tendencies in Adventist Christology. It bound together the doctrine of the Sanctuary and anti-Trinitarianism into a system of belief that, with its literal functions of divine persons, served as an obstacle to any reappearance of "spiritualizers" in Adventism.

There was one further doctrinal element in the package: a unique understand-

ing of the atonement. In keeping with her account of the origin of sin as a rebellion against divine law, Ellen White believed that redemption could only come through a vindication of that law. As she wrote in 1858: "I saw that it was impossible for God to alter or change his law to save lost, perishing man; therefore he suffered his beloved Son to die for man's transgressions." Angels had offered to give their lives, but they lacked the status necessary for the task, for "the transgression was so great that an angel's life would not pay the debt."⁵² Redemption was thus necessary because of the legal structure of divine government, but it could only be effected through the direct interaction of divine persons. Accordingly, on the day of his resurrection, Christ was not informed of his triumph by an angelic intermediary but "quickly ascended to his Father to hear from his lips that he accepted the sacrifice, and to receive all power in heaven and upon earth."⁵³

However, according to White's fellow believers, the atonement had not yet begun. Christ's sacrifice, like the sacrifices of the Israelites, was not itself considered an atonement. In "A Declaration of Fundamental Principles of the Seventh-Day Adventists," published in 1872 as "a brief statement of what is, and has been, with great unanimity, held by them," it was stated that the atonement "so far from being made on the cross, which was but the offering of the sacrifice, is the very last portion of his work as priest."⁵⁴ In other words, the atonement began on October 22, 1844. This was certainly a radical departure from traditional Christianity. It was also clearly influenced by the Christian Connection's rejection of substitutionary theories of the atonement that obviated the need for humans to develop perfect characters in order to gain eternal life.⁵⁵ But it was entirely in keeping with a model of the universe in which heaven is the hub of redemptive activity and in which it is most fitting that the final obliteration of sin should be made in the same place as its origin, the court of heaven.

The picture of heaven as a royal hierarchy served as the framework within which distinctive Adventist doctrinal positions were developed. It was the dominant model for the Adventist understanding of the divine for at least forty years, but it was not the only model. There was an alternative picture of divine activity that focused on the member of the Trinity omitted from the hierarchy of heaven, the Holy Spirit. Although the church had chased away spiritualizers, it had never been possible to exclude all spiritual ideas. White might not encounter spirits in heaven, but she entered visions through the power of the Spirit. In her first vision, she wrote that "the Holy Ghost fell upon me, and I seemed to be rising higher and higher, far above the dark world."⁵⁶ At meetings both before and after 1844, she would, along with those with whom she worshipped, be overcome with the power of God, falling to the floor, "slain by the Spirit."⁵⁷ As late as 1860, James White had similar experiences. In a letter to his wife, he related how, when visiting some believers, "I fell upon my face, and cried and groaned under the power of God. Brethren Sanborn and Ingraham felt about the same. We all lay on the floor under the power of God."⁵⁸

Some account had to be given of the force that the Adventists experienced on these occasions. One thing was clear: the power was diffused; it affected groups as well as individuals. Ellen White describes one such occasion: "While the large family of Brother P. were engaged in prayer at their own house, the Spirit of God swept through the room and prostrated the kneeling suppliants. My father came in soon after and found them all both parents and children, helpless under the power of the Lord."⁵⁹ The language in which these experiences were described emphasized the feeling of being submerged. "The power came down like a mighty, rushing wind, the room was filled with the glory of God, and I was swallowed up in the glory," White wrote in 1848.⁶⁰ Three years later, she described a similar experience as having been a "deep plunge in the glory."⁶¹

Here then was the basis for an understanding of the divine, complementary to that of a heavenly hierarchy—an understanding that gave full weight to the collective experience of believers and emphasized the immanence, rather than the transcendence, of God. The Holy Spirit was naturally the focus of this interest. Thought of as "a mysterious influence emanating from the Father and the Son, their representative and the medium of their power," the Spirit could be seen as diffusing God's presence on a wide scale.⁶² The Spirit could be withdrawn from humanity as a whole, as it had been before the Noachian flood, or from a particular nation, as it had been from the French at the Revolution.⁶³ Among Christians, however, the Spirit should be omnipresent. It was, wrote Ellen White, "to animate and pervade the whole church."⁶⁴

Just as the hierarchical model had differentiated Adventists from other former Millerites who interpreted the divine realm in spiritual terms, so the concern with the Spirit distinguished Adventists from their more formal associates who had given up the Shut-Door theology and did not enjoy ecstatic worship. In 1845 James White described how he felt sandwiched between these two groups: "While the Spiritualizers are pouring in one side, inducing some to 'deny the only Lord God and our Savior Jesus Christ,' on the other hand, Brethren J. and C. H. Pearson, and E. C. Clemons have given up the shut door, and are doing all they can to drag others to outer darkness."⁶⁵

The Open-Door Adventists were viewed as "cold and formal, like the nominal churches." Ellen White warned against the "fanatics" who dabbled in mesmerism and spiritualism, but she also denounced formal worshippers who "would be as forward as the Pharisees were to have the disciples silenced." These people, who had themselves formerly "shouted aloud for joy in view of the immediate coming of the Lord," now accused Adventists of "Fanaticism." What they lacked was the Spirit, the power of God in their hearts.⁶⁶ As ecstatic worship declined within the Adventist community, this emphasis on the Spirit shifted. Although still understood as diffusing the presence of God, the Spirit was pictured less as an ocean into which the worshipper was plunged and more as a fire that purified the individual believer of sin.⁶⁷

In this view, the practical distinction between the models of hierarchy and diffusion became apparent. In the hierarchical model, God communicates with humans through a chain of command. As Ellen White wrote: "The angels of God are ever passing from earth to heaven, and from heaven to earth. . . . And it is through Christ, by the ministration of His heavenly messengers, that every blessing comes from God to us."⁶⁸ On this account, the presence of God is not communicated directly, but through a series of intermediaries. The opposite is true of the other model, in which "the Holy Spirit is Christ's representative, but divested of the personality of humanity, and independent thereof." Thus, "by the Spirit the Savior would be accessible to all."⁶⁹ Not only could the Spirit bring the believer into direct contact with the divine, but it could do something that angels as distinct, individual beings could not do—enter the human soul. "The Holy Spirit," wrote Ellen White, "is the breath of spiritual life in the soul . . . the impartation of the life of Christ. It imbues the receiver with the attributes of Christ."⁷⁰

The two models of divine activity seem to coexist quite easily within the writings of Ellen White. They did not always do so within the Adventist church. The conflict came to a head in 1888 at an Adventist conference in Minneapolis. The emphasis on the impartation of the Spirit and the power of the in-dwelling Christ to promote a victorious life, presented by E. J. Waggoner and A. T. Jones, seemed to undermine the supremacy of God's law upheld by Uriah Smith and others. Although the debate was more about the method of salvation, as will be explained in the next chapter, than about the nature of God, it polarized attitudes toward the divine as well. Most significant, however, was the impetus the 1888 conference gave to those who wished to interpret more radically the model of a diffused divine presence. W. W. Prescott called for miracles, faith healing, and speaking in tongues, and he pressed the claims of a new prophetess who arose in the church at this time called Anna Rice Phillips.⁷¹

In another such deviation an Adventist evangelist in Indiana, S. S. Davies, started a movement of Holy Flesh. This was based on the belief that when Jesus passed through his agony in Gethsemane, he was given "holy flesh" such as Adam had possessed before the fall. The idea was that the believer could undergo a similar experience, the physical manifestation of which involved falling helpless to the floor. On revival, those who had undergone this experience were thought to have holy flesh and be unable to die until the coming of Christ.⁷² This belief was an eccentric extrapolation of Ellen White's emphasis on the purification of the soul. She had written that "through the agency of the Holy Spirit man becomes a partaker of the divine nature."⁷³ The Holy Flesh movement took this literally, but White deemed their interpretation fanatical.

The prophetess recognized, however, that the movement had something in common with the Adventism of the 1840s. But by the turn of the century her attitude toward ecstatic religion had changed. Even in the 1840s, she had been

skeptical about crawling on the floor or rolling like a hoop, but now in her seventies, she had also become dubious about shouting and being felled by the Spirit in general. In the 1840s Adventists had distinguished themselves from extreme ecstatic elements not so much by the sobriety of their own worship as by the development of a distinctive and literal theology of the kingdom of heaven. In 1900 the primary means of distancing from the Holy Flesh movement was by insisting on calm and orderly worship. As White now remarked: "The Holy Spirit never reveals itself in . . . a bedlam of noise."⁷⁴ It was an attitude that would also separate Adventism from groups that emerged later in the twentieth century, such as the charismatic movement in the 1970s and the New Age phenomenon of the 1980s and 1990s.⁷⁵

But in 1900, it was not enough to prevent the diffused understanding of the divine presence from developing toward the pantheistic notion that God was in everything in the universe. The Adventist who took up this view was John Harvey Kellogg. Ellen White opposed the heresy, but once again the doctor only extrapolated ideas she herself had aired. She admitted that "a mysterious life pervades all nature," but Kellogg, in his book *The Living Temple*, went one small step further: "There is present in the tree a power which creates and maintains it, a tree-maker in the tree, a flower-maker in the flower . . . an infinite divine, though invisible Presence."⁷⁶ Kellogg was not the only prominent Adventist who inclined toward pantheism. E. J. Waggoner was known to be another.⁷⁷ W. W. Prescott, who was probably the most committed pantheist of all, apparently at one stage considered a tree "the actual body of Christ."⁷⁸

Thus, in the pantheism dispute as well, the church had returned to uncertainties of the post-1844 period. Realizing this, the Adventist leader S. N. Haskell appealed to the doctrine of the Sanctuary as the chief obstacle to the wholesale acceptance of pantheistic theory.⁷⁹ Ellen White, too, was quick to recognize the appearance of an old heresy and invoked the old hierarchical theology to defeat it. Pantheism removed God from "His rightful position of sovereignty," she said, and dishonored his "greatness and majesty."⁸⁰ The concern with salvation that had motivated Jones and Waggoner was not forgotten, however. The pantheistic implication of their ideas was repudiated, but their emphasis on the in-dwelling Christ remained. Even as she was combating pantheism, Ellen White emphasized the importance of a "personal God."⁸¹ Her masterpiece, the *Desire of Ages*, published in 1898, had also at last managed to convey her own Christ-centered religious experience. The book had taken a firm stand on the full divinity and eternity of Jesus while encouraging meditation on his earthly life. It had also taken a step toward a full Trinitarian position by becoming one of the first in Adventism to refer to the Holy Spirit, not as a mysterious influence but as "The Third Person of the Godhead."⁸²

This concentration on Christ and the Holy Spirit was given more systematic treatment, respectively, by W. W. Prescott in his textbook *The Doctrine of*

Christ, published in 1920, and by LeRoy Edwin Froom in *The Coming of the Comforter*, issued in 1928. Neither author went much further in adopting a Trinitarian position, Prescott's presentation in particular exemplifying the desire for consensus that then motivated the church. Prescott affirmed the centrality of Christ to every part of salvation history. Urging readers to "receive him as 'the way, the truth, and the life,'" Prescott implied that if Christ was experienced "in the life," then "merely abstract theology" would look after itself.⁵³

As it turned out, the church leadership looked after systematic theology. In 1931 the "Fundamental Beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists" were formulated for publication in the church's yearbook. The statement of belief hardly represented a groundswell of opinion. It was formulated by four carefully chosen officials and published without consultation with the church's full governing authority.⁵⁴ For the first time, the church officially proclaimed its belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, the announcement becoming possible because the two traditional models of divine activity had served their primary purposes.⁵⁵ In the 1840s Adventists had been positioned between the "formal brethren" on the one side, and spiritualizing fanatics on the other. The two models had been a means of differentiating Adventist thinking from that of other groups adjacent on the religious spectrum of the time. Almost a century later, the situation had been reversed; the catalyst for theological activity was now the desire to align with fundamentalism against modernist Christianity. As the procedures followed in the adoption of the 1931 Fundamental Beliefs demonstrate, the church sought to establish a platform from which to approach the world and thus attempted to forestall internal debate.

However, the church did not succeed in closing down discussion entirely. J. S. Washburn, a retired worker, labeled the new belief a "heathen monstrosity" in 1940.⁵⁶ A few years later, C. S. Longacre, for many years the church's spokesman on religious liberty matters, maintained that the Son was subordinate to the Father, largely on the basis of Ellen White's descriptions of the heavenly court.⁵⁷ There was also a determined campaign to return the church to anti-Trinitarianism in the 1990s. This was conducted mainly by Smyrna Gospel Ministries, a small independent group of West Virginian Adventist conservatives led by a minister, Allen Stump. Much like Longacre, the dissident pastor based a significant part of the anti-Trinitarian case on Ellen White's visions of the divine hierarchy. "In the order of heaven," Stump concluded, "Sister White lists Christ next to God."⁵⁸

The persisting appeal of the hierarchical model had other effects as well. In the 1970s, it provided the Loma Linda theologian Graham Maxwell with a framework to develop the idea that God allowed his Son to die on the cross in order to demonstrate his righteous character before the fallen and unfallen citizens of the universe.⁵⁹ This theory suggested a presidential type of democracy in which God required popular support, rather than a feudal monarchy; but

its core sentiment appeared to find its way into the church's 1980 statement of beliefs, which talked about Christ's sacrifice being made so that "the whole creation may better understand the infinite and holy love of the Creator."⁹⁰ Maxwell's account of redemption also strongly implied that God's power is not total, but is heavily qualified by his need to retain the allegiance of the population of the entire cosmos.

This attempt to place limitations upon the Godhead was, however, entirely in keeping with Adventism's longstanding tendency to conceive the divine realm in anthropomorphic terms. James White's and Uriah Smith's efforts to subordinate the Son to the Father were an obvious example of this, but Ellen White did it as well. In her great controversy concept, Jesus' power is plainly circumscribed by the liberty given to Satan to run amok in the universe. Her comments about the end of the world, that God's promises were not absolute but conditional, and that Christ could not return to earth until his people were ready, were also in the same vein. Compared to the sublime immutability of Calvin's deity, Adventism's God has always worked with numerous restrictions on his freedom of action. As one Adventist professor has stated: "God's power is limited by logical, ontological, and ethical restraints."⁹¹

Only in the 1980s, however, was this attitude given coherent theological expression by Richard Rice's theory of the "open" view of God. A professor of religion at Loma Linda University, Rice argued that God is not omniscient at all, since it is logically impossible for him to know the future free acts of free human beings.⁹² In *The Openness of God*, the short book that introduced this idea, Rice claimed that what God does and how he behaves is wholly dependent on the decisions that free individuals are allowed to make.⁹³

Rice's open theism won a wide following outside Adventism, and he later joined with prominent evangelicals to promote the idea.⁹⁴ But inside the denomination, Adventist publishers refused to reprint *The Openness of God*, although the author kept his position as a church professor.⁹⁵ Rice escaped further censure possibly because of an unspoken recognition that, despite the church's second fundamental belief that God is all-knowing, the bias in Adventist theism has always been toward the "open" view.⁹⁶ In any case, the focus of debate within Adventism had now moved on from the nature of divine persons to the condition of human beings.

The Human Condition

THE BOOK *Questions on Doctrine* published the answers that church leaders gave to the Baptist Walter Martin and the Presbyterian Donald Barnhouse, who posed questions on Adventist beliefs between 1955 and 1956. In an interim report of the discussions that appeared in 1956, Martin considered four doctrines that Adventists were presumed to hold:

1. The atonement of Christ was not completed on the cross.
2. Salvation is the result of grace plus the works of the law.
3. The Lord Jesus Christ was a created being, not from all eternity.
4. Christ partook of man's sinful fallen nature at the incarnation.'

He concluded that "to charge the majority of Adventists today with holding these heretical views is *unfair, inaccurate, and decidedly unchristian!*"² On the question of the eternity of Christ, Martin's assessment was probably accurate. Although there was some resistance to Trinitarianism in the 1940s, and a minor anti-Trinitarian revival in the 1990s, most Adventists did not return to the Arianism of their forebears. But on the other three topics, Martin's judgment was premature. From the publication of *Questions on Doctrine* in 1957 to the end of the century, the atonement, the incarnation, and the nature of salvation were the subject of constant debate within the Adventist church.

That Martin misjudged the measure of agreement within Adventism is undeniable. His mistake was to accept uncritically the arguments that were later published in *Questions on Doctrine*. On the Adventist side, the dialogue with Martin and Barnhouse was viewed as an exercise in public relations. There was little attempt to give full weight to Adventist history, still less to consult the existing membership. LeRoy Edwin Froom, one of the authors of *Questions on*



Figure 8. The cross and the sanctuary: while this painting does not depict all details of the church's understanding of the Sanctuary doctrine, it cleverly illustrates the longstanding Adventist belief that Christ's death and his intercessory role are merged in one process. Clyde Provonsha, *Investigative Judgment*, oil on canvas, 16" x 20", 1960. © Review and Herald Publishing Association.

Doctrine, saw the meetings as “changing the impaired image of Adventism.”³ This goal was achieved, but at the price of a protracted and bitter dispute within the church itself. To understand the significance of this debate, it is necessary to examine the interrelationships among several doctrinal areas. This chapter will review more than five decades of argument about the atonement, the incarnation, and salvation in the light of the Adventist understanding of the nature of human beings.

The first Adventist statement of belief, the Declaration of 1872, denied that the atonement began on the cross. In *Questions on Doctrine*, the atonement is presented as having been completed on the cross.⁴ In the intervening period it was generally believed that the atonement began on the cross and was completed in the heavenly sanctuary. A painting by the Adventist artist Clyde Provonsha pictured the general idea (see figure 8). As can be seen, it depicts Christ in the heavenly sanctuary blotting out the individual sins of a modern man as an angel keeps record. Christ's pose—arms outstretched, while his shadow extends in the shape of a cross behind him—fuses his mediatory role and his

sacrificial death in the same work of atonement. Ellen White put it thus: "The intercession of Christ in man's behalf in the sanctuary above is as essential to the plan of salvation as was His death upon the cross. By His death He began that work which after His resurrection he ascended to complete in heaven."⁵ For her, there was no distinction between the function of Christ's death and his heavenly ministry. He "died to make an atoning sacrifice for our sins" and is now "our interceding High Priest, making an atoning sacrifice for us."⁶

In *Questions on Doctrine*, this belief is reinterpreted. The authors advise that "when, therefore, one hears an Adventist say, or reads in Adventist literature—even in the writings of Ellen G. White—that Christ is making atonement now, it should be understood that we mean simply that Christ is now *making application of the benefits of the sacrificial atonement He made on the cross.*"⁷ The distinction is subtle. First, the atonement is made, then its benefits are mediated. Both elements are part of the work of salvation, but only the first, according to *Questions on Doctrine*, is in itself an act of atonement. In Adventist theology, the difference was far from trivial, for the doctrine of the Sanctuary had been developed by O. R. L. Crosier on the understanding that Christ "did not begin the work of making the atonement, whatever the nature of that work may be, till after his ascension, when by his own blood he entered his heavenly sanctuary for us."⁸ In order to show that October 22, 1844, marked a second phase of Christ's heavenly ministry, Crosier argued that there were exact parallels between Christ's work and that of the Old Testament priesthood. *Questions on Doctrine* made the analogy a great deal less exact. For although it refers to the period since 1844 as "the antitypical day of Atonement," it scrupulously avoids reference to Christ's atoning work in the sanctuary.⁹ *Questions on Doctrine* left the doctrine of the Sanctuary intact, but it began to erode its foundations. What was intended to be merely a cosmetic change ended up disturbing the equilibrium of the entire Adventist theological system.

A similar pattern may be seen to have resulted from the account of the incarnation given in response to the question "What do Adventists understand by Christ's use of the title 'Son of Man?'"¹⁰ Reassuring Martin and Barnhouse that Adventists believed in the incarnation "in common with all true Christians," the authors of *Questions on Doctrine* went on to emphasize that "in His human nature Christ was perfect and sinless," being "exempt from the inherited passions and pollutions that corrupt the natural descendants of Adam."¹¹ In part, these replies concluded Adventism's progress toward a full understanding of the complete deity of Christ that had started with the acceptance of the Trinity and represented a further move away from the anthropomorphism that characterizes much of the church's approach to the Godhead. They also brought the denomination more into line with the so-called doctrine of the two natures, the orthodox creed formulated at the Council of Chalcedon in AD 451. This gave Christ two natures, one divine, one human, that were fused indivisibly in one unfallen being.¹²

However, the Adventist statements on the incarnation appeared to contradict Ellen White's belief that "Jesus accepted humanity when the race had been weakened by four thousand years of sin. Like every child of Adam He accepted the results of the working of the great law of heredity. What these results were is shown in the history of His earthly ancestors."⁵³ *Questions on Doctrine* argued that "these weaknesses, frailties, infirmities, failings are things which we, with our sinful fallen natures, have to bear," but that "Christ bore all this vicariously, just as vicariously He bore the iniquities of us all."⁵⁴ Here again, the distinctions are subtle. The differences between the human nature of Adam before the fall and the nature of his descendants after the fall, and between Christ's vicarious and inherent possession of human frailty may seem relatively unimportant. But M. L. Andreasen, the veteran theologian, realized that within the context of Adventist theology, they were not. If Christ was exempt from human frailty, he could not truly be a person's exemplar in keeping the law: "Only as Christ placed himself on the level of the humanity He had come to save, could He demonstrate to men how to overcome their infirmities and passions."⁵⁵

If Christ had an unfair advantage, how could individuals be expected to follow his example in living a perfect life? The problem was particularly acute since perfection had been suggested by Ellen White as the goal of the Adventist people: "While our great High Priest is making the atonement for us, we should seek to become perfect in Christ."⁵⁶ Her call to perfection was urgent: "Jesus does not change the character at His coming. The work of transformation must be done now."⁵⁷ The road to perfection could seem long and hard, all the more so if Christ was believed to have traversed it with a head start. The feeling that there was an unbridgeable gulf between human sinfulness and the need for perfection became a source of increasing concern to some church members, and in particular to the young Australian Adventist Robert Brinsmead. He described how, when at college in the 1950s, "very few people that I questioned had any real buoyant hope of being able to pass the scrutiny of the soon-coming judgment of the living . . . most lived in real fear and dread of the judgment, having no way of knowing how to be ready except to 'try harder by God's grace' and to hope that such judgment would not come too soon."⁵⁸

Brinsmead's answer to this problem was to emphasize the miraculous infusion of perfection through the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary. This perfection would, he believed, sustain the saints after the close of probation.⁵⁹ *Questions on Doctrine* had made perfection seem a remote possibility. Brinsmead vigorously reasserted not only the possibility but also the necessity of perfection. In this he concentrated on the subjective experience of salvation rather than the objective event of the cross. In contrast, the focus on the crucifixion encouraged by *Questions on Doctrine* was taken further by the Adventist theologian Edward Heppenstall. His solution to the difficulty of explaining how the sinner could reach perfection was to argue that perfection was neither necessary nor

possible. In 1963 he stated that “absolute perfection and sinlessness cannot be realized here and now.”²⁰

This response, which in Adventist terms was far more radical than that of Brinsmead, was partly the product of Heppenstall’s understanding of original sin, a concept that had not been much in evidence in Adventism until this time. All individuals, Heppenstall believed, entered the world “in a state of separation from God.”²¹ Christ alone did not, being “free constitutionally from every taint of sin and defilement.”²² Heppenstall opposed the notion of Christ’s fallen nature because in his view, “the efficacy of Christ’s sacrifice lay in his absolute sinlessness.”²³ As a result of the cross, God is thus able to acquit the guilty through justification, a process through which, Heppenstall said, “the righteousness of Christ is imputed or reckoned to the believer.” Once justification has been imputed, sanctification may be imparted. Through sanctification the in-dwelling Christ gradually brings the believer toward a state of perfection.²⁴ But there are definite limits beyond which the process of sanctification cannot extend: “If Christian perfection means restoration here and now to Adam’s sinless state . . . so that a man need no longer be classed as a sinner,” Heppenstall maintained, “then the Bible knows nothing of it.”²⁵

Prior to Heppenstall, no important Adventist writer denied the possibility of perfection. Ellen White had been unequivocal: “As the Son of Man was perfect in His life, so His followers are to be perfect in their life.”²⁶ But it was Brinsmead, who had but suggested an idiosyncratic form of perfection, who became the heretic. A farmer with a genius for theological polemic, Brinsmead was impatient with the church’s administration and gathered a personal following known as the “Awakening” movement. Heppenstall, an academic in church employment, led the attack on Brinsmead’s theology. His abandonment of perfectionism could thus be construed as part of the official critique of the Awakening. Thus Brinsmead, by emphasizing an element of Adventist theology that *Questions on Doctrine* downplayed, facilitated its denial by Heppenstall, who would later come to be regarded as the church’s most influential theologian.²⁷

But this was not the only irony of these exchanges. In an unexpected about turn, Brinsmead converted to Heppenstall’s position. Indeed, after giving up perfectionism, Brinsmead went further than his former critic, dismissed sanctification altogether, and denied that righteousness could be imparted as well as imputed. In the 1970s he began to espouse the Reformation principle of *sola fide*, or justification by faith alone. For Brinsmead, as for Calvin, all goodness is extrinsic to human beings. Remaining outside the denomination, but directing a constant stream of propaganda to his followers, Brinsmead continued to be influential. His most prominent ally in the new figuration was his fellow Australian Desmond Ford.²⁸

In 1975 Gillian Ford wrote a paper titled “The Soteriological Implications of the Human Nature of Christ,” in which she argued that Christ’s human nature

was sinless, that perfection was impossible, and that righteousness by faith referred to justification alone.²⁹ She brought together the innovations of *Questions on Doctrine*, Heppenstall, and Brinsmead. It was the latter association that raised the eyebrows of conservative Adventists, for Gillian's husband, Desmond, who wrote an appendix to her paper, taught theology at Avondale College, the Adventist center for ministerial training in Australia. In 1976 a conference was called at Palmdale, California. It attempted to reconcile the views of Desmond Ford with the theology of Adventist theologians in America. The consensus statement was ambiguous, and all sides were able to claim that it supported their beliefs.³⁰

There were three schools of thought: that of the Fords and Brinsmead; a traditional perfectionism taught by, among others, Herbert Douglass, then associate editor of the *Review*, which argued that Christ had a fallen human nature, that righteousness involved both justification and sanctification, and that perfection was possible; and an intermediate position, represented by Heppenstall and another Adventist theologian, Edward W. H. Vick, which denied that Christ had a fallen human nature or that perfection was possible but allowed that the process of sanctification brought the believer toward perfection.³¹ Coexistence among these groups might have been possible, but Ford went on to work out the implications of his position for belief in the doctrine of the Sanctuary.

The purpose of Christ's heavenly ministry is to separate the saints from their sins. Implicit in this concept is the idea that some deeds are good, others bad, and that Christ must blot out all record of the bad deeds if the saved are to enter a perfect heaven. For Ford, as for Heppenstall, sin is an ineradicable part of the human condition; no deeds are, of themselves, "good." If all sin was blotted out in the sanctuary, there would, for Ford, be no saints left to save. In short, Ford's conception of salvation made the doctrine of the Sanctuary redundant.³² On October 27, 1979, Desmond Ford publicly announced that he did not believe in the Sanctuary doctrine. A year later, a landmark conference was held at Glacier View, Colorado, to discuss the question, and although over a quarter of the Adventist theologians, ministers, and administrators present did not appear to believe in the Sanctuary doctrine either, Desmond Ford lost his ministerial credentials and left church employment.³³

A multitude of factors contributed to Ford's rejection of the Sanctuary doctrine. A biblical scholar with a particular interest in the book of Daniel, Ford found the traditional Adventist interpretation of certain crucial texts unsatisfactory.³⁴ The influence of Ellen White had been undermined by the historical research of the 1970s, with the result that Ford, himself an Ellen White enthusiast, felt able to qualify the scope of her authority in the light of her "errors" on the Sanctuary question.³⁵ But at the root of his attack on the doctrine was his conviction that the blotting out of individual sins is no part of salvation history. Ford took the implications of *Questions on Doctrine* to their

logical conclusion. If the atonement was completed on the cross, then the sanctuary can only mediate its benefits to humans. If Christ did not have a fallen human nature, then there is no precedent for the perfection of humans. Thus the benefits of the atonement mediated to men and women in the sanctuary service cannot be such as to bring them to perfection. If they are not brought to perfection, they are saved as sinners. If they are saved as sinners, their sins do not need to be individually eradicated. There are thus no supplementary benefits of the atonement that need be mediated to humans, and the heavenly ministry of Christ becomes superfluous.

The sequence of events that leads from *Questions on Doctrine* to the dismissal of Desmond Ford is a remarkable example of the way in which a web of theological ideas can unravel once a single thread has been cut. However, it would be foolish simply to dismiss this history as revealing the unintended consequences of the church's zeal for public recognition in the 1950s. To perceive the historical and theological context of these events, it is necessary to examine the early development of Adventist theology in the nineteenth century—in particular the church's understanding of the doctrine of humanity.

The central element in early Adventist thought was the immediacy of the Second Advent. From this was derived a particular understanding of human beings, which in turn determined the Adventist understanding of salvation. D. P. Hall was the first Seventh-day Adventist to give a systematic account of the doctrine of humanity in the light of this apocalyptic orientation. In 1854 he argued that “*man is a unit, composed of dust, his mental and moral nature inhering in the organized man.*”³⁶ His purpose was to attack the conventional Christian belief that human beings possess immortal souls, his reasoning being that if immortal souls go to heaven or hell at death, there is no need for the Second Coming, the resurrection of the dead, and the Judgment.³⁷

In asserting that the spirit is neither immortal nor separable from the body, Hall followed the so-called “conditionalism” of the influential Millerite preacher George Storrs. In the conditionalist view, immortality is bestowed on believers when Jesus returns, not when they die.³⁸ But like many other Adventists, Hall was also motivated by his opposition to spiritualism, which undermined one of the most attractive features of the Adventist message: the hope of being reunited with the dead. His book, *Man Not Immortal: The Only Shield Against the Seductions of Modern Spiritualism*, argued that if it is only death that separates the living from their departed friends, there is no reason to wait expectantly for the Second Advent.³⁹

The early Adventists followed Hall in thinking that humans were indivisible beings who did not possess natural immortality. The saints would be translated at the Second Coming. The righteous dead would be resurrected at the same time, while the sinful dead would have to wait until after the millennium for their resurrection and final destruction. The Adventists, in these early years,

focused on translation rather than resurrection.⁴⁰ In translation, individuals are taken directly from earth to heaven without passing through death. Entire persons are saved, not simply their souls. At the Second Coming, the saints will be “clothed with immortality,” but their complete humanity will remain, for they are about to enter a divine realm populated by beings with material bodies. Belief in the unity of mortal beings was thus the natural corollary of a concern with the Second Advent and its attendant emphasis on translation.

The Adventist answer to the question “What will be saved?” has always been “the entire person.” But the answer to the supplementary question “How will people be saved?” has been formulated differently, depending on how close Adventists felt the prospect of translation to be.

In early Adventist history when the Second Coming was expected at any moment, there was one criterion: the saved would be those who passed the eschatological test of the Sabbath. James White was blunt: “If we violate the fourth [commandment], we shall fall in the day of slaughter.”⁴¹ This view was modified, however, when the Second Coming did not occur as many had anticipated during the Shut-Door period. If people now had to wait for translation, they needed to be adequately prepared. Their sins had to be expunged by Christ’s work in the sanctuary in heaven, and they needed to acquire the characteristics that would enable them to fill the heavenly roles vacated by the angels who had rebelled with Satan. In Ellen White’s words, “God proves His people in this world. This is the fitting-up place to appear in His presence.”⁴² As the character would remain unchanged at the Second Advent, it was natural for this preparation to be continued to perfection.⁴³

The criteria of salvation were thus elaborated to include not just correct belief and obedience to the law but also a completely self-disciplined body and character. This requirement was a corollary of the idea that at translation it was the unified body and soul that were to be taken to heaven. Eschatology demanded a flawless saint and a unified human being; the two together necessitated the perfection of the whole person. Accordingly, Ellen White introduced two new ingredients into the process: the strict control of sexual appetite, and an abstemious, vegetarian diet. Her counsel was specific: Meat “strengthens the animal passions,” so “grains and fruits prepared free from grease, and in as natural a condition as possible, should be the food for the tables of all who claim to be preparing for translation to heaven.”⁴⁴

This emphasis on the conscious control of every habit as a means of transforming the entire person was uniquely appropriate to the Adventist understanding of human nature as a unified whole. But like the previous emphasis on the keeping of the Sabbath, it was only capable of sustaining the spiritual life of the Adventist movement for a brief period. When the Second Advent was expected at any moment, it was appropriate that the chief criterion of salvation should be the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath. It was a habit that

could be acquired within a week. As the apocalypse receded from view, the emphasis shifted to self-control. But that, too, could be practiced to apparent perfection within a relatively short time. If all that was required was modification of behavior, then the saints could soon be perfected for translation.

When Christ again did not return as expected, Adventist soteriology underwent further elaboration. In the late nineteenth century, Ellen White emphasized another requirement for translation: the need for spiritual perfection, achieved through Jesus' presence within the believer. "When the character of Christ shall be perfectly reproduced in His people," she suggested, "then He will come to claim them as his own."⁴⁵ This kind of perfection was less easily obtained than the behavioral perfection on which the Adventists had focused earlier. One of White's earliest statements on this theme came in 1873: "The perfection of Christian character depends wholly upon the grace and strength found alone in God. . . . System and order are highly essential, but none should receive the impression that these will do the work without the grace and power of God operating upon the mind and heart."⁴⁶ Perfection understood in this way was only to be realized with difficulty. It was, she wrote in 1889, "a lifelong work, unattainable by those who are not willing to strive for it in God's appointed way, by slow and toilsome steps."⁴⁷

Ellen White's understanding of salvation owed something to her Methodist background.⁴⁸ Methodism emphasized the need for personal godliness, and the quest for perfection became the focus of the mid-nineteenth-century Holiness Movement.⁴⁹ But the prophetess's interpretation of perfection differed from that of John Wesley's followers, and she condemned "Methodist sanctification" as a "false theory."⁵⁰ Wesley perceived the "second blessing"—the moment of perfection—to be a distinct event that took place between the time at which individuals were justified and their deaths. Although he admitted that perfection "may be gradually wrought in some," he considered it "infinitely desirable . . . that it should be done instantaneously."⁵¹ White, on the other hand, maintained that "Sanctification is not the work of a moment, an hour, or a day. It is a continual growth in grace."⁵² She made no absolute distinction between justification and sanctification and saw both as part of a single process that culminated in perfection prior to translation. Her understanding was eschatological rather than ontological.⁵³

Nevertheless, a Wesleyan-type perfection was propagated by some Adventists such as E. J. Waggoner, whose experience was similar to that of contemporary Americans who attended the camp meetings of the Holiness Movement. Waggoner's enthusiasm was grounded in an experience he had in 1882 at a camp meeting in Healdsburg, California: "In that moment I had my first positive knowledge, which came like an overwhelming flood, that God loved me and that Christ died for me. . . . I knew then, by actual sight, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself; I was the whole world with all its sin."⁵⁴

Waggoner and his fellow collaborator, A. T. Jones, attempted to communicate this experience to the Adventist community at the church's Minneapolis conference of 1888. At this meeting the questions of inner perfection and the eschatological understanding of holiness were the subjects of heated debate.⁵⁵

The message that Waggoner and Jones preached concerned the immanence of God in the world and the sanctifying power of Christ within the individual. As Jones proclaimed in 1889, as faith grows, "more and more of his power and goodness will come to us, and just before probation closes we shall be like him indeed, and then we shall be keeping the commandments of God in fact because there will be so much of him in us that there will be none of ourselves there."⁵⁶ This account of salvation differed from those to which Adventists were accustomed in several ways: the emphasis was shifted from obedience to faith, from the actions of the body to the orientation of the mind; the goal of the religious life was changed from conformity to an external law to receptivity to the in-dwelling Christ. The emphasis on perfection, however, did not change. Adventists could hardly reject perfectionism while they believed in the unity of the entire person, and they were tied to their belief in the unity of the whole person by the expectation of translation rather than death.

Salvation was seen as a process of two stages: first, acceptance and justification, and then the sanctified life. Ellen White concentrated on the second aspect; she described the process as one in which "we submit ourselves to Christ, the heart is united with His heart, the will is merged in His will, the mind becomes one with His mind, [and] the thoughts are brought unto captivity to Him." And she agreed with Jones in anticipating that this harmony could be achieved only "just before the close of probation."⁵⁷ Jones himself placed greater emphasis on the first part of the process: the infusion of righteousness that accompanied the acceptance of justification. As he wrote in 1900: "While of yourself you can do nothing, God, who dwelleth in you, will work in you that which is pleasing in his sight through Jesus Christ."⁵⁸ Waggoner took this belief to its natural conclusion in a sermon in 1899: "[God] says that the life of Jesus should be manifested in our mortal flesh; and when that life is dwelling in our mortal flesh, mortality does not have any hold on it."⁵⁹ In the Holy Flesh movement, this idea found more dramatic expression, but it was still only the logical development of Adventism's longstanding concern for perfection in readiness for the translation of the whole individual.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, it was Ellen White's emphasis on sanctification that tended to dominate Adventist thinking about salvation. But her new interest in the deity of Christ, displayed in books like the *Desire of Ages*, also drew attention to the all-sufficiency of his sacrificial death. As a consequence, a minister, A. F. Ballenger, became the first Adventist in the twentieth century to suggest that the atonement was completed on the cross.⁶⁰ White immediately rejected Ballenger's interpretation, but quoting from the

Desire of Ages, he argued in 1909 that the church's understanding of Christ's heavenly ministry was wrong, and the need for further expiation of human sin was unnecessary.⁶¹ Responding to Ballenger, the administrator E. E. Andross defended Christ's priestly role on the basis that "there must be an examination of the books of record to determine who, through repentance of sin, and faith in Christ, are entitled to the benefits of His atonement."⁶² The task was all the more urgent since he believed that "the great day of atonement is almost ended," and "the great day of the Lord is near at hand."⁶³

This understanding held until the 1930s. Although many church members at that time felt that Christ might return very soon, it was evident that several generations of Adventists had now died without experiencing translation. This fact prompted a series of reassessments. First, M. L. Andreasen argued that perfection was now unattainable except by the last generation on earth.⁶⁴ Second, two Adventist missionaries, Robert J. Wieland and Donald K. Short, seeking a solution to the sexual promiscuity they discovered among Adventists in Africa, argued that the answer lay in the 1888 agitation of Waggoner and Jones.⁶⁵ In 1950, they suggested that the church had not accepted the 1888 message, but that if it did so now, the Adventist people would obtain the perfection needed for their translation. As they put it: "The cleansing of the sanctuary can never be complete until the Minneapolis incident of our history is fully understood, and the tragic mistake rectified."⁶⁶ And lastly, Brinsmead postulated that only a miraculous infusion of perfection could enable individuals to cross the gap from time to eternity.

Brinsmead's opponents asserted that the gulf was unbridgeable. Such a view not only marked their departure from the traditions of Adventist soteriology, but it also implied that the Second Coming had receded even further into the more distant horizons of their minds. In the late 1960s a survey indicated that 44 percent of Adventists questioned considered that the Second Advent received less emphasis in the preaching of the church than thirty years previously, while only 15 percent thought its relative importance had increased.⁶⁷ It is in this context that Edward Heppenstall's emphasis on justification in the 1960s should be understood. Although his soteriology was a response to Brinsmead's perfectionism, which in turn was a reaction to the new soteriology of *Questions on Doctrine*, the theology of justification can be viewed as a way of compensating for a decline in belief in an imminent Second Coming.

Justification enables believers to be made righteous immediately rather than at the end of the world. It bypasses the actual perfection previously deemed necessary for translation at the end of time because believers, without changing their sinful state, can be declared righteous at any time. The wide appeal of justification in the 1960s indicated that by this point many Adventists were simply looking for an answer to the question of how perfection might be achieved in the present, rather than by an increasingly remote final generation

of the future. It is significant in this regard that Heppenstall rarely mentioned the prospect of translation and never discussed the character of the last generation. Heppenstall broke the connection between Adventist soteriology and Adventist eschatology, and Ford abandoned the theory of Christ's heavenly ministry because he perceived no need for the blotting out of sins in preparation for an imminent translation.

But important as Ford's rebellion was, it did not have the lasting effect that Adventist leaders feared and that his followers hoped. The decisive way the church leadership dealt with the crisis was a factor in this. But more important in the longer term was the change in the eschatological climate within the denomination. The 1980s and 1990s proved to be a period of renewed apocalyptic speculation inside Adventism. Ford's agitation was itself widely believed to be a portent of Christ's soon coming, as Lewis Walton demonstrated in 1981 with his book *Omega*. Tens of thousands of church members bought Walton's work, suggesting that, even at the time, Adventists as a whole were more interested in Ford as a sign of the end than in his arguments about the Sanctuary doctrine.

With the immediacy of the Second Advent once more at the forefront of their minds, Adventists inevitably began to think about their salvation in terms more in line with a looming eschatology. To church leaders, this primarily meant reviving the Sanctuary doctrine and stressing the need for eliminating individual sins so that Adventists might be readied for impending translation. The opportunity came in the new series of *Twenty-Seven Fundamental Beliefs* issued in 1980, which staunchly defended the Sanctuary doctrine. The statement also, significantly, reverted to the idea that Christ's heavenly ministry completed the atonement that began on the cross. The words were carefully chosen, but the reversal of a thirty-year tide in Adventist soteriology was not hard to discern. The statement said that in 1844 Christ "entered the second and last phase of His *atoning* ministry," and it referred to the investigative judgment as "*part of the ultimate disposition of all sin.*"⁶⁵ These declarations were then followed by eight official studies on Christ's heavenly ministry, aimed at answering every argument that Ford and others had made against it. The volumes were published between 1981 and 1992 and were largely successful.⁶⁶ They could not have been the only reason, but belief in Christ's heavenly ministry increased from 44 to 61 percent in surveys conducted in 1991 and 1997.⁶⁷

After the Sanctuary doctrine had so been rehabilitated, the church also began the return to its pre-*Questions on Doctrine* position on Christ's human nature. The retreat in this case, however, was anything but orderly as the denomination's leading academics took opposing sides, and Adventist leaders, responding to different pressures, sent out conflicting messages on the way back. Once again, the restoration of the old position can be said to have started with the 1980 statement of beliefs. It stated, without distinguishing between the situation before and after the fall, that Christ "lived and experienced temptation as

a human being.”⁷³ However, even this mild formulation went too far for those Adventists who continued to propagate aspects of Heppenstall and Ford’s theology. One of these was the most prominent theologian at the denomination’s Southern Missionary College in Tennessee, Norman R. Gulley. In 1982 he maintained that Christ took Adam’s spiritual nature before the fall, although he allowed that Christ inherited Adam’s physical limitations after the fall.⁷³

The opposition to this view was led by two independent, conservative Adventist ministries, the Hartland Institute and Hope International, whose collective *raison d’être* appeared to be the desire to remove completely from the denomination any lingering trace of *Questions on Doctrine*. In 1986 Ralph Larson, a retired Adventist academic attached to Hope International, published *The Word Was Made Flesh*, a collection of hundreds of quotations supporting his contention that all Adventists up to *Questions on Doctrine* believed that Christ took Adam’s nature—spiritual *and* physical—after the fall. Larson charged Froom et al. of perpetrating a gigantic fraud on the Adventist movement, based on their inadequate understanding of “their own church history.”⁷³ The Australian educator Colin Standish, the president of Hartland Institute, and his twin brother, the physician Russell Standish, subsequently praised Larson’s research. In their view Jesus’ fallen human nature was the key to comprehending “character perfection,” for only “those who believe Christ was manifest in the flesh of fallen human nature understand the godliness that Christ provides for all who in faith accept Him.”⁷⁴

Larson and the Standishes drew some comfort from the release in 1988 of *Seventh-day Adventists Believe*, a semi-official commentary on the church’s Twenty-Seven Fundamental Beliefs. This was the work of the denomination’s Ministerial Association and involved almost two hundred individuals drawn from Adventists in different parts of the world.⁷⁵ But as might be expected of a production of this kind, it was filled with compromise statements, of which the passage on Christ’s human nature was no exception: “The Bible draws a parallel between Adam and Christ,” it explained, but “Adam had the advantage over Christ. . . . he had a perfect humanity possessing full vigor of body and mind.” But when Jesus “took on human nature the race had already deteriorated through 4,000 years of sin. . . . So that He could save those in the utter depths of degradation, Christ took a human nature that, compared with Adam’s unfallen nature, had decreased in physical and mental strength.”⁷⁶ As a result of this exposition, Gulley, who was part of the team who put it together, also drew comfort from the book. The use of the word “degradation” fitted in with Larson’s belief that Christ had to battle with the same inner conflicts as other children of Adam. But the emphasis on physical and mental deterioration was in line with Gulley’s view that it was merely Christ’s capacities that were diminished.

These ambiguities notwithstanding, the leadership of the church in America remained concerned about the impact Hartland Institute and Hope Inter-

national were making on the Adventist laity. In 1992, in a broadside called *Issues: The Seventh-day Adventist Church and Certain Private Ministries*, they accused the two groups of raising the doctrine to an article of faith. They claimed the organized church had “never taken a position on the human nature of Christ other than to affirm that He was fully human as well as fully divine.”⁷⁷ But this was not strictly true. The Declaration of 1872 had stated that Christ “took on the nature of the seed of Abraham for the redemption of our fallen race,” as both Hope International and Hartland were quick to point out.⁷⁸

But the approach of the American leaders emboldened an associate editor of the *Review*, Roy Adams. In 1994 he published *The Nature of Christ: Help For a Church Divided Over Perfection*. This was notable for betraying deep-seated official resentment of Andreasen, who was blamed for starting this whole debate. Adams denigrated not just his theology, but the man as well: “I have difficulty seeing in Andreasen anything resembling the portrait of the absolutely perfect ones whom he taught will comprise earth’s final generation of Christians.”⁷⁹ But Adams’s real target was Andreasen’s latter-day disciple Ralph Larson and his *Word Was Made Flesh*. He found Larson’s arguments “labored, forced and unconvincing,” his explanations “artificial and contrived,” and part of his evidence “totally fabricated.”⁸⁰ It was not immediately apparent how this venomous language was helping a divided church, as the subtitle of his book purported to claim. But Adams was attempting to reconcile *Questions on Doctrine* with the church’s current positions, a task that was becoming increasingly difficult.⁸¹

For as another 1990s history of Adventist Christology showed, the dominant Adventist view, perhaps even at the time of the publication of *Questions on Doctrine*, was that Christ inherited a fallen human nature. The author of this study, the Swiss Adventist philosopher Jean Zurcher, pointed out that volumes of the *Bible Commentary* published in 1957, the same year as *Questions on Doctrine*, contained supplementary Ellen White material that reaffirmed the notion of Christ’s fallen human nature, as did the two volumes of *Selected Messages*, Ellen White compilations released in the following year.⁸² In 1996 and 1997, two new protagonists, a minister, Jack Sequeira, and an Andrews University professor, Woodrow Whidden, added further nuances to the argument. Sequeira advocated the fallen, or what was also called the postlapsarian view, arguing, however, that this established Jesus as humanity’s Savior, rather than, as his fellow advocates believed, humanity’s Exemplar.⁸³

Whidden, on the other hand, supported the unfallen, or prelapsarian view, after a thorough examination of Ellen White’s words on the subject, some of which the professor showed were contradictory. But in a spirit of reconciliation he invited one of Hope International’s supporters, Kevin Paulson, to comment on his findings. Paulson conceded some ground in order to explain White’s contradictory statements. He took the novel view that Jesus, like all humans, in

fact possessed two fallen natures: a lower nature of carnal lust and inherent corruption, and a higher nature of the will, which could overcome the lower nature. When Ellen White said that Jesus had the same propensities as humans, she was referring to this lower nature, Paulson said, but when she stated that he did not have propensities like humans, she was invoking the higher nature. But this made no difference to the overall concept, and Paulson dismissed Whidden's defense of the unfallen view as "utterly impossible."⁸⁴

In 2000, in another report on Hope International and Hartland, the church again criticized their obsessive concentration on Christ's sinful nature.⁸⁵ It was conspicuous, however, that on this occasion the church did not attack the theology of the two groups. Kevin Paulson, among others, noticed that the doctrinal disagreements between the church and the ministries had suddenly dwindled to almost nothing.⁸⁶ It was therefore not surprising that the *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, unveiled in the same year, came more or less into line with the conservatives' position. It declared with Ellen White, the Hartland Institute, and Hope International that Jesus "took human nature in its fallen condition with its infirmities and liabilities," after it was "weakened and deteriorated by four thousand years of sin."⁸⁷

These statements officially laid to rest the idea in *Questions on Doctrine* that Jesus was "exempt from the inherited passions and pollutions that corrupt the natural descendants of Adam." With faith thus reestablished in the idea that Christ was not born with an advantage over men and women, the way was now clear to reassert the possibility of perfection. Despite some reservations, the *Handbook* declared that perfection "is, in a meaningful sense, realizable."⁸⁸ Some Adventists continued to deny outright that Jesus' "sinlessness is presented in the New Testament as an attainable state for Christians in this life, either in the last days, or any other day."⁸⁹ But the status of the *Handbook* ensured that perfectionism once more became an authorized teaching of the church.

Although the various twists in this debate could hardly have been predicted, the latter developments can all be seen to have stemmed from the Twenty-Seven Fundamental Beliefs. Once this declaration reaffirmed the Sanctuary doctrine, the other components that went with it, the sinful nature of Christ and the perfectibility of humans, started to fit back into place. The events between the adoption of the new statement of beliefs in 1980 and the publication of the *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology* in 2000 can also be viewed as the mirror image of those that took place between the publication of *Questions of Doctrine* and the rejection of Christ's heavenly ministry by Desmond Ford. Just as *Questions on Doctrine* eventually unraveled the Sanctuary doctrine, so the reaffirmation of the Sanctuary doctrine gradually undermined *Questions on Doctrine*.

All of this suggested that Walter Martin's declaration that the majority of Adventists did not hold "heretical" beliefs about the human condition was not just

premature, it was probably never true at all. In retrospect, the publication of *Questions on Doctrine* seems to have been an aberrant event that always rested on rather tenuous foundations. Most Adventists did not believe the things the book claimed they did, and the church slowly turned against it.⁹⁰ In a special annotated edition of *Questions on Doctrine* issued in 2003, George Knight finally acknowledged that on the human nature of Christ, the book “did make a substantial shift in the generally accepted Adventist view,” and that Andersen was right to contend that the authors “had not told the truth about the longstanding denominational teaching” on the subject.⁹¹

Toward the end of his career, Martin knew that this kind of reappraisal was going on. In one of his last books, *The Kingdom of the Cults*, he included an appendix called “The Puzzle of Seventh-day Adventism” in which he noted the backsliding from *Questions on Doctrine*.⁹² But he elected not to change his famous judgment, and this is generally why Adventism is rarely classified as a sect today and is widely perceived as an evangelical denomination.

The Development of Adventist Theology

ADVENTISM'S CONCORD WITH evangelicalism did not just cause problems inside the denomination. It also provoked conflicting responses from major evangelical authors of the day. Walter Martin hoped that "evangelical Christianity as a whole will extend the hand of fellowship to a group of sincere, earnest fellow Christians."¹ But Norman Douty disagreed, arguing that "as long as Adventism remains Adventism it must be repudiated."² Anthony Hoekema was more ingenuous, pleading with his "friends, the Adventists, to repudiate the cultic features and unscriptural doctrines which mar Seventh-day Adventism."³ Other comments about the sectarian character of Adventist beliefs were carried by evangelical journals like *The Sunday School Times* and *The King's Business*.⁴

The debate reflected, in part, a wider trend occurring in the movement at the time. In the 1950s, self-styled evangelicals were concerned to differentiate themselves from other Protestants. But as evangelicalism itself became more successful and moved closer to, and perhaps even became, the mainstream, it also became less concerned with defining its own boundaries. The acceptance of Adventism within the evangelical family may have had as much to do with changes in the latter as the former. As evangelicalism grew less sectarian, Seventh-day Adventism began to look more evangelical, and investigators like Martin came to the place where they could conclude that "Adventists are a truly Christian group."⁵

But in making this or any other assessment about the denomination, any reviewer is confronted by the difficulty of "finding" Adventist theology. Is it composed of ideas preached from the pulpit, published by the press, or discussed

among academic colleagues? Is it represented in authorized publications like *Questions on Doctrine* or the *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*? Some beliefs, such as the Sanctuary doctrine, are officially promulgated but may be doubted by Adventist academics. Others, such as the complete inerrancy of the Scriptures, are probably believed by most church members but not officially endorsed. Many elements of the church's eschatology are carefully taught to would-be converts but play no active part in the internal theological life of the church. There are, accordingly, discrepancies both between the beliefs emphasized in internal discussion and those expounded in outside evangelism, and between the ideas that circulate in various parts of the church's organization.

It is therefore not always easy to determine heterodoxy in Adventism or to predict who will eventually end up as a heretic. Kellogg was deemed to promote erroneous pantheistic views, yet W. W. Prescott, who believed in pantheism and who, during the course of his career, also managed to support a rival prophetess to Ellen White, never came under the same suspicion. Brinsmead taught a variation of the Sanctuary doctrine and was immediately considered a dangerous fanatic, whereas Heppenstall's anti-perfectionism, which was perhaps more alien to the Adventist tradition, did him no harm whatsoever. Richard Rice's idea that God's power is restricted by human beings might have seemed in conflict with the church's Twenty-Seven Fundamental Beliefs, but perhaps because the concept went with the grain of the church's general anthropomorphism, he survived, while Andreasen was condemned for defending previously orthodox positions on the atonement and the human nature of Christ. It appears that heresy in Adventism has less to do with specific doctrinal positions than with the relationship of an individual to the general theological orientation of the church at the time.

What the membership itself thinks can be ascertained more easily. The General Social Survey indicates that Adventists identify themselves as fundamentalists, and internal studies suggest that they are usually strong believers in their own doctrines, even if they no longer attend church.⁶ But not all doctrines are of equal concern. A survey in 1995 found that the Adventist beliefs that most church members felt needed more emphasis were those regarding salvation and the Second Advent; in the middle range were distinctive Adventist preoccupations such as the Sabbath, the Sanctuary, and the prophetic role of Ellen White; low on the list were traditional Christian doctrines such as baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the Trinity.⁷ If the same survey had been conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, the results would not have been the same—no one would have accepted the doctrine of the Trinity, and there would have been a much greater emphasis on keeping the law—but they would not have been fundamentally different either, for the central concerns of Adventists have always been salvation, the Sabbath, and the Second Coming.

Although they came to different conclusions, the opinions of Martin, Hoekema, and others were all based on the assumption that Adventism's general

theology stood close to conservative evangelicalism but was separated from it by the denomination's distinctive positions. The standard Adventist response to this has been to show that even the unusual views of Adventism are drawn from sources that evangelicals claim as their own. In his enormous works, LeRoy Edwin Froom traced the roots of Adventist eschatology and the doctrine of the non-immortality of the soul through the centuries. Adventists have also been active in excavating the lost seventh-day Sabbatarians of history, finding their own position heralded by the ancient churches of the Ethiopians, Armenians, and Celts.⁸ More recently, Bryan Ball has attempted to demonstrate that the seeds of Seventh-day Adventist thought were planted by seventeenth-century English Puritans, and W. L. Emmerson has looked for precursors of Adventism in the radical wing of the Protestant Reformation.⁹

While it is true that twenty-first-century Adventism differs from contemporary evangelicalism in only a few beliefs, such a doctrine-by-doctrine comparison is not altogether helpful in establishing the character and historical position of Adventist theology. Within Christianity, otherwise diverse groups may share superficially similar theological positions for entirely fortuitous reasons, and many of the historical studies by Adventists have investigated parallels rather than connections. But in recent years, a clearer picture of Adventism's historical position has emerged through studies of the church's origins. The most important influences on the formation of Adventist theology were Millerism, Seventh Day Baptism, the Christian Connection, and Methodism. Millerism was the movement from which Adventism emerged; Seventh Day Baptism bequeathed the defining doctrine of the Saturday Sabbath; Joseph Bates and James White, the most important early Adventist leaders, were both ministers in the Christian Connection, and Ellen White was raised a Methodist.

All the early Adventists were former Millerites, and for some years, they believed that no one else could be saved. Like other Shut-Door groups, the Sabbatarians continued to accept the validity of the date of October 22, 1844, and by making it the start of the investigative judgment they effectively tied Seventh-day Adventist theology to Millerite history. Because Seventh-day Adventism also proved vastly more successful than its more mainstream ex-Millerite rival, the Advent Christian Church, Seventh-day Adventists have come to think of themselves as the natural heirs of William Miller—a view that finds prophetic expression in their interpretation of the three angels' messages. But to any ex-Millerite of the 1840s, this claim would have seemed presumptuous. The Sabbatarian Adventist group accounted for a maximum of 0.2 percent of former Millerites; its early leaders, except for Joseph Bates, had not played a significant role in the Millerite movement itself; and the October 22 date was, in any case, the product of Samuel Snow's Seventh-month movement, only briefly accepted by Miller himself. The centrality of Millerism to Adventism is therefore partly the retrospective appropriation of a heritage to which Miller might have

thought Seventh-day Adventists had little claim. However, it also reflects the centrality of the Millerite experience to the Adventist pioneers and their faithful adherence to its scheme of prophetic interpretation at a time when others were prepared to give it up.

Because Millerism was an interdenominational movement with a single focus, it is not surprising to find its disappointed adherents branching off in different directions. The route taken by the founders of Seventh-day Adventism was in significant measure determined by the allegiance of Bates and White to the Christian Connection, a small loosely organized group that sought to restore the primitive Christianity practiced by the apostles. A radical product of the Second Great Awakening, conceived in reaction to prevailing Calvinist orthodoxy, the Christian Connection looked for the reform of society as well as of Christianity and was a vehicle for anti-slavery and temperance campaigns. Its main theological legacy to Adventism came in the form of anti-Trinitarianism, opposition to substitutionary theories of the atonement, and a strong emphasis upon personal character and obedience.

These preoccupations are clearly reflected in nineteenth-century Adventism, but in the end it was Ellen White's Methodist heritage that proved more enduring. Though never explicitly opposed to any of the doctrines her husband brought with him from the Christian Connection, Ellen White's language retained much of the theological vocabulary of Methodism. Hers was a less cognitive and more experiential faith. It allowed the reinterpretation of obedience as sanctification, and, after James's death in 1881, opened the way to a theology in which Christ became more central to the Godhead, and the cross to the atonement, which eventually facilitated Adventism's twentieth-century alignments with fundamentalism and evangelicalism.

Even so, the church is not the estranged child of Methodism or any other mainstream American Protestant body. It is rather an orphaned offspring of the brief liaison of the several Protestant groups that made up the Millerite movement. There is, accordingly, no single doctrine or historical event that separates Adventists from the mainstream, and no mainstream group with which Adventists can forget their differences and reunite. In historical terms, Seventh-day Adventism is two stages removed from the Protestant mainstream. Thus Adventist identity does not hinge on a few doctrines that deviate from those of the mainstream (as Martin and Hoekema imagined) but on a distinct history that is isolated from the mainstream. Of course religious outsiders can become insiders, but Adventists are a people who are separated by their history, and this puts a natural limit on their capacity to move from the margins of American life toward the center.¹⁹

The denominationalization thesis, or church-sect theory, as it is sometimes called, has been devised to measure the assumed drift of deviant minorities toward the mainstream. It is an old theory now, the categories having first been

defined by Ernst Troeltsch back in 1911. But ever since he published the landmark *Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, almost every sociologist of religion has used his terminology to chart the development of religious movements.¹¹ H. Richard Niebuhr probably made the most influential contribution by arguing that sects progress to denominations as a result of the need to socialize a second generation into the minority faith.¹² Many scholars have subsequently criticized or modified Niebuhr's arguments, among them Stark and Bainbridge, who developed a spectrum of "tension," which at one end defined sects as being in high tension with their surroundings, and at the other, saw churches as being in low tension with theirs.¹³ Whatever the precise formulation, the idea that religious minorities in tension with their environments tend to reduce that tension over time is widely accepted, and sociologists who have studied Adventism, like Schwartz, Theobald, and Wilson, have used variants of the thesis to build their respective models of the church's development.¹⁴ Among the promoters of church-sect theory, the verdict on Adventism appears to be universal: Seventh-day Adventists have largely left their sectarian past behind and "taken their place among major Protestant denominations."¹⁵

Adventist interpretations of their own theological history are broadly compatible with this approach. LeRoy Edwin Froom was the first to acknowledge and interpret the theological changes that have taken place within Adventism. Froom argued for a kind of progressive revelation. The church had gradually been led toward a complete understanding of the Christian gospel after a century in which the important truths, such as the Sabbath, had been accompanied by the misapprehension of the doctrine of Christ and his saving work. This process had, Froom argued, achieved the alignment of Adventism with evangelical Christianity.¹⁶ Another Adventist perspective gives a different theological interpretation of the same set of data. Conservative Adventists, such as the former church president Robert Pierson, perceive the changes that have taken place within Adventism as a decline from pristine purity rather than as evidence of continued divine guidance. According to this school of thought, the move from sect toward denomination has involved the dilution of the Adventist message in deference to the expectations of secular academics.¹⁷ The church's own academics, such as the more detached historians in Gary Land's *Adventism in America*, while claiming to make "no attempt to establish an overarching interpretation of the Adventist past," also labor under the influence of the denominationalization thesis, and the sociologist Ronald Lawson, who keeps a close watch on the church, invokes the theory in every paper that he writes.¹⁸

All of these interpretations are agreed on the basic facts. In the nineteenth century, Adventism was tied closely to its peculiar doctrines, and in the twentieth century, those links loosened as Adventism became less distinctive. However, a careful examination of Adventist history warns against a straightforward equation of the nineteenth century with zeal and peculiarity, and the twentieth

with laxity and accommodation. As the preceding chapters reveal, there has not been a linear progression from one orientation to another. The Second Advent has not gradually receded from the Adventist consciousness; awareness of its imminence has ebbed and flowed with the tide of events both inside and outside the church. The Adventist understanding of the process of salvation has received different emphases according to whether translation or resurrection seems the believer's most likely fate. The doctrine of the Sabbath served as a means of distinguishing a group of ex-Millerites, but with the passage of time, this form of identification was replaced by a self-understanding that depended more on history and a sense of organizational continuity. The nineteenth century saw a tension between two understandings of divine nature and activity, both of which initially served as barriers between Adventists and adjacent religious groups but which were synthesized quietly once Adventist identity had been established. In order to maintain unity and to provide a means of generating an effective response to new dilemmas, authoritative sources of guidance have been required. These have been found through using, in varying proportions, the Bible, the writings of Ellen White, the power of human reason, and the authority of the church.

At the risk of over-simplification, these complex interconnected patterns suggest that Adventist theological history falls into at least four, rather than just two, historical divisions. The first, which might be termed Adventist radicalism, is characteristic of the period from Millerism to the death of Ellen White and the outbreak of the First World War. The second, Adventist fundamentalism, emerged in the 1880s, became dominant in the 1920s, and survives to the present day among conservative groups. The third, Adventist evangelicism, rose to prominence in the 1950s and pushed fundamentalism to the margins of the denomination. In the fourth, which became discernable during the 1990s, elements of fundamentalism were re-invoked in a conscious effort to preserve Adventism's distinctiveness and unity.

During the first phase, Adventists were in the vanguard of popular religion. They did not respect the formulations of the ancient Christian councils; they took an Arian position because they felt the Bible justified no other, believed that the atonement took place not on the cross but in heaven, and placed strong emphasis on obedience to the law as the means of salvation. In all of these things, Adventists were not particularly strange. In fact, there is no evidence to suggest that they were any further removed from the mainstream of American religion than Adventists are today. Having acquired almost all their distinctive positions from larger religious groups who already held them, Adventists were not unusual in their fixation with eschatological timetables, their doubts about the Trinity, or their emphasis on human perfectibility. Even the church's insistence on a seventh-day Sabbath was a response to the general obsession with Sunday Sabbath-keeping in nineteenth-century America. The one defining

characteristic is radicalism—a desire to push every aspect of Christianity toward its logical conclusion.²⁹

Adventists were thus not marginalized religious freaks but representative of a large sector of popular religion. It is worth remembering that Adventism's early leaders had connections to America's ruling elite: J. N. Andrews spent part of his youth in a Congressman's house; G. I. Butler's grandfather had been governor of Vermont; Uriah Smith was educated at Philips Exeter Academy; W. W. Prescott was a Dartmouth graduate.³⁰ The early Adventists thought about religion in much the same way as their contemporaries, but because they needed to establish their own identity in a rapidly changing religious environment, they looked for ways to distinguish themselves. The Sabbath served as the primary means of effecting this differentiation. It was a belief upheld by the unique authority of Ellen White. Adventists had their own day of worship and their own prophet, and these two pillars of the church upheld each other while all else was in flux.

In its second phase, which the church entered at the turn of the twentieth century, Adventism underwent its most significant changes. Ellen White died in 1915, and the church was robbed of its chief means of authorizing innovation. The liveliness and flexibility that had characterized Adventist theological debate in the nineteenth century evaporated. The general religious climate had also changed. The groups with which Adventism had once stood shoulder to shoulder had now either disappeared or established their own identity. Adventism, too, now had more than half a century of independent history behind it. The situation was no longer one in which a multitude of religious movements were fighting for survival. The crucial issue of the First World War and the 1920s was the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. Religiously minded Americans felt compelled to take sides for or against evolution, higher criticism, and secular liberalism. Adventists were no exception, and they placed themselves firmly in the fundamentalist camp.

Like the fundamentalists with whom they now enthusiastically identified themselves, Adventists quietly accepted Trinitarianism; took a stronger stand on the inerrancy of the Bible; accepted, in line with the penal-substitutionary theory, that the cross was a place of atonement; and reaffirmed their belief in human perfectibility in less mystical terms than had been current during the Waggoner and Jones period in the 1890s. At the same time, Adventists maintained and developed certain aspects of their earlier orientation that were now more at odds with the wider culture than they had been earlier. The interwar flowering of Adventist eschatology took place at a time when such speculation no longer found a place in the wider scholarly community, and seventh-day Sabbatarianism was affirmed in a society where Sabbatarianism of any kind was beginning to lose ground.

For most of the twentieth century, the synthesis forged in this second phase

has passed as historic Adventism. A major reason for its success was that it found expression in a series of ambitious publications: George McCready Price's creationist texts; Froom's monumental works on the pre-history of Adventist beliefs; Spalding's four-volume history of the church; F. D. Nichol's meticulous defense of the Millerites; and, under Nichol's editorship, the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*. Even Adventist children had their own multi-volume work, Arthur S. Maxwell's *The Bible Story*.²¹ The middle years of the twentieth century, during which these works appeared, were undoubtedly the golden age of white Adventism in America. Simultaneously buoyed by the war's apparent confirmation of its doom-laden eschatology and by the steady growth and upward mobility of its membership, American Adventism exhibited a new confidence, and in some cases the publications of the era still define the culture of Adventism. For the generation of university-trained academics who came after them, the work of men like Nichol, Price, and Froom might seem amateurish at times, but none of their successors, with the possible exception of Norman Gulley and his *Systematic Theology*, produced work of comparable scale and breadth.

Froom himself was the pivotal figure between the old fundamentalism and the new evangelicalism, the second and third stages of the church's theological development. Since its inception, Adventists had always believed that they could take on all comers in any dispute about theology and history. In the early years, Adventist evangelists frequently challenged local ministers of other denominations to debate. The assumption behind the scholarly achievements of Adventist fundamentalism was that, if only a topic were examined thoroughly enough, the Adventist position would be vindicated. It was this assumption that underlay the dialogue with evangelicals that led to *Questions on Doctrine*. But it was here that the church finally overreached itself, for *Questions on Doctrine* raised uncertainties about what Adventists actually believed that made the evangelical era that followed the most destabilizing in the church's history.

The theological debates of the period focused primarily on the performance-orientated character of Adventist soteriology and on the nature of Christ and of the atonement. But there were also related disputes regarding the degree to which critical scholarship could be applied to the Bible and the spirit of prophecy, which resulted in the undermining of the latter in particular. It was the time when Adventist academics in the church's colleges and universities came of age, and a number of them attacked the very basis of Adventist theology. But in the end, not all that much changed. The church's views on salvation and the Sanctuary remained intact. Like all previous Adventist dissidents, Brinsmead and Ford disappeared from view, once separated from the church, and the denomination went on much as before. The legacy of Adventist evangelicalism proved to be experiential rather than doctrinal. The attention drawn to justification by faith allowed many Adventists to follow the spirit rather than the

letter of the law. In consequence, the legalistic style of argumentation and behavior that had characterized Adventist fundamentalism eventually came to be confined to the self-defined historic Adventists.

For others, as Adventism moved into a fourth stage, there was a greater sense of spiritual freedom, often accompanied by a considerable relaxation of Adventist taboos and a more expressive style of worship. The theological authority of Ellen White was reaffirmed, although a decreasing number of Adventists followed her lifestyle advice.²² In other respects, however, the fourth phase was characterized by the revival of Adventist fundamentalism. The 1990s saw the return of popular apocalyptic speculation by writers like Marvin Moore and Clifford Goldstein. Surveys suggested that church members regained confidence in Ellen White and in the doctrine of the Sanctuary. The period was one in which the historic Adventists clearly won the debate they always thought they were losing, but they did so at a price. Historic Adventists were, in effect, fighting two battles—one for the traditional doctrines of the church, the other against the church's administration, which from the time of *Questions on Doctrine*, had begun to usurp the traditional authority of Ellen White. Victory in the first was achieved at the expense of the second. For it was by enhancing the authority of the church that the administration was able to insist on doctrinal conformity.

This shifted the locus of Adventist theology. The traditional Adventist view was that believers, both individually and collectively, had to conform themselves to the external requirements of the law, to the authority of inspired texts, and to the timetable of the prophecies. In a subtle way, the late twentieth century moved this emphasis from the external to the internal. The reader helps to shape the meaning of the text; the church defines doctrine for the sake of unity in Christ; the readiness of the saints determines the timing of the Second Advent; and, in Richard Rice's open theism, the actions of humans give content to the knowledge of God. The result was a fundamentalism fitted for postmodern times, a fundamentalism without foundations, in which Adventists believe exactly the same things as they did in the 1920s, less because that is what inspired writers have told them to do than because of the positive feedback such beliefs generate for the church as a whole.

The context in which these developments took place was significant. The decline of Adventist evangelicalism can, in part, be attributed to the globalization of the church and the limited enthusiasm displayed by world Adventism, or the ethnic minorities within the American church, for any developments that undermined traditional Adventist orthodoxy.²³ At the same time, Adventism, along with other Protestant groups, was affected by the general reawakening of American conservatism in the late twentieth century that has continued in the early twenty-first. But one of the paradoxes of Adventism is that when the church grows more conservative, it becomes less like conservative evangelicalism, which has long been the church's primary point of reference. There is thus

always a misalignment between position and orientation: a liberal Adventist who stands close to conservative evangelicalism may actually find most evangelicals too conservative in orientation, but a conservatively oriented Adventist will maintain distinctive doctrinal positions and fear that evangelicals will become eschatological adversaries.

A very misleading picture of Adventist history can be derived from concentrating solely on the fractious period between the 1960s and the 1980s. It can appear that the central dynamic of Adventist development has been the move away from historic certainties toward accommodation with the mainstream of American religion. But many who imagined that the church was then undergoing permanent liberalization found their hopes (or fears) disappointed in the late 1980s and 90s when doctrinal distinctiveness was reaffirmed and academic freedom curtailed. At the start of the twenty-first century, Adventist theology stands more or less where it stood before *Questions on Doctrine*.

In any case, the theological changes of the early twentieth century, which involved the public repudiation of the historic certainties of the nineteenth century such as anti-Trinitarianism and a non-substitutionary theory of the atonement, were far more dramatic than any that have taken place since. This does not mean that the shift from distinctiveness to conformity should simply be pushed back in time, for although Adventism's theological position was more distinctive than it is today, it was distinctive in a period in which such theological diversity was the norm. Adventists in the fundamentalist period were more doctrinally accommodating but also increasingly ideologically distinctive as Adventism's focus on eschatology, Sabbatarianism, and health was perpetuated long after America's obsession with these issues had begun to wane. In the late twentieth century, Adventists, with changing social trends, became less distinctive in their lifestyle while maintaining a unique theological identity that serves to reaffirm the autonomy and unity of the church.

There is very little in any of this to support the widely held contention that Adventists have moved from the margins of society toward the mainstream. Adventist theology has rather developed in parallel with that of the mainstream. It was at its most distinctive during a period of great diversity; it became fundamentalist in the era of fundamentalism, softened with the rise of evangelicalism, and firmed up again as society became conservative once more. The denominationalization thesis is not particularly good at describing this kind of interaction. While it may be quite informative about how religious movements develop, it says little about their environment, which is obviously changing at the same time. Sociologists may be united in their opinion about the development of Adventism, but their view seems largely based on an optical illusion. Adventism and the mainstream are rather like two motor vehicles traveling in parallel lanes along a winding road. If one looks solely at Adventism, it can certainly appear that the church has advanced a long way. But if one takes into account

the distance the mainstream has traveled over the same time, it is apparent that Adventism is no nearer the mainstream than it was at the beginning of its circuitous journey.

The clue as to why Adventism as a whole never crosses over into the other lane lies in the Adventist belief, examined in chapters 2 and 3, that America will one day become intolerant. Throughout all the adjustments that have been made to the church's theology, this expectation — perhaps the most striking aspect of Adventism's ideological system — has kept Adventists separate from the rest of American society. But the wider division between the church and the republic cannot be fully appreciated without discussion of Adventism as a social system.

PART 2

*The Adventist Experience and
the American Dream*

The Structure of Society

QUITE APART FROM its distinctive theology, Adventism is a remarkable social phenomenon. In 2001 the church in America operated 886 primary schools, 110 secondary schools offering a complete secondary education, eight colleges, five universities, and one home study-institute. This amounts to the largest Protestant school system in the United States and is second only to the educational program of the Roman Catholic Church. The denomination's nationwide network of health care institutions consists of 62 hospitals, a total of 12,311 beds, and admits more than half a million patients each year. In addition, the church runs a chain of 37 nursing homes and retirement centers that provide a further 4,251 beds and has an average total residency of about 3,900 people at any one time.¹

Two church publishing houses, the Review and Herald Publishing Association in Maryland, and the Pacific Press Publishing Association in Idaho, both publish and print Adventist books that include all Ellen White's volumes; works on Adventist doctrine, history, culture, and worship; general titles on personal spirituality, self-help, and relationships; fiction for adults and children; and tracts and booklets for the public. The two houses also put out more than a hundred periodicals covering a wide variety of official, professional, and minority interests.² The most important are the *Review*, the weekly organ of Seventh-day Adventism; *Signs of the Times*, *Message*, and *El Centinela*, the denomination's principal evangelistic magazines, the latter two aimed at African Americans and Hispanics; *Ministry* magazine, the journal of Adventism's clergy; *Vibrant Life*, a health periodical; and *Insight* (formerly the *Youth's Instructor*), the paper for the church's young people. The church's large literary output is supported by a record label, Chapel Music, which distributes the work of more

than a hundred Adventist musicians; the thirty-two stations that comprise the Adventist Radio Broadcaster's Association; and the transmissions of the Adventist Media Center in California. Several television programs, primarily of an evangelistic nature, are produced there: *Faith for Today*, *It Is Written*, the African American *Breath of Life*, and *Lifestyle Magazine*. From the center, the church also broadcasts the long-established radio program, the *Voice of Prophecy*, and a recently created show, *LifeTalk Radio*.³

Worldwide, the statistics of Adventist society multiply impressively: 5,005 primary schools, 1,214 secondary schools, 99 colleges and universities, 169 hospitals and sanitariums, 128 nursing homes and retirement centers, 57 publishing houses, 409 periodicals, and hundreds of radio stations.⁴ It is clear from this that many of a church member's needs can be accommodated by denominational institutions. Adventists can be born in Adventist hospitals, go to Adventist schools, graduate from Adventist colleges, and receive further training in Adventist universities. They can read Adventist literature, buy Adventist music, listen to Adventist radio programs, and watch Adventist television productions. They can work in Adventist institutions, and, because Adventists tend to cluster around their institutions or administrative centers, they can even live in an Adventist community. When they are ill, they can be treated in Adventist hospitals, and when they are old, they can live out their days in Adventist retirement centers. Adventism is an alternative social system that can meet the needs of its members from the cradle to the grave.

This has not been an easy achievement. From the beginning, the cohesion of the church's social structure has been beset by two fundamental problems. The first has been caused by powerful institutions that at various times have threatened to resist administrative control. The second concerns the large debts incurred from borrowing money to finance and maintain the vast institutionalization. In the early 1900s, over-institutionalization nearly bankrupted the denomination.⁵ More recently, the church in America lost its southern publishing house and its last remaining food manufacturer, although the denomination still has twenty-seven food industries overseas. Other enterprises, such as the California media center, have come very close to insolvency, and in 1990 the hospital network, Adventist Health System/U.S., was broken up to reduce ascending liabilities.⁶ Nevertheless, the creation of an alternative social system can be counted as one of Adventism's greatest successes. It has been achieved through a hierarchical administrative structure and central economic planning.

The basic unit of the Adventist hierarchy is the local church. Groups of churches form the next level of government and are known as conferences. Several conferences are administered by union conferences, and clusters of these in turn are administered by what Adventists call divisions. At conference and union levels, there are also administrative units called missions. These are not financially independent and are usually supported by their parent conference

or union. The highest level of church government is known as the General Conference. The structure is very loosely based on geographical boundaries. In general, churches identify the Adventist presence in local districts, conferences administer the work of Adventists in regions within a country, unions oversee the work of an entire country (or a number of conferences in a country), divisions coordinate Adventist work in several countries, and the General Conference manages Adventism on a world scale. Worldwide there are 55,826 churches, 539 conferences, 99 unions, and 13 divisions organized as East Central Africa, Euro-Africa, Euro-Asia, Inter-America, North America, Northern Asia-Pacific, South America, South Pacific, Southern Africa-Indian Ocean, Southern Asia, Southern Asia-Pacific, Trans-Europe, and Western Africa.⁷ The divisions are really divisions of the General Conference, which originally conducted its operations from Battle Creek, Michigan. In 1903, the General Conference moved to Takoma Park, near Washington, D.C., and since 1989 it has worked from Silver Spring, Maryland.

The top General Conference officials are the president, secretary, and treasurer. The president's office includes one administrative assistant. Below the office of president are nine general vice-presidents, who assist the president in his administrative duties, and thirteen further vice-presidents, who are responsible for the divisions of the church. Next in rank are eight other secretaries, who make up the General Conference secretariat. It is the job of the secretariat to record the proceedings of General Conference meetings and sessions and to process calls for, and maintain contact with, the church's "interdivision employees" or missionaries. General Conference administrative staff also include seven additional treasurers, whose responsibility is to receive and disburse funds and to prepare regular financial statements; an investment team, comprising an associate treasurer and three other colleagues who supervise the church's financial investments; a controller; a director of the Department of Archives and Statistics; and a director of human resources.⁸

In addition, responsibilities at the General Conference are divided among fourteen departments that supervise areas of special interest to Adventists. Among these are Family Ministries, Education, Health Ministries, Ministerial Association, Public Affairs and Religious Liberty, Women's Ministries, and Youth. Each department has one or more associate and assistant directors. Numerous other ancillary services and organizations are also part of the General Conference. They include a formidable media operation that embraces the Adventist News Network; the denomination's press agency; the Adventist Television Network (formerly the Adventist Global Communications Network), which provides satellite and internet links to the membership; and Adventist World Radio, which transmits the Adventist message virtually twenty-four hours a day in more than fifty languages across the globe. There is also the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), the denomination's humanitarian

aid organization, and an office of Global Mission. The Biblical Research Institute, the Geoscience Research Institute, and the Ellen G. White Estate, Inc., are other agencies of the church. The former provide scholarly defenses of the faith in theology and science; the latter acts as custodian and official interpreter of Ellen White's writings and manuscripts.⁹

Virtually the entire membership of the General Conference administration, the departmental directors and their associates, and the directors of the ancillary organizations and their associates sit on the General Conference Executive Committee. The church constitution lays down that the members of the respective division administrations, all the union presidents throughout the world, the heads of the denomination's institutions, and three laypeople and at least one church pastor per division must also sit on the committee.¹⁰ Altogether the Executive Committee consists of about 270 people and has two main roles: it appoints the General Conference Administrative Committee, known as ADCOM; and it meets twice a year at assemblies called the Spring Meeting and the Annual (sometimes referred to as the Autumn) Council. ADCOM, composed of around thirty officials, meets weekly at church headquarters to execute the church's day-to-day business.¹¹ At the Spring Meeting and Annual Council all the members of the executive committee come together and debate policies, vote actions, and agree on budgets.¹²

The most important policymaking meeting, however, is the General Conference session held every five years in a city of the officers' choosing. The General Conference session works on two levels. On one, it is a celebration, a colorful pageant in which glowing reports of the institutional and numerical progress of the church are presented to the membership. On the other, it is a political event in which doctrinal and constitutional changes are made and General Conference and division officers are elected. Ordinary church members have no voting rights at the session, however. The voting constituency consists of two types of official representatives: delegates at large, and regular delegates. The delegates at large are mainly administrative officials who are mandated to "represent the General Conference institutions, divisions of the General Conference, and division institutions."¹³ They include the entire executive committee, all associate directors of the General Conference departments and associations, twenty appointed members of General Conference staff, twenty delegates per division, and other "employees, field secretaries, laypersons, and pastors who are selected by the Executive Committees of the General Conference and its divisions."¹⁴ The regular delegates are representatives of unions, local conferences, and missions, and are composed of two each for every union, one for every union mission, two for every conference, one for every conference mission, and a number up to 400 based on each division's membership as "a proportion of the world Church membership."¹⁵

The church constitution states that divisions must ensure that at least 50 per-

cent of their entire delegations must be "laypersons, pastors, teachers, and non-administrative employees, of both genders, and representing a range of age groups and nationalities," and that "the majority of the above 50 percent shall be laypersons."¹⁶ These provisions are part of an ongoing attempt that started in 1985 to improve lay representation at the General Conference session. Progress, however, has been limited. An analysis of 1,946 delegates who attended the 2000 session indicated that 22 percent were laypeople, the Trans-Europe Division doing best in its delegation with 33 percent. Just over 15 percent were women, with the North American Division (NAD) having the most with 23 percent. Seventy percent of all delegates were aged between 40 and 59. Trans-Europe had the youngest delegation with 10 of the 49 representatives listed as under 30. The General Conference had the oldest with 17 of the 36 delegates who were over 70.¹⁷

But whatever the age, sex, or status of the delegates, their main function at the quinquennial session is to select the members of a nominating committee. This committee has the crucial responsibility of electing the General Conference and division officers. The nominating committee is dominated by representatives from the divisions. They elect 10 percent of their respective delegations to sit on the committee. The delegates at large, who are also represented, elect 8 percent.¹⁸ The method of election in these cases is decidedly ad hoc, the constitution leaving it to the delegations to choose the method "considered by each delegation to be most convenient and efficient, taking into consideration the size of the delegation and other circumstances."¹⁹ Again, only official delegates can serve on the nominating committee, with the exception of those General Conference and division personnel who are standing for re-election. The union presidents, who are not up for re-election, are invariably selected for the committee, forming what can be the committee's most powerful faction. This is particularly true of the North American presidents, who sometimes act in concert and exert wide influence.

Once the nominating committee is formed, it meets in secret and elects the General Conference officers, beginning with the president. For this, the committee chairman accepts the names of up to a dozen or so candidates. The names are discussed and then voted on, with each member voting for one candidate. Unless there is a clear winner on the first secret ballot, the chairman submits the two or three leading names for a second ballot. The winner is then the candidate who emerges with a simple majority. In the next stage of the process, the proposed name is brought to the floor for ratification by the official delegates. This is achieved through a vote by acclamation. The General Conference delegation cannot vote for any other individual, and it has never yet rejected the candidate of the nominating committee. The president-elect then becomes an active but nonvoting member of the nominating committee, which then elects the rest of the General Conference team and the officers of the divisions.²⁰

Adventist leaders insist that this administrative and electoral system is "representative." According to the denomination's *Church Manual*, it is "the form of church government which recognizes that authority in the church rests in the church membership."²¹ The composition of the vital Adventist committees, however, suggests that in practice authority is located in two places: the administrative structure and the church's institutions. The delegates at a General Conference session are mostly officials from these two power centers, and between them, they have total control of the denomination's electoral machinery. Despite a small increase in lay participation in recent years, a General Conference session remains, as one Adventist has observed, "a convocation of denominational employees."²² It is far removed from the average church member, who cannot be said to participate in any direct democratic sense, either in the selection of his representatives or in the election of the leadership. Adventism is not particularly different from other ecclesiastical systems in this respect. But it does not really recognize the authority of church members as the *Church Manual* claims. What the system does represent are the various administrative groups and institutional interests that dominate Adventist society.

This is not surprising when the development of the administrative structure is considered. Adventist government was created in two main stages. The first entailed the initial organization of 1863; the second was the reorganization of 1901, at which point the church took on its modern structure. Both of these developments were responses to the same problem: the question of the church's institutionalization. In the first instance, organization was prompted by the need to retain the denomination's first institution, the publishing house. As early as 1849, the small group of Sabbath keepers established the paper *Present Truth* (later to become the *Review*) around which they soon established a press. By the early 1860s, however, it became apparent that the church could not continue to own this institution unless the denomination itself became a legal entity. Alarmed by the prospect of losing the press, James White led the movement that resulted in the organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1863.²³

The reorganization of 1901 was occasioned by the mushrooming of Adventist institutions in the late nineteenth century. Twelve publishing, seventeen educational, and fourteen medical institutions came into existence between 1885 and 1901.²⁴ Such institutions tended to be operated independently of denominational control, and this resulted in confusion and conflict between them and church leaders. The 1901 General Conference session met to resolve this problem. As a result, most Adventist institutions were brought under the umbrella of the General Conference, and union structures and departments provided the framework for administering them. But in return, representatives of the institutions were granted privileged positions on the church's executive and electoral committees.²⁵ The process did not end here, however. The rapid growth of Ad-

TABLE 1
 Seventh-day Adventist employee to member ratios, 1900–2000.
 Source: *SDA Annual Statistical Report*.

	UNITED STATES			WORLD		
	Employees	Members	Ratio	Employees	Members	Ratio
1900	3,100	61,509	20	3,689	75,767	21
1905	3,700	63,245	18	4,214	87,311	21
1910	4,568	63,917	14	7,699	104,526	14
1915	4,858	74,338	15	9,476	136,879	14
1920	6,236	90,812	15	13,081	185,450	14
1925	7,167	103,507	14	17,469	250,988	14
1930	7,984	114,622	14	21,461	314,253	15
1935	8,513	149,438	18	25,026	422,968	17
1940	10,115	176,469	17	28,854	504,752	17
1945	10,722	202,501	19	30,230	576,378	19
1950	12,509	239,265	19	37,941	756,712	20
1955	14,378	279,574	19	39,743	1,006,218	25
1960	17,902	317,036	18	47,514	1,245,125	26
1965	23,955	363,746	15	62,224	1,578,504	25
1970	27,591	419,254	15	65,957	2,051,864	31
1975	31,598	493,951	16	75,650	2,666,484	35
1980	39,613	571,141	14	92,912	3,480,518	37
1985	42,415	651,594	15	103,960	4,716,859	45
1990	53,735	717,446	13	125,039	6,694,880	54
1995	61,983	790,731	13	144,002	8,812,555	61
2000	76,345	880,921	12	170,840	11,687,229	68

ventist institutions overseas led partially to the creation of the divisions, and a further layer of administrators, in 1913.²⁶

Table 1 attempts to track this institutionalization by measuring the ratio of church employees to church members. The figures should be regarded as estimates only, since the church has compiled its employee statistics inconsistently and in some cases not at all. The figures include all administrative and ministerial workers, the staff of all the church's institutions and businesses, and a large number of non-Adventists who work in the church's hospitals. Workers in privately owned Adventist institutions have been excluded however, as have retired, "honorary" employees, who were sometimes counted in the official figures. The table shows that in America, institutionalization increased from the beginning of the century to 1930, diminished thereafter, but has been on a

broadly upward trend since about 1960. At the millennium, it was higher than ever before. Internationally (including America), the trend parallels that in the United States until the 1950s, at which point institutionalization ceases to keep pace with membership growth. But in terms of the nature of the denomination, the die was already cast. In 1910, in both America and overseas, there was one employee for every fourteen members. It was this that determined the particular nature of Adventist government. The system evolved to give institutions a vote, rather than to offer members a say.

Scaled-down versions of the General Conference structure and electoral processes are duplicated at each level of the church. Divisions, unions, conferences, and missions are run by the officers of a centralized administration and by the directors of the church's fourteen departments. They all also have their own executive committees. The officers of the divisions are elected at the General Conference session. Unions hold their own sessions or constituency meetings every five years, and conferences every two or three years, during which time policies are determined and officers elected according to the constitutional guidelines established by the General Conference. The voting constituency of both unions and conferences consists of official delegates, of whom local ministers and institutional representatives form significant proportions. At the union level, all delegates are effectively appointed by conference or union officials. At the conference level, every local congregation appoints at least one delegate. It is at this level that Adventism is at its most democratic. But the effects of such lay participation are somewhat mitigated (at least in principle) by the automatic right of General Conference officers to be part of the official delegation. Members of the General Conference are also official delegates at union sessions. The election of conference and union personnel is achieved through a nominating committee.²⁷

Even the local congregation is organized along the same basic lines. Its main purpose is to nurture the spiritual well-being of its attendees, which is achieved mainly through two services on a Saturday morning: the Sabbath School, when Adventists discuss what is known as the Sabbath School Lesson, a standardized Bible study prepared by the General Conference, and the Worship Service, when, in the words of the *Church Manual*, "members gather . . . in a spirit of praise and thanksgiving, to hear the Word of God."²⁸ The leader of the congregation is a conference-appointed pastor, and below him are several unpaid elders, deacons, and deaconesses. In addition, unpaid volunteers are elected to lead departments, which correspond to the departments of the General Conference. The election of church officers is conducted annually or biennially through a nominating committee formed from the church's membership. The pastor and church officers make up the church board, which, like the executive committee of higher administrative units, is the most influential committee of the local congregation. It is true that in many matters, such as the receiving or disfellowshipping of members, the democratic decision of the entire member-

ship constitutes the final authority of the local congregation. But it is also clear that the local church is modeled on the same hierarchical plan as Adventism in general.²⁹

It is strange to think that the idea of church organization filled the Adventist pioneers with horror. Adventist leaders today are very proud of their church structure. But from 1844 to 1863 they actively resisted forming a church, fearing that if they did so they would add their group to the number of the beast. George Storrs, the Millerite, exerted a powerful influence on the emerging Adventist community when he equated an organized church with Babylon.³⁰ Opposition to forming a denomination persisted right up to the establishment of the church's constitution in 1863.

Once the decision had been taken to organize, Adventists developed a centralized, hierarchical structure. This does not mean the system evolved without its internal checks and balances. Each tier of the hierarchy is generally elected by the levels under it rather than appointed by the levels over it, which frees administrators to hold those above them to account without fear of retribution.³¹ But the system does invest the church's top leaders with great power. Ellen White described the General Conference as "the highest authority that God has upon the earth."³² She argued for the precedence of this executive over the claims of the individual. "When, in a General Conference, the judgment of the brethren assembled from all parts of the field is exercised, private independence and private judgment must not be stubbornly maintained, but surrendered," she wrote. "Never should a laborer regard as a virtue the persistent maintenance of his position of independence, contrary to the decision of the general body."³³

Perhaps because of this collectivism, the individuals who become General Conference officers are rarely compelling figures. They are usually efficient bureaucrats whose chief characteristic is an ability to work within a tightly knit oligarchy. They are generally in middle or late-middle age and are drawn almost exclusively from those ministers who possess proven records in the lower levels of church administration or overseas mission service. Among these people, the General Conference president is first among equals. He must be a man (and it is invariably a man) who is acceptable to both the denomination's administrative and institutional groups. The president is thus likely to be an individual of convenience rather than a charismatic leader. The first president, John Byington, was elected in 1863 because the obvious choice, James White, declined the position, and, at sixty-five, he was the oldest Adventist pioneer. Byington had no special leadership qualities, and his election tended to confirm the idea that the creation of the system of government was more important than the individual who led it. This has to a large extent remained the position, for in Adventism it is the collective decisions of General Conference committees that have been important in the history of the denomination, not the personal contribution of the presidents.

Of the fifteen presidents elected since Byington, few stand out as individuals or as interesting personalities apart, perhaps, from White himself, who eventually accepted the presidency on three separate occasions, 1865–1867, 1869–1871, and 1874–1880.³⁴ Another exception was Arthur G. Daniells, whose strong character and liking for power precipitated the most acrimonious General Conference session in the denomination's history in 1922. Having already headed the denomination since 1901—the longest period of any Adventist president—Daniells attempted to secure yet another term. However, amid bitter recriminations, he was ousted by the nominating committee, who replaced him with W. A. Spicer.³⁵ One other president worthy of note is Neal C. Wilson, who was elected in 1979. An astute and wily operator, Wilson openly used the divinely sanctioned authority of the General Conference to control dissent and to push through controversial policies.³⁶ But in the end this style of leadership gained Wilson many enemies, and he was voted out in 1990.³⁷

Adventism is, then, a centralized society that accords its leaders absolute authority. The church puts more value on institutions than on lay membership and regards collective responsibility as more important than individual judgment. The church's financial structure and general attitude toward money reflect these principles. From an economic point of view, the church's resources are concentrated on administration and institutions rather than on individual churches and are controlled by central planners instead of local members.³⁸ This has enabled the denomination to accumulate worldwide assets that, by 2000, probably exceeded in value \$20 billion. The largest part of this sum—\$6 billion—is in healthcare institutions. About \$5 billion is tied up in conference infrastructure; \$1 billion is in Adventist associations; \$2 billion, in educational institutions; \$230 million, in publishing houses and book retailers; \$200 million, in food industries; and \$51 million, in media centers. In addition, though these are no longer officially reported, the church has at least \$1 billion of assets in primary school buildings, and perhaps \$5 to \$6 billion in church properties.³⁹

Most of this capital has been amassed by the North American Division, upon which the day-to-day financing of the church's operations also depends. In 2000, members in the United States contributed a total of \$989 million to the church at a per capita rate of \$1,122.⁴⁰ This is higher than the members of almost every other significant group in America, including the Southern Baptists, whose per capita contributions in 2000 were \$529; the Church of the Nazarene, whose per capita donations were \$1,004; United Methodists, whose were \$571; Pentecostal groups like the Assemblies of God, whose were \$931; and Episcopalians, whose per capita giving in 1999 was \$929.⁴¹ Adventist contributions per head are also almost certainly higher than those of Jehovah's Witnesses, who still do not publish information about their donations, and are about the same level as those of the Mormons, whose strong financial commitment to their denomination has been well documented.⁴² The Adventists' exceptional rate of

per capita giving enables the church to raise, and spend, more money than states like Idaho, the Dakotas, Wyoming, or Vermont.⁴³ If Adventism were a country, its global income, which was \$1.7 billion in 2001, would place it 152 out of 208 in the World Bank rankings of world economies.⁴⁴

The foundation of all this wealth is the tithe. This is the 10 percent of income that Adventist leaders ask from church members. Although not every member pays the tithe (the church has not made it a test of fellowship), it is the staple of the church's revenue. In 2001 the worldwide tithe receipts were just over \$1.1 billion, with America contributing more than \$653 million to that total.⁴⁵ The tithe is initially collected by the local churches, normally during the Worship Service. It is then, via an orderly formula, passed to, and spent by, the conference, union, division, and General Conference administrative units. No part of the tithe is retained by the local congregations. They send all their tithe to the conferences, which keeps most of the money for their expenses. The conferences then send 10 percent to the unions, which likewise retain most of the tithe for their running costs before passing a further 10 percent to the General Conference. The divisions, being merely sections of the General Conference, are financed partly by church headquarters. They do, however, also receive a proportion of the tithe collected by the conferences and unions within their territories, and themselves pass on a small percentage of these funds to the General Conference. In 2000 these percentages were fixed at 8 percent for North America and 2 percent each for the other divisions—the differential due to the fact that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the United States was still raising more than half the church's worldwide tithe income.⁴⁶

Special significance is accorded to the tithe. It became an established practice within Adventism in the late 1870s and grew out of an older form of giving called "systematic benevolence," in which the pioneers encouraged adherents to give a small portion of their wages to support the ministry.⁴⁷ The practice of giving 10 percent, however, became widespread after articles by Dudley M. Canright appeared in the *Review* in 1876, and the principle of tithing the tithe to pay for the higher levels of the church's administration came in with constitutional changes in 1889.⁴⁸ The church advised that the tithe had to be brought to the "storehouse," following the procedure described in Malachi 3:10, and allocated from the center to sustain the movement's ministers.⁴⁹ Over time this usage inevitably widened, and today the tithe is used to fund things like the pay of primary school teachers and the benefits of retired employees.⁵⁰ The church has been consistent, however, in maintaining that the tithe was not to be used for running the local church, Ellen White going so far as to say that it was "robbing God" to do so.⁵¹ The tithe was thus taken out of the hands of the local congregation. It has no say in the disbursement of this fund and must meet its own expenses through separate offerings and contributions from its members.

Because of this, the local church has been the source of the most instability in the Adventist hierarchy. No conferences, unions, or divisions have ever broken away from the denomination, but some individual congregations have, largely on account of not being able to control the tithes that they raise. Following the centralization of 1901, several churches withdrew from Adventism or withheld tithes from the conference on the congregational principle that every church ought to be the sole custodian of its funds.⁵² A similar movement emerged in the 1990s, when five congregations were reported to have broken away from the church in order to control “their tithe dollars.”⁵³ There were further reports at the time suggesting that when congregations were not withdrawing from Adventism, many individual Adventists were withholding their tithes from the conference and redirecting the money to the local church or the church school.⁵⁴

Some of this was corroborated by more formal studies of Adventist giving practices. In a survey conducted in North America in 1995, four out of ten respondents revealed that they contributed some of their tithe to local church or student aid funds, in contravention of official policy. Two-thirds of those in the same survey also said that they were broadly in favor of the way their local church spent their donations, but only about half approved of the way the conference, or the General Conference, disbursed their money.⁵⁵ These findings suggested that though Adventist giving remains high relative to other groups, Adventists themselves are paying a diminishing share of their contributions in tithe, which finances the church’s hierarchical structure. Figure 9 shows Adventist U.S. tithe per capita in each year from 1929 to 2000, as a percentage of U.S. personal income per capita. The chart indicates that apart from the period in the 1930s and 1940s when tithe giving was hit by the Great Depression, the proportion remained stable until 1960, when it peaked at 6 percent. After that the share of tithe falls in almost every year, so that in 2000 it represented only 2.3 percent of personal income.

A dramatic decline like this cannot be fully explained by any one factor. It may be that the percentage of Adventists returning a tithe has diminished. The lack of available figures makes this difficult to quantify, but by the late 1980s probably only about 50 percent of the total membership were tithe payers, compared with an estimated 60 percent in 1976.⁵⁶ The way many Adventists calculate their tithe has also changed. Whereas church members once worked out their tithe on gross earnings, many of those born since the Second World War have made the calculation on net income—after tax and pension contributions. One local study found that while 79 percent of those born before 1933 paid tithe on gross income, only 29 percent of those born after 1977 did the same.⁵⁷ In addition, if some tithe money is sent directly to local churches or other denominational entities, it will not show up in the tithe fund.

The cumulative effect of a smaller proportion of the membership paying tithe on less of their income and of diverting payments from the tithe fund is

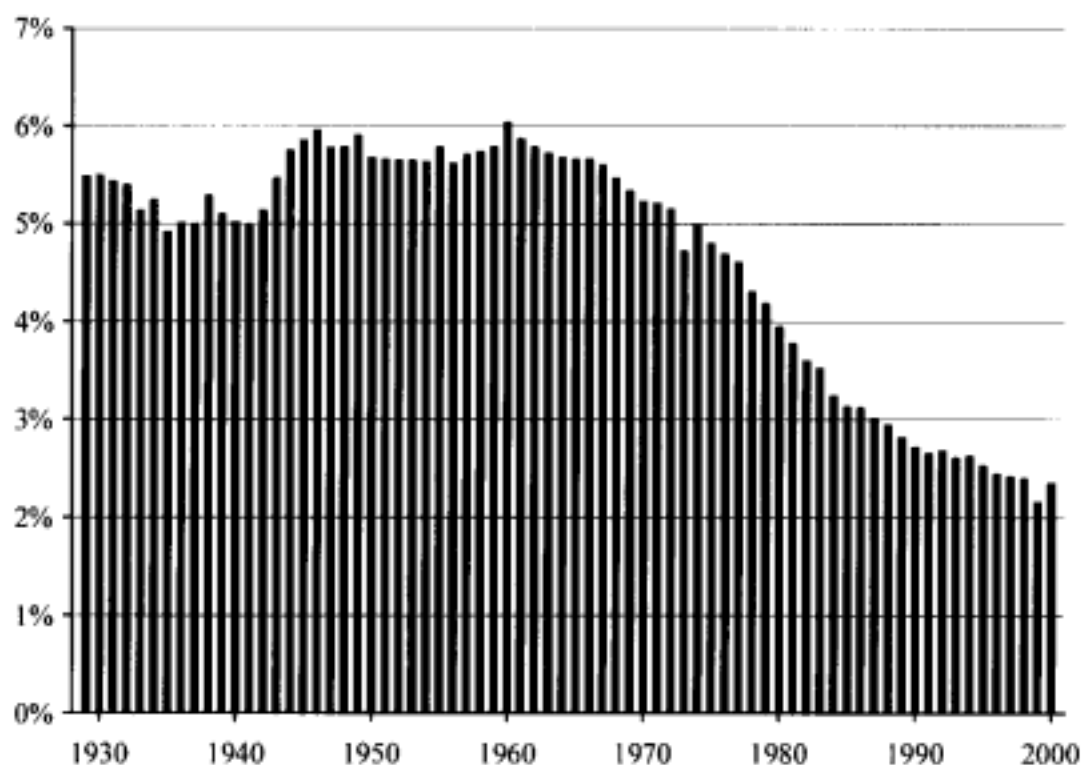


Figure 9. Seventh-day Adventist U.S. tithe per capita as percentage of U.S. income per capita. Sources: SDA *Annual Statistical Report* and U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Economic Analysis

potentially considerable. However, the decline of tithe relative to U.S. per capita income is so great (barely more than a third of what it was in 1960) that it may also be that Adventists now earn less than they used to compared to others in society.⁵⁸ Whatever the balance of causes, the underlying problem is an increased reluctance to pay for the church's bureaucracy, a difficulty that Adventists shared with many other denominations in the late twentieth century.⁵⁹ However, the tithe is not the only means by which Adventism finances its hierarchical structure. The tithe is the most important, but the denomination has three other major sources of income: offerings, money from an annual fundraising campaign called "ingathering," and revenue from its investments.

Offerings, like the tithes, are raised from the local churches. Adventist leaders are constantly devising ways in which members may give more generously, with the result that new offerings are continually suggested to the denomination. The various types of church offerings include the birthday offering, the world mission offering, the Adventist World Radio offering, the thank offering, and the disaster and famine relief offering.⁶⁰ These monies are normally donated during the Sabbath School service. The most important collections are the Sabbath School offering, which is made every week, and the thirteenth Sabbath offering, which, as the name implies, is collected on the last Sabbath

of every quarter, and contributes toward a special missions project chosen by the General Conference. All offerings are separated into four types of fund: a world mission fund, a miscellaneous account designated "other General Conference funds," an intradivision fund, which is used for evangelistic and other purposes within division territories, and a local church fund, which aggregates the donations to the local churches.

It has been noted that since the 1950s, American churchgoers have been spending a declining proportion of their contributions on foreign missions and an increasing amount on local operations and programs, and to some degree Adventists have followed the same trend.⁶¹ In 1950 the world mission fund comprised 51 percent of all church offerings contributed by American members. By 2001 that percentage had fallen to less than six. At the same time, the total contributed to the local church fund rose from 40 percent of all offerings in 1950 to 86 percent in 2001, revealing that the local congregations had been benefiting from an upsurge in offerings as well from diversionary contributions from the tithe.⁶² This movement toward the churches has led to the redundancy of some administrators and to some cutting back of central expenditure, as has been the case with other denominations.⁶³ In 1990 a cull of staff was carried out at General Conference headquarters, and in 1991 a cap on General Conference expenses, largely insisted upon by the North American Division, was instituted on the church for the first time.⁶⁴ In 2000, the cap was set at 2 percent of gross world tithe.⁶⁵

The ingathering fund differs from the denomination's other forms of income in that it is raised, not exclusively from the church membership, but partly from the general public. It is somewhat misleadingly listed under "offerings" in the church's *Annual Statistical Report* and is still included in the official per capita calculations of church member contributions. Many Adventists do give to this fund, but in at least two divisions—Trans-Europe and Euro-Africa—it is nonmembers who make the majority donations.⁶⁶ For a few weeks each year, particularly in Europe, the ingathering campaign dominates the agendas of the local churches. It is one of the few times ordinary people might encounter Seventh-day Adventists, since church members solicit funds in public places or from door to door. The focus of the campaign is the church's extensive work in the disaster-prone areas of the Third World, and the publicity handouts frequently carry evocative pictures of starving children or of the isolated areas where Adventists operate medical centers or mission schools.

Although ingathering is advertised very much in terms of the church's humanitarian work in the Third World, the proceeds were for many years used to benefit the church as a whole. As one General Conference treasurer subtly put it: ingathering was "not a campaign conducted solely for our work in the foreign fields but includes the work of the church in all parts of the world."⁶⁷ From 1977 to 1998 it was put into the "other General Conference funds" account and

formed part of the General Conference budgetary process. Since the middle of the 1980s, however, the church appears to have become more sensitive to criticisms of how this fund is raised and used. Today responsibility for spending it has been devolved to the divisions, and the church states that it is only to be used for humanitarian projects or the work of the denomination's disaster relief organization, ADRA.⁶⁸ The importance of this fund is, however, declining. In America, the ingathering receipts fell from about \$7 million in the mid-1980s to under \$3 million in 2001, and worldwide they were down from \$12.6 million in 1985 to \$9.9 million.⁶⁹

The church's third source of funds is the income from its investments. These fall into two main categories. The largest is in pension funds. These are generally managed by the divisions, which use the income generated by them to help pay the benefits of their retired workers and of their missionaries who have worked in other divisions, unless those missionaries join the pension plan of the host division. All the divisions operate at least one retirement fund.⁷⁰ Their combined value is not known, although in 2002 the General Conference estimated the size of North American Division general pension funds at \$214 million, and those for hospital workers at a much larger \$845 million.⁷¹ The second category of investment is in stocks and bonds. The divisions hold some, but again their total value is not easy to determine. In 2002, however, the General Conference treasurer, Robert Lemon, gave some details of General Conference holdings, which may be assumed to make up the bulk of the church's financial investments. Lemon valued General Conference total holdings at \$83 million, of which nearly half was deposited in a short-term money fund, with the rest invested in equities, fixed-income securities, and various notes and loans.⁷² Due to the vagaries of the markets, the return on this portfolio will vary widely from year to year. But in 2001, "unrestricted investment earnings" yielded an additional \$3 million for the General Conference budget.⁷³

From the money received from tithing, offerings, ingathering, and investments, the denomination's various administrative units and the local congregations determine their spending. In 2001, the General Conference budgeted just over \$112 million.⁷⁴ The North American Division dispensed \$68 million; and its unions, conferences, and local churches spent estimated totals of \$60 million, \$500 million, and \$346 million respectively.⁷⁵ Worldwide, the divisions in 2001 collectively spent an estimated \$110 million. The unions dispensed around \$100 million, the conferences spent \$850 million, and the churches \$428 million.⁷⁶ Using the 2001 world income figure of \$1.7 billion as a baseline, the percentages in figure 10 give an indication of the size of these expenditures in relation to the church's total revenue. As can be seen, the General Conference now administers about 7 percent of world income, which is a much smaller proportion than that of half a century earlier, when General Conference spending accounted for 37 percent of all tithes and offerings.⁷⁷ The divisions spend nearly 7

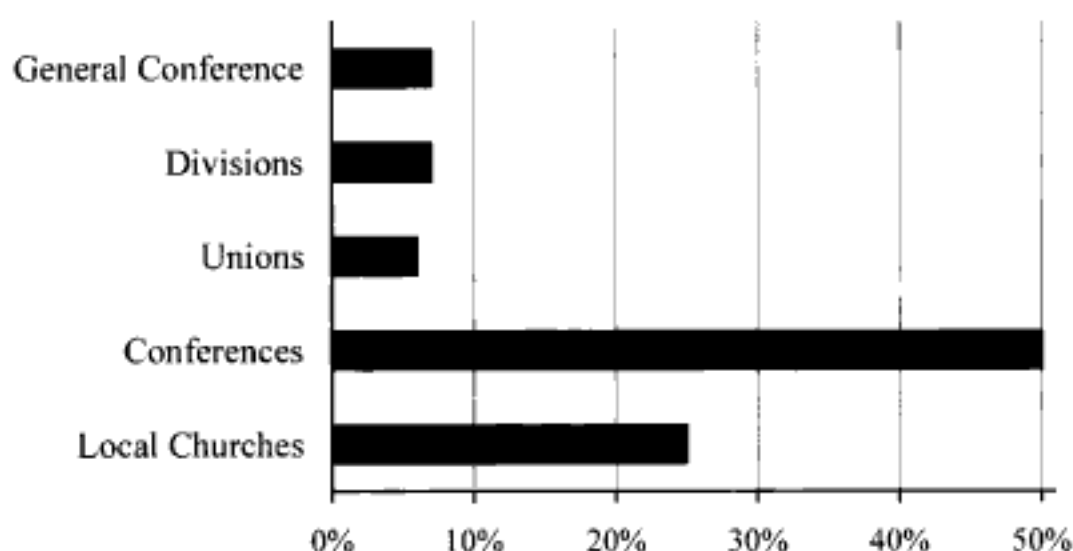


Figure 10. World expenditures as percentage of world income, 2001. Sources: General Conference Working Policy and SDA Annual Statistical Report.

percent of world income; the unions, 6 percent; the conferences, which have the heaviest commitments, spend about 50 percent; and the congregations, 25 percent.

As well as funding their respective offices, each administrative level finances a designated part of the church's organization, except for the medical institutions, which are funded largely through patient fees and are controlled by separate corporations.⁷⁶ Precise arrangements vary in different regions, and financing of some services is shared in certain cases; but in general, the General Conference spends its budget on Adventist missions, gatherings like the Spring Meeting and Annual Council, and on those institutions for which it takes direct responsibility, such as Andrews and Loma Linda universities. The divisions generally fund the media centers, administer retirement benefits, and, with the help of ingathering and ADRA, direct humanitarian aid. Among other responsibilities, the unions pay the costs of public evangelism and higher education. The conferences finance primary and secondary education and are responsible for hiring the denomination's ministers.⁷⁷ The churches do not as a rule pay for any staff, although a recent study found that some do.⁸⁰ In general, however, they spend about half their income on basic items like utilities and capital improvements, and about a third on subsidizing church schools. They also spend a tenth of their contributions on support materials for things like Sabbath School, music, and children's programs, and about the same proportion on outreach ventures, such as inner-city projects and youth group mission trips, beyond the tithes and offerings they pass on to their conferences.⁸¹

The financial system of Adventism is one that pools the collective resources of the church. Spending is largely divided among the various administrative

units, which allocate funds for the denomination's programs and activities. The stronger constituencies compensate for weaker ones, and the weaker constituencies are supported by the stronger ones. For the system to work, every component must cooperate, from the humblest member to the highest church official. The tithe is especially important in fostering this collective spirit. It puts the same obligation on all members and gives everyone the same tangible sense of cooperating with God by bringing their funds to his storehouse. The tithe is also what enables the church to maintain its centralized character. It is the main reason why, in America, 68 dollars of every 100 contributed goes through the administrative layers of the church, despite the recent trend toward the local churches. If this is compared to the 57 other U.S. denominations that reported their finances in the 2002 *Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches*, only one denomination, the small immigrant group Unity of the Brethren, appears to have proportionally more money going through a central administration.⁵² The centralizing purpose of the tithe is even more marked worldwide, where interest in congregationalism has been less pronounced than in the United States. On a world level, 75 dollars in every 100 goes into the administrative system of the church.

This ability to extract money from the membership is one of Adventism's most remarkable features. Many religions require serious commitment from their followers, but the Adventist church does not make the same kind of demands as the Jehovah's Witnesses, who are required to spend huge amounts of their time proselytizing from door-to-door, or the Mormons, whose young people are encouraged to give up to two years of their lives in free mission service. Financially, however, Adventism expects members to contribute not just a 10 percent tithe but numerous offerings, which may amount to an additional 5 percent or more of a person's income. Since there is no tithe threshold, this means that people on low incomes may pay more to the church than they do to the government in direct taxation. The systematic, long-term generosity of its membership is the foundation of Adventism's success. Without it, neither the church's heavy institutionalization nor its global expansion would have been possible.

In spite of this, ordinary members are largely left out of the financial system, as they are generally excluded from the electoral processes of the church. They have no real say in how their donations are used, and they benefit only indirectly from things like the services of a minister, the church buildings in which they worship, or perhaps from the schools and colleges to which they can send their children. But even here Adventist education is not free, and they will have to make further financial sacrifices to find tuition fees, or else their children, like most other students, will have to take out loans or apply for grants. To benefit directly from the Adventist economy, church members must follow the same route as their contributions: they must leave the local congregation and enter the church's administration or institutions.⁵³

TABLE 2
 Seventh-day Adventist remuneration scale, 2003.
 Sources: North American Division and General Conference of
 Seventh-day Adventists.

Employee	Salary (\$U.S.)
General Conference President	49,631
North American Division President	48,369
General Conference Department Director	47,948
Review Editor	47,948
Radio/TV Speaker-Director	46,266
University Professor	45,425
Evangelist	44,163
Ordained Minister	42,901
Primary School Teacher	42,901
Secondary School Teacher	42,901
Press Operator	42,481
Web Administrator	42,481
Custodian	31,966
Secretary	31,966
Receptionist	30,283
Clerk	23,133

And when they do so, they can expect to be relatively well remunerated. The church does not impose one wage scale on all its workers as it once did, but it does seek to pay an economic wage. Table 2 lists the maximum annual salaries in 2003 for various employees in America from the highest paid to the lowest. It excludes medical staff, whose vastly higher wages are set by their corporations, and leaves out the allowances that Adventist workers also get. To that extent the pay levels do not reflect the total value of the church's compensation packages. For historic reasons the benchmark wage is that of the ordained minister, which in 2003 was \$42,901. This is about the same level as median householder income (an aggregate of earned and unearned income), which is around \$42,000 a year in the United States as a whole, but higher than male median earnings (that exclude unearned income) which are estimated at \$38,000 a year.⁸⁴

The other thing to note about Adventist salaries is the very low differentials between different workers and between the highest and lowest paid employees. The General Conference president's salary at the top is barely more than twice that of the clerk at the bottom. This produces a situation in which church workers at the lower end of the scale earn considerably more than their counterparts in the wider society. From about the middle of the first decade of the twenty-

first century, the church leadership started to move toward remunerating their less-well-qualified staff at the comparable community rate. But in 2003, an Adventist receptionist (the second-worst-paid worker in table 2) received in excess of \$30,000, fully 40 percent more than the average receptionist in America, who earned just over \$21,000 a year.⁸⁵ Some church institutions like the Pacific Press offer higher salaries at the top and lower ones at the bottom. And the pay of other employees like the denomination's lawyers are set more at market levels. But despite such variations, the Adventist wage structure is clearly the reverse of the free market approach that otherwise prevails in the United States, where differentials are much wider, with the highest paid employees earning on average twenty-four times more than the lowest and the lowest paid earning less in absolute terms as well.⁸⁶

As the church's remuneration policy states, "denominational employment is a call to service and is therefore characterized by a different set of standards and references than is prevalent in society." All workers, it says, "participate in a ministry on behalf of the church," and pay "should thus promote and maintain a sense of collegiality among all employees."⁸⁷ Given this philosophy, it is not all that surprising that in their attitude toward money, Adventists early eschewed the individualistic, competitive spirit of modern capitalism. Ellen White counseled Adventist workers that they should not continually press for higher wages, and argued more generally that they should not pursue quick or great wealth.⁸⁸ The church thus produced very few entrepreneurs who managed to stay in the denomination. One who did was O. D. McKee, founder of the billion-dollar McKee Foods Corporation, manufacturer of the Little Debbie snacks.⁸⁹ But the success of individuals like McKee only highlights the absence of risk-taking businessmen. Ellen White wrote at length about the need for Adventists to avoid capitalistic practices such as gambling or speculation in the money markets.⁹⁰ Part of the reason for this was the Adventist belief that money making in America constituted one of the signs of the end.⁹¹ But it was also the case that the capitalist spirit did not flourish in Adventist society, which was founded on opposite, in some ways almost socialist, values. Even though Adventists have overcome their antipathy to the markets, their administrative and financial organization works much like a command economy.

A clearer understanding of this can be gained by a brief look at the church's publishing industry. This, like Adventism's other enterprises, is not run primarily as a business, but as a service to church members and outsiders. The Review and Herald Publishing Association was church's first institution, and for a decade after its incorporation in 1861 in Battle Creek, it remained the only publishing house in the denomination. That situation changed, however, when the Pacific Press Publishing Association was founded in California in 1874. Both houses quickly became rivals in the same marketplace, and tensions between them inevitably grew in the late 1870s and 1880s. Given the Adventist predilection for

cooperation, it was perhaps inevitable that steps would be taken to resolve this situation. In 1888 the two publishing houses signed an agreement that gave them exclusive rights to market Adventist books in—but not beyond—their respective areas. It became an established principle that church publishers would not compete against each other, so when the church added a third publishing house in America in 1901, the Southern Publishing Association in Tennessee, it was made a monopoly in territories in the South.⁹²

The monopolistic, uncompetitive nature of Adventist publishing can also be seen in the evolution of its methods of marketing. Ellen White's books and prophetic works by other nineteenth-century Adventists were initially sold to the public by sales representatives known as colporteurs, a means of distribution that Adventist publishers probably copied from the American Tract Society, which organized the first national program of colportage in 1841.⁹³ According to church statistics, colporteurs have all but disappeared from the Adventist economy, with only about 200 left in North America and about 7,000 altogether working in the other divisions.⁹⁴ But there was a time, in the early years of the twentieth century, when a quarter of all Adventist workers were book canvassers, and the church employed more colporteurs than ministers.⁹⁵ The literature evangelists, as Adventists subsequently took to calling them, were never free agents, however. In the United States, they were tied to one or the other of the denomination's publishing houses and could sell only those books on their publishers' lists.⁹⁶

The same practice was maintained in the next advance in distribution—the setting up of Book and Bible House commercial outlets in the 1920s that are now known as Adventist Book Centers (ABCs).⁹⁷ Like the literature evangelists, the Adventist Book Centers could only sell the books produced by the publishing house in their area. If they wanted to sell a book not produced by their publisher, they had to get the institution to buy copies from the original publishing house. In this way, each press acted as a wholesaler for the other.⁹⁸ Collaboration of this kind was also apparent in the industry's most recent marketing innovation. In 1998, the Review and Herald and the Pacific Press joined forces to create an online bookseller, www.adventistbookcenter.com, which gave equal exposure to their respective publications.

As well as removing competition from within, Adventist publishers have, when they can, discouraged it from without. In the late 1970s an Andrews University professor, Derrick Proctor, who was also a part-time dealer in Adventist books, made an individual assault on the church's publishing monopoly. Noticing that the Adventist houses, like most other publishers, choose to sell their books at up to four or five times the cost price, Proctor set up his own distribution network, which undercut the prices of the literature evangelists and the ABCs. Needless to say, the church moved swiftly to put Proctor out of business, and after a lengthy legal wrangle, the church won the right to fix prices free

from competition from individual members. The church demonstrated once again its preference for central planning over individual initiative as it demanded cooperation rather than competition.⁹⁹

The situation in Adventist publishing also holds true in other areas of the church's institutional life. Within the denomination's schools and colleges, for example, competitive sports are not encouraged, and sporting contests with other Adventist and non-Adventist institutions are officially opposed.¹⁰⁰ Adventist schools and colleges themselves are, in America, not encouraged actively to recruit students in areas other than those in which they are located. This is not to say that the spirit of competition does not surface in Adventist society. Some schools do compete with their non-Adventist counterparts in sports like football and basketball.¹⁰¹ In the 1980s two Adventist colleges were found poaching each others' students.¹⁰² Literature evangelists and Adventist Book Centers are much freer now to sell what they want to sell.¹⁰³ The advent of Internet bookstores, such as Lost-N-Found Books, is currently providing an alternative market in Adventist publications.¹⁰⁴ The new congregationalism also led to a situation where churches with wealthier members began to thrive at the expense of those with poorer ones.¹⁰⁵ But despite these developments, the essence of the Adventist ethos is to reduce competition to a minimum.¹⁰⁶

Cooperation has, however, brought about its own disadvantages. Adventists have proved unusually susceptible to financiers who take advantage of the faith church members place in one another. An example of this was the Davenport affair, which brought the church much public embarrassment in the early 1980s. Lured by exorbitant rates of interest, Adventist leaders improperly invested tithe monies in the property empire of the Adventist doctor Donald J. Davenport. When Davenport's empire collapsed in 1981, church entities lost more than \$20 million.¹⁰⁷ This scandal indicated that the church's leadership had grown accustomed to taking action without proper accountability. But it also revealed the readiness of ordinary Adventists to suspend their customary suspicion of financial speculation. Church members are accustomed to entrusting money to their co-religionists; their faith in one another applies to both tithe payments and dubious investments. In 1985 the Elmas Trading Corporation, a "commodities arbitrage" that relied heavily on Adventist investors, collapsed. The *Wall Street Journal* noted that investors remained firm believers in the company "even in the face of evidence that the enterprise could be illegal."¹⁰⁸

In an Adventist setting, this response was unsurprising. Church members tend to assume that fellow Adventists, particularly those who hold responsible positions, will act in the best interest of others. Adventists may not generally be encouraged to take economic initiatives, but if a venture gives the appearance of being endorsed by respected church members, they demonstrate an uncritical willingness to cooperate with it, as they showed again in the 1990s when several hundred of them invested a total of \$11 million in a group of unlawful offshore

companies run by a former Adventist minister, Gary Stanhiser.¹⁰⁹ This recurrent behavior is a side effect of a social system that encourages mistrust of those outside but passive acceptance of the system itself. The damaging experience of those who have trusted outsiders has only reinforced this attitude. Robert Folkenberg, the one General Conference president who did form a business relationship with a non-Adventist, had to resign in ignominious circumstances in 1999 when he was sued by that partner after several ventures failed.¹¹⁰

In Adventism, the traditional American value of self-reliance is not encouraged. The church's organization is hierarchical rather than democratic, and its ethos is collectivist rather than individualist. This is the consequence of specific historical circumstances. But the fact that Adventism espouses alternative values to those of American society suggests that there may be a deeper ideological basis for this state of affairs. The expected failure of America, the two-horned beast, convinced Adventists that the nation's government and institutions could not be trusted to protect minorities such as themselves or to inaugurate the millennium they anticipated.¹¹¹

The formation of the Adventist society can thus be seen as an attempt to insulate the church from the flawed republic and to provide alternative institutions that would (unlike American institutions) bring about the millennium. Ellen White wrote that one of the purposes of Adventist institutions was to prepare believers for the end.¹¹² Furthermore, in its hierarchical and collectivist aspects, the Adventist society resembles the heavenly society that Adventists believe will soon supersede America. The divine realm, as revealed in White's visions, is a hierarchy. The heavenly beings are each allotted their place. Power flows down from the Father and Son, through several tiers of angelic orders, to the inhabitants of the unfallen worlds. God's centralized, monarchical administration holds sway over the universe.¹¹³

It is therefore easy to see why Adventists—in their administrative and economic systems—show a marked preference for hierarchy and why they have rejected the assertive individualism of American society. Although Adventism ran in parallel to the republic, its social ethic was the antithesis of the democratic ideal, which placed prime importance on the individual. The church's social structure developed into an ordered, centralized hierarchy like Ellen White's vision of the heavenly realm—which is exactly what might be expected of a group that believed that the republican experiment would fail and would soon be surpassed by the divine government.

The Patterns of Growth

AN APPRECIATION OF Adventism's relationship to the United States helps explain the church's development as a social system. But it does more than inform an understanding of the denomination's vast institutional structure, hierarchical government, and collectivist ethic; it also provides insights into the nature of the denomination's missionary appeal and rapid expansion. But before this phenomenon is examined in detail, it is useful to review the general trajectory of Adventist growth, both in America and overseas.

The preaching of William Miller and his associates was intended to warn as many people as possible of the impending Second Advent. Since Miller's active ministry began only twelve years before the date of the anticipated Judgment, there was obviously little hope that every individual could be warned before the event. Although the Millerites were zealous evangelists and the movement grew to number approximately 50,000, the shortage of time meant that their missionary activity was understood as a symbolic "witness to all nations" rather than an attempt at world evangelism.¹ After the humiliation on October 22, 1844, the movement fragmented. Its Sabbatarian wing was a small minority, and in 1849 probably numbered less than 100.² Most of these people were located in the area between New Hampshire, where the practice of Sabbath-keeping seems to have emerged, and Maine and Connecticut, where James and Ellen White founded the church's initial publishing operations. But there were already a few believers outside this northeastern corner of the republic. In Michigan, a handful of former Millerites had accepted Adventist teachings after a visit by Joseph Bates, Adventism's first evangelist.³ There was, however, no real growth in the period 1844 to 1851, not only because the public was unlikely to sympathize with a group whose predictions had so recently been discredited, but also because the Great

Disappointment had “terminated all mission efforts of Adventists because of their general understanding that the door of mercy was closed for humanity.”⁴

Despite the Shut-Door theory, converts connected and unconnected with Adventism found their way into the movement in the states of Vermont, Rhode Island, New York (where the church relocated its publishing center in 1852), Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Indiana. By 1852 numbers had increased to 250.⁵ This almost unwished-for expansion, combined with Ellen White’s growing doubts about the theory, prompted church leaders to abandon completely the Shut-Door doctrine in 1854. Although some within the movement continued to argue that missionary activity was useless since “no human agency” could “stem the wickedness of the world,” the group was now being impelled by the need to bring the three angels’ messages to all people.⁶ It produced its first evangelistic chart in 1851, for “those who travel and teach the present truth,” and held its first tent meeting in 1854 in Battle Creek, Michigan, in order to get its “position more fully before the public.”⁷ The organizers, J. N. Loughborough and Merritt Cornell, professed themselves satisfied with this inaugural three-day effort, which resulted in a batch of new recruits for the church.⁸

Adventist membership passed 1,000 in 1855, and 2,000 in 1858, an increase that was assisted by the church’s first accessions in Iowa and Missouri.⁹ The establishment of Adventism in these states, and also in Minnesota in 1860, was symptomatic of the fact that the church was finding evangelism easier in the Midwest than in the East, where it appears that memories of Miller’s failed prophecy continued to hamper Adventist progress. James White wrote despairingly about the “gospel hardened shores of New England,” and Ellen White made a similar observation after a vision in which she “saw that the people in the West could be moved much more easily than those in the East.”¹⁰ As a result of this perception, in 1855 the church transferred its publishing center to Battle Creek, Michigan, which was to serve as the church’s headquarters for half a century; and in 1859 Merritt Cornell traveled right across the continent to California, where he won the church’s first converts on the West Coast.¹¹

By 1863, when the Seventh-day Adventist Church was formed, membership had grown to 3,500.¹² Buoyed up by new structures and increase in numbers, the church took additional steps to improve its public outreach. In 1863 it introduced a new evangelistic chart, which displayed Adventist prophecies and the three angels more clearly, and in 1868 it held its first camp meeting, which at this stage was used primarily for evangelistic purposes, in Wright, Michigan.¹³ However, as can be seen in figure 12, the annual rate of increase, which reached almost 9 percent in 1864, promptly dropped to an all-time low of -17 percent in 1871. This precipitate fall may have been due to a change in the method of counting members. But there is other evidence to suggest a temporary stalling of the church’s missionary progress in the years following the organization of

BABYLON.
The first of the four kingdoms.



MEDIA and PERSIA.
The second of the four kingdoms.



GRECIA.
The third of the four kingdoms.



PAGAN ROME.
The fourth of the four kingdoms.



PAPAL ROME.
The fifth of the four kingdoms.



457
The year of the fall of Babylon.

539
The year of the fall of Media and Persia.

551
The year of the fall of Grecia.

539
The year of the fall of Pagan Rome.

1844
The year of the fall of Papal Rome.

THE SEVEN HEADS OF THE BEAST.
The seven kingdoms of the world.

THE SEVEN HILLS OF BABYLON.
The seven kingdoms of the world.

THE SEVEN ANGELS OF THE SEVEN TUBES.
The seven kingdoms of the world.

THE SEVEN ANGELS OF THE SEVEN TUBES.
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The seven kingdoms of the world.

THE SEVEN ANGELS OF THE SEVEN TUBES.
The seven kingdoms of the world.

Victorial Illustration
of the
VISIONS OF DANIEL & JOHN
and their Chronology.
Published by D. NICHOLS
of BOSTON.

THE SEVEN HEADS OF THE BEAST.
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The seven kingdoms of the world.

Figure 11. Present truth: the church's first evangelistic chart, a 29" x 44" lithograph designed by Samuel W. Rhodes and published by Otis Nichol in 1851. The statue of Daniel 2 is top left. The three angels are underneath the feet of the image, and the beasts of Daniel 7 are to the right of it. The 2,300 day prophecy is chronicled in column 3. The leopard-like beast and the two-horned beast are at the bottom of column 4, and prophecies relating to Islam are illustrated in column 5.

Courtesy Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

1863. Adventists did not formally enter another new state until a Danish convert, John Matteson, went to Kansas in 1869.

It was after the arrival of migrants like Matteson that the denomination converted its first members overseas. Adventism's foreign work can be said to have begun when Joseph Bates and Hiram Edson won over some former Millerites in Canada at the end of the Shut-Door period.¹⁴ But European immigrants converted during the church's initial westward advance were now sending Adventist literature back home, and one of them, a former Polish priest, M. B. Czechowski, decided to leave for Europe himself in 1864.¹⁵ He did not inform his European recruits of his Adventist connections, but when they were discovered by accident, links were formed between Swiss Sabbath keepers and the church in America. In response to appeals from this group, J. N. Andrews, Adventism's first official overseas missionary, left for Switzerland in 1874.¹⁶

During the 1870s membership nearly trebled, and by 1880 it stood at 15,570. The annual rate of increase rebounded from its low point in 1871 to 26 percent in 1876, a figure that has never since been equaled. The church broke through in the South, where it entered ten states and converted its first recorded African Americans; in the central region, where it organized its first congregations in Nebraska and South Dakota; in the West, where it followed the trails to Colorado, Oregon, and Nevada; and it overcame the remaining pocket of eastern resistance in New Jersey.¹⁷ The Adventist message also spread to Italy, Germany, Denmark, Norway, France, and Britain, so that by the end of the decade 5 percent of Adventists were living outside the United States.¹⁸ However, in the following ten-year period, the rate of growth was halved; and by 1890, membership had only advanced to 29,711. The church still entered twelve new states in the South and West during this decade, and it produced its first group of colporteurs, who became an invaluable addition to the church's evangelistic corps.¹⁹ They were often used to distribute literature in unentered territories, helping to prepare the ground for established ministers and evangelists. The Adventist presence in Hawaii and Utah started in this way in 1883 and 1889.²⁰

Internationally, the scope of the Adventist work also continued to widen. But with the exception of the mission to Australia begun in 1885, new countries were entered as the result of individual lay initiative or in response to direct requests from indigenous sympathizers. Despite the success of individual missionaries and Ellen White's own symbolic tour of Europe in 1885-1887, the idea of becoming involved in a worldwide outreach "was only gradually understood by the believers."²¹ In the 1890s, however, when the church virtually completed its evangelization of the United States by entering South Carolina, Oklahoma, and Wyoming and by baptizing its first recorded Native, Hispanic, and Asian Americans in Minnesota, Arizona, and California respectively, missionary work at last took on a global perspective.²² Membership increased by 155 percent during the decade as Adventism became established in more than thirty nations in Central

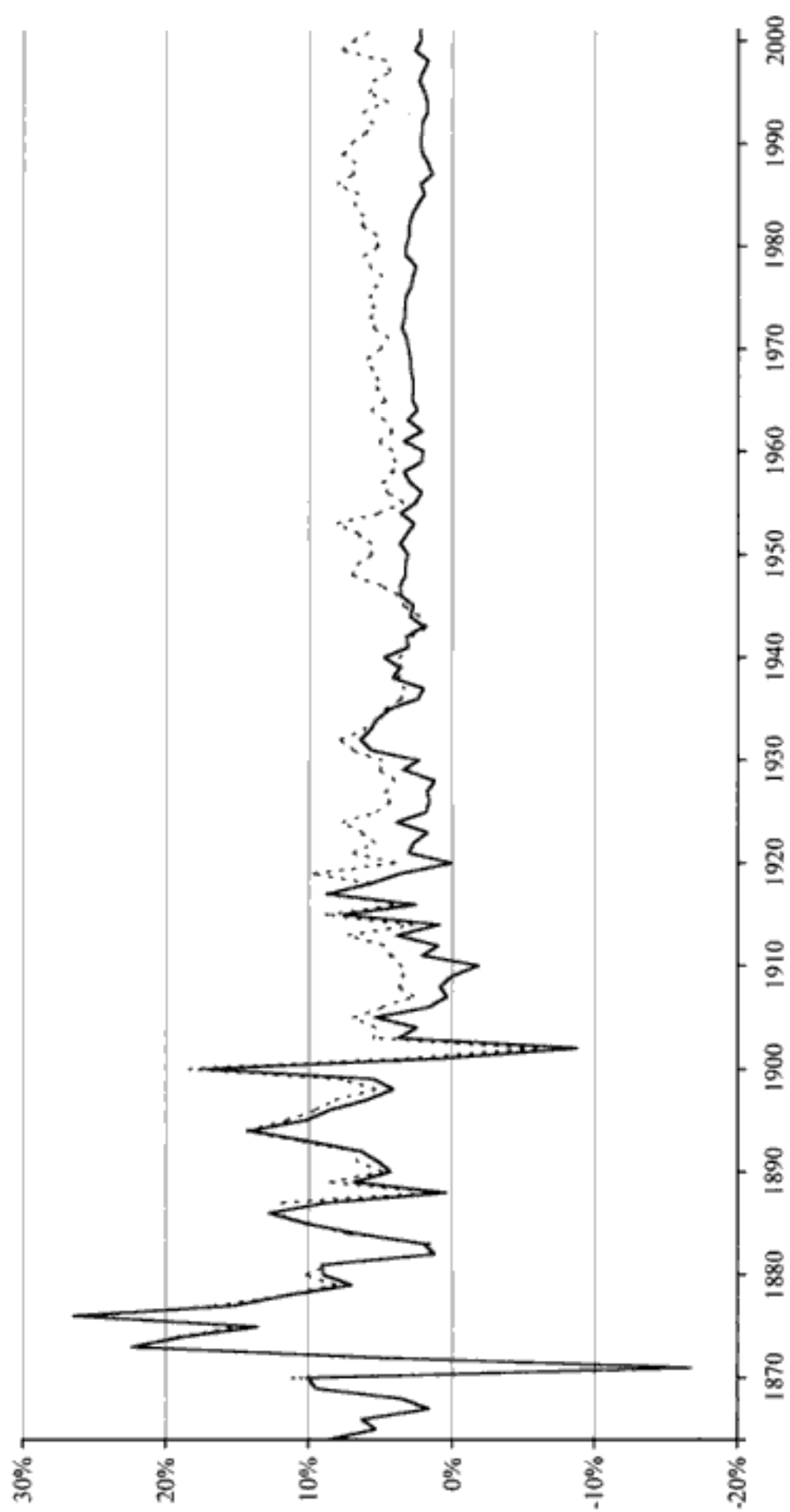


Figure 12. U.S. and world year on growth, 1864-2001. Source: SDA Annual Statistical Report.

and South America, Africa, and the Pacific.²³ This upsurge in missionary activity was exemplified by the prophetess herself, who spent the decade assisting the mission in Australia. It was not a phenomenon unique to Adventism; the 1890s marked the zenith of general missionary outreach from the United States.²⁴ But there had been important internal shifts as well. The General Conference session of 1888 saw the election of O. A. Olsen, who was, significantly, the first immigrant to become Adventist president and the first to have had overseas missionary experience, having worked in his native Scandinavia.²⁵

In 1901 the church entered its *de facto* fiftieth state when two official missionaries, A. M. Dart and T. H. Watson, arrived in Alaska.²⁶ But outside America, evangelistic activity was still most frequently undertaken by laypeople or enterprising colporteurs. At the 1901 General Conference session, with Adventists numbering 78,188, Ellen White and others felt that the church's international program could no longer be left entirely to local initiative even though world growth had begun to edge ahead of that in the United States and the proportion of Adventists overseas had risen to 21 percent of the membership. Under the presidency of A. G. Daniells, a new Foreign Missions Board became directly responsible to an enlarged General Conference executive committee, which from then on supervised different aspects of its work through several departments. The reorganization was not just a move toward centralization; the formation of union conferences and missions relieved the General Conference of direct responsibility for institutions and evangelism within individual areas.²⁷

With Adventism established in every state in the union and now possessed of an organization oriented toward mission, the church had already begun to look like a world denomination. So it was not surprising that these developments led Adventist leaders to believe it would be more fitting for the church to conduct its national and international affairs from the nation's capital itself. In 1903 the church transferred its headquarters from Battle Creek to Takoma Park, a site on the Maryland–Washington, D.C., border.²⁸ This also had the effect of establishing the church's presence in the District of Columbia, the last remaining area of the United States untouched by Adventism. But as had happened after the organization of 1863, the administrative upheaval of 1901–1903 was followed by a sharp drop in growth. It was not as steep as the -17 percent registered in 1871, but as can be seen in figure 12, the rates recorded in America, in particular in the first years of the twentieth century, were among the worst in the church's history.

The decline in 1902 was due to an accounting change, and the rate of increase duly recovered in 1903. But the disappointingly low 2 percent growth in 1904 led Daniells to conclude that a worrying mind-set had set in. At the 1905 General Conference session he observed that over the previous forty years "the one great aim of every State conference was to add new territory and new believers. The vision had long range, and there was a steady advance into unentered countries, States, and continents. . . . But with the occupation of all the territory in the

United States . . . our vision has become shortened."²⁹ However, further falls later in the decade and a decline into negative territory in 1910 indicated that the reorganization itself had halted the church's ability to win new members by drawing the denomination's best people into administration and away from frontline evangelism. This also hindered the church's world expansion, which although now running 2 to 3 percent faster than in America, also generally declined after 1905. At the 1909 General Conference session Daniells revealed, without perhaps realizing the full significance of the disclosure, that since 1901, 500 workers had been taken out of the field in order to run the new bureaucracy.³⁰

Although the short-term benefits of reorganization may not have been reflected in growth, the next decade was to prove extremely successful. There was, however, another significant slowdown in the year following the creation of the church's divisions in 1913. But the rate of increase reached highs of nearly 9 percent in America in 1917, and almost 10 percent worldwide in 1919, when membership rose to 178,239. The church's evangelists, if not the actual leadership, skillfully exploited wartime anxieties with public lectures like "The Devil, the Kaiser and the Two Horned Beast" and with their prophecies concerning Armageddon and the fall of the Ottoman empire (which were predicted to usher in the Second Coming).³¹ Adventist evangelists were also beginning to copy the style and methods of prominent evangelists of the day. In 1919 the church held its first evangelistic meeting in a tabernacle. This was a temporary wooden structure made famous by Billy Sunday, and for a time it superseded the tent as a place to evangelize the interested public.³²

In 1920 the number of foreign Adventists passed that in the United States. It was an auspicious start to a highly successful decade for Adventist missions as the overseas conferences produced a crop of outstanding evangelists of their own, such as Lionel Barras in Britain and Roy Allan Anderson in Australia.³³ The church also appeared to benefit from the reduced competition of European missionary groups. The Edinburgh Conference of 1910, which some Adventists viewed as an alarming outbreak of interdenominational cooperation, had represented the high-water mark of mainline Protestant mission. By the Jerusalem Conference of 1928, the effects of economic recession and growing secularization had muted Edinburgh's triumphalism.³⁴ Adventist missions, however, steadily expanded, entering one or more new territories every year, with membership increasing at annual rates ranging from 4 to 8 percent.³⁵

In contrast, the church in America fared very badly. Growth fell to almost zero in 1920 and rarely rose above 2 percent in the remaining years of the decade. It would appear that many of the new members won during the First World War became disillusioned and apostatized after the prophecies about Armageddon and Turkey failed to come to pass.³⁶ A reappraisal of evangelistic methods led to new ways of introducing Adventist topics to public audiences. One of these capitalized on the current interest in the stars and planets caused

by Einstein's widely publicized theories of relativity. This so-called "astronomical" approach became the main hors d'oeuvre of Adventist evangelistic meetings until the 1960s.³⁷ But in the 1920s few Americans were inclined to try it as the country experienced a wave of postwar prosperity and as people preferred the pleasures of the Jazz Age to the sobrieties of the Adventist message. The result was that by 1930, with membership now at 314,253, the American proportion of that total had declined to 36 percent.

But as the Roaring Twenties gave way to the Great Depression, and that in turn led to the Second World War, the balance between Adventists in America and those in the rest of world turned in favor of the church in America for almost the first time since Adventist missions began. Growth in the United States peaked at just over 6 percent in 1932, as the church successfully fished in a pool of newly made unemployed, and averaged 4 percent per annum for the rest of the decade. The 1930s also saw the rise of "star" evangelists such as John L. Shuler and John Ford. Such individuals conducted campaigns of four to seven months duration and, like their counterparts during the First World War, showed considerable ingenuity in relating Adventist interpretations of prophecy to the passing crises of the day.³⁸ They did not, however, openly evangelize under the Seventh-day Adventist name, instead often advertising themselves as nondenominational speakers, visiting lecturers, representatives of "Bible Institutes," or "astronomer-evangelists."³⁹

It was said that this was in emulation of other evangelists like Billy Sunday and the earlier Dwight L. Moody, who did not conduct their mass crusades under obvious denominational labels.⁴⁰ But in the Adventist case, the attempt to hide the church's identity, at least until key doctrines like the Sabbath were introduced several weeks into the campaign, was really intended to forestall the opposition of rival ministers, many of whom objected to Adventists proselytizing in their areas.⁴¹ However, this was a small problem compared to the situation overseas, where it was proving difficult to spread Adventism by any means, covertly or otherwise. World growth fell below that in the United States in the last three years of the decade as totalitarianism and war disrupted evangelism in Europe and the Far East. By 1940 there were half a million Adventists worldwide, but because of higher growth in the United States, the American share of the membership, which had fallen continuously since the 1870s, stabilized at virtually the same level as a decade earlier.

In early 1942 the church in America added a new string to its evangelistic bow, a nationwide radio broadcast called the *Voice of Prophecy*, which in its way paralleled the government mouthpiece that started later in the same year, the *Voice of America*. Run by the evangelist H. M. S. Richards, the Adventist broadcast developed the use of correspondence courses, which taught listeners the details of Adventist doctrines.⁴² Growth, however, fell for much of the first half of the decade, although it remained generally healthier than that of Adventism abroad,

where a combination of war and incomplete membership returns reduced the church's world growth to its lowest point of the century in 1943. After Hiroshima, however, Adventist emphasis on eschatological prophecies again "appeared relevant." The church's leadership, "sensing the opportune times," issued a call in 1947 "for every Adventist minister, including those involved in departmental and institutional work, 'to actively engage in public evangelism for as much time as possible each year.'"⁴³ The spearhead of this campaign was high-profile evangelism in major world cities, fronted by charismatic speakers like Fordyce Detamore and George Vandeman.⁴⁴ These crusades resulted in permanent evangelistic venues, such as the New York Center near Times Square and the New Gallery Center in London.⁴⁵ Other developments in the period included moves to campaign more openly under the Seventh-day Adventist name and a cut in the campaign length from four to seven months to two to three weeks to accommodate the shortening attention span of modern individuals.⁴⁶

Church membership reached the one million mark in 1955, almost double the figure of ten years before, with growth resuming overseas at a rate twice that of the United States. But expansion in America slowed in the second half of the decade, despite the increasing use of the recently created evangelistic television shows *Faith for Today* and *It Is Written*.⁴⁷ World growth, too, declined in the late 1950s and early 1960s to below 5 percent per annum, only slightly more than half the rate enjoyed in the decade 1945–1955. But as figure 12 shows, it was also during the middle 1950s that the church's world growth started to decouple from that in America, as the proportion of American Adventists fell to 28 percent of the world membership. Hitherto, although American growth always tended to be lower, when it peaked, world growth peaked, and when it dipped, so did the rate of increase in the world. But from about 1955 on, this relationship started to break down as American Adventism entered a long period of decline relative to the rest of the world that extended more or less to the end of the century and as world growth started to follow its own independent and generally upward, path.

The 1960s were nevertheless good years for the American church on its own terms, with growth averaging just under 3 percent a year. It was, though, generally a period when the church went through another re-evaluation of methods, strategies, policies and tactics. The astronomical approach, so long a feature of Adventist evangelistic meetings was replaced by the "archaeological" method. This attempted to entice audiences with slide or film presentations of relics from biblical lands and was used to some effect in places like the New Gallery Center.⁴⁸ The London venue, which was perhaps the most creative of the permanent centers set up in the 1950s, was also responsible for introducing the Revelation Seminar, a short series of lessons designed for small group evangelism, which proved very effective in many parts of the world.⁴⁹ The inability of the church to make headway in the Middle East, on the other hand, resulted in

a series of inconclusive conferences during 1961 to 1963 that were designed to find points of contact between Islam and Adventism.⁵⁰ A similar attempt had already been made by the evangelist Walter Schubert to accommodate the Adventist message to the cultural style of established Catholic nations.⁵¹ However, neither effort was as successful as the setting up in 1966 of the Institute of World Mission at Andrews University. This was conceived to provide Adventist missionaries with a better understanding of the increasingly diverse cultures in which they were operating, and it inspired the founding of sister institutes at the church's colleges in England and Australia.⁵²

In 1970 membership climbed above 2 million, a total the General Conference built upon in the following ten-year period by devising a series of worldwide evangelistic efforts. These began with "MISSION '72," and over the decade such coordinated campaigns enabled the church to add a further million and a half new members.⁵³ Of these more than 150,000 were recruited in the United States at an average rate of just over 3 percent. Although not as fast as in its best periods, Adventism was nevertheless still growing at a time when the mainline American denominations were shrinking.⁵⁴ The vast bulk of the Adventist increase, though, was because of the rapid expansion of the church in the Third World. In 1930 North America, Europe, and Australia accounted for nearly 70 percent of world membership; by 1970 that share had dropped to 30 percent.⁵⁵ Yet although in 1970 only 20 percent of the world population was Christian, the Adventist missiologist Gottfried Oosterwal estimated that up until that time only around 5 percent of Adventists had come from non-Christian backgrounds. Another Adventist missiologist, Borge Schantz, challenged this assessment, but a clear majority of Adventists lived in predominantly Christian countries out of contact with approximately two billion people ignorant of Christianity.⁵⁶ In response to this problem, the church's 1976 Annual Council "laid aside routine business for the major part of the session, concentrating instead on methods of finishing the tasks they saw as committed to Adventists." Their conclusion was "to do all in their power to awaken the Adventist membership to the urgency of evangelism."⁵⁷

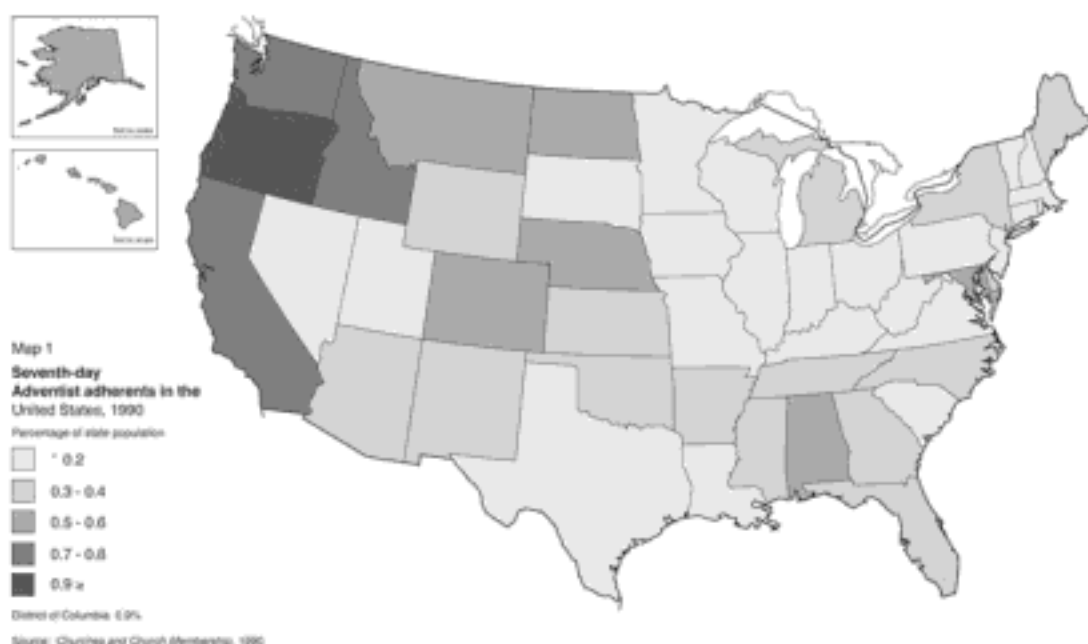
This directive bore fruit in a further series of centrally directed evangelistic initiatives. Among these were the "1,000 Days of Reaping" of the early 1980s, an audacious plan to harvest 1,000 souls per day for 1,000 days; "Harvest '90," an operation aimed at doubling the accessions of the 1,000 Days of Reaping over the second half of the decade; and "Global Mission," begun in 1990, with the goal of penetrating 1,800 or so unreached "ethnolinguistic or demographic" groups.⁵⁸ A new General Conference office of Global Mission was created to coordinate this latter effort, and a Global Center for Islamic Studies on the campus of the church's Newbold College in England was founded in another attempt to reach Muslims, most of whom lived in the so-called "10-40 window," an area 10 to 40 degrees north of the equator, from North Africa to Asia,

which, after it was identified by the evangelical missiologist Luis Bush in 1989, became an increasing focus of Adventist attention in the last years of the twentieth century.⁵⁹

Altogether, these schemes helped to push up the Adventist membership to 8.8 million by the middle of the 1990s. However, none of these had much bearing on, or significant effect in, the church in America. Annual growth here fell for much of the 1980s, possibly as a consequence of people leaving the church as a result of the Ford-Rea theological controversies and the Davenport financial scandal. Certainly the level of apostasies increased from 38 percent of accessions between 1974 and 1980, to 42 percent of accessions in the period between 1981, when Ford was defrocked, and 1987, when growth fell to a low of just over 1 percent. The result of this decline was that by 1995 the number of American Adventists had fallen to just 10 percent of the world membership. In an attempt to reverse this trend, the North American Division initiated a campaign using satellite technology, borrowing an idea that had been tried by Billy Graham.⁶⁰ In "Net '95," the Adventist message was beamed into more than 600 Adventist churches across the division.⁶¹ The crusade did result in an 8 percent increase in the number of accessions in the United States in the following year. But it had little impact on the overall growth rates, which had bottomed out, with the odd exception, to between 1 and 2 percent each year. Nonetheless, the NAD repeated the exercise in 1996, and the net program went worldwide in 1998.⁶²

In 1999, with numbers exceeding 10.9 million, the Adventist church overtook the membership of the Mormons to become America's most globally successful indigenous denomination.⁶³ This enormous achievement was met by a mixture of admiration and suspicion by rival churches. The Mormons themselves somewhat envied the church's advance in places like China, where Adventism had converted a net 300,000 people by the end of the twentieth century.⁶⁴ The Oriental Orthodox Churches of the Middle East, by contrast, criticized Adventists for their aggressive proselytizing; and Hindu nationalists in India, who perceived all Christians to be a threat to their religion, attacked Adventist churches and properties in Gujarāt.⁶⁵ In response to these developments, the church issued a defiant statement insisting that the ability to proselytize is "a right," and "a joyful responsibility based on a divine mandate to witness."⁶⁶ But with the world's population passing 6 billion in 1999, the church still had some way to go before fulfilling its mission, which it also reaffirmed in the statement, to bring the Adventist message to all people in the world.

By 2001 the American proportion of the world membership was down to 7 percent. But with 900,985 members, it had grown to be the twenty-seventh largest denomination in the United States.⁶⁷ A more detailed look at the geographical distribution of those members shows that Adventism had not, however, developed the demographic profile of one of America's mainstream churches. While the membership of the major Protestant denominations is concentrated



Map 1. Seventh-day Adventist adherents in the United States, 1990.

in the South, and most Catholic believers reside in the Northeast, Adventism is strongest on the West Coast, where the traditional churches are weakest.⁶⁸ (See map 1.)

Although Adventism began in New England, it could not establish itself there, as James and Ellen White appreciated as early as the 1850s. On the road out of the region, the first stopping point was the Midwest. Unsurprisingly, more than half of the Adventist membership was found to be living there at the time of the U.S. Census of 1890, with 16 percent in Michigan, then the site of the church's headquarters.⁶⁹ But the church's continued drive into the comparatively empty West meant that Adventists were among the first settlers in the Pacific Northwest, and by 1936 some 30 percent of the entire Adventist membership had moved to the three West Coast states.⁷⁰ This established a lasting demographic pattern, and a similar percentage of Adventists was still living there in 1990. Almost from the start, Adventism achieved its highest level of penetration in Oregon, which was the only state where more than 1 percent of the population was Adventist in 1990, though it was in the more populous California where the largest numbers of Adventists were concentrated.⁷¹

In contrast, Adventism, as a Northern religion, was initially very slow to make headway in the South. It took twenty years after the opening of the Shut-Door before the denomination entered the territory, and it was only in the last quarter of the twentieth century, as the proportions of black and Hispanic Adventists rose significantly, that growth in the region picked up enough to suggest

TABLE 3
 Age distribution in Adventism and United States in percentages.
 Source: GSS 1972–2000 Cumulative Datafile.

Age Group	FEMALE		MALE	
	SDA	U.S.	SDA	U.S.
18–29	18.3	21.9	22.4	23.5
30–49	39.4	39.4	32.8	40.8
50–64	19.3	19.7	20.7	20.1
65–89	22.9	19.0	24.1	15.5

that the Western orientation of the church might be changing. Over the period, expansion in Tennessee, Alabama, Maryland, and the District of Columbia was particularly strong; and in the latter area, the Adventist percentage of the population increased from 0.4 in 1971 to a remarkable 0.9 in 1990, and probably to a higher level still in 2000.⁷²

The adult membership itself has, across the United States, a sex ratio of approximately 60 females to 40 males.⁷³ This is a wider gap than in most other Protestant denominations, where the proportions average around 55 to 45, and much wider than in America as a whole, where the ratio among those over 18, is 52 to 48.⁷⁴ There may also be significant differences in age distribution. The figures in table 3 suggest that Adventist women are marginally under-represented in the lower age categories, but over-represented in the highest group. The Adventist male population, on the other hand, appears to be dramatically under-represented in the middle 30–49 age group, but has almost twice the share among the over 65s—perhaps a reflection of the church's success in keeping men alive several years beyond the national average.⁷⁵

The racial balance in Adventism is also very different from Protestant and national patterns. In the United States, where many church denominations represent a particular ethnic or racial constituency, Adventism is very mixed. In 2000, 54 percent of the membership was white, 30 percent black, 11 percent Hispanic, 3 percent Asian, and 0.5 percent Native American.⁷⁶ Whites, who form three-quarters of the national population, are significantly under-represented in Adventism. Asian and Hispanic Adventists are roughly in balance with their ethnic groups in the wider populace, while Native Americans are a little weaker than they are in the country. By contrast, people of African descent are represented at more than double their national strength, making blacks by far the most successful of the minority groups in the church.⁷⁷ The fastest growing constituency, however, is the Native American, which increased by 86 percent between 1990 and 2000, followed by the Asians and Hispanics, who grew by about 50 percent each. The African American member-

ship expanded by 30 percent over the same period, and the white community by an anemic 10 percent.⁷⁸ This trend toward the racial minorities is likely to continue, largely because of the church's ability to attract and retain a disproportionate number of immigrants. One Adventist in five is born outside the United States.⁷⁹

All of this bodes ill for the white membership, which is not only growing the slowest but also aging the fastest. Approximately 31 percent of adult white Adventists are now over the age of 65. The Asian community is younger, with around 15 percent aged over 65; the black membership is younger still, with 11 percent in the oldest age group; and the Hispanic population is youngest of all, with a mere 4 percent of retirement age.⁸⁰ The white and Asian communities are also the most sexually imbalanced of Adventism's racial groups, with perhaps 62 percent of their respective constituencies composed of women.⁸¹ Hispanic Adventism is around 55 percent female, and the black community about 53 percent.⁸² White adherents are concentrated in the rural areas of the Pacific states and the South, where at least two-thirds of the Anglo membership live. Black Adventists are largely confined to the South and the cities of the East Coast, where again, altogether two-thirds of African American members live.⁸³ Native American believers are to be found in greatest numbers in Oklahoma; while Hispanic and Asian Adventists are largely located in California, where Asian Americans are heavily over-represented in the church's colleges and universities.⁸⁴ Asians also appear to be better educated and more prosperous than Adventism's other racial groups just as they tend to be in the wider population.⁸⁵

The socioeconomic status of the Adventist membership in general is more difficult to assess, however, for whereas on the usual demographic questions data drawn from internal surveys is confirmed by that from other sources, on this issue it is not. According to two landmark internal surveys, *Seventh-day Adventist Youth at the Mid-Century*, conducted in 1949, and *Demographic Profile: the Adventist Community in North America*, published in 1990, church members are heavily over-represented in professional occupations. In the *Mid-Century* survey, 31 percent of employed Adventists worked in a professional-technical or managerial capacity, four times higher than the national average.⁸⁶ In the *Demographic Profile*, 48 percent of men and 38 percent of women were employed in professional or managerial occupations, with unusually high levels of income and education to match.⁸⁷

In contrast, externally conducted surveys such as the National Survey of Religious Identification (NSRI) and the General Social Survey (GSS) tell a different story. In these, the socioeconomic profile of the Adventist membership appears to be somewhat below the average. In the NSRI, the church ranked 28 out of the 30 largest religious groups in the aggregate social-status ranking, just behind the Nazarenes, Baptists, and Pentecostals, with only Holiness churches and Jehovah's Witnesses below them, although Adventists were placed some-

what higher in terms of education and income.⁸⁸ The GSS suggests a slightly higher position but paints a broadly similar picture. Adventists rank below Jews, Catholics, Mormons, and most mainline Protestants on almost all socioeconomic indicators. They are also just below the Southern Baptists, in terms of education and income, and on a par with the Nazarenes and ahead of the Assemblies of God and the Witnesses.⁸⁹

It would be wrong to place too much weight on these findings alone, for in both cases the number of Adventist respondents was small and may not have adequately represented the localized concentrations of Adventist professionals living in the vicinity of church institutions, particularly on the West Coast. However, when the church, in association with Donnelley Marketing Information Services, used marketing research techniques to profile the entire membership in the United States in 1986, the results were very similar. In this project the population was divided into 47 clusters of economic and lifestyle characteristics, which were combined into ten multi-cluster groups. It found Adventists to be significantly under-represented in the highest socioeconomic groups (with the largest concentration of professionals) and over-represented in the lowest ones.⁹⁰

There thus seems to be a difference in the type of Adventists who respond to internal surveys and those picked up by external surveys and demographic analysis. Although arbitrating between these two types of data is very difficult, there are reasons to believe that the external surveys and marketing study may provide a truer picture of the whole Adventist community. Some Adventist surveys themselves suggest that the socioeconomic status of the church is rather lower than the internal research generally indicates. When church board members were asked in 1991 about their local congregations, 34 percent said their local church contained many poor people, while only 11 percent thought it contained many rich people. Conversely, only 1 percent said the local congregation had no poor people, while 24 percent said it had no rich people.⁹¹ These perceptions may well have been correct, for in a large scale study of congregational life conducted in 2001, Adventist researchers found church attendees to be over-represented in all the lower income groups, and under-represented in the higher ones.⁹²

These results suggest that other internal surveys may not have received enough responses from the "many poor people" present in Adventist churches and too many from the richer members. This possibility is also indicated by two recurrent features of internal survey research. First, it only contacts the estimated 60 percent of the membership that is regularly involved with the church, whereas national surveys and marketing profiles are likely to pick up Adventists irrespective of their level of participation.⁹³ Second, internal surveys appear to include a disproportionate number of church employees. In 1949, 11 percent of respondents worked for the church, and in 1990 this proportion had risen to 17

percent of men and 12 percent of women.⁹⁴ Given that church employees, including a large number of nonmembers working in hospitals (where, in the late 1990s, at least two-thirds of workers were non-Adventists), represented only about 5 percent of the total membership in 1950, and 7 percent in 1990, the surveys included at least two or three times their share of church workers.⁹⁵ Since church employees are overwhelmingly college-educated pastors, teachers, or medical workers, most are professionals with above-average levels of education and pay.⁹⁶ Internal surveys may therefore accurately measure the relatively high socioeconomic status of those most closely involved in the church, including those clustered around Adventist institutions, but not the generally low status of the membership in its entirety.

A closer inspection of Adventist demographics indicates this a little more clearly. Map 2 shows the Adventist distribution by county in the three West Coast states, where the GSS suggests Adventists with the highest levels of education and income are to be found.⁹⁷ Map 3 shows the money income rank per capita of the same counties, as indicated by census statistics.⁹⁸ As can be seen, the two maps are strikingly complementary: the areas that are dark on map 2, indicating counties of highest Adventist penetration are mostly light on map 3, indicating the poorest counties, and vice versa. The contrast can be seen most clearly in the eastern half of Washington, where there is almost a precise inverse relationship. There is also a very low proportion of Adventists in and around the major cities in the region, with the partial exception of Portland in Oregon, and low Adventist penetration all the way down the wealthy Pacific coast, except in the less affluent coastal areas of southern Oregon and northern California.

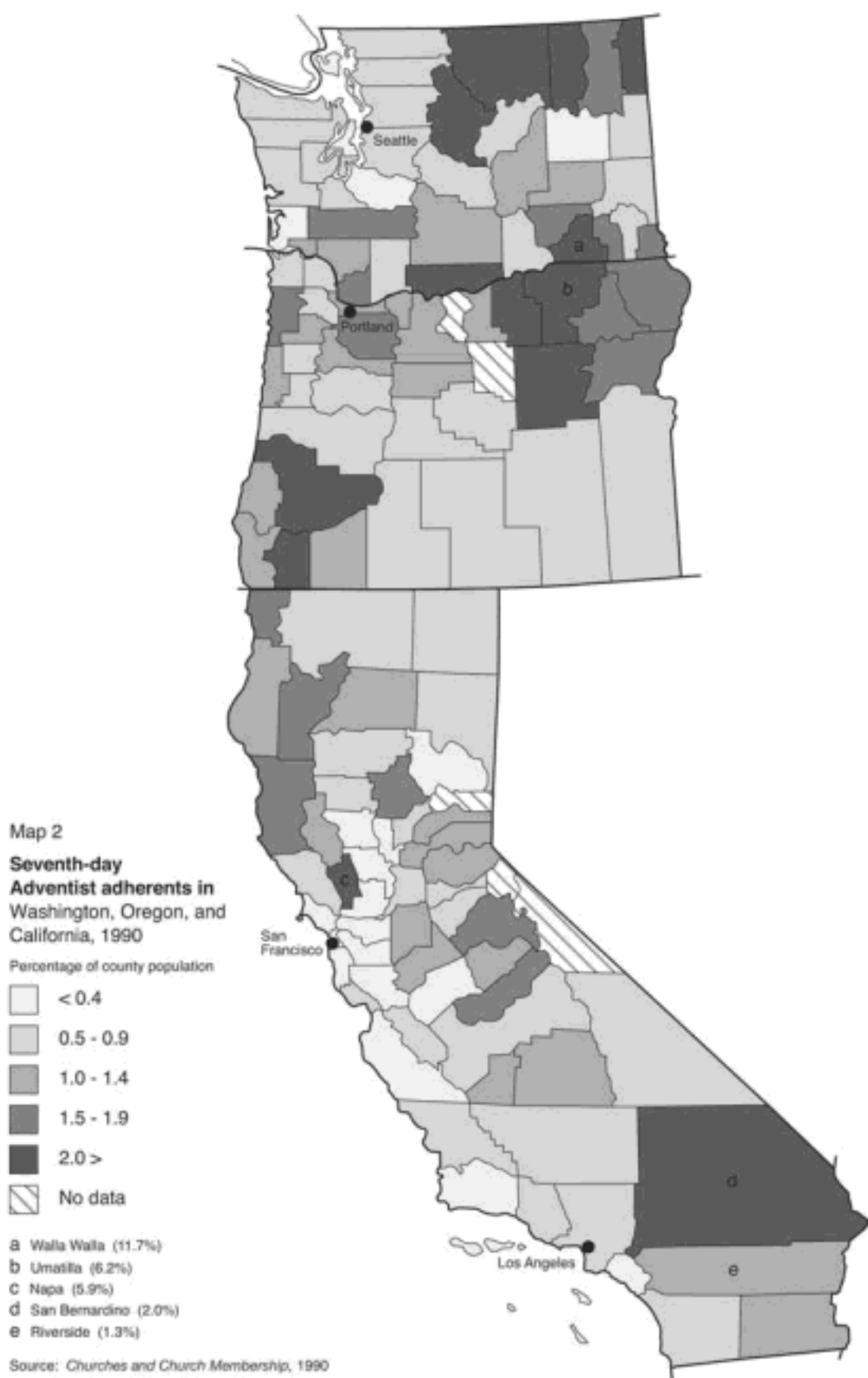
The general exceptions to this distribution are the Adventist “ghetto” counties of Walla Walla in Washington, where church members form 11.7 percent of the population; the adjacent Umatilla county in Oregon, where the Adventist penetration is 6.2 percent; Napa in northern California, where it is 5.9 percent; and the contiguous San Bernadino and Riverside counties in the south of the state, where it is 2.0 and 1.3 percent respectively. Approximately one-fifth of the Adventists in these states live in these five counties. All are sites of major Adventist institutions—Walla Walla College and Hospital on the Washington-Oregon border, Pacific Union College and St. Helena Hospital in Napa, and the Loma Linda/La Sierra campuses in southern California—and all, apart from Umatilla, are among the richer counties on the West Coast. This suggests that Adventists do penetrate more affluent areas, but only where they bring their members together around major institutions. More typical of the pattern of Adventist settlement is the fact that the richest county in the region, Marin, located immediately north of San Francisco, has the lowest proportion of Adventists, 0.1 percent, whereas the highest Adventist penetration outside the church ghettos, 3.3 percent in Pend Orielle in

the very top right-hand corner of Washington, is in the second poorest county in the three states.

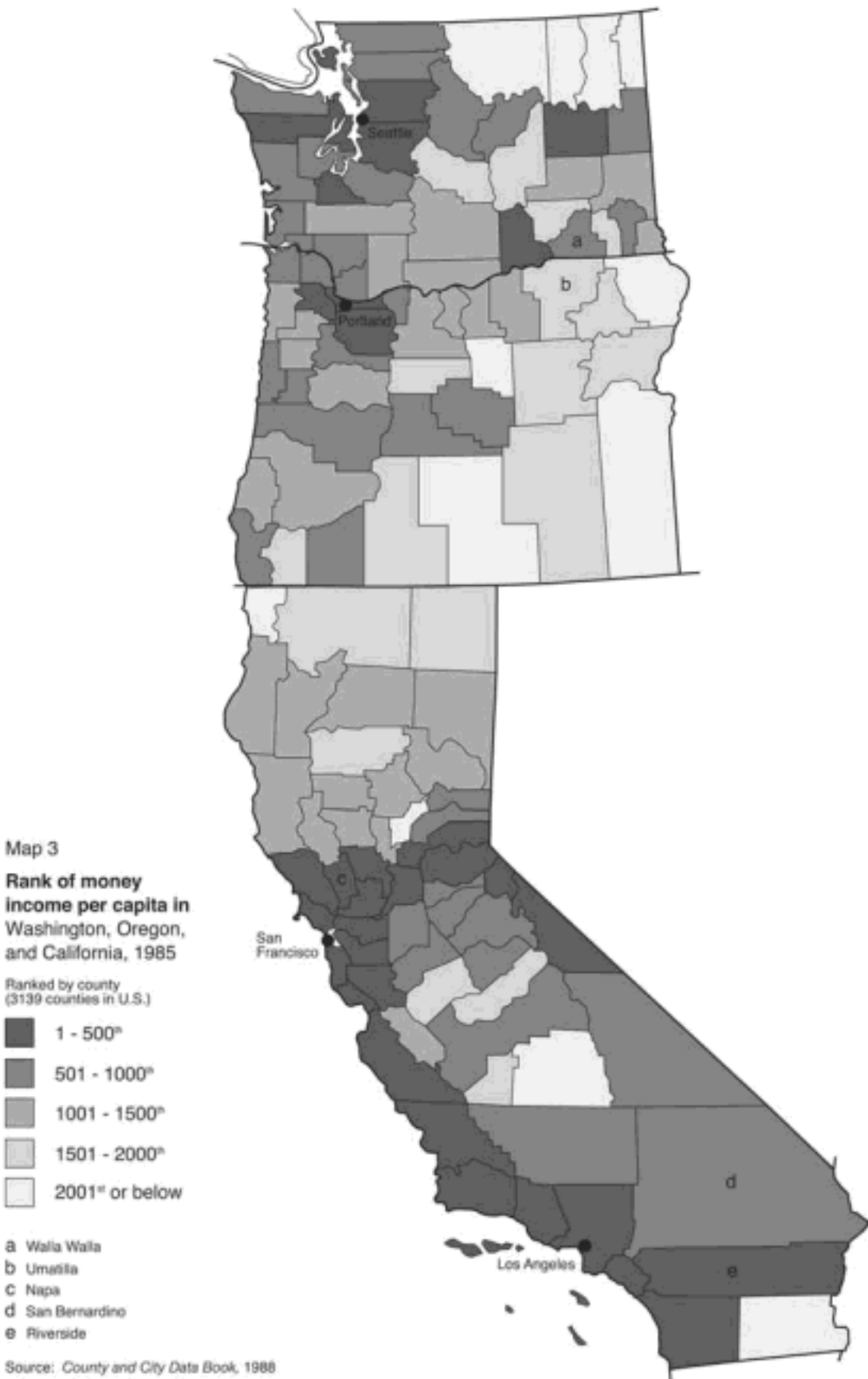
This pattern also appears to be replicated in the metropolitan areas of the East Coast. Studies of Adventist households by zip code in the urban regions of Philadelphia and New York suggest the same kind of dispersal as in the West. In Philadelphia the majority of Adventist households were located in zip codes in the 0–30th national centiles, despite the fact that the vast majority of zip codes (and households) in Philadelphia are above the 80th centile.⁹⁹ In New York, well over 40 percent of Adventist households were in the lowest, 0–10 centiles.¹⁰⁰ Of course, not all residents share the general characteristics of their community. But it is hard to think of an explanation for the disproportionate presence of Adventists in both the poorest counties of the Pacific states and the poorest districts of Eastern cities, save that the Adventist membership in these places is disproportionately drawn from the poorer members of society. Given that the Adventist membership is universally agreed to be disproportionately female, disproportionately old, disproportionately black, and disproportionately immigrant, the idea that it is composed of people with somewhat lower than average socioeconomic status would appear to be in keeping with the church's general demographic profile. This is not to say that Adventists are not drawn from across the entire social spectrum, only that the church has fewer members from the highest levels of society and somewhat more from the lower ones.

This is also generally confirmed by the picture of Adventist recruits that has emerged from a series of local and national studies over the past twenty-five years. The numbers may vary quite widely in each case, but they all tend to agree that Adventists convert large numbers of women, ethnic minorities, and blue collar workers and relatively few people from the professional and managerial classes. A study of new members of the Georgia-Cumberland Conference in 1979 and 1980 revealed that 59 percent were female, 22 percent were skilled and unskilled laborers, and 19 percent were in professional-managerial occupations.¹⁰¹ In a survey of converts conducted in the Philadelphia area in 2001, the corresponding percentages were 70, 20, and 15; and in a Pennsylvania study of 2002, they were 60, 36, and 17.¹⁰² This latter survey found in addition that 19 percent of new members were immigrant, double the rate in the state as whole.¹⁰³ The 1986 marketing study found that 20 percent of new converts were drawn from black and Hispanic cohorts and also that Adventists were disproportionately successful in 15 of the nation's 22 most geographically mobile groups.¹⁰⁴

Such figures make a wider point about Adventism and the disadvantaged in the United States. Although America is an autonomous nation-state with sufficient economic and military power to render it almost impervious to outside influence, it is not, of course, the case that all sections of the population experience the strength of the nation in the same way. To those who are fully integrated within American society, the power of the nation may seem to be some-



Map 2. Seventh-day Adventist adherents in Washington, Oregon, and California, 1990.



Map 3. Rank of money income per capita, 1985.

thing in which they share. But for those who occupy a more marginal position, state power may seem an external and possibly alien force. The population can thus be divided into “insiders” and “outsiders.” The latter group experiences American power only passively—as something that affects their lives but over which they have little control. It is apparent that Adventists recruit heavily from among outsiders—from among those who by virtue of sex, race, poverty, or mobility have not been able to find a secure position within society. For them, the American dream of autonomy and prosperity is not an everyday experience: it is, at most, an aspiration. The precarious socioeconomic position of most converts helps explain the way in which rates of growth are sensitive to fluctuations in the economy. Converts are evidently drawn from the ranks of those least insulated from the effects of economic decline. A deep recession is liable to swell the numbers of outsiders and thus increase the pool of potential recruits, as the church’s great success during the Great Depression of the early 1930s demonstrated.

The one respect in which Adventist converts do not appear to be marginal is their religious background. The Georgia-Cumberland Conference showed 73 percent of new recruits to be Protestant, and only 6 percent Catholic, with 19 percent of no previous religious affiliation.¹⁰⁵ In neither this nor other studies is there much indication that Adventists convert many members of other religious minorities, although AVANCE, a 1994 survey of Hispanic Adventists, revealed that more than half had been brought up as Catholics.¹⁰⁶ The GSS’s sample of 73 or so Adventists who were not raised in the church indicates that 66 percent of them came from mainstream Protestant churches and 15 percent were former Catholics.¹⁰⁷ Apart from the case of Hispanics, Adventism draws its recruits from the socially marginal members of the dominant Protestant tradition. Converts thereby become religious outsiders as well as social and economic outsiders, which brings their religious affiliation into alignment with the rest of their experience.

In this context, the theology of Adventism is particularly important. Seventy percent of new believers in the Georgia-Cumberland survey said that they were most attracted to the church by “the truth and beauty of its teaching,” as did 77 percent in the Pennsylvania study.¹⁰⁸ This was echoed by the responses of Hispanic converts in 1994. Most were attracted by the “truth and beauty of the Adventist message.”¹⁰⁹ The church’s beliefs obviously help those who espouse them to make sense of their own lives. This may, in part, be because of the way in which Adventist theology explains the position of the church relative to America. Another factor may be the conviction with which the Adventist message is expressed. Few people are attracted to churches in which theology is hedged by qualifications. Adventism’s evident ideological appeal may also be a function of the church’s apparent theological certainty.

None of this, however, should obscure the part played in Adventist growth by the children of existing members. But this does not happen automatically, and

it is worth noting the importance of the church school in bringing Adventist children to baptism. Some non-Adventists are brought into the church through denominational schooling, but the primary benefit of the system is its capacity to socialize the second and subsequent generations. The *Mid-Century* survey found that among college graduates with a complete Adventist education, 100 percent had been baptized and only 12 percent had withdrawn. In contrast, of those who had no denominational education, only half had been baptized, and of those, a majority had left the church.¹⁰ A similar finding was reported by the Adventist researcher Roger Dudley, who concluded toward the end of a ten-year study of Adventist young people in the 1990s that those without an Adventist education were more likely to apostatize than those with one.¹¹

The factors involved in Adventist growth thus appear to include ethnic subalterity, marginality to the centers of American power, severe downturns in the economy, and the church's educational system. Although it is impossible to collate all relevant information on a worldwide scale and any conclusions can only be general, it is possible to discern similar factors at work in the international development of the church. In the thirty years from the end of 1971 to the end of 2001, world membership increased by 486 percent, from 2.1 million to 12.3 million, with only Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia and Syria, and small, white British colonies like Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands remaining impenetrable. In regional terms, however, rates of growth were highly uneven, ranging from virtual stagnation in Europe to a spectacular nine-fold increase in Africa, which accounted for 37 percent of the entire Seventh-day Adventist growth in the period. (See figure 13.)

However, by 2001 the proportion of church members was highest in the Caribbean, where one person in 45 was a Seventh-day Adventist. (See table 4.) The church's most successful island there is the tiny Montserrat, where the ratio of Adventists to the population is one to four, followed by Grenada and Antigua (both 1 to 9), St. Vincent (1 to 11), St. Lucia and Jamaica (both 1 to 14), and Barbados (1 to 16). Only the equally small Pacific islands in the Oceania region rival the Adventist penetration in the Caribbean. The miniscule Pitcairn Island (population under 50), which at one time was 100 percent Seventh-day Adventist, retains a ratio of one to two.¹² In Vanuatu it is 1 to 14, in the Solomon Islands 1 to 15, in Palau 1 to 20, and in the Cook Islands 1 to 26. Church members are found in high densities in some larger nations as well, such as Rwanda (1 to 21), Papua New Guinea (1 to 24), Zambia (1 to 26), Haiti (1 to 27), and Zimbabwe (1 to 31). But in 2001 the countries with the largest single Adventist populations were Brazil (1,063,962), the United States (900,985), and the Philippines (896,206), with Kenya, Mexico, Peru, and India the other nations having a membership of more than 500,000.

However, country penetration ratios and overall membership figures are deceptive, for as in the United States, Adventist growth tends to be highest among

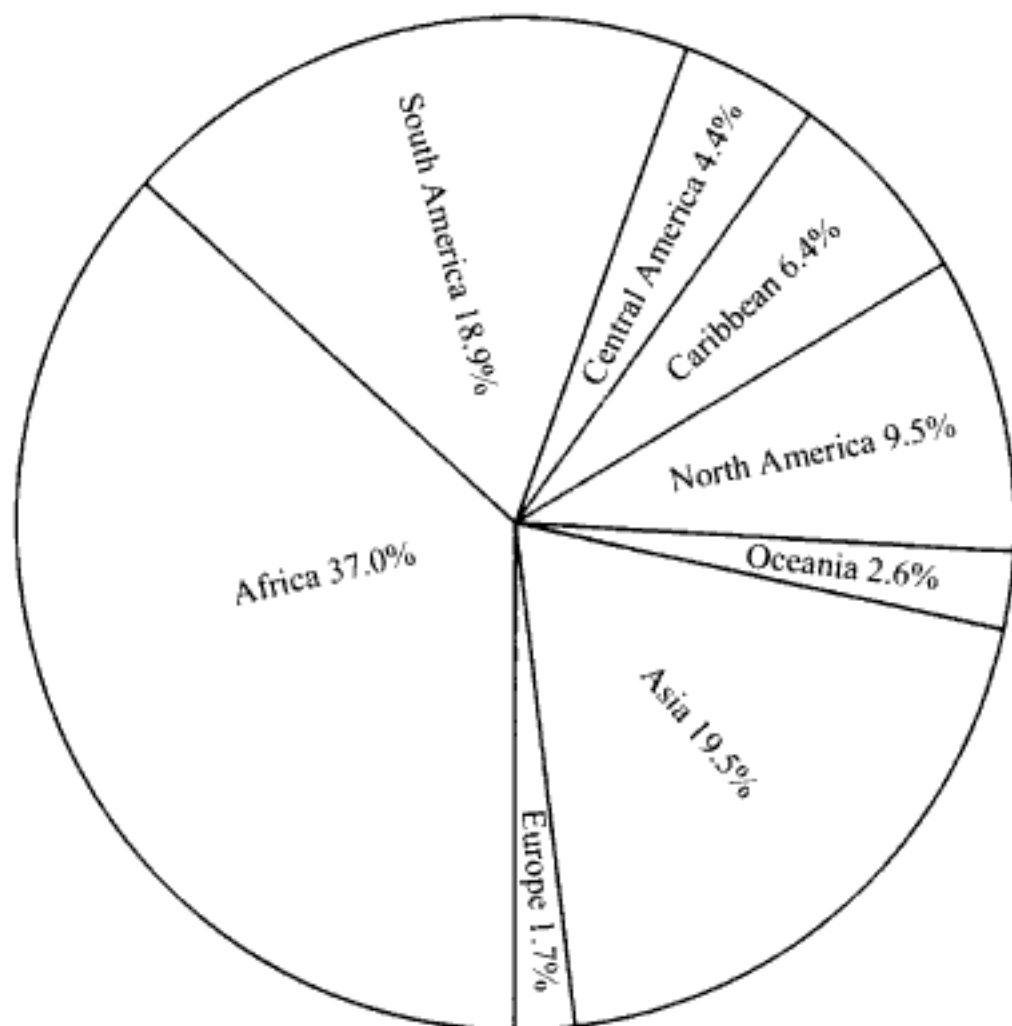


Figure 13. Seventh-day Adventist world growth, 1971–2001.
Source: SDA Annual Statistical Report.

TABLE 4
Seventh-day Adventist world penetration by region, 2001.
Sources: SDA Annual Statistical Report and Population Reference Bureau,
Washington, D.C.

	Membership	Population	Ratio
Caribbean	815,864	36,880,000	45
Central America	480,214	38,188,000	80
Oceania	361,952	31,171,000	86
South America	2,267,253	350,204,000	154
Africa	4,233,884	817,775,000	193
North America	1,478,694	415,577,000	281
Asia	2,307,416	3,720,028,000	1,612
Europe	375,557	727,180,000	1,936

marginalized groups. These are not necessarily always minorities, but they are invariably subordinate or disadvantaged in some way. For example in Fiji, Adventists have been much more successful among the indigenous people than among the more economically, and increasingly politically, dominant Asian population.¹⁵³ In Myanmar (formerly Burma), Adventists have drawn their recruits almost exclusively from the minority Karen population and have virtually no members from the majority Buddhist community.¹⁵⁴ In Peru, Adventists have had more success among the poor Aymara Indians than any other ethnic group.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, in the African states of Burundi and Rwanda, Adventists have done very well among the Hutu people, who have traditionally been dominated by the Tutsis; and in the neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo, fully 42 percent of the church's 430,000 members are located in just one province, West Kasai, where the Lulua, one of the republic's historically subordinate tribes, are concentrated.¹⁵⁶ In the Solomon Islands, the church has recruited at least a quarter of its membership from Malaita, whose population has been the object of discrimination from Guadalcanal, the dominant island in the archipelago.¹⁵⁷ And recently in India, Adventists have converted thousands of Dalit Hindus (the so-called "untouchables"), the most disadvantaged caste in that nation's highly stratified society.¹⁵⁸

Revealing though these distributions are, they indicate that the global penetration of Seventh-day Adventism is not fundamentally different from that of Christianity in general.¹⁵⁹ There are some areas, such as the Middle East, where, for religious and political reasons, Christianity has made little headway, and Adventism is no exception.¹⁶⁰ The distribution of Adventism also reflects the fact that it is an American Protestant church. It is strong in regions like the Caribbean and Central America and in countries like the Philippines and the islands of the Pacific, partly because America has historically exercised considerable influence in these places. It is generally easier for the church to operate in nations with which the United States has strong economic, political, or military ties. Furthermore, Adventism's specific identification of America as the two-horned beast may enable people in such countries to put the nation's geopolitical dominance into theological context in a way that is perhaps analogous to the manner in which Adventism in America helps outsiders come to terms with the centers of U.S. power.

The congenial environment for growth fostered by American influence has also been provided by the British empire. Adventism has prospered in many former British colonies, frequently achieving higher levels of penetration there than in neighboring countries occupied by other European powers. This may be partly the result of language, English being the lingua franca of world Adventism despite the church having conducted its missionary work in more than 800 different languages and dialects.¹⁶¹ In the Caribbean, the former British colony of Dominica has an Adventist penetration of 1 to 15, whereas in the adjacent

French dependencies, Guadeloupe and Martinique, the penetration is 1 to 42 and 1 to 29 respectively. Similarly in South America, the old British territory of Guyana has an Adventist ratio of 1 to 17, while in next-door Suriname, colonized by the Dutch, it is 1 to 139. In Central America, in the former British dependency Belize, the Adventist penetration is a very high 1 to 11, while in neighboring Spanish Honduras, it is only 1 to 63. And in the former British Asian colony of Malaysia, one person in 523 is an Adventist, whereas in bordering Indonesia, another former Dutch territory, the proportion is 1 in 1,049.

This pattern also holds to some degree in Africa. In the former British colonies there, Adventism has achieved an average penetration of around one member for every 166 people. By contrast, in the former French colonies the penetration is a meager 1 to 990, although the comparison is not entirely fair since most of the French countries are Islamic. However, the penetration in the former Portuguese territories at 1 to 85 is higher than in the British ones, and it is highest of all in the former Belgian nations, where the Adventist ratio is 1 to 79.¹²² Clearly, colonization by itself does not tell the full story of the church's rise in Africa, which seems to be more closely related to the continent's economic failure since the 1970s. In 1999 more than half the countries in Africa possessed a gross national income (GNI) per capita (in constant 1995 U.S. dollars) of less than \$500, a proportion that had not changed since 1971.¹²³ The other factor is the huge educational program the church conducts in the continent. About a quarter of all Adventist educational institutions are in Africa.¹²⁴ Within the British colonies, the church benefited from the grants-in-aid scheme in which government finance supported the church's schools and colleges. But even without these subsidies, the church was able to build a network of educational institutions through which to convert and socialize local populations.

Although some studies now suggest that Adventist education in Africa, and indeed in other parts of the Third World, is no longer the best or only available type of instruction as perhaps it once was, it brings the same benefit as all forms of education: it opens the way to higher-status occupations and increased earning capacity.¹²⁵ These are the very things that Adventist converts most lack in countries where Adventism has made great inroads, like Zambia, Kenya, Ghana, Malawi, Angola, Mozambique, and Rwanda. Growth has proceeded particularly rapidly in Zimbabwe in recent years as the economy there has worsened dramatically. But it is noticeable that the church has done much less well in neighboring South Africa. Differences in the management of the change since the end of white minority rule may be partially responsible. But the chief factor affecting the relative performance of the church in the two countries is surely the fact that GNI per capita in South Africa is six times higher than it is in Zimbabwe.¹²⁶

A similar pattern can be seen in South America, which lends some support, as does Africa, to the ideas of sociologists like Bryan Wilson who see denomina-

tions like Adventism as “revolutionist” movements that thrive in times of economic deprivation.¹²⁷ Guyana, in the north, had in 2001 a per capita GNI of \$840 and an Adventist population of almost 6 percent. But as one moves down the continent, per capita GNI increases, and the Adventist penetration correspondingly falls. Brazil, for example, in the middle, had in 2001 a per capita GNI of \$3,070 and an Adventist percentage of 0.6. Argentina, in the south, had a per capita GNI of \$6,940 and an Adventist percentage of 0.2.¹²⁸ These figures make an interesting contrast with two other American groups that have done well in South America, the Jehovah’s Witnesses and the Mormons. The Jehovah’s Witnesses are fairly evenly spread throughout the continent, seemingly able to do equally well in rich and poor countries alike. The Mormons, on the other hand, appear to have the opposite problem from the Adventists, doing very badly among the poorer nations in the north and very well among the wealthier nations in the south. Comparative data from the *World Christian Encyclopedia* indicate that in 1995 approximately 10 percent of the total Adventist population in South America was located in the three most prosperous, most southerly, and most European countries in the continent: Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. For the Jehovah’s Witnesses, the comparable figure was 20 percent and for the Mormons 40 percent.¹²⁹

But the data do not correlate exactly. Although wealthier than Brazil, Chile has a higher Adventist penetration, and a closer study of the country indicates that as well as economics, politics appears to affect the church’s growth in the region. In 1971 the membership in Chile was 17,560 and represented 0.2 percent of the population; by 2001, it had advanced to 100,996, and its penetration of the population had more than trebled to 0.7 percent.¹³⁰ In 1971, Chile was in the second year of Allende’s embattled Marxist government. In the autumn of 1973, General Pinochet put an end to the instability and inaugurated a period of repressive, right-wing military rule that lasted until 1990. After that, the country returned to democracy under a center-left alliance that has governed Chile (under different presidents) since that time. Adventist growth peaked under Pinochet, to whom the church gave open support, averaging around 7.7 percent each year. During the Allende years, growth averaged 4.7 percent, and under the alliance it slumped to an average of 3.7 percent. It would, of course, be foolhardy to draw many conclusions from these statistics. One cannot also entirely discount economics. The 10 percent growth the church posted in Chile in 1984, for example, appears to have been related to the economic depression the country suffered in 1982–1983. But it does appear that the church grows faster under right-wing than under left-wing governments.¹³¹

Despite the complicated politics in the region, Adventism grew everywhere in South America in the past three decades, which is much more than can be said about the church in Europe. As shown in figure 13 and table 4, Adventism there has contributed least to the church’s recent expansion and has the low-

est penetration of any region in the world, including the vastly more populous Asia. It appears that American denominations like Adventism have become largely alien to Europeans, who have become increasingly secularized since the Second World War. But this was not the way things began. Europe was the first overseas continent that Adventists evangelized, and at the reorganization of 1901 the church had more members there than in any other part of the foreign field. The church in Europe held on to this position up until 1956, when it was finally overtaken by Africa. It was then overhauled by every other region except the relatively uninhabited Oceania.¹³²

Some places have bucked the trend. Adventism's most successful country in the continent is Romania, both in terms of membership (72,971) and in terms of penetration of the population (0.3 percent). Such has been the church's relative success there that in 2001 one-fifth of all the Adventists in Europe were located in this one republic.¹³³ There has also been steady expansion in countries that have benefited from immigration. In Britain and France most of the increase since the 1970s has been caused by Adventists who were either born in, or originated from, the Caribbean.¹³⁴ Growth in Spain over the past decade has been almost entirely due to a massive influx of Romanian Adventists, who now make up a third of the membership in the country.¹³⁵ The church in Portugal has profited from migrants from the country's former African colonies like Mozambique and Angola, who currently represent about 6 percent of membership; and in Italy, Romanian Adventists have again been responsible for the bulk of the rises there, along with members from Ghana.¹³⁶

The other area of growth has been in some former Communist nations and in some of the new countries that emerged in the 1990s, when Adventists, in common with many other denominations, gained from the dislocation caused by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.¹³⁷ Adventism grew by 65 percent in Ukraine in the period between 1993 and 2001, by 63 percent in Belarus, 54 percent in the Russian Federation, and 30 percent in Bulgaria. These trends have to some extent been reflected in Germany (both East and West). In terms of absolute numbers, Germany was initially the European heartland of the church. Membership peaked at 44,609 in 1951. It then dropped, as the German economic miracle took hold, in every year until 1989 when the Berlin Wall fell. However, after 1989 the membership has risen slightly in every year (except in 1998), probably as a result of higher unemployment and Germans returning from Eastern Europe. Elsewhere, however, the church appears to be slowly dying in places like Greece, Hungary, and particularly Scandinavia. Between 1971 and 2001, Norway lost a tenth of its membership, Sweden around a quarter, and Denmark just under a third—low immigration, the strong welfare state, and the very high standard of living in these countries militating against the best efforts of local evangelists.

These are minor losses though, in the overall context of the church's growth. Toward the end of the twentieth century, world membership was doubling

every eleven years. Even if one uses a more conservative figure of fifteen years and current trends continue, there will be approximately 1.5 billion Adventists in a century's time. Not that there will actually be so many Adventists in 2105, for growth of this kind inevitably slows after a certain point. But as long as there are disadvantaged groups or economically deprived people in the world, the Adventist church can be expected to expand. This will not just be in Third World areas, but in First World ones as well. For one of the interesting features of Adventism's world development is the way poor regions with high densities of Adventists export members to wealthier areas where the Adventist penetration is low. The movement of Adventists from the Caribbean and Africa to Western Europe, and from Romania to Spain and Italy, are the prominent examples. The Caribbean church has also exported substantial numbers to the cities of the United States and Canada; Filipino Adventists have helped the church maintain footholds in parts of the Middle East; and migrating members from Brazil have contributed to the growth in Portugal.¹³⁸

Whether one looks at Adventism locally, nationally, regionally, or globally, its pattern of recruitment is usually the same. It attracts disadvantaged people, puts their low status in theological context, and offers, through its educational institutions, the opportunity of leaving that status behind. In Adventism, outsiders clothe their marginality in religious dress while simultaneously improving their socioeconomic position. Further discussion of this process must await part three, but it may at least suggest one reason for Adventism's success both within and beyond the United States.

The Science of Happiness

THE OBJECT OF Adventist evangelistic endeavor is to convert people to the beliefs of the church. But important as these doctrines are, Adventist evangelism is equally concerned to effect a change in the lifestyle of the prospective convert. As well as accepting the Sabbath or being able to identify the various beasts of the Apocalypse, joining the Seventh-day Adventist Church means embarking on a well-worn road to personal well-being and, it is hoped, to eternal happiness.

To this end, the denomination has sought to guide its members' behavior in three important areas of human experience: health, family life, and recreation. In 1987 a new set of guidelines was issued on these subjects in *Beyond Baptism: What the New Believer Should Know About the Adventist Lifestyle*. The author, Fannie L. Houck, informed readers that "many Adventists choose to be vegetarians" and that even if they do not, they try to eat food that is "simple, wholesome, and natural."¹ On the family, she reminded new converts that they were uniting with a people who "believe God intended marriage to be a lifelong union, with both partners committed to making the home a 'little heaven upon the earth.'² Parenthood, in her words, carried "weighty obligations of child care and disciplining," and involved "nurturing the youth, guiding their character development, and training them for Christian service."³ On recreation, Houck suggested the new member should from now on engage only in activities that "will refresh and renew the mind and body" or that "provide a change of pace, relaxation, and perhaps a challenge."⁴

In addition to this advice, it was made clear that becoming an Adventist entailed giving up previous indulgences like "alcoholic beverages, tobacco, illegal narcotics and drugs, tea, and coffee." If new members were single, she counseled

them “not to marry someone with different religious beliefs as too often such a union produces a ‘home where the shadows are never lifted.’” In order to keep the mind heaven-bound, there was also a warning to avoid reading materials that “destroy interest in the things of God,” music that “is inappropriate for Christians,” or any TV program or movie “that glorifies sin.” She specifically singled out “social dancing and gambling” as activities that “do not measure up to the Adventist ideal.” The principle behind all these prohibitions was temperance: “It directly affects health and happiness,” Houck said, and it “means not carrying work, study, recreation, or even exercise to excess.”⁵

The benefits of living life in this way were extolled in another 1980s book, *How You Can Live Six Extra Years* by Lewis Walton and others, that drew conclusions from two major studies of church members conducted by Loma Linda University in the second half of the twentieth century: the Adventist Mortality Study and its successor, the Adventist Health Study.⁶ Walton and his colleagues claimed that only half as many Adventists die from heart disease, strokes, diabetes, or peptic ulcers as members of the general population. Adventists suffer only 13 percent of the average number of mortalities caused by cirrhosis of the liver, 20 percent of deaths from lung cancer, and 32 percent of those caused by emphysema. The incidence of cancer fatalities among Adventists is reduced by about one-third, and in an apparent vindication of the belief that the Adventist lifestyle brings happiness and contentment, Adventists commit only 31 percent of the usual number of suicides. The authors also cited additional evidence showing that in respect to coronary thrombosis, the more Adventists conform to the church’s health message, the less chance they have of suffering an untimely death.⁷

This emphasis on health, which in large measure is the basis of all the other aspects of the Adventist lifestyle, is a legacy of the health reform movement that was an important force in nineteenth-century America. In response to what one historian has called “a sick and dirty nation,” a number of reformers resolved to improve the poor health of their countrymen.⁸ In the 1830s Sylvester Graham, a Presbyterian minister, began an extensive temperance crusade and invented one of the first health foods, the graham cracker. William A. Alcott, a doctor trained at Yale, joined with Graham to found in 1837 the American Physiological Society, the first of the health reform associations. Horace Mann inspired a campaign that culminated in 1850 in an act of the Massachusetts General Court requiring the teaching of physiology and hygiene in public schools. Other reformers included Larkin B. Coles, who elevated the principles of health reform to the level of the Ten Commandments; Drs. Joel Shew and R. T. Trail, who pioneered water cure treatments in the 1840s; and Dr. James C. Jackson, who established an influential water cure center called Our Home at the Hillside, at Dansville, New York, in 1858.⁹

These reformers shared a general distrust of existing medical practices. They believed, with some justification, that the bleeding techniques and the chemical

medicines that were provided for curing disease often made matters worse. Instead, they favored natural methods such as hydrotherapy. In preventing disease, they generally advocated plenty of fresh air and water; the avoidance of tea, coffee, tobacco, and alcohol; a vegetarian diet; exercise; rest; personal hygiene; and moderation in both eating and drinking.³⁰ Ellen White, who pioneered health reform among Seventh-day Adventists, learned from the reformers who preceded her. The prophetess's interest in health sprang from her own general ill health, as such interest did for many of the people who took up the cause of reform. Mrs. White's concern with healthful living started when she had a vision on the subject in 1848, but it was not until after June 5, 1863, that she really became a committed health reformer.

During that evening, at an Adventist home in Otsego, Michigan, Ellen White received a revelation from God that stressed the need for health reform. The first published account of her vision reveals little that previous reformers had not already said. She outlined the evils of over-indulgence, advocated a vegetarian diet, and frowned on the use of alcohol and tobacco. She also came out against the use of tea and coffee, referring to them as "slow poisons." But as well as these dietary prohibitions, White stressed the deleterious effects of overwork and the importance of personal hygiene. Concerning the treatment of disease, she favored water cure methods. White had little time for conventional medicine as then currently practiced, and she thought the indiscriminate prescription of drugs a particular evil.³¹

In her account of the vision, she made a passing reference to the idea that the human body was to be regarded as the temple of God, using it to show that it was a Christian duty to keep the body as healthy as possible.³² Based on the reference in 1 Corinthians 3:16, this belief became, in the twentieth century, an important rationale for the denomination's concern with healthful living. However, it played little part in the philosophy of her initial vision as a whole. If there was a theory underlying Ellen White's first statement on health reform, it was the concept of the "laws of health." Disease, she maintained, only resulted when these laws were disobeyed or broken: "Many marvel that the human race have [*sic*] so degenerated, physically, mentally, and morally. They do not understand that it is the violation . . . of the laws of health, that has produced this sad degeneracy."³³ This was the point she emphasized repeatedly:

The human family have violated the laws of health, and have run to excess in almost everything. Disease has been steadily increasing. The cause has been followed by the effect. . . . Many are living in violation to the laws of health, and are ignorant of the relation their habits of eating, drinking, and working sustain to their health. . . . Multitudes remain in inexcusable ignorance in regard to the laws of their being. . . . I have been shown that a great amount of suffering might be saved if all would labor to prevent disease, by strictly obeying the laws of health.³⁴

Ellen White clearly understood the laws of health to be of divine origin. Yet her discussion of them tended to give her exposition of health reform a naturalistic rather than a supernatural basis. What is striking about the account of her vision is the general lack of scriptural justification for her message. She did supply numerous biblical examples of the evils of all kinds of intemperance, but her arguments for health reform were based on the inescapable realities of natural law. "All our enjoyments or sufferings," she wrote later, "may be traced to obedience or transgression of natural law."¹⁵

The Otsego vision marked the point at which Seventh-day Adventists began to accept the principles of health reform in significant numbers. But another event concentrated minds as well. James White suffered a stroke in 1865, which persuaded his wife that the church needed its own health facilities and its own program of health education. The founding of the Western Health Reform Institute at Battle Creek in 1866 fulfilled this purpose, as did the magazine *The Health Reformer*, which was started at the same time. The Adventist institute was partly modeled on Our Home at Dansville, which Ellen White visited in 1864 and where she took her husband to recover from his illness in 1865.¹⁶ Following the example of Our Home, the Adventist institute employed "only such means" that nature "can best use in recuperative work, such as Water, Air, Light, Heat, Food, Sleep, Rest, Recreation etc."¹⁷ Under Horatio S. Lay, the institute gradually became a success, attracting patients from all parts of the United States.¹⁸ This did not mean, however, that all Seventh-day Adventists became diligent health reformers. On the contrary, White had to struggle to convince many of her fellow believers to give up their former ways.¹⁹ And at times, she herself found it difficult to live up to all the principles of health. Ronald Numbers, who examined Mrs. White's career in *Prophetess of Health*, believes that it was not until 1894 that she completely controlled her own personal liking for meat.²⁰

The one Adventist who apparently never wavered in his commitment to health reform was John Harvey Kellogg, the brilliant doctor who took over the Western Health Reform Institute in 1876 and who renamed it Battle Creek Sanitarium a year later. In following decades, Kellogg constantly rebuilt and extended the institution — each new edifice mirroring his expanding ambition — which culminated in the erection of a grandiose fifteen-story, twin-tower block in 1928.²¹ Kellogg used the sanitarium as a vast laboratory to develop his own version of health reform, which he called "biologic living."²² In this, he often seemed more interested in bringing his ideas to the wider American public than to the Adventist church. However, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, he conducted a diligent campaign against those within his own faith who remained obdurately opposed to reform. Indeed, Kellogg's contempt for leaders like A. G. Daniells, who were not conscientious health reformers, was one of the factors that led to the doctor's expulsion from the church in 1907.²³



Figure 14. Temple of health: the Battle Creek Sanitarium in its final incarnation. Now a federal building, the structure still dominates the Battle Creek skyline. *Photo © Madeline S. Johnston.*

Kellogg differed from previous health reformers in two ways. First, he did not ridicule the established medical profession as many of his predecessors had done. A product of the improving standard of medical education himself (he was trained at the University of Michigan and at New York's Bellevue Medical School), Kellogg thought it best to yoke established medicine to his goals. Second, he realized that most people found the meatless health reform diet tasteless and, in some cases, unpalatable. In one incident, a patient at the sanitarium broke her dentures on the doctor's first experimental multigrain "granola" cereal. Other new health products fared no better with the public. In the early 1890s, patients told Kellogg that eating the recently developed cereal Shredded Wheat was like "eating straw."²⁴

It was partly the need to develop adequate and palatable food alternatives that fostered Kellogg's invention of a number of products that have since become standard items on the world's food tables. The most important of these were peanut butter (developed in the early 1890s, much earlier than the experiments of George Washington Carver, who is still mistakenly believed to be its



Figure 15. Cereal success: Seventh-day Adventism's lasting contribution to America's diet. Invented by John Harvey Kellogg, but as these early product boxes show, it is the doctor's brother, Will Keith, who provides the famous signature on the packet. *KELLOGG'S CORN FLAKES® is a registered trademark of Kellogg Company. All rights reserved. Used with permission.*

inventor), and corn flakes (originally known as granose flakes), which Kellogg patented in 1894. In addition, Kellogg invented the first meat substitute, called nuttose; the first cereal coffee substitute; and the first artificial milk from soya beans—all part of a revolutionary approach to nutrition that the doctor later described in *The New Dietetics*.²⁵ Kellogg was slow to realize the commercial possibilities of his inventions; consequently, it was his brother, Will Keith, who had helped him produce the original flaked cereal, who marketed corn flakes on a mass scale. In 1906 Will founded the Battle Creek Toasted Corn Flake Company, and in 1922 the Kellogg Company, the present manufacturer of corn flakes and its associated brands. Because Will, like his brother, was expelled from the denomination in 1907, a famous Adventist industry was developed outside the church.²⁶ John Harvey Kellogg and the denomination also lost the coffee substitute market—to C. W. Post, an entrepreneur who modeled his famous Postum on Kellogg's cereal coffee after being a patient at the Battle Creek Sanitarium.²⁷

The health reform movement, of which Adventists became a part and which, through Kellogg, they later led, had a number of facets. But perhaps the most significant, in an age fabled for its puritanism, was the role of health reform in controlling sex. Historians of American sexuality like Peter Gardella and John Money claim that the principal motivation of all the Victorian reformers was

actually their disapproval of sexual activity. The argument is that people like Graham and Kellogg fashioned their dietary systems in order to “cure” sexual desire.²⁸ Although this thesis is probably overstated, there is considerable evidence to support it. Sylvester Graham did link meat eating with the arousal of carnal or sexual passion. And sexual passion, he believed, robbed the body of its capacity to resist disease. Graham’s idea that sexual restraint was the key to good health—the so-called sexual abstinence theory—also found expression in the publications of many other reformers.²⁹ Much of Ellen White’s writings on health can also be read in terms of the sexual abstinence theory. She, too, frequently referred to the destructive spiritual and physical effects of the “base” or “animal” passions, by which she almost always meant sexual passions.³⁰ For White, however, there were additional and more important issues at stake. It was her conviction that Adventists could not be saved, or fitted for heaven, if they did not control their animal instincts.³¹ The eternal happiness of Adventists, therefore, depended on control of sex; and this, in turn, depended on obedience to the laws of health.

The prophetess discussed the relationship between these things in *An Appeal to Mothers: The Great Cause of the Physical, Mental and Moral Ruin of Many of the Children of Our Time*, published in 1864. Her chief concern in this tract was the practice of masturbation, or “the secret vice” as it was euphemistically termed. She warned that in the spiritual realm this form of sexual gratification “is the destroyer of high resolve, earnest endeavor, and strength of will to form a good religious character” and that in the moral sphere it “inflames the passions, fevers the imagination and leads to licentiousness.”³² The physical effects were equally debilitating. Masturbation was the cause of such handicaps as “imbecility, dwarfed forms, crippled limbs, misshapen heads and deformity of every description.”³³ White pointed out that one way to avoid such dreadful consequences was through the avoidance of foods like “mince pies, cakes, preserves, and highly seasoned meats, with gravies,” which “create a feverish condition in the system, and inflame the animal passions.”³⁴ Another was abstinence from the “fleshly lusts” of tea, coffee, tobacco, and alcohol.³⁵

If anything, John Harvey Kellogg was even more rigorous in spelling out the connection between the unreformed diet, stimulants, and sexual indulgence. In his 1886 book *Plain Facts for Old and Young*, he wrote: “Flesh, condiments, eggs, tea, coffee, chocolate, and all stimulants have a powerful influence directly upon the reproductive organs. They increase the local supply of blood; and through nervous sympathy with the brain, the passions are aroused.”³⁶ The same effect on the sexual organs was caused by that “filthy habit, tobacco-using,” which when combined with “wine or beer” led to the “loss of virtue.”³⁷ *Plain Facts* was an immensely successful early sex manual that remained in print for over forty years. It advanced the view that sex was a destructive activity that was meant solely for reproductive purposes.³⁸ Common ailments were attributed to

lascivious behavior, and Kellogg quoted with approval one medical authority who felt that “many forms of indigestion, general ill-health, hypochondriasis, etc., so often met with in adults, depend upon sexual excesses.”³⁹ For Kellogg, the solution lay in the principles of health reform. “Nothing,” he wrote, “tends so powerfully to keep the passions in abeyance as a simple diet, free from condiments, especially when coupled with a generous amount of exercise.”⁴⁰

The Adventist doctor’s effect on the sexual mores of late-nineteenth-century America was enormous. In addition to the best-selling *Plain Facts*, he included lengthy sections on the evils of sex in his substantial works on health, *Man the Masterpiece, or Plain Truths Plainly Told About Youth and Manhood* (1885) and *The Ladies Guide in Health and Disease* (1901). An earlier book, *Plain Facts About Sexual Life* (1877), which also promulgated his sexual views, is said to have sold half a million copies.⁴¹ His influence was such that as late as 1964 Hugh Hefner, founder of *Playboy* magazine, found it necessary to define his promiscuous philosophy in opposition to the thinking in *Plain Facts for Old and Young*.⁴² And John Money believes that “wherever sex is equated with Victorianism, Kellogg’s antisexual attitude continues to be felt, even though his name may not be mentioned.”⁴³

On the whole, the emphasis on diet can be said to have been aimed at curbing mainly male sexual behavior. But the health reformers also thought that women had a part to play in this as well. The focus on them was not so much on the food they ate, although they were expected to follow the prescribed diet as much as everyone else, but on the clothes that they wore. As with the general poor health of the population, America in the middle of the nineteenth century was ripe for female dress reform. Long skirts swept up vermin from the streets, corsets damaged internal organs, and the ballooning, steel-wired hoop skirt came back into fashion in the 1850s, causing women further discomfort and restriction of movement. As a result, feminists such as Elizabeth Smith Miller and Elizabeth Cady Stanton started wearing the reform dress, or “bloomer,” nicknamed after another feminist, Amelia Bloomer, who promoted the uniform in her temperance and women’s rights journal, *The Lily*. It consisted of a short skirt or dress, draped over trousers or pantaloons, and owed something to Turkish or Syrian styles worn by Middle Eastern women (which had also been worn by Western women on stage or for gym activities).⁴⁴

The woman who saw the reform dress as an agent of sexual restraint was Harriet Austin, who simplified the style and called it the “American costume.” Austin was the adopted daughter of James C. Jackson and was one of the resident doctors at his Our Home center at Dansville. Part of the problem with the long skirt was that its wearers had to hitch it up all the time when walking along filthy streets, walking up or down stairs or when entering carriages. This, as everyone could see, often led to flashes of undergarments or female flesh that were considered more than a little suggestive. In 1867 Dr. Austin issued a

small pamphlet on the reform dress in which she argued that it “answers perfectly to every demand of decency, modesty, and propriety.”⁴⁵ Ellen White, who took up the cause of the reform dress after observing women in Dr. Austin’s outfit during her visits to *Our Home*, made the same point in a pamphlet issued in 1868. Echoing Dr. Austin, she said that the costume was, to date, “the most modest and becoming style of dress worn by woman.”⁴⁶

Ironically, when the dress first came into vogue, it was considered to be an immoral garment, and some complained that it indecently exposed women’s feet. But Dr. Austin flatly rejected this argument, writing that, contrary to existing styles, “our reform is to afford a costume to ladies that shall not render them liable to indecent exposure upon the slightest accident or emergency.”⁴⁷ Ellen White painted the picture in more graphic terms. “See that lady passing over the muddy street,” she wrote, “holding her skirts nearly twice as far from the ground as ours, exposing, not only her feet, but her nearly-naked limbs. Similar exposures are frequent as she ascends and descends the stairs, as she is helped into, and out of, carriages. These exposures are disagreeable, if not shameful; and a style of dress which makes their frequent occurrence almost certain, we must regard as a poor safeguard of modesty and virtue.”⁴⁸

It must be said that Ellen White did not immediately take to the reform dress. Earlier in the 1860s, she claimed that God was against it, and her indecision about the costume caused a great deal of confusion among her followers.⁴⁹ But once she accepted the dress, she went from church to church, preaching its virtues to Adventist women. In his biography of Ellen White, Arthur White records how the prophetess introduced the reform dress to the Wright Adventist church in northern Michigan in December 1866, and quotes her as saying it was “immediately adopted by the numerous sisters of that church.”⁵⁰ One of these was Jane Etta Ford, who subsequently went out and had a photograph taken of herself in her new uniform. The costume worn by Adventist women like Ford was largely designed by Ellen White herself. Unlike Dr. Austin’s style, it was usually worn with a waistcoat. It was also plainer, the skirt was longer, the trousers were narrower and, as can be seen in Figure 16, the trimmings were fewer.⁵¹

Out of this overriding concern with sexual restraint came the Adventist concept of the family. This too was perceived as an instrument of sexual control. As Ellen White put it:

Let the Christian wife refrain, both in word and act, from exciting the animal passions of her husband. Many have no strength at all to waste in this direction. From their youth up they have weakened the brain and sapped the constitution by the gratification of animal passions. Self-denial and temperance should be the watchword in their married life; then the children born to them will not be so liable to have the moral and intellectual organs weak, and the animal strong.⁵²



Figure 16. Reform dresses: modeled here by Harriet Austin (left) at an unknown date, and by the Adventist Jane Etta Ford in about 1867. Pictures courtesy Heritage Room, Loma Linda University.

This suggests one reason why, for Adventists, the family became so essential to personal well-being. Because it was seen as a means of curbing destructive sexual passions, the institution, in a very direct sense, contributed to the physical health of parents and children. Certainly, Ellen White saw (and wanted to see among Adventists) a close relationship between health reform and the family: “Healthful living must be made a family matter,” she urged. “Parents should awake to their God-given responsibilities. Let them study the principles of health reform and teach their children that the path of self-denial is the only path of safety.”⁵³ It is therefore not surprising to find an extended discussion of the home in Mrs. White’s 1905 book on health and disease *Ministry of Healing*. In this, she expressed her belief that the health of the community also rested on the family. “The well-being of society, the success of the church, the prosperity of the nation, depend on home influences.”⁵⁴

The concept of the family that emerged in Ellen White’s writings conformed in many ways to the ideas of the home that developed in the nineteenth century. In contrast to the eighteenth century, when the home bustled with economic activity, in the Victorian era it became distinct from the harshness of the

social and economic order outside. The family home became a private place of peace and tranquility—a place to retreat from the growing industrialization and secularization of the world. Various terms were used to describe the spiritual separateness of the home, among them “sanctuary,” “innerspace,” “walled garden,” and “haven.”⁵⁵ Mrs. White used the term “sacred circle” to convey the same idea.⁵⁶ She regarded “a carefully guarded Christian home” as “the surest safeguard against the corruptions of the outside world,” and the family as “a place of refuge for the tempted youth.”⁵⁷

The major difference in Ellen White’s writings, however, is the idea of parenthood. In the early republic, parents were encouraged to prepare their children for new roles in the fledgling nation, an approach to parenting that the historian Linda Kerber encapsulated in her formulation of “republican motherhood.”⁵⁸ The family’s purpose was to encourage in boys “civic interest and participation” and to guide children “in the paths of morality and virtue.” It was a concept that saw the family as “a basic part of the system of political communication” and believed “that patterns of family authority influence the general political culture.”⁵⁹ White, on the other hand, gave Adventist parents an altogether higher purpose. Their task was to raise children, not for the American republic, but for heavenly society. They were “to train their little ones, as the younger members of the Lord’s family, to have beautiful characters and lovely tempers, that they may be fitted to shine in the heavenly courts.”⁶⁰

As a consequence, Ellen White told parents that they should teach their children to reject all aspects of popular culture that might divert their attention from the heavenly world. They must shun the theater (a ban that extended to the cinema and television when those media were invented), the reading of novels, dancing, and the wearing of cosmetics and jewelry, including the wedding ring.⁶¹ They should also spurn all secular musical forms like opera, which White condemned in the nineteenth century, and jazz, swing, rock and pop, which the church denounced in the twentieth.⁶² White also proscribed popular recreations such as cards, chess, checkers, and backgammon. These “are amusements which we cannot approve, because Heaven condemns them,” the prophetess declared. “These amusements open the door for great evil. Their tendencies are not beneficial, but their influence upon the mind is to excite and produce in some minds a passion for those plays which lead to gambling, and dissolute lives.”⁶³ She also banned members from joining secret societies like the Freemasons because these provided further wasteful opportunities for dissipation and “pleasure seeking.”⁶⁴

Responsibility for enforcing these prohibitions fell primarily on the family. But as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries wore on, other institutions were developed to assist the home in the task. The first and most important of these was the primary church school, later followed by the secondary boarding academy, which Adventists started successfully in the 1870s, and which provided

further opportunities for inculcating the Adventist worldview.⁶⁵ The establishment of the educational system was then followed by the creation of young people's societies in the early 1900s. These were modeled partly on the late-Victorian missionary organization, the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM), which adopted the watchword, "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation," and partly on the system of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides invented by the Englishman Lord Baden-Powell at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁶⁶ The Adventist organizations were originally called Missionary Volunteer (MV) Societies and are now known as Adventist Youth (AY) and Adventist Junior Youth (AJY) or Pathfinders. The MV societies modified the SVM aim to "The Advent Message to All the World in This Generation," and the Pathfinders adopted the same kind of uniforms and honors system as the scouting movement.⁶⁷ They place particular emphasis on "meaningful recreation" and on teaching youngsters the "proper practices that reflect the SDA lifestyle."⁶⁸ Along with the family and the school, they are part of a three-pronged strategy to socialize Adventist children into the ways of the church.

Historians of the upbringing of the American child have identified two basic approaches that have been advocated by philosophers and psychologists. There is the "regulated" child as espoused from John Locke to the 1920s behaviorist John Broadus Watson, who believed that children should be programmed to behave in the desired way; and the "natural" child as encouraged from Rousseau to Dr. Spock.⁶⁹ Adventists quite clearly fall into the regulated category. In *Child Guidance*, a compilation of Ellen White's advice on child rearing that was published in the wake of Spock's famous 1946 book, *Baby and Child Care*, and that can to some extent be viewed as an answer to it, the church clearly took a stand against his child-centered approach.⁷⁰ In some ways this was not surprising, for to some degree Adventist attitudes toward parenting also follow those of the middle classes. Child psychologists have long known that middle-class parents tend to control the habits and play of their offspring to a greater extent than do working-class parents.⁷¹ It is a matter of degree, however, and there is little doubt Adventist parents go further than most in directing what their children eat, read, watch, wear, listen to, and play.

But as might be expected, the extent to which Adventists adhere to what they have been taught has varied. For example, many Adventist women simply refused to wear the reform dress, causing Ellen White to abandon the costume in the 1870s.⁷² Similarly, recent studies have demonstrated that some Adventist women, including the prophetess herself, have defiantly worn jewelry throughout the denomination's history.⁷³ Adventist students have probably also always studied some fiction in the literature courses taught at the denomination's schools and colleges.⁷⁴ Anecdotal evidence suggests that Adventists have now largely rejected Ellen White's recreational standards as well. In the Adventist home today are found such board games as checkers, chess, and backgammon.

Adventist families also play twentieth-century games like Monopoly, Scrabble, Trivial Pursuit, and board versions of contemporary television game shows like *Family Feud* and *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?*

The exception is card games, on which Ellen White heaped particular opprobrium. She described them as “the most senseless, useless, unprofitable and dangerous employments the youth can have.”⁷⁵ Probably as a result of such opposition, Adventists still do not really know how to play cards, apart from the sanitized version of bridge, Rook. Introduced by Parker Brothers in 1906, the game was designed for fundamentalist religious groups like the Mennonites who were forbidden to play cards. It has some similarities to the Kvitlech game invented for central European Jews who were also prohibited by their religion to use the standard deck. Rook became enormously popular among Adventists after the Second World War, and Adventist lore is filled with tales of students dropping out of college because of their addiction to the game and of conference presidents playing late into the night following constituency meetings.⁷⁶

The example of Rook indicates that Adventists, like other religious groups, have found a way around the card playing taboo. When questioned in the 1990s, however, they directly opposed several of the church’s other prohibitions. More than half said that little or no emphasis should be placed on the issues of the wedding ring, cosmetics, dancing, and attending the cinema.⁷⁷ Support for these standards was even lower among grade school students: only 14 percent agreed with the church’s position on the wedding ring, 18 percent on the cinema, 22 percent on dancing, and 25 percent on rock music.⁷⁸ Similar results were found at about the same time on four of these issues — cosmetics, the cinema, dancing, and rock music — among a group of 25–26-year olds followed by the Adventist researcher Roger Dudley.⁷⁹ Dudley’s conclusion that “it seems almost certain that these four standards will not hold in the near future of the church,” seems entirely justified.⁸⁰

The primary rationale for many of these taboos, of course, was the need to avoid doing anything that might provoke sexual stimulus. And if church members no longer adhere to them, the denomination’s leadership has only itself to blame, for the evident changes in attitude toward sexuality that have occurred in Adventism were initiated by the church itself. The break with Kellogg’s anti-sexual attitude started as early as 1931 when the staff of the College of Medical Evangelists, the denomination’s medical school at Loma Linda, California, published the second edition of *The Home Physician and Guide to Health*. The authors advocated sexual restraint, mainly because they still felt that frequent sexual intercourse destroyed the health of women. But they expressed, possibly for the first time in Adventism, the idea that sex was a divine gift.⁸¹ The authors argued that the sexual act was primarily a manifestation of love and described the Kellogg view that sex was only for reproductive purposes as “untenable.”⁸²

It is difficult to know exactly what led the college to this conclusion. But it

would be surprising if it had nothing to do with the worldwide impact of Marie Stopes's *Married Love*, published in Great Britain in 1918. This book, which promoted the then unheard-of idea that lovemaking was a "joyous" activity, marked the beginning of the modern attitude toward sex.⁸³ *Married Love* was, however, banned in the United States in 1918 until the courts overturned the decision in 1931.⁸⁴ It is interesting that this was the very year that the medical college released the second edition of the *Home Physician*, suggesting that the church moved on this issue at precisely the same moment as society as a whole. The trend that began with *Married Love* and was embraced by the church's doctors in the *Home Physician* was continued in the next major Adventist discussion of sex, *Happiness for Husbands and Wives*, written by the doctor Harold Shryock in 1949. Shryock's position was clear: "Sexual expression represents the culmination of all the desirable features of the family situation—the ultimate in marital happiness."⁸⁵

The appearance of Shryock's *Happiness for Husbands and Wives* did not, apparently, persuade all sections of the church of the value of the new approach. Indeed, the Ellen White compilation *The Adventist Home*, which followed in 1952, was replete with warnings about the dangers of the sexual passions—warnings that were redolent of a previous age.⁸⁶ Nor did Shryock's book immediately herald a greater willingness on the part of Adventists to discuss sexual matters when such issues were raised in a wider context. For example, when the Kinsey revelations detailing sexual behavior burst on an unsuspecting nation in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the *Review* took a rather dim view. "There is essentially nothing new in the Kinsey book," the church paper said, "unless it be that he has provided a statistical commentary on the words of John that the world lieth in wickedness."⁸⁷ It was only after the further liberalization of sexual attitudes that took place in the 1960s that Adventists, like most other people, became more open about sexual matters. In 1974 Charles Wittschiebe, Adventism's leading sexologist, published *God Invented Sex*, which was about the improvement of sexual relations within marriage.⁸⁸ More books of this type followed. Among them were Nancy Van Pelt's *The Compleat Marriage*, published in 1979, and Alberta Mazat's *That Friday in Eden*, published in 1981. As Van Pelt put it: "Husbands and wives should aim to be imaginative, creative, and willing lovers. God designed that sex . . . be exciting, enjoyable, and fulfilling."⁸⁹

Although Adventists now celebrated human sexuality, they still strongly discouraged pre- or extra-marital sex. The spread of the sexually transmitted disease AIDS provided a new justification for this view in the 1980s, and about two-thirds of the church's membership were found to support it in the 1990s.⁹⁰ Only black members appeared to be significantly out of line, with just 43 percent of them agreeing to the proposition that it is wrong for a couple to live together before they are married.⁹¹ Actual practice tells another story, however. About 27 percent of all youth in 1991 were found to be sexually active while still at school,

and among the group of 25- to 26-year-olds followed by Roger Dudley (of which 20 percent were dropouts), 65 percent were currently sexually active, although only 39 percent were married.⁹² If anything, sexual activity is likely to be under-reported in church surveys. The GSS indicates that Adventists have often had rather more sexual partners than they would have if they had followed church instruction scrupulously.⁹³ Overall, the evidence suggests that although the church's teaching on sex is largely accepted, between one-quarter and one-third do not support it, and even among those who do, practice does not necessarily follow theory.

The church's response to this situation has been pragmatic. On divorce, the church traditionally took a hard line and regarded adultery as grounds for automatic expulsion.⁹⁴ But this attitude became more flexible when divorce among Adventists rose sharply between the 1960s and the 1980s. The authors of an extensive survey of American Adventist families at the time concluded that the number of failing family units had reached crisis point.⁹⁵ In the 1990s, another study of American Adventist families found that the main cause of divorce among church members was adultery.⁹⁶ This study also showed that the rate of marriage break-up in the church had slowed, suggesting that the effort the General Conference had made in the 1970s and 1980s to halt the decline in family life may have had some effect.⁹⁷ Even so, about one in four Adventists still reported that they had experienced a divorce, about the same level as the population as a whole.⁹⁸

Of course, Adventists are not alone in having to come to terms with changing sexual mores. But within Adventism, these changes had particular significance. Family life had once been a means of sexual control—a way of mastering the passions in readiness for translation. The family's transformation into a means of sexual fulfillment detached it from this eschatological context, for there would be no procreation in heaven. Sexuality and family life became ends in themselves, expressions of a complete humanity. As such, they became far less susceptible to regulation. When the control of the sexual impulse was considered a prerequisite of salvation, appropriate behavior was easy to define. When sexuality was seen as a divine gift, it became more difficult to explain why it should be exercised only within marriage.

Single people and homosexuals presented the church with particular difficulties in this regard. The problem for singles was to some extent exacerbated by Adventism's strong emphasis on endogamy. If individuals failed to find a partner within the church, they often remained unmarried rather than set up home with a non-Adventist. The problem was particularly acute for women, who by the 1970s outnumbered male Adventists by about three to two.⁹⁹ The 1980s saw the beginnings of a growth in the number of seminars designed to deal with these problems. One of the first, held at the church's Andrews University in 1983, attracted 40 to 50 people. David Osborne, the Adventist minister who conducted

the seminar, made some pointed comments in the student newspaper. "Self-worth and fulfillment do not only come from marriage and children," he said, adding that the church "needs to accept singleness . . . build support groups, include singles in most of its functions, and most of all, it needs to quit judging."¹⁰⁰ By and large, the church leadership has proved sympathetic to such views. An article in the *Review* earlier that year outlined various singles programs the General Conference was itself conducting, and later Adventist ministers published self-help books for the benefit of single people.¹⁰¹

The General Conference response to gay Seventh-day Adventists has been more guarded. In 1977, as the movement to repeal sodomy law in America's states was gathering momentum, church president Robert Pierson attacked homosexuality on the grounds that it "strikes at the very heart of family life."¹⁰² On this issue at least, the church had the support of its members. A 1990s survey showed that 80 percent of Adventists considered homosexuality to be a sin.¹⁰³ Gays have, however, been known at the highest levels of the church's administration, and lesbians are now an identifiable presence in Adventist gay organizations like SDA Kinship.¹⁰⁴ The church has shown a willingness to minister to individual homosexuals, but it has refused to recognize organized gay and lesbian movements. Its basic position is that homosexuality is a perverted state that can be changed through the power of the gospel.¹⁰⁵

The church has been notably unsuccessful in putting this idea into practice, however. In 1981 the church founded the Quest Learning Center, which was given the specific task of changing the orientation of Adventist homosexuals. It was run by a former gay minister, Colin Cook, who had been "cured" of his condition and had married a woman in 1978.¹⁰⁶ However, the church found that the men who attended the center merely bonded with the males they met there, becoming more, not less certain of their homosexuality, and that some of them had sex with Cook himself, who, within the confines of Quest, reverted to his previous orientation.¹⁰⁷ Chastened by this experience, the church closed down the center and became less compromising. Its most recent pronouncement states that Adventism makes "no accommodation for homosexual activity or relationships."¹⁰⁸

There have been attempts to look at the issue in a nonjudgmental way.¹⁰⁹ But the church's present stance means that Adventist homosexuals are perhaps more reluctant to disclose their orientation than they were, and the *Church Manual* indicates that they are likely to lose their membership if they do.¹¹⁰ One of the few prominent individuals to "come out" is the sociologist Ronald Lawson. On a gay Adventist Web site he posted his life story, in which he chronicled his crises of faith before he reached an accommodation between his sexuality and his Adventist beliefs.¹¹¹

On the question of homosexuality, there was at least explicit scriptural support for the church's teaching, but in many other lifestyle areas there was little.

This created difficulties when the disintegration of the nineteenth-century philosophy that had linked sexuality, health, and family life led Adventists to seek to give the entire message a stronger biblical foundation. For some time after her death, Ellen White's predominantly naturalistic philosophy exerted a strong influence. Evidence of this came in 1923 when F. M. Wilcox made a major statement on health over twelve consecutive pages of the *Review*. The thesis of this lengthy treatise was that the health message rested on naturalistic foundations. "We are to teach the principles of health reform," Wilcox argued, "upon the basis of physiological law."¹¹² This emphasis on natural law indicates why Adventists took a relatively long time to include health reform in their doctrinal statements. They may simply have not regarded it as a scriptural belief. The subject was absent from the church's Declaration of 1872 and was first included in the 1931 statement of beliefs, when the first official attempt was made to ground it firmly in the Bible.

Since the church was now well into its fundamentalist phase, this was to be expected. This was the era when the General Conference was keen to provide all Adventist beliefs with much clearer biblical evidence than had been the case during the church's earlier, more radical period. As a result, the concept of the laws of health was dropped, and the New Testament notion of the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit was substituted to justify reform and what the 1931 statement called the avoidance of "every body and soul defiling habit and practice."¹¹³ Another concept that gave Adventist health reform in the twentieth century a better scriptural basis was the idea of clean and unclean meats, according to Levitical law. This was first clearly articulated within Adventism by S. N. Haskell in 1903.¹¹⁴ After this, whether they were meat eaters or not, Adventists were encouraged to abstain from "unclean" meats like pork. Here again, it took time for this belief to become part of the church's fundamental beliefs. It was not included in the 1931 statement. It appeared in the denomination's list of baptismal vows for the first time in 1951, but it was not until the statement of beliefs was revised in 1980 that abstinence from unclean meats became officially incorporated in the doctrines of the church.¹¹⁵

However, finding biblical support for all Adventist health practices was not always possible, vegetarianism being the main case in point. Ellen White suggested that in Genesis God originally prescribed a herbivorous diet for human beings.¹¹⁶ But the strongest argument in its favor had always been that eating flesh would arouse the animal passions. This view, held by both Ellen White and John Harvey Kellogg, rested not on scripture but on a particular understanding of physiology. Those twentieth-century Adventists, such as General Conference president A. G. Daniells, who did not share these scientific presuppositions failed to perceive the importance of vegetarianism. In consequence, this practice was never officially required. In 1908 Ellen White had wanted to make it an obligation that church members abstain from meat, tea,

and coffee. When she suggested to Daniells that a pledge should be circulated to this effect, the president resisted. Daniells' position evidently caused White to reassess her thinking. At the General Conference session a year later, she said, "We are not to make the use of flesh food a test of fellowship," a position that has held to the present day.¹¹⁷

Had vegetarianism ever become a test, it is probable that the church would have lost the majority of its members. Kellogg was always of the view that most Adventist leaders, let alone members, were unregenerate meat eaters. After he left the denomination, vegetarianism made a little more headway as a new generation of Adventist idealists followed his lead. Among them were T. A. Van Gundy, who developed new lines of soy-based products in the 1920s, and Jethro Kloss, who published the influential vegetarian book *Back to Eden* in 1939.¹¹⁸ In the 1940s Adventist companies like Loma Linda Foods and Worthington Foods started manufacturing meat analogues that may also have helped some Adventists to stop eating the real thing.¹¹⁹ However, a 1958 study discovered that just 27 percent of children attending Adventist schools followed a vegetarian diet.¹²⁰ In the 1990s only about 28 percent of church members always practiced vegetarianism, and only 27 percent thought "a great deal" of emphasis should be placed on it.¹²¹ In 2000 only 30 percent of the predominantly church employees who attended the General Conference session of that year reported they were vegetarian.¹²²

Food served in Adventist settings is invariably vegetarian, however, as various accounts of what Adventists have eaten over the years testify. While on the road in the Midwest, Mrs. White sent back a letter to her children. "We reached Chicago Wednesday evening between the hours of eight and nine," she wrote. "Thursday morning I laid down in my room to rest while your father went out in the city. He returned just in time to take the cars, and brought a basket of fruit—of tomatoes, peaches, and apples. They were very nice. We ate the fruit with our bread taken from home."¹²³ In 1901, the *General Conference Bulletin* related how "the entire General Conference delegation, many of them accompanied by their wives, were entertained at dinner, by invitation of Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Sunday, April 14, at the Sanitarium. Fully three hundred persons sat down to a dinner of the most toothsome delicacies, consisting of grains and vegetables exquisitely served, followed by delicious fruits and assorted nuts."¹²⁴

During a colorful description of Sabbath potlucks in the 1970s, Andy Nash mentions several dishes that were popular in churches at the time: haystacks, au gratin potato, orange Jell-O, green beans, corn muffins, cucumber salad, chocolate fudge brownies, and Special K Loaf, a particular Adventist staple made from the Special K cereal and cottage cheese.¹²⁵ Such shared foods play an important part in developing a wider sense of Adventist community. As another member reminisced in 2002: "I'll never forget the time, a few years after joining the Adventist Church, when my husband and I were traveling to my grandmother's house on a Sabbath. We stopped at a church nearby for worship.

The entrance of the church was in the basement, which was filled with the aromas of food heating in the ovens in anticipation of potluck. I remember taking a deep breath and being filled with a sense of connection with all Adventists."¹²⁶

But in non-Adventist environments, church members are undoubtedly less fastidious about what they ingest. They are quite likely to drink tea and coffee, for example, although as these beverages seldom feature in church surveys, it is hard to know the precise extent. A question about caffeinated drinks in the 1991 survey of grade school students, however, showed that only one-third supported the church's traditional ban on them.¹²⁷ Many Adventists also indulge in the odd glass of wine or beer.¹²⁸ Only the church's Hispanic members strongly adhere to this prohibition, with less than 5 percent indicating that they tend to, or definitely do, agree with consuming alcohol.¹²⁹ More generally successful is the taboo on smoking. The GSS records an incidence of tobacco use in its Adventist sample of about 18 percent, and this is probably among the church's more peripheral members. Among those who attend church every week, the figure is 0 percent.¹³⁰

The denomination has not only convinced its members of the iniquities of smoking, it has also played a largely unknown but significant role in persuading the wider public of the dangers of the practice. In 1954 the General Conference produced what appears to have been the first propaganda film anywhere linking tobacco and lung cancer. Called *One in 20,000*, it followed a heavy smoker who contracts the disease and has the cancerous lung removed in an operation. The film made limited headway in America, which was still largely indifferent to the growing epidemiological evidence that smoking was the chief cause of lung cancer. But it had a marked impact in Great Britain. The head of the church's health department there, C. D. Watson, showed *One in 20,000* to the leading cancer doctors in the country, members of parliament, and government ministers.¹³¹ Watson's anti-smoking activities attracted considerable interest from the British press that helped to prepare the ground for the Royal College of Physicians' famous 1962 report, *Smoking and Health*, which found that there was indeed a causal connection between tobacco and lung cancer.¹³²

This conclusion was confirmed in 1964 in the United States by a larger study by the surgeon general, which marked the beginning of a worldwide campaign that, over the next four decades, led to the placing of health warnings on cigarette packets, the banning of tobacco advertising, and the outlawing of smoking in public places.¹³³ The Adventists' adherence to the smoking taboo also made them part of the evidence that altered public attitudes toward the habit. The Royal College of the Physicians' report cited a Loma Linda study that showed that Adventists in California suffered one-eighth the incidence of lung cancer compared to the general population.¹³⁴ The Adventist contribution did not end here. In 1962 the physician Wayne McFarland and the evangelist Elman Folkenberg devised a "Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking," one of the first and most suc-

cessful smoking cessation programs. By the time it was updated in 1985, the plan had helped thousands people around the world to stop smoking.¹³⁵

It might appear surprising that over a period when the benefits of the Adventist lifestyle had never been so clearly demonstrated, and scientists and journalists started to notice the generally healthy state of Adventists vis-à-vis the general population, survey data indicated that church members were growing less interested in it. But that had a lot to do with the fundamental change in the denomination's approach. Making health its own justification removed the heavenly basis for linking the various elements of the Adventist lifestyle. Just as family life became more problematic when treated as an end in itself, so too did health reform, which, when no longer allied with the sexual abstinence theory and stripped of its eschatological significance, came to be seen as optional. Individuals gradually felt better able to judge the deleterious effects of their own actions, and adherence to Adventist taboos reflected this. From Ellen White's point of view, both smoking and sexual activity, for example, were equally unacceptable in heaven. But to the average member, it eventually became apparent that while smoking might indeed kill you, sexual activity would probably not.

It is also worth noting that while Adventists were gradually separating health reform from sexual activity, people in the outside world were putting the two things back together. In his book, John Money notes that "the diets and exercises that formerly were touted for their value in controlling sex now are recommended to augment sexual expression and enjoyment."¹³⁶ In many ways, this new formula can be seen as providing a modern-day guide to Americans in their relentless quest for happiness. It was a formula, however, that owed much to the original concerns of Seventh-day Adventists. Through a philosophy that had embraced healthful living, diet, health foods, recreation, dress, and the family, the Adventist pioneers effectively created a science out of the pursuit of happiness. It was an approach to living that was held together by sexual abstinence, and it was designed to prepare church members for existence in the next world rather than this one.¹³⁷ It can be interpreted as an Adventist desire to give its own expression to the ideals of the founding fathers, who believed the pursuit of happiness was an inalienable human right. But once the church abandoned the sexual taboo, it unwittingly enabled individual Adventists to pick and choose their own principles from Adventism's lifestyle package.

The Politics of Liberty

IF THE ADVENTIST PURSUIT of happiness represented an alternative understanding of one of the key tenets of the Declaration of Independence, it also provided a hint as to the church's relationship to the fundamental principles of the American state. By paying great attention to individual happiness, Adventism remained close to the ideal of the nation's founders. However, it believed that the key to contentment was the practice of health reform. The church accepted the American right to happiness but interpreted it in a much more restrictive way than those who framed the Declaration of Independence.

It is in relation to liberty, the second of the inalienable rights enshrined in the declaration, however, that Adventists have most clearly revealed the subtle difference between themselves and the founders of the nation. As with the pursuit of happiness, Adventists accepted this basic American principle. But they redefined the meaning of liberty exclusively in terms of religious liberty. As a consequence, the church became unusually interested in the Antifederalist addendum to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and particularly in its two First Amendment clauses that were designed to prevent America ever becoming a religious tyranny: "Congress shall pass no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."¹ Although in recent years the denomination has invoked the more internationalist language of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights to defend its position, in its native land it is the First Amendment the church uses to protect its rights, which as currently asserted are: "the freedom to meet for instruction and worship, to worship on the seventh day of the week . . . to disseminate religious views by public preaching, or through the media," and "to defend the religious liberty of all people, including those with whom we may disagree."²

This active involvement with religious liberty had its beginnings in the 1880s. The first Adventist journal devoted to religious freedom was the *Sabbath Sentinel*, founded in 1884, which became the *American Sentinel* in 1886 and, eventually, *Liberty* in 1906. The church sponsored bodies such as the National Religious Liberty Association (1889) and the International Religious Liberty Association (1893) to promote religious freedom at home and abroad.³ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the General Conference also created what is now the Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department, which oversees an Office of Legislative Affairs that monitors religious bills before national and state legislatures, and a United Nations Liaison Office through which the church presents its view of religious freedom to the world.⁴

In addition, Adventists have worked through pressure groups such as Americans United (formerly Protestants and Other Americans United) for Separation of Church and State, and the Coalition For the Free Exercise of Religion that became familiar features of the Washington lobby in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries whenever church-state issues were debated. Although these two organizations overlapped, Americans United was more the defender of the so-called "establishment" clause in the First Amendment religion provisions, while the coalition, as its name implied, became the self-appointed guardian of the "free exercise" clause. The denomination's working relationship with such groups has not been entirely easy, however, and is illustrative of the fact that the church has never felt bound by the public policy of other entities, even of those it may join.

Americans United was founded in 1948 in the wake of President Roosevelt's decision to appoint a papal envoy. The church supported the organization from the first, and in later years Adventists assumed leading roles within it.⁵ But there were early tensions after the church decided to accept government aid for its educational institutions after World War II, which Americans United felt crossed the church-state boundary.⁶ A similar disagreement occurred after 1990, when the church's Columbia Union College in Maryland applied for state funding. The state denied the application, and a federal court supported the decision on the basis that granting aid to the Adventist institution would violate the establishment clause of the First Amendment. The college successfully overturned this judgment, but Americans United filed court briefs at various stages of the appeals process that agreed with the original verdict against the church.⁷ Adventists came to feel that their interests were being harmed by the organization, which became intent on promoting a broader civil liberties agenda. Unsuccessful meetings were held to resolve the issues, and the church withdrew from the group in the mid-1990s.⁸

As the Adventists parted company with Americans United, they became involved with the more ad hoc watchdog, the Coalition For the Free Exercise of Religion. The point of reference for this organization was the historic 1963

Supreme Court opinion *Sherbert v. Verner*. This involved a Seventh-day Adventist, Adell Sherbert, who was dismissed from her job in a South Carolina mill and then denied unemployment benefits because of her refusal to work on Saturdays. The court found in her favor and ruled that government needed to demonstrate a "compelling state interest" in order to infringe an individual's right to religious freedom.⁹ *Sherbert v. Verner* established the law on the free exercise clause until 1990. In 1990, however, the Supreme Court entered a caveat in another opinion involving two Native Americans who were fired by a drug rehabilitation center after they used hallucinogenic substances in a religious ceremony. On this occasion, the court denied the respondents unemployment benefits and stated that government did not have to show a compelling state interest to restrict religious rights when it enforced "across-the-board criminal prohibition on a particular form of conduct."¹⁰

Despite the illegal use of drugs in this case, religious liberty campaigners, of which the Adventist church was one, took the decision as a severe curtailment of religious freedom. As a result, the Coalition For the Free Exercise of Religion came into being with Adventist backing. The church fully participated in the organization's energetic campaign to reinstate the unrestricted compelling interest test. But the effort failed at the Supreme Court in 1997, and the denomination considered that the coalition lost its way when it split shortly after that on the issue of whether religious freedom itself allows organizations to exempt themselves from complying with civil rights legislation.¹¹

The church played little part in this debate, but it does take the view that as a religious body it is under no obligation to abide by these statutes. On the whole, the denomination has traditionally preferred to avoid conflict with the state. But in instances where the government has challenged its internal policies, Adventist officials have boldly argued that the church is outside the jurisdiction of civil laws. The clearest indication of this tendentious attitude toward federal authority came during the church's earlier involvement in several court cases in the 1970s and 1980s. At this time, women employees and government agencies sued the church for violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The background to these actions, which centered on the church's insistence on paying its female workers lower wages than their male counterparts, is discussed fully in chapter 14.

It is important to note here that in the legal fight to maintain its unequal pay scales, church leaders argued: "We insist that in doing its holy work, the church is free to ignore, even to flout, measures which bind all others. . . . That is what the First Amendment's Religion Clauses are all about." In another brief, the church claimed "exemption from all civil laws in all of its religious institutions" and maintained that "as an organized religious denomination the Seventh-day Adventist Church insists that it is 'wholly exempt' from the cognizance of Civil Authority."¹² Similar arguments were deployed when Derrick Proctor took the denomination to court over the Adventist publishing monopoly. At issue was

the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, but Adventist representatives claimed that the First Amendment placed the church outside its operation.¹³

Such radical interpretations of the First Amendment could perhaps be expected in a denomination committed to the view that religious bodies have the inalienable right to be free from state interference. Except perhaps when it comes to accepting government funding for its institutions, for the Adventist church the principles of the First Amendment tend to override other principles. During the legal cases of the 1970s and 1980s, the Adventist leadership believed the maintenance of church-state separation to be more important than the ethical propriety of equal pay or open business practices. In a complex world of often conflicting rights and duties, it is the First Amendment rule that the church usually values above others. However, this was regarded as a two-way process. If the church had a right to be independent of the state, Adventists believed that the state also had a right to be independent of the church. Adventists therefore did not seek to influence events outside their own sphere, in marked contrast to those Protestant alliances that from time to time appear on the American landscape.

The most recent of these are the networks like the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition that successively made up the movement known as the New Christian Right. The roots of this alliance probably go back to the moment when the Democratic Party nominated the Catholic John F. Kennedy for president in 1960.¹⁴ In the wake of that watershed decision and the liberal era it brought in, the leaders of the New Christian Right fashioned a wide-ranging program to re-Christianize America and chose the Republican Party to implement it. Among the policies they campaigned for were the legalization of school prayer, flat taxation, the banning of abortions, the removal of homosexual rights, limiting pornography, and the ending of federal support for the arts.¹⁵ This politicization of the evangelical agenda eventually ended Adventism's general alignment with American evangelicalism as the church became increasingly worried that the involvement of evangelicals in politics might result in Sunday laws.¹⁶ Adventists had no interest in developing a political agenda or in endorsing candidates for elected office. As the *Review* pronounced earlier in 1965: "Seventh-day Adventists are of the firm conviction that political questions not directly involving religion or matters of conscience are strictly out of bounds for churches and church agencies."¹⁷

Apart from such declarations, the *Review* made very few statements on politics. When it did, it was usually to remind readers not to participate in the quadrennial presidential campaigns. During the Garfield-Hancock contest of 1880, for example, James White urged church members to influence individuals who came within the church's realm while staying out of issues in the state's domain. He wrote: "It should be our study to adapt ourselves, as far as possible without compromising truth, to all who come within the reach of our influence and at

the same time stand free from the strife and corruptions of the parties that are striving for the mastery."¹⁸ But perhaps even more significant was the implication that the church and its mission might become endangered if it engaged in party politics. White described the work before Adventists as of "the greatest importance" from which members should not become "diverted."¹⁹

These views were shared by Ellen White, who feared that active participation in politics might unnecessarily divide Adventists.²⁰ The church could not risk its well-being or its message over relatively unimportant issues. In 1928 an editorial in the *Review* emphasized this point. As another presidential election beckoned, the paper commented: "God has commissioned His church with a special message to the world. . . . The message is to all men of every class. We cannot array ourselves on one side or the other of the great divisions of society that exist in the world. By so doing we shall close the door of entrance to hearts which otherwise might be reached."²¹ In effect, church leaders felt that the church's liberty could be threatened by involving itself in the state's affairs. Freedom of action, freedom to proclaim its message, and the unity of members might all be adversely affected if the denomination entered areas where it did not belong. Adventists believed that church involvement in the state, as well as state interference in the church, had the effect of limiting religious liberty.

These considerations were evident in perhaps the most important political issue in early Adventism: the American Civil War. Most Adventists favored the abolitionist cause. The war was not their struggle, however, as James White reminded them in his editorial "The Nation" in the *Review* in 1862. Prophecy, he argued, did not foresee the ending of slavery prior to the Second Advent. Besides, involvement in war was incompatible with the complete observance of the fourth and sixth commandments, which prohibited working on the Sabbath and killing respectively. But White did not advocate that Adventists prejudice their own safety if forced to join the army: "In the case of drafting, the government assumes the responsibility of the violation of the law of God, and it would be madness to resist."²² The point White emphasized was that the church's liberty was currently being protected by the state. In this context, he implied that the government was the best they had, and it would be wrong to jeopardize the denomination's position by taking pacifism too far. "For us to attempt to resist the laws of the best government under heaven, which is now struggling to put down the most hellish rebellion since that of Satan and his angels," would, he repeated, "be madness."²³

White's editorial caused an outcry among the pacifists in the Adventist community. They charged him with "Sabbath-breaking and murder." But he remained unrepentant. "If any of you are drafted, and choose to have a clinch with Uncle Sam," he told his critics, "you can try it."²⁴ The debate continued for several weeks in the pages of the *Review*. Some members supported the Adventist leader, a few argued the pacifist case, while others advocated active involvement

in the war effort. In the controversy, the dilemma that White vaguely identified — the choice between army enlistment or long-term freedom — was often submerged. But those who did see it as the heart of the problem tended to back White's position.²⁵ Strong support also came in a separate testimony from Ellen White. Indeed, she condemned the pacifism of the Adventist conference in Iowa, whose leaders "were ready to become martyrs for their faith." Their actions, she complained, "only served to bring that peculiar class, Sabbath keepers, into special notice, and expose them to be crowded into difficult places by those who have no sympathy for them."²⁶

In advocating compliance with the draft, it appeared that the Whites had allowed the church to clamber over the wall separating it from the state. In fact, they felt they were preserving church-state separation in the long term. There were, however, problems with "The Nation" editorial. The suggestion that the state assumed the responsibility for breaking God's law seemed illogical to many Adventists. In a letter to the *Review*, one of the Iowa pacifists, Henry Carver, argued that White had undermined the whole basis of Adventist eschatology: "If the government can assume the responsibility now for the violation of two of [the Ten Commandments], and we go clear, why may not the same government assume the responsibility for the violation of the Sabbath law and we go clear when the edict goes forth that all shall observe the first day of the week?"²⁷ It was, in Adventist terms, a telling point, and White did not make the argument again.

There was never an agreed moral stance on participation in the Civil War, but when it became expedient to do so, the church's policy was clarified into one of noncombatancy, a position that was prompted by the passing of a law in 1864 that contained special provisions for individuals who were not prepared to bear arms.²⁸ The General Conference did think it prudent, however, to advise Adventists to volunteer for a medical role in the military when they were called up. To prepare members for such service, the church established Red Cross-type training schools in several Adventist colleges and sanitariums in the years before America's entry into the First World War.²⁹ What made these viable was a key decision, taken after the Civil War, to relax the rules that had hitherto governed the keeping of the Sabbath. As the church built up its network of hospitals, Adventists came to believe that medical practice was the one secular activity that could be conducted on their sacred day. This change, which was not applied to any other form of work, had enormous repercussions throughout the church. Not least was the way in which it enabled Adventist conscripts to follow orders on a Saturday, provided their duties on that day, as indeed on the other days of the week, were confined to caring for the sick and wounded.³⁰

The humanitarian schools were superseded in 1936 by the church's Medical Cadet Corps Training Program. This was a bolder attempt to meet the problems of draftees who could perform no routine duties on the Sabbath and who would

bear no arms. Army officers regularly reviewed the progress of the new corps, which received several citations for its military excellence. The corps also produced personnel capable of distinguishing themselves on the battlefield. Corporal Desmond Doss, to take Adventism's most celebrated noncombatant, passed out of the program in 1942.³¹ As a result of his bravery during World War II, he became the first unarmed soldier to be decorated with the Congressional Medal of Honor, America's highest military award.³² The founder of the cadets, Everett Dick, said the program was instituted to enable an Adventist recruit to "serve God and his country conscientiously."³³

A similar rationale lay behind Adventist involvement in postwar biological weapons experiments, codenamed "Operation Whitecoat," begun in 1955. In this program Adventist noncombatants risked their health in human trials that were designed to test the effects of various types of chemical agents. It was controversial from the start, and media maintained an interest in the program for half a century.³⁴ But Operation Whitecoat, along with the medical corps, allowed Adventist leaders to draw the boundaries between church and state more satisfactorily than in the Civil War. These programs enabled Adventists to participate in the armed services without violating their Sabbath principles. From the government's point of view, they were acceptable ways of incorporating dissidents into the military. These arrangements, which remained in place through the difficult Korean and Vietnam wars, lasted until President Nixon announced the discontinuance of the draft in 1972. After this, the medical corps and Operation Whitecoat ended, and with compulsory military service no longer an issue, the church left the matter of joining the armed forces to the individual consciences of its members.³⁵

This led to a steady increase in the number of Adventist combatants, the expansion of Adventist Servicemen's Centers near U.S. bases in Germany, Japan, and South Korea, and greater recruitment of Adventist military chaplains, one of whom, Rear Admiral Barry Black, was appointed head of the U.S. Navy chaplaincy in 2000.³⁶ By the time of the first Gulf war in 1991, Adventist observers detected "a growing acceptance by Adventists of members serving as active members or reservists in the professional military" and pro-war sentiments emanating from General Conference headquarters.³⁷ But such militaristic attitudes could not be said to have been shared by most Adventists. In the Gulf war of 2003, the church came out against the American-led invasion of Iraq, refusing to "view any country as a nation of villains."³⁸ This sentiment reflected in particular the outlook of the church president at the time, Jan Paulsen. Born in Norway, Paulsen embodied something of the nonaligned tradition of that country. He was behind a "peace" statement published in the aftermath of September 11 that argued for "dialogue and discussion in place of diatribe and the cry for war."³⁹ He also strongly endorsed noncombatancy, which remains unofficially the church's preferred position.⁴⁰

Adventist attitudes toward government and the military were to some degree combined in the church's policy toward another important secular institution, the trade unions. The church had never liked the militancy of unions and the violence that was associated with them, particularly in the 1890s. At the turn of the twentieth century, Ellen White wrote about unions in diabolical terms, regarding them as one of Satan's agents in the great controversy and another of the institutions that would bring about the time of trouble.⁴⁴ As a rurally based community, Adventists also came to see trade unionism as synonymous with iniquitous city dwelling. In a speech in 1903, the prophetess instructed Adventists to stay out of trade unions and to stay out of the cities, where organized labor was largely confined.⁴⁵ But with increasing urbanization, the church eventually came face to face with the realities of union power. In the 1930s, one labor organization tried to force an Adventist school to unionize its industrial department, and many others attempted to recruit individual Adventists in their places of work.⁴⁶

In response, Adventist leaders endeavored to define the boundaries between the church and labor organizations in much the same way as they had tried to do between church and state during wartime. They drew up a document, a "Basis of Agreement," to be signed by church members and their employers. The document stated that Adventists would pay money into the union benevolent or welfare funds instead of paying union dues. Adventists would also abide by the rules of the shop floor and remain neutral during a strike.⁴⁷ The ethics of this latter understanding were drawn from the church's war policy. Carlyle B. Haynes, who headed the church's Council on Industrial Relations in the 1940s, wrote that in the event of a dispute "we will not fight on the side of the employer by working. We will not fight on the side of the union by picketing. As noncombatants we will withdraw altogether from the strife and await its issue."⁴⁸ In return for these various undertakings, the Basis of Agreement asked employers to protect Adventists' working rights and to recognize their religious beliefs, particularly in regard to Sabbath observance.⁴⁹

As with the establishment of the medical cadets, it would be wrong to see the agreement primarily in terms of a compromise with secular authority. Rather, it allowed Adventist leaders to determine boundaries beyond which both the church and the union agreed not to go. The Basis of Agreement apparently worked quite well for about twenty years. According to church leaders, "hundreds" of unions signed it. In the early 1960s, however, labor organizations became increasingly unwilling to recognize the document, especially the provision that Adventists should pay sums of money equivalent to union dues to benevolent funds. Consequently, the document was withdrawn, although the General Conference continued to oppose unions, helping to secure in 1980 a conscience clause within the National Labor Relations Act that allowed exemption from union membership on religious grounds, and issuing a statement on

employer-employee relations in 2003 that urged members “to preserve and protect their own liberty . . . from alliances that may compromise Christian values and witness.”⁴⁷ One or two Adventists have begun to argue for a more positive attitude toward the trade unions.⁴⁸ But the church’s traditional opposition has made members more wary of the institution than any other national body, and much more suspicious of labor organizations than are other Americans. Data from the General Social Survey indicate that Adventist confidence in institutions such as the military, federal government, the Supreme Court, and Congress, is only slightly below average, but that church members’ trust in organized labor is much lower, at less than half the level registered by the population as a whole.⁴⁹

The Adventist policy on organizations like trade unions was one that the church felt other denominations ought to follow as well. It is true that Adventists did not generally try to foist their values on outside bodies. But they did urge rival churches to avoid entanglements with civil authorities. These exhortations were usually aimed at the Roman Catholic Church, mainly because of what Adventists consider to be Catholicism’s historic advocacy of Sunday observance, its influence in the Christian world, and its long record of political involvement. In the nineteenth century, Adventists believed the Church of Rome—the leopard-like beast in their eschatology—to be an enormous threat to religious liberty.⁵⁰ In the twentieth century, they made their voices heard whenever, in their view, Rome crossed the church-state border. For example, when President Roosevelt appointed Myron C. Taylor as United States representative to the Vatican in 1939, Adventists strongly objected. In a letter to Roosevelt, church president J. L. McElhany said that Adventists believed the appointment contravened the separation of church and state. He thus urged the American president to withdraw the envoy to safeguard the principles of the First Amendment.⁵¹ These events were repeated almost exactly when President Reagan appointed William A. Wilson as ambassador to the Holy See in 1984. On this occasion B. B. Beach, head of the religious liberty department, led the Adventist protest. Appearing before a congressional subcommittee, he argued that the Church of Rome has always had political ambitions, but that such ambitions run “counter to the American national spirit and heritage of separation of church and state.”⁵²

Adventists also became alarmed whenever Rome made overtures to the Protestant world, such as during the second Vatican council in the mid-1960s and the meetings that led to the ecumenical statement “Evangelicals and Catholics Together” in the 1990s.⁵³ This uneasiness stemmed from the belief that the papacy would suppress the upholders of the Saturday Sabbath. For the same reason, Adventists have been equally suspicious of any rapprochement among the Protestant denominations. This did not prevent the church from conducting its own ecumenical dialogues, as *Questions on Doctrine* showed. The denomi-

nation also held discussions with the Lutherans in the 1990s in order to foster greater mutual understanding.⁵⁴ But when the more formal World Council of Churches (WCC) was created in 1948, the Adventist church refused to join. In later years, Adventists accepted observer status at WCC meetings, but they took no active part in the organization. B. B. Beach explained that full involvement with the council and with the ecumenical movement it promoted would compromise Adventism's special mission to the world. He also implicitly criticized the organization's tendency to involve itself in political affairs.⁵⁵

The only political campaign in which the General Conference has felt fully able to participate was Prohibition. This particular issue corresponded well with the church's preoccupation with healthful living. Consequently, Ellen White believed it was right for all Adventists to get involved in the debate.⁵⁶ Between 1900 and the 1930s, the *Review* frequently carried articles and editorials supporting the prohibitionist cause.⁵⁷ Adventists took part in temperance rallies in different parts of the nation and sent petitions to political representatives. Church leaders presented papers to congressional committees.⁵⁸ On January 16, 1919, the prohibition amendment—the eighteenth to the Constitution—was finally ratified by the requisite number of states. L. L. Caviness, associate editor of the *Review*, described the event as “one of the great days in human history.”⁵⁹ As a political issue, Prohibition crossed party lines. But some historians have represented the Eighteenth Amendment as a measure passed by rural America against urban America, by the “Corn Belt against the conveyer belt,” as one of them described it.⁶⁰ This may be an additional reason why Adventists felt a natural empathy with the campaign and why they took such delight when it succeeded. The church also incorporated the ban of alcohol into its own statement of beliefs in 1931, providing the denomination with its own “Eighteenth Amendment” just before the nation repealed the controversial law.⁶¹

It was, appropriately, the church's commitment to temperance that resulted in the election of the first Adventist public official. In 1882 William Gage, an ordained Adventist minister, stood for the mayorship of Battle Creek on a temperance platform. He won the election, much to the disapproval of G. I. Butler, General Conference president, who frowned on his involvement in electoral politics.⁶² Gage's tenure was not a great success, and perhaps because of that, and because of the church's traditional attitude toward politics, Adventists in the United States have rarely held public office. The church has come unexpectedly close, however, to producing an occupant of the White House. The mother of the twenty-ninth president, Warren G. Harding, converted to Seventh-day Adventism when he was a teenager. He did not become a church member himself, but his sister did and married a prominent Adventist missionary (and later religious liberty spokesman) Heber H. Votaw, whom Harding appointed to his administration as superintendent of federal prisons in 1921.⁶³ In this way, Votaw became one of the few American Adventists who

followed Gage's example. George A. Williams, who served as lieutenant governor for Nebraska between 1925 and 1931, was another, as was Jerry L. Pettis, elected to the House of Representatives in 1966 and 1974, for the thirty-third and thirty-seventh congressional districts in California.⁶⁴

Votaw, Williams, and Pettis were all Republicans, which correlates with other pieces of information that indicate that, despite the church's wish to avoid being politically labeled, Adventism is positioned on the right. Four Adventists have been elected to Congress since Pettis, three of whom were Republicans.⁶⁵ Douglas Morgan, in his *Adventism and the American Republic*, cites polling data showing that even during the high-tide of student radicalism in the 1960s, Adventist students in 1964 favored the Republican challenger Barry Goldwater over President Johnson, and in 1968 preferred Richard Nixon to Democrats Robert Kennedy or Eugene McCarthy.⁶⁶ More recently, 44 percent of Adventists identified themselves with the Republican Party against 24 percent who identified with the Democrats, and a study of actual Adventist voting in 1984 saw them divide 3-1 in favor of the Republican Ronald Reagan in the presidential election of that year.⁶⁷ The denomination's general wariness of big government accords well with part of the ideology of the Republican Party, and the church's rural base and anti-trade unionism are clearly other reasons for Adventist preference for conservative politics.

But one cannot draw too many conclusions from this. Upton Sinclair detected a left-wing bias in the church. Adventism opposes religious involvement in the state, which conservative legislators are inclined to encourage. Ellen White's anti-gambling and anti-stock market writings also counteract the denomination's rightward tendencies. Adventism's structure and finances bear the hallmarks of a command, rather than a free-market economy. Other studies also indicate that the church's Republican voting record is largely a function of white Adventism, much of which, of course, is concentrated in the rural South and West. A survey of voting intentions during the 2004 presidential race revealed that 47 percent of white members supported George W. Bush and only 13 percent John Kerry, whereas 40 percent of nonwhite Adventists planned to vote for Kerry and 23 percent for Bush.⁶⁸ The GSS further indicates that 47 percent of white Adventists affiliate in varying degrees with the Republican Party as opposed to 37 percent who associate with the Democrats, but that 70 percent of the more metropolitan black membership affiliates with the Democratic Party and only 9 percent with the Republicans.⁶⁹ The denomination's Hispanics, although more apolitical, also identify with the Democrats by a margin of about 3-2.⁷⁰ And one of the Adventists who has been elected to Congress, the current black representative for the eighteenth district of Texas, Sheila Jackson-Lee, is a liberal Democrat.

The contradictory political impulses in Adventism probably cancel one another out, which no doubt suits Adventist leaders very well. From its earliest

days, the General Conference has worked hard to keep the church as neutral as possible. But the net effect of this has been to turn Adventists into an anonymous people. It is not surprising that polls since the 1970s have shown the majority of Americans to be either indifferent to or ignorant of Seventh-day Adventism. In view of the church's minimal involvement in the social and religious world, it is difficult to see what other opinions the public could have held. Unlike the Mormons or the Jehovah's Witnesses, who were not afraid to impress themselves on society, Adventists chose to avoid doing anything that would bring them into "special notice," as Ellen White put it during the Civil War. Those who objected to that conflict, she advised, should remain "very quiet."⁷¹

The prophetess's vision of Adventists appeared to be of an unobtrusive people who avoided undue conflict. The particular form of Adventist religious liberty seemed designed partly to nurture these very qualities. Demarcation of the boundaries between the church and the state on such issues as war and politics, and between the church and other bodies such as trade unions and the WCC, not only distanced the church from social institutions but succeeded in muting open Adventist hostility toward them. Sometimes, of course, the avoidance of conflict was not possible, as the sex discrimination and publishing cases of the 1970s and 1980s demonstrated. But in general, the use of basic American principles turned Adventists into quiet Americans.

There were signs in the 1970s and 1980s that many Adventists were tiring of this exceptionally low public profile. Appeals were made to the church leadership to become more involved in the political affairs of the day.⁷² Such calls bore some fruit at the General Conference sessions of 1985 and 1990 when, among other pronouncements, church president Neal Wilson spoke against apartheid in South Africa and for gun control in the United States.⁷³ These announcements appeared to herald a new readiness on the part of Adventist leaders to engage with social issues. But it would be misleading to overemphasize their importance. The Adventist presidents who presided over the 1995, 2000, and 2005 General Conference sessions did not make comparable statements, and historically the church has not expressed its views on controversial matters; it has stayed out of secular affairs and avoided conflict with the state.

As might be expected, the American Adventist leadership has endeavored to export this approach to its conferences overseas. It has usually opposed Adventists who openly protested against state authority and tended to recognize only those members who conformed to the patterns of behavior Adventism has adopted in the United States. In some instances, this has had unfortunate repercussions. For example, in Hitler's Germany, the wish to avoid confrontation was undoubtedly a factor in the development of the church's open support for the Nazi party. German Adventist leaders completely associated themselves with the aims and objectives of their nation at that time. They denounced the Treaty of Versailles, accepted the theory of Aryan purity, and particularly welcomed the

arrival of a *Führer* who abstained from tea, coffee, alcohol, and meat. They fully supported the Nazi notion of "living room" and applauded the remilitarization of the Rhineland, the annexation of Austria, and the march into the Sudetenland. They also merged their welfare activities with those of the state and replaced the Jewish sounding "Sabbath" with the German word for rest day, *Ruhe-tag*, all in what turned out to be a successful effort to evade proscription.⁷⁴

In general, however, Adventism in other countries has been far less passive than in the United States, particularly in authoritarian regimes. During World War I, against the official advice of their conference superiors, many German Adventists refused to obey the state's demand that they bear arms on the Sabbath. This resulted in their expulsion from the church and the formation of the Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement, which, in contrast to the official German church, later opposed the Nazis.⁷⁵ Large groups of church members in Communist nations like the Soviet Union, Hungary, and China were also disfellowshipped from the church after they too refused to compromise with the state, which persecuted, imprisoned, and sometimes killed them as a result.⁷⁶

In addition, where Adventism has enjoyed success among indigenous groups, it has thrown up a succession of leaders who have been prepared to fight against dominant or ruling elites. General Bo Mya, who led the Karen people in their war against the Burmese government for more than twenty years in the late twentieth century, is an example.⁷⁷ George Speight, who organized an armed coup on behalf of indigenous Fijians in Fiji in 2000, and Andrew Nori, who led a similar uprising of native Malaitans in the Solomon Islands in the same year, are others.⁷⁸ Seventh-day Adventists form the core membership of Burundi's *Forces Nationales Pour la Libération*, which has sought the violent emancipation of Hutus from the Tutsis since the 1970s.⁷⁹ Adventist Hutus were also heavily involved in the infamous slaughter of Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994. Georges Rutaganda graduated from an Adventist upbringing to the second vice chairmanship of the Hutu militia, the *interahamwe*, which was responsible for thousands of Tutsi deaths. Rutaganda was convicted of genocide and several counts of crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in 1999.⁸⁰ Two other Adventist Hutus, the minister Elizaphan Ntakirutimana and his doctor son, Gérard Ntakirutimana, were also found guilty of genocide and crimes against humanity in 2003 for their part in the mass murder of Tutsis at various Adventist centers in the country.⁸¹

A more peaceful form of liberation was pursued by another Adventist, Ezequiel Ataucusi Gamonal, in Peru. Gamonal came from the other main Indian tribe in the country, the Quechua, rather than the Aymara, who predominate in the church there. In the 1950s he acquired a following of largely Quechuan peasants, and he later contested presidential elections in an effort to further their rights.⁸² Although Gamonal eventually departed from Adventist norms, he was typical of numerous Third World Adventists who are far more likely

than their counterparts in America to view politics, as well as religion, as a means of raising the status of their peoples. The Seventh-day Adventist and prime minister of the West Indian island of Anguilla, Ronald Webster, pursued a policy of independence in the late 1960s in defiance of the British government.⁸³ Another church member, Dr. Samson Kisekka, was prime minister and vice president of Uganda in the 1980s and 1990s; and in perhaps the most striking illustration of the progress the church is making in this area, it was recently reported that Adventists make up more than 30 percent of the national legislature in Papua New Guinea.⁸⁴

The extent of such participation is probably directly related to the absence of traditions of church-state separation. In other countries, Adventists are far removed from, and perhaps less sensitive to, the fine balance of American Adventism. Adventists in the United States have maintained a dogged, but quiet independence from the republic by their use of the First Amendment—a tactic both unfamiliar and unavailable to Adventists overseas. In America, this has helped to avert open conflict with the state. But it has also assisted in overcoming the practical consequences of the church's beliefs and practices, particularly the problem of observing Saturday as the Sabbath in America, where virtually everyone else observed Sunday.

It is not difficult to see that the Sabbath was behind every Adventist policy on civil institutions. The medical cadet force was designed to overcome the problem of Saturday observance in the military. An aim of the trade union document, the Basis of Agreement, was to safeguard the right not to work on the Sabbath. Repeated campaigns against the diplomatic link between the Vatican and the United States were conducted in the belief that the world's largest church and the earth's most powerful nation would conspire to oppress Sabbatharians like themselves. Distrust of the World Council of Churches was fuelled by the expectation that Sabbath keepers would be persecuted by the Protestant denominations. Most of all, the fear of the state and the effort to limit its scope developed from the conviction that America would enact a Sunday law. For American Adventists, religious liberty was at root the freedom to worship on Saturday.

This explains why the church's public concern with religious liberty started in the 1880s. It was early in that decade that the clamor for effective Sunday legislation, which had been brewing for the previous twenty years, reached a climax. For the first time, significant numbers of Adventists were imprisoned for Saturday observance, which prompted the denomination's first religious liberty journals and organizations. Before the actual threat to Sabbath observance, as opposed to the theoretical danger that had been anticipated since the identification of the two-horned beast in the 1850s, Adventists were not actively concerned with religious liberty. Once that threat had manifested itself, religious liberty became a major Adventist preoccupation.⁸⁵

The Sabbath, too, was the focal point of the Adventist reinterpretation of

America's heritage. It was clearly when the United States established the universal Sunday law that Adventists thought the nation had repudiated its values. Ellen White saw the Sunday law and the consequent persecution of Sabbath keepers as "directly contrary to the principles of this government, to the genius of its free institutions, to the direct and solemn avowals of the Declaration of Independence, and to the Constitution."⁸⁶ Adventists made the Sabbath the test of America's fitness as the guardian of liberty. Interestingly, this was reflected in the changing name of the denomination's religious liberty journals. It was not by chance that the *Sabbath Sentinel* became the *American Sentinel* and then, simply, *Liberty*. The evolving titles indicated the Adventist equation of the freedom to worship on Saturday with the Declaration of Independence.

Some indication of the importance attached to the protection of Sabbath observance can be gauged by the way in which it inhibited the denomination's support of Prohibition. Many temperance organizations in the late nineteenth century believed the reform of the "Lord's Day" went hand in hand with the banning of alcohol. For Adventists this was obviously undesirable, and it led them to soft-pedal their commitment to Prohibition for fear of precipitating Sunday legislation. On at least one occasion, Adventists joined forces with liquor interests that opposed temperance movements that advocated Sunday observance. The church's temperance campaign, therefore, was not entirely consistent. It was only in the early years of the twentieth century, when Sunday observance was detached from the temperance platform, that Adventists became fully committed to Prohibition.⁸⁷

The church opposed all Sunday legislation on the basis of the constitutional arguments that had been made by the Democratic congressman Richard Johnson in 1829 and 1830. These were set out in separate Senate and House committee reports after Federalist clergy and their numerous allies sent in hundreds of petitions to Congress in an effort to halt the processing of Sunday mail, which in their view desecrated the sanctity of the day. Johnson declared that the object of Congress was "not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another."⁸⁸ As he explained: "Congress acts under a Constitution of delegated and limited powers. The committee look in vain to that instrument for a delegation of power authorizing this body to inquire and determine what part of time, or whether any, has been set apart by the Almighty for religious exercises. On the contrary, among the few prohibitions which it contains is the one that . . . declares that Congress shall pass no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."⁸⁹ Johnson's arguments had already been referred to by John Loughborough in the 1850s in his discussions of the two-horned beast. But they were employed in earnest by Adventists when they joined the campaign to defeat the Blair bill of 1888, which proposed Sunday as a national day of rest, and the Breckenridge bill of 1890, which advocated the same thing in the District of Columbia.⁹⁰

Other campaigns were not as successful. Church leaders failed, for example, to prevent the closure on Sundays of the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893, a cause célèbre in the history of religious liberty in America.⁹⁴ Adventists were also not particularly effective in preventing individual convictions in state courts. At the beginning of the 1890s, it has been estimated, about fifty Adventists had been prosecuted for breaking various Sunday laws, and thirty of them had been sentenced to prison.⁹⁵ Such prosecutions were not necessarily the result of open disregard for the sanctity of Sunday. Characteristically, Ellen White counseled church members to avoid outright confrontation. She advised that when faced with Sunday laws, "Seventh-day Adventists were to show their wisdom by refraining from their ordinary work on that day, devoting it to missionary effort." She did not want church members to attract attention and possible adversity: "To defy the Sunday laws will but strengthen in their persecution the religious zealots who are seeking to enforce them."⁹⁶

The man who became Adventism's principal religious liberty spokesman in this formative period was A. T. Jones. He had spearheaded the campaigns against Blair and Breckenridge and had fought to reverse the World's Fair decision. He also took a leading role in representing Adventists convicted for Sunday violations. Jones was co-editor of the church's religious liberty journals between 1887 and 1896, the first president of the National Religious Liberty Association in 1889, and the first head of the church's religious liberty department when it was created in the reorganization of 1901. Drawing on his experience on the public stage, Jones published a scholarly work on the Adventist version of religious liberty in 1895. In the *Rights of the People*, he encouraged the idea that the freedom to worship on the Sabbath is based on "Jeffersonian, Madisonian, Washingtonian and Lincolnian principles."⁹⁷ Quoting extensively from the writings of the founding fathers and from one commentator who endorsed Richard Johnson's anti-Sunday views, Jones powerfully stated the Adventist case.⁹⁸

Despite this, a major Sunday bill came before Congress again in 1926. This proposed the banning of all work, trade, sports, and entertainment on Sundays in the District of Columbia, the area being a favored target of the Sunday lobby because it was the one part of the union over which Congress exercised direct control. Its sponsor, William Lankford, described Sunday as "the foundation of our Government and our Christian civilization." But copying the tactics of the Sunday postal campaigners of the 1810s and 20s, the church's religious liberty department immediately began collecting signatures against the proposed legislation. *Liberty* magazine ran one photo of a 278-foot-high petition with 7,000 signatures on it. All told, the church sent in 7 million signatures to Congress, which duly helped to kill the bill. It was at the height of this campaign that Adventists were described as one of the two "most persistent foes of the American Sabbath" in the country. The other was the entertainment industry. But as with its earlier alliance with the liquor trade, the church did not particularly mind with whom it joined in order to

defeat Sunday legislation.⁹⁶ In the 1950s and 60s, individual states showed a renewed appetite for Sunday bills. Adventists opposed these whenever they could and were often successful in preventing them from reaching the statute book.⁹⁷

In 1961, however, in four cases that were decided together, the Supreme Court ruled that the principle of enacting Sunday laws was constitutional. The appellants included workers from a departmental store who were fined for selling certain items banned for sale on Sundays and orthodox Jews who complained that having to close their shops on Sundays as well as on their own Sabbath penalized their businesses on religious grounds. The court, however, reasoned that by the 1960s Sunday laws now protected employee rights rather than enforced religious doctrine, and as such did not breach either the establishment, nor the free exercise clause of the First Amendment.⁹⁸ Since these judgments were handed down, the Adventist church has taken every opportunity to minimize the damage caused by them. On the church's Office of Legislative Affairs Web site there is a section dealing with these rulings and the threat Adventists believe they pose to religious freedom today.⁹⁹

Adventists base their opposition to the constitutionality of Sunday laws on the dissenting opinion of one of the justices who heard the cases, William Douglas. He argued that "there is an 'establishment' of religion in the constitutional sense if any practice of any religious group has the sanction of law behind it. There is an interference with the 'free exercise' of religion if what in conscience one can do or omit doing is required because of the religious scruples of the community." Hence, Douglas thought "each of those laws unconstitutional as applied to the complaining parties, whether or not they are members of a sect which observes as its Sabbath a day other than Sunday."¹⁰⁰ It was a classic interpretation of the First Amendment religion clauses that reached back to Richard Johnson. But the church's endorsement of it served, as usual, only to camouflage the difference in perspective between themselves and other Americans. For Adventists, the nation was ultimately an adversary and was, as the 1961 cases showed, not a reliable guarantor of religious freedom. In its continual attempts to remind the nation of its libertarian values, the church employed a rhetoric in which no Adventist could fully believe.

The importance of the Sabbath to the church's policy on religious liberty helps to clarify the nature of this paradox. Adventists have had to share the same geographical space as other Americans, but the Sabbath has caused them to maintain a different attitude toward time. While the rest of the nation observed the first day of the week, Adventists observed the seventh. The Adventist experience of America has thus been one of a common space but an anomalous sense of time. In the church's quest for religious liberty can be seen an effort to meet the problem posed by this situation — perhaps the central problem in Adventism — how to share American space without sharing American time.

The Ethics of Schism

ENDLESS CAMPAIGNING ON religious liberty is one way to reduce the tension caused by the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath. But it is not the only strategy. The simplest way is to give up the day itself. By doing that, the strains caused by being out of step with the rest of society disappear and individuals can live easier, less separated lives. This was the attitude adopted by the defector T. M. Preble, who in 1864 explained in an Advent Christian paper why he could no longer carry the “yoke” of seventh-day Sabbath-keeping.¹

Quoting Paul, he described the Saturday Sabbath as a “middle wall of partition” that needlessly divided Christians.² It might have served a purpose in separating Jews from Gentiles, but in an age when Sunday was the settled day of worship, he believed that all God’s followers ought to “mind the same thing and walk by the same rule.” But “those who choose to follow the . . . OLD ‘DEAD SCHOOL-MASTER,’” he said, “will probably teach the seventh-day Sabbath.”³ His argument drew a point-by-point rebuttal from Uriah Smith, but the episode hurt the growing Adventist body because twenty years earlier the same Preble, in his *Tract Showing That the Seventh Day Should Be Observed as the Sabbath*, was instrumental in bringing the doctrine to the church in the first place.⁴ Preble was not the first Adventist to renounce his former views, but his apostasy shows that those who have separated from the denomination often did so on the question of time and its relationship to space.

The first breakaway group in Adventism was formed by two ministers, H. S. Case and C. P. Russell. In June 1853 they were working in Jackson, Michigan, when they found reason to discipline a female member for the verbal abuse of a neighbor. Ellen White, who was visiting at the time, endorsed their actions after going into vision. But the following day the prophetess had another vision,

after which she criticized the two ministers. Confused by this apparent *volte-face*, they lost confidence in White's revelations and in their colleagues who defended her prophetic role. With Russell being disfellowshipped first, and Case subsequently for his "railing accusations against those who have in times past labored for him," the two outcasts established a paper in the autumn of 1854 called the *Messenger of Truth*. The title gave the dissidents their name, and from that moment on they were known derisively within the Adventist community as the Messenger Party.⁵

The *Messenger of Truth's* main argument against the emerging church was that it had made Ellen White's visions a test of fellowship.⁶ But its point of attack soon widened to include the business practices of her husband, James, who was said, among other things, to be embezzling church funds.⁷ John Loughborough later commented that such allegations were "falsehoods," but they had their impact.⁸ They drew some readers of the *Review* into the Messenger fold and lured away ministers like J. M. Stephenson and the intellectually gifted D. P. Hall, who had earlier bequeathed to the church its holistic view of the human being.⁹ Early issues of the *Messenger of Truth* paid some attention to Adventist prophecy, but the group soon gave up the Saturday Sabbath.¹⁰ In fact, they did not show that much interest in doctrine at all until Stephenson and Hall brought with them an interpretation of the millennium known as the "age-to-come."

Stephenson and Hall had been influenced by Joseph Marsh, a former Millerite who had at one time edited the Christian Connection paper the *Christian Palladium*.¹¹ Marsh taught that the "gospel age," which had begun with Jesus' resurrection, "will close at the second coming of Christ, when the Age to come . . . will commence, and continue, until the new creation is completed."¹² This involves the descent of Christ onto the Mount of Olives, the restoration of Palestine to an Edenic state, the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the re-establishment of David's throne upon which Christ will sit.¹³ Existing nations will be progressively subdued by Jesus' millennial rule, and all Gentiles and Jews still living will undergo conversion. As understood by Stephenson and Hall, the age-to-come theory meant that probation for the inhabitants of the earth would continue after Christ's return—a view that contradicted one of Adventism's most basic teachings.¹⁴

The *Messenger of Truth* vigorously promoted the age-to-come doctrine until the paper closed in 1858. The demise of the journal effectively marked the end of the faction as a serious movement of opposition, and the church took great delight in noting that none of the eighteen or so rebels who had formed the backbone of the group turned out well.¹⁵ But even as the Adventists were performing the last rites on the party, a second schismatic movement was born in southwest Michigan. This particular group was the child of Gilbert Cranmer, who had joined the Adventist ranks in 1852. He was active in the church for

about six years but eventually rejected Ellen White's visions.¹⁶ He also discarded the church's developing health message, being an inveterate "tobacco eater," in the phrase of the *Review*.¹⁷ But he kept his faith in the Sabbath, and after branching out on his own, raised a dozen or so Saturday-keeping churches in Michigan. These congregations were organized into a conference in 1860, and by 1863 were going by the name of the Church of Christ.¹⁸

Following its organization, the Church of Christ launched its first paper on the presses of the old *Messenger of Truth*. It was called the *Hope of Israel*, and the group inevitably became known as the Hope of Israel Party within Adventist circles. The ten-point declaration of principles in the first issue indicated that its doctrinal position was, like the Messenger Party's, based on the age-to-come theory.¹⁹ The *Hope of Israel* ceased publication after only two years. However, the group's one lasting action was to join forces with another mutinous faction, the Marion Party, based in Marion, Iowa. This was headed by B. F. Snook, whose chief contribution to the church had been to work out its practice on baptism, and W. H. Brinkerhoff, respectively president and secretary of the Seventh-day Adventist conference in Iowa. They fell out with Ellen White when she denounced the pacifist activities of their conference during the Civil War, and in 1866 they left the church and set up their rival organization in Marion.²⁰ They were joined there by Henry Carver, who had become a well-known figure after he attacked James White's controversial "Nation" editorial of 1862.

Shortly after their defection, Snook and Brinkerhoff released *The Visions of E. G. White, Not of God*, which offered further criticisms of the prophetess. Carver started publishing a new *Hope of Israel*, which was re-established in Marion in 1866 as part of the amalgamation of the Hope of Israel and Marion parties.²¹ These arrangements laid the foundations of the merged group's long-term survival and, after going through a number of upheavals and several changes of name, the denomination operates currently as the Church of God (Seventh Day). It is tiny compared to the Seventh-day Adventists—in 2003 it had 125,000 members worldwide against the Adventists' 13.4 million.²² But it still maintains, in defiance of its larger rival, that "the earth will be inhabited by the saints . . . during the 1,000 year reign of Christ."²³ The church also succeeded in passing on this view to its own offshoot, the Worldwide Church of God (WCG), formerly the Radio Church of God, founded by Herbert W. Armstrong in 1937. Today it has no single view on the millennium, but WCG spokespeople acknowledge that its members still largely believe in Armstrong's version of the age-to-come doctrine, indicating that the church came out of the same dissenting tradition as the Messenger, Hope of Israel, and Marion parties.²⁴

The point on which all these groups diverged from Adventism was the millennium. From an early stage, Adventists were clear that the thousand years was a period cut off from the earth's history, which the saints would spend with Jesus

in heaven. All the offshoots, on the other hand, believed that the thousand years would take place on earth. With their emphasis on the land of Palestine and on the restoration of David's throne, they were following an alternative Protestant interpretation of the millennium, which is that it is to be some sort of messianic kingdom based in the actual place where Jesus had lived.²⁵ Their millennium was also a temporal one, part of the continuing progress of the world. This difference is important. Adventists believe that when the millennium begins time ends, and the limited opportunity they have to prepare for their heavenly roles is terminated. But for Adventism's offshoots, time, probation, and the opportunity of conversion continues. This suggests one reason why the behavioral patterns of the organized dissidents, particularly their abandonment of the reformed diet and dress, also diverged from those of Adventists. Some charges against them were probably exaggerated, but James White was not altogether wrong when, in 1862, he characterized their cry as: "Give us tobacco, tea, coffee, hoops, and let us have our own way."²⁶ From the Adventist point of view, the age-to-come theory generated indiscipline. As J. H. Waggoner said, it was "calculated to destroy the piety of the believer, by turning his mind to a state of ease."²⁷

Adventist conduct, by contrast, was strictly controlled by the idea of the heavenly millennium and the roles church members expected to play during it. As Ellen White made clear, the only values that really counted were those that would enable Adventists to function properly in heavenly society. "Perfect order, perfect obedience, perfect peace and harmony," were the hallmarks of heaven, she said, and these were the qualities she expected her co-religionists to cultivate.²⁸ As she told a gathering of the church's educators: "Those who have had no respect for order or discipline in this life would have no respect for the order which is observed in heaven. They can never be admitted to heaven, for all worthy of an entrance there will love order and respect discipline."²⁹ Time, or rather the shortness of it, was the essence of the case she and others set before the Adventist people. Contrary to its offshoots, the church believed that probation would end before the Second Coming. This meant that the task of acquiring a heavenly disposition had to be completed on earth, and because the Second Coming was imminent, it had to be done now. In 1869 she counseled one church member: "A heavenly character must be acquired upon earth, my brother, or you will never possess it; therefore you should engage at once in the work which you have to do. You should labor earnestly to obtain a fitness for heaven."³⁰

Underlining the shortness of the hour was the belief that the angels, with whom the redeemed would soon be communing, were already on earth assessing each Adventist's suitability for heavenly society.³¹ In this way the prospect of joining the angels in heaven could be invoked to regulate any aspect of Adventist conduct. Food, for example, should be of a type and prepared in way that was fitting for "all who claim to be preparing for translation to heaven."³² Exces-

sive sex would "debar" those engaging in it "from heaven, with all its glories and treasures."³³ Politics were out for a similar reason: "Those who stand . . . as laborers together with God . . . have no battles to fight in the political world," Ellen White wrote. "Their citizenship is in heaven."³⁴ And as for a practice like smoking, she closed down discussion merely by asking: "As I have seen men who . . . were slaves to tobacco, spitting and defiling everything around them, I have thought, How would heaven appear with tobacco users in it?"³⁵ The millennium in Adventism was thus not just a theoretical matter. It was also the source of a particular ethical code.³⁶ In rejecting Adventist notions of a heavenly millennium, the church's offshoots were also abandoning the discipline that went with it and opting for a more relaxed mode of behavior.

Although they cannot be interpreted in exactly the same way, departures from Adventist ethics were also a hallmark the church's next major offshoot that began in Los Angeles in 1916. It attracted about a thousand people at its height and was led by a charismatic recent convert to Adventism, Margaret Rowen. Her movement was a product of the First World War, and her first statement contained several references to the fighting and her conviction that the struggle was the beginning of Armageddon, a view that many Adventists, if not their leaders, shared.³⁷ She also retained her belief in the Sabbath, and her followers came to be known as the Reformed Seventh-day Adventists. As the name implied, they tried to effect a spiritual renewal in a church that in their view had grown complacent. Using a quotation that had been used by the General Conference itself, they argued that "a spiritual reformation must take place in the church or we are doomed with the rest of the world."³⁸ The way to achieve this, they advocated, was through the establishment of a network of local congregational prayer-bands whose combined supplications would, in Ellen White's words, "arise in behalf of the church."³⁹ The Reformed Adventists tried to bring about change in Adventism through the laity of the church rather than through the leadership. They were, in this sense, one of the last of the congregational movements that had followed the centralization of 1901.

On doctrine, the group focused on the millennium, which in their scheme takes place largely, but not exclusively, in heaven. The redeemed comprise the 144,000 who are drawn, interestingly, only from the United States, plus "martyrs, the resurrected dead and the translated ones from other lands than ours." Following Christ's emergence from the sky, they meet Jesus in the air, from where they travel up through three different heavenly realms, "just as travelers on earth are carried along on a train, moving about and visiting." The one thousand years, in Rowenite thought, are "spent in viewing the handiwork of God, visiting the planets of the universe."⁴⁰ However, Pontius Pilate, the High Priest Caiaphas, his predecessor Annas, Roman soldiers, and others who had a hand in crucifying Christ remain here, with Satan, "wandering alone in the broken down and desolated earth" for the duration of the thousand years.⁴¹

In contrast to the Messenger, Hope of Israel, and Marion parties, the Reformed Adventists were firm believers in Ellen White, and they were careful in their statements to support their assertions with quotations from her writings.⁴² Indeed, a large part of the appeal of the Reformed Adventists was Rowen's claim to have the same prophetic gift as Ellen White. She had visions that were like those of the prophetess, and when she experienced them, she appeared to enter a similar trance-like state.⁴³ She also made predictions. The first of these was that the First World War would end in Armageddon. But when that did not happen, she went further. In 1923 she made known that probation would end on February 6, 1924, and that the world would end one year later on February 6, 1925.⁴⁴ The prophecy caused a nationwide commotion in which the media, as they had in the run-up to October 22, 1844, told tales about the strange behavior of Rowen's followers. The *New York Times* reported that a laborer from Long Island hanged himself in his cellar after he had become overwrought by "the announcement that to be one of the 144,000 in the United States who will be saved, a man must sell his belongings."⁴⁵

Rowen herself did not wait up with her followers on the night of her biggest prediction. Indeed, she was never quite what she seemed. Early in her career she pretended to be the illegitimate daughter of a Pennsylvanian couple in an elaborate attempt to prove the divine inspiration of one of her visions. Later, she twice manufactured documents that made it look like Ellen White had endorsed her prophetic role. As her influence began to wane, she started stealing thousands of dollars from her organization. And when one of her colleagues finally exposed her in 1926, she and two aides ambushed him one night and clubbed him about the head with a piece of pipe with the intent to murder. The assault failed, but for her part in the conspiracy she served twelve months in a California jail.⁴⁶

In its willingness to set a date for the end of the world and in its entanglements with the law, Reformed Adventism anticipated the course of the Davidian family of Adventist offshoots, which toward the end of the twentieth century became the best known of the church's splinter groups. The Davidians were founded by another convert, Victor Houteff, who, like Rowen, claimed to be Ellen White's successor and tried to start a reform movement in the Los Angeles church. However, Houteff took his message from the "angel ascending from the east" of Revelation 7, whose mission was to seal the 144,000 "in their foreheads." In the book *The Shepherd's Rod*, in which he offered his initial interpretation of this passage, he did not refer explicitly to his prophetic status. But he left no one in any doubt that he was this angel whose task was to bring this new message to the church.⁴⁷

Houteff had come from Bulgaria, arriving in the United States in 1907. In 1919, at the age of 34, he joined the Adventist church in Illinois and moved to Los Angeles shortly afterward.⁴⁸ He began his agitation in 1929 after the publica-

tion of Sabbath School Lessons that dealt with the book of Isaiah and the need for reformation among God's people.⁴⁹ Augmenting the studies with an examination of other Old Testament passages, Houteff argued that the Adventist church was the subject of Ezekiel 4, where God commands the prophet to lie on his left side for 390 days and take six different types of food to sustain himself, and to lie on his right side for 40 days and eat no food. Following the usual Adventist practice of assigning one day to one year, he claimed that the time period began in 1500 when Martin Luther "found the Bible."⁵⁰ The various types of food were the six key doctrines of faith—the Holy Spirit, grace, baptism by immersion, the Second Coming, and the Sabbath—introduced respectively by Luther, Knox, Wesley, Alexander Campbell, Miller, and Ellen White. Together these reformers took events up to 1890, after which the Adventist church endured forty years with no new spiritual food on which to feed. Houteff claimed that after the failure to accept the Waggoner and Jones message of 1888, "the church has had no new light upon scriptures that were not understood forty years ago."⁵¹

Following the logic through, Houteff asserted that the church must now have new spiritual food or it would die. The new food or doctrine was the idea that the sealing of the 144,000 had begun sometime between the publication of the Sabbath School Lessons in 1929 and the release of his *Shepherd's Rod* in 1930.⁵² This seal was not the Sabbath, as Adventists had believed, but the marking out in the denomination of "the godly from the ungodly."⁵³ As Houteff believed that the 144,000 were a literal number, 144,000 people therefore had to be extracted from the existing membership of the church. There was no way out: "Our denomination numbers about 300,000. This means the denomination will be divided in half."⁵⁴ The 144,000 sealed ones will enter heaven. The rest of the Seventh-day Adventist membership will be killed by the men with slaughter weapons described in Ezekiel 9.⁵⁵

The uncompromising nature of this message was perhaps a function of the process of fundamentalization then underway in the church. Houteff himself did not dwell on this subject at the time, but he later declared that his eschatology was rooted in an "all-inclusive Scriptural fundamentalism" and sought common cause with the "Fundamentalist group" he identified in the Adventist church that accepted Ellen White's writings as "inspired in the same way as is all Biblical prophecy."⁵⁶ But with such an unpalatable message for the remnant people, there was no chance that Houteff was going to be able to remain in the church. He had been disfellowshipped following the publication of the *Shepherd's Rod*, but several attempts were made to meet his grievances before he finally left the denomination in 1934.⁵⁷

A year later he led a dozen followers, who were now known after the title of his book as the Shepherd's Rod, to Waco, Texas. Their name was also derived from Moses' miraculous rod described in Exodus, and the move was based on a

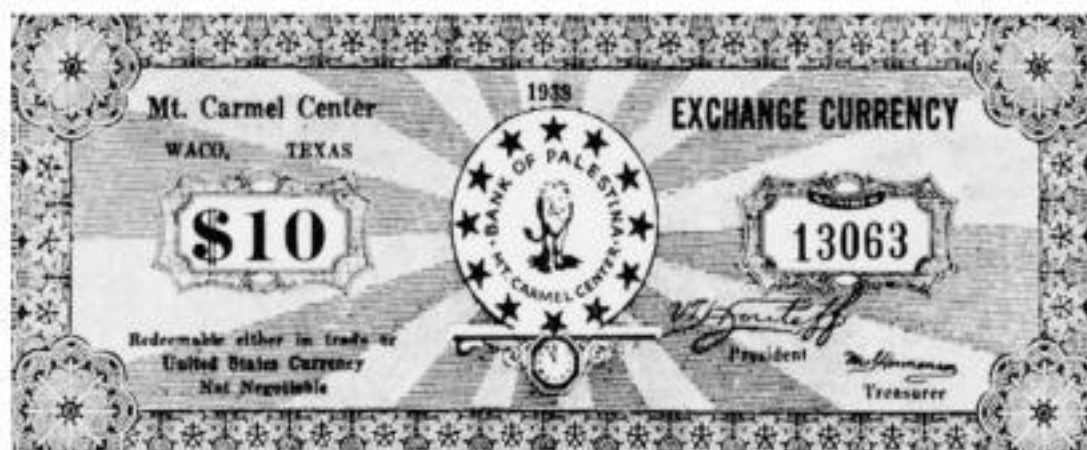


Figure 17. Currency of the kingdom: a Davidian \$10 bill first issued in 1938 for use within the Mount Carmel center.

Courtesy the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

verse in Isaiah that suggested to them that they should organize in the “midst of the land.”⁵⁸ Waco was centrally located between North and South America and equidistant between the Eastern and Western halves of the United States. On a 189-acre site they named Mount Carmel after the Old Testament spot where Elijah purged Israel of its false prophets, they organized themselves along the same lines as the Israelite theocracy, where “God was the center of authority and government” and where Houteff was accepted as the anti-typical Elijah.⁵⁹ They set about building not so much a new community, but what was more like a separate country. They had their own flag, whose imagery consisted of a lion representing Christ, a six-pointed star symbolizing the throne of David, and twelve five-pointed stars depicting the twelve tribes of Israel.⁶⁰ And following ideas in texts like Isaiah 14:29, which referred to the land of Palestine as “Pal-estina” they established their own independent “Bank of Palestina,” which issued its own money.⁶¹ (See figure 17.)

In focusing on the sacredness of a piece of land, paying meticulous attention to its geographical position, and taking on many of the attributes of a sovereign people, the Shepherd’s Rod made a decisive break with the Adventist tradition. With its emphasis on the Sabbath and a heavenly millennium, the denomination’s theology was governed largely by temporal considerations. Although the Shepherd’s Rod were strict Sabbath keepers and also believed that the millennium would take place in heaven, the physical entity in Waco changed the burden of their concerns from time to space. Until the move to Waco, Houteff interpreted the prophecies relating to Israel figuratively, arguing that Israel, or the “true Israel” as he put it, was a metaphor for the 144,000.⁶² But in a pair of tracts issued from Mount Carmel, *Mount Zion at the Eleventh Hour* and *Behold, I Make All Things New*, he suggested that Palestine would be the location of a literal kingdom that he, the anti-typical David, would lead.

The justification for this view came from the stem-rod-branch sequence in Isaiah 11. Since the stem or root was identified as Jesse, the father of David, Houteff claimed that the rod was symbolic of David and his kingdom, and the branch representative of the son of David, or Christ and his millennial reign. The imagery was particularly compelling because, although the group took its name from Moses' rod, this other rod made Houteff think that the prophecy would find fulfillment in his own movement.⁶⁵ The kingdom would be set up in his time, before the branch and the period of the millennium. The migration to Mount Carmel was thus a type of and preparation for the bigger move to the kingdom in Palestine. The 144,000 would be the kingdom's first fruits of the living, whom Houteff referred to as the "wave-sheaf," a term he borrowed from the Levitical ceremonial harvest. The first fruits of the dead would be the 120 disciples who received the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, the "wave-loaves," and they would be joined by those who rose with Christ at his resurrection, by the redeemed from various other resurrections, and by the multitudes of Acts 5:14 and Revelation 7:9, all of whom would take their place in the kingdom prior to Christ's return.⁶⁴ These developments in the group's thinking resulted in a change of name in 1943 to the Davidian Seventh-day Adventists.⁶⁵

Although clearly not a millennial rule, as some commentators have claimed, Houteff's theory of a Davidic kingdom was very similar to the old idea of the age-to-come. It was an earthly reign during which probation continued, providing one last chance for the world to be converted.⁶⁶ For the Davidians, therefore, the kingdom, rather than the millennium that followed it, determined the nature and purpose of their ethical teaching. In a letter Houteff sent out to members, he emphasized that attaining Christian maturity would be rewarded with "a home in His kingdom"; open-mindedness provided a "map to the Kingdom"; peace of mind came to those who set out "to win and advance the Kingdom"; and constancy enabled them to reach their ultimate ethical goal, which was not to join the angels, but to be "the David of the day."⁶⁷ This ideal also influenced their attitude toward bearing arms. As believers in Old Testament codes, they declared themselves in favor of "a Christian" using "whatever measures as are within his power to protect the chastity of wife and children."⁶⁸ They also felt a duty to defend their country "as did ancient Israel theirs."⁶⁹ The only thing that actually stopped them from doing so was the possibility of fighting like-minded Christians from other nations. This approach to military service did not make much practical difference at the time, but it was an indication that for the Davidians the model was no longer heavenly society, but the morality of the Old Testament.

By the time of Houteff's death in 1955, aggressive proselytizing among Adventist congregations had raised the numbers working at Mount Carmel to about a hundred, with several hundred more sympathizers located around the country and overseas.⁷⁰ But the steady progress of the Davidians now came to a halt.

Houteff's followers were shocked by his death, for they had believed he would lead them into the kingdom himself. After overcoming a fair amount of internal opposition, Houteff's wife, Florence, emerged as the Davidians' new leader and chief seer. A few months later she predicted that the kingdom would be set up in Israel in three and a half days (i.e., years) time, later settling on the date of April 22, 1959.⁷¹ It was envisaged, but not officially written down, that her husband would be resurrected to lead the people to the Holy Land. More clearly stated was the idea that the slaughter of the old enemies, the members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, would begin at that time.⁷²

As the Davidians prepared for the end, Florence sold the Mount Carmel site in 1957 and bought a cheaper property called New Mount Carmel about nine miles east of Waco and fifteen miles from the original headquarters. At this location Florence oversaw some rebuilding, including the construction of a farm.⁷³ But it was her new prediction that galvanized the group, and as the day drew near, the Davidians sold their homes and businesses and gathered at Mount Carmel to await the return of Houteff. When he failed to re-appear, the group, numbering about 900, fell into disrepute. A discredited Florence disbanded the organization, left Waco, and married a man who belonged to the Worldwide Church of God.⁷⁴ But several Davidian groups all claiming Houteff's mantle continue to exist to the present day. One is based in New York; another in Salem, South Carolina; and a third in Exeter, Missouri. A company of West Indian Davidians has relocated to part of the original Mount Carmel site, and what is possibly the largest faction is now in Canada.⁷⁵

None of these movements, however, matched the impact of a separate splinter group, whose members called themselves the Branch Davidians. They took their name from the last part of Houteff's stem-rod-branch sequence, and were established in 1955 by Ben Roden, a man of Jewish extraction.⁷⁶ Roden and his wife, Lois, were former Adventists from Texas who frequented the Mount Carmel center while Houteff was still alive. After his death, they came to stay and were among the people who contested Florence's leadership. They also opposed her new prophecy. But they were themselves keen to establish the kingdom, and they moved to Israel in the late 1950s to hasten its coming. Their endeavors failed, but on their return to the United States they finally acquired the New Mount Carmel property after years of trying in the mid-1960s, at which time there were only around fifty people still living there.⁷⁷

A poor speaker but a compelling individual, Roden inspired God-like devotion from his supporters. They regarded him as their prophet, priest, and king. He was also the anti-typical David, the anti-typical Joshua, and the vice regent of God on earth.⁷⁸ Influenced no doubt by his Jewish heritage, he introduced, in addition to the Sabbath, a number of other Old Testament festivals such as Passover, Pentecost, the Feast of Tabernacles, and the Feast of the New Moon.⁷⁹ But Roden is perhaps more profitably understood in terms of the reaction to

Adventism's shift toward evangelicalism. He began his movement as the meetings with Martin and Barnhouse were taking place, and he opposed them from the start. Lining up with internal critics like Andreasen, he denounced the General Conference for accepting that Ellen White "was not inspired" and that the "Atonement was at the cross."⁸⁰ However, of all the Davidian leaders, Roden was the most conciliatory to the Adventist church. The idea of a slaughter of Adventists does not appear to feature prominently in his writings, and he argued that both Adventists and Davidian Adventists "are God's true people."⁸¹ He read Adventist literature extensively and quoted Ellen White even more assiduously than Houteff.

Roden sought to merge Adventist and Davidian doctrines into a single Branch Davidian theology. He found the means to do this from Ellen White's account of her first vision in *Early Writings*, in which she revealed that the 144,000 were sealed with three seals written on their foreheads: "God, New Jerusalem, and a glorious star containing Jesus' new name."⁸² Roden argued that the first seal, "God," was the seal of the living God, or the Sabbath as taught by Ellen White. The second seal, "New Jerusalem," was "the Davidian kingdom truth which God sent to His people through the Shepherd's Rod message and its author, Bro V. T. Houteff." The third seal, "Jesus' new name," was "Branch," the title Roden adopted for his movement.⁸³ This three-seal scheme was not, however, the only way in which Roden tried to tie up the Adventist and Davidian traditions. He also developed a "five angels' message"—adding Houteff and himself to the three angels that the church had identified—that served more or less the same purpose.⁸⁴

Despite obvious departures, Roden did not think that his theology differed all that much from that of the Adventists, and he wrote a series of letters to this effect to the General Conference president, R. R. Figuhr, in the 1950s.⁸⁵ He renewed the call for a hearing in the lead-up to the General Conference session of 1980.⁸⁶ But any hopes that he had of effecting a reconciliation ended with his death in 1978. His wife, Lois, took over the Branch as leader and prophet. She made one striking contribution, which was to assert that the Holy Spirit was female, a claim that reflected the emergence of a feminist movement in the Adventist church in the 1970s.⁸⁷ Otherwise her years in charge were notable only for the decline of the group. Her son George, who was grooming himself for the succession, took to patrolling the compound with a .38 revolver, and she herself, at the age of 67, began a sexual relationship with a newcomer to Waco called Vernon Howell.⁸⁸

Howell had arrived at the center in 1981. Born in Houston, Texas, in 1959 to an unmarried 14-year-old Adventist girl, he had a troubled early life and dropped out of school in the 10th grade. During these years he showed promise at just two things. One was rock music and the other was Bible prophecy, kindled by his attendance at an Adventist Revelation Seminar.⁸⁹ He began attending the

Seventh-day Adventist church in Tyler but was soon disfellowshipped after propositioning the minister's daughter. He then made his permanent home at Mount Carmel, where he soon showed signs of leadership.

His claims, however, were disputed by George Roden, who resented Howell's relationship with his mother. At first George gained the upper hand, and Howell spent the early part of 1985 away in Israel and, when he returned to America, in Palestine, Texas, where he set up a primitive camp. When Lois Roden died in 1986, George took complete control and renamed the center Rodenville. But he was sufficiently worried by Howell's facility with Scripture to challenge him to a spiritual contest: he proposed that the two of them should try to resurrect a dead Davidian from her grave. Whoever "won" the contest would be declared the true prophet. Howell declined, but after consulting a lawyer he planned to find evidence that might convict George for corpse abuse. On November 3, 1987, Howell and a group of armed supporters slipped into Mount Carmel intending to photograph the disturbed coffin. They were eventually surprised by an equally heavily armed Roden, and a gun battle ensued. No one was seriously hurt, but all the participants were arrested. At the ensuing trial in 1988, Howell and his followers were acquitted, but Roden was imprisoned for six months after threatening the judges with, among other things, herpes and AIDS. The following day, Howell re-entered the Mount Carmel center, where he was to stay until April 19, 1993.⁹⁰

Howell's triumph was not due simply to the fact that he kept his head while George Roden lost his. It also owed much to the superior quality of the people he gathered around him. A recruiting drive among American Adventists in 1986 brought in two graduate students in religion, Marc Breault and Steve Schneider, and a wealthy young businessman, Paul Fatta, who put his resources at the personal disposal of the leader. In England, Schneider netted approximately thirty recruits in 1988, including Renos Avraam and Livingstone Fagan, destined for important roles after Howell's violent death.⁹¹ By the time of the siege in 1993 about 130 people were living in Mount Carmel. They tended to come from English-speaking countries like the United States, Canada, Australia, and England, but represented a wide range of ethnic backgrounds: white, black, Hispanic, and Asian. The people at Mount Carmel also tended to be newer Adventists. The minister of Hawaii's Diamond Head Adventist church, which lost fourteen members to Howell's group, noted that most of the defectors were "younger—not only in terms of age, but in terms of how long they had been Adventists."⁹² New converts may well have been impressed by Howell's concentration on eschatology, after finding the apocalyptic orientation of the conversion process was not sustained in the routine life of the church.

The other reason for Howell's success lay in the way in which he drew together, in a manner George Roden was unable to match, the Adventist, Davidian, and Branch traditions in what he called the seven angels' messages. This he

did in two studies, "The Seventh Angel Enter Into Rest" and "Judge What I Say," that he taped when he was in Israel in 1985. Howell agreed with the Adventist view that the first two angels were represented by William Miller, who gave the world the "judgment message," as he called it.⁹³ The third angel was Ellen White, who introduced the Sabbath. The fourth angel was Victor Houteff, who established the idea of the Davidic kingdom. The fifth angel was Ben Roden, whose chief contribution was the revelation of Christ's new name, the "Branch He" message as it became known. The sixth angel was Lois Roden, the "Branch She," who completed the understanding of Christ's new name with her feminized interpretation of the Trinity. And the seventh was Howell, called out to give the last message in the series.⁹⁴

White, Houteff, and the two Rodens were also the four angels described at the beginning Revelation 7, "standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth." The four angels are followed in the narrative by the angel of the east, who, Howell argued, was the same as the seventh angel with whom Houteff had previously identified himself.⁹⁵ Howell noticed, however, that this angel cries to the other angels to "hurt not the earth" until the sealing of the 144,000 is complete. The phrase was crucial to Howell's new understanding. He claimed that the four winds were the four Adventist and Davidian messages: "the message of the Sabbath, the message of the kingdom, the message of the new name both he and she."⁹⁶ The role of the angel of the east is to reiterate these four messages. When this is done, and all the messages have been proclaimed and rejected, the angels then have the capacity to "hurt" the earth, which triggers the final moves in the establishment of the kingdom: "When those who've rejected the four-fold message of Sister White, Brother Houteff, Brother Roden and Sister Roden, and have not received the seventh angel's message, they'll be slaughtered because they rejected so great a salvation."⁹⁷ But on the other hand, "the ones who do overcome, they'll be the ones who'll be glorified as wave-sheaf . . . and they will gather the 144,000 and take them to Mount Zion."⁹⁸

In these seven angels' messages, Howell aimed to supplant Houteff as the angel of the east, and both Houteff and Roden as the Davidic figure who establishes the kingdom. Once these claims had been accepted by the group, he consolidated his position in four other ways. First, he changed his name to David Koresh. "David" established him in the royal line of the Old Testament king. "Koresh" was the Hebrew name for Cyrus and meant "anointed one" or "messiah."⁹⁹ From these starting points, Koresh began to think of himself as a second Christ. He said he was different from the first in that he was not sinless. He, by contrast, was a sinner who displayed the same weaknesses and frailties as any normal human being. He got many of the elements for his new persona from the Psalms.¹⁰⁰ But it is possible that he took his cue from the new anti-perfectionist strand within Adventism. He was obviously an extreme case, but the belief that

he was a sinful messiah was absolutely in line with Heppenstall's dictum that "absolute perfection and sinlessness cannot be realized here and now."¹⁰⁴

Second, he took the practical step of bringing weapons into the compound. Guns had been part of the culture at Mount Carmel since the shoot-out in 1988, but they were also the by-product of Koresh's belief that the earthly kingdom would be achieved by war. This conclusion was drawn largely from the verse in John 18 where Jesus tells Pilate that his kingdom is not of this world, but that if it were, his servants would fight.¹⁰⁵ The Davidic kingdom, of course, was very much of this world, and Koresh took Jesus' words as a call to arms. Women as well as men who came to the compound were required to take part in military drills and target practice.¹⁰⁶ This served the double purpose of producing individuals who were capable of defending the center against hostile outside forces. As a consequence, Mount Carmel took on even more of the character of a self-governing state than it did during Houteff's time. Koresh referred to the center as "my own little country" and declared his right to return fire against anyone who might enter the compound and "start shooting at us."¹⁰⁷ The emphasis on combat readiness also led to the creation of the so-called "mighty men," a group of armed guards modeled on the mighty men in David's court, who were known throughout Israel for their fighting prowess and total loyalty.¹⁰⁸

Third, Koresh asserted that it was his duty to father the twenty-four elders who are mentioned in Revelation 5 in association with the book with seven seals. The twenty-four elders are described as "kings and priests," and Koresh believed they would reign with him in the kingdom.¹⁰⁹ To create this ruling dynasty, he took up to seventeen "wives" from among his followers and inducted them into what he called the House of David.¹¹⁰ The women ranged from girls as young as 12 to grandmothers in their 50s. They were single as well as married and were chosen from almost all ethnic groups. Only black women appeared to be barred from the House of David, and there are rumors that Koresh was prejudiced against them.¹¹¹ At the time of the siege, Koresh had fathered at least fifteen of these future "kings and priests" and was well on the way to achieving his eschatological goal.¹¹² He stressed that as the anti-typical David only he had this right to procreate, and he forbade all sexual relationships in the center apart from his own. Wives were separated from their husbands and reserved for his exclusive use. Husbands were instructed to practice celibacy and were told that they would find their true mates in the kingdom.¹¹³

The final thing that cemented Koresh's leadership was his success in portraying himself as the Lamb in Revelation 5 who opens the seven seals. The chapter relates how this figure, coming out of the "Root of David," is the only person who can "loose" the seals and is worshipped by the twenty-four elders, among others, when he does so. During the 1993 siege, Koresh told the FBI that he obtained the knowledge to open the seven seals after he met seven angelic beings on Mount Zion while in Israel in 1985. The angels took Koresh in a celes-

tial spaceship that he referred to as “a Merkabah,” up past the constellation of Orion and on to the City of God. There he was honored by the Father himself, who showed the seals to him.¹¹¹ This may all have been true, but Koresh appears to have made no reference to this formative experience at the time. In “Seventh Angel Enter Into Rest” and “Judge What I Say,” the studies he seemed most keen to publicize from his time in Israel, he did not mention it. He did deal quite extensively with the idea of seals in these tapes; however, the only ones he appeared to be interested in at this time were the Sabbath, kingdom, and branch seals of Ben Roden.¹¹²

This suggests that Koresh’s obsession with the seals described in Revelation 5–8 developed well after 1985 and was connected to his effort to establish himself as David’s real heir. His understanding also shifted as he went along, depending on what was happening at the time or what he thought was going to happen.¹¹³ He appears to have given his last word on the subject to the FBI to whom he talked about the seven seals at length during the standoff. A few days before the end of the siege, Koresh started to write out a version of the seals for the public.¹¹⁴ But since this manuscript was never finished, it is his negotiations with the authorities to which one must turn in order to discover his final thoughts. The first four of the seven seals are better known as the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. But Koresh insisted that all the seals identified him and his violent overturning of the present order.

In the first seal, Koresh argued that he is the rider on the white horse who goes forth “conquering and to conquer” and who is, in his own estimation, “the mightiest of them all.”¹¹⁵ In the second seal, Koresh is on the red horse and unifies Jerusalem at the time when the kingdom is set up and God manifests himself in the city as “a wall of fire round about.”¹¹⁶ In the third seal, Koresh indicated that he is the merchant on the black horse who oppresses the wicked if they refuse to accept his message of the seals.¹¹⁷ In the fourth seal, he is the one called “Death,” sitting on the pale horse, who overthrows the rulers of the world.¹¹⁸ In the fifth seal, which Koresh said opened at the time of the siege, he indicated that he would slay the FBI as David did Goliath.¹¹⁹ In the sixth seal, he overthrows “this nation as an example to all of the nations” and seals the 144,000 with a “scroll with seven seals.”¹²⁰ In the seventh seal, he opens the seven trumpets, another set of symbols that complete the description of the seals. According to Koresh, the trumpets begin sounding in Revelation 8 and echo in each of the remaining chapters of the book.¹²¹ He did not explicate the trumpets in a systematic way but again picked out those aspects that provided more evidence of his supremacy in battle, like his command of the 200-million-strong army of Revelation 9 that overthrows the world and his claim to be the “man child” of Revelation 12 who will rule the nations with a rod of iron.¹²²

With a new name, the formation of what was really a small militia, a coterie of wives, and sole ownership of the seven seals, Koresh appeared for a time to be

unassailable. But the sources of his success were also the causes of his downfall. The ever-widening reach of the House of David alienated Breault, who, with his wife Elizabeth Baranyai (one of the few Davidian women to resist Koresh's advances), made public details of his sexual behavior. It was they who prompted the child custody hearing in Michigan in 1992 that removed from the compound Kiri Jewell, a 10-year-old girl they believed was being targeted as a future Koresh wife. They also contacted Australia's *A Current Affair* program, which later broadcast a damning account of the Branch Davidians in April 1992.¹²³ The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) began their own investigation in May 1992 after being tipped off about large quantities of explosives arriving at the group's weapons store. And finally, the *Waco Tribune-Herald* turned Koresh's notion of a sinful messiah against him in the seven-part series that started on February 27, 1993.¹²⁴

The day after the appearance of the *Herald* story, the ATF fatally wounded six residents in a botched attempt to search Mount Carmel and to arrest Koresh for suspected violations of firearm laws. The Davidians responded as they had been trained to do and killed four ATF agents. On being surrounded, they hoisted the Davidian flag, which had not been flying hitherto.¹²⁵ Schneider explained to one law enforcement officer that the six-pointed "stylistic Star of David," as he described it, in fact represented the fiery flying serpent mentioned in Isaiah 14:29, and Koresh made clear to another that the flag signified Mount Carmel's status as a sovereign power.¹²⁶ The flag was not exactly the same as Houteff's original ensign. It omitted the lion and the twelve stars. But it flew over the center throughout the siege as a symbol of the Branch Davidian defiance of the government (see figure 18).

The standoff lasted for 51 days until Attorney General Janet Reno authorized the FBI to attempt a second arrest on April 19.¹²⁷ This operation also failed because a fire, the start of which has since become a fertile source of anti-government speculation, destroyed the compound before the plan could be completed. Of those who survived the inferno or had left the center during the siege, eight were imprisoned in 1994 for between five and forty years for firearm and manslaughter offenses, the longer sentences being in reduced in 2000 to fifteen years.¹²⁸ This was not, however, the end of the group, which reformed around the survivors. One faction was led by Renos Avraam, who claims to be Koresh's successor. Another rallied around Livingstone Fagan and an Australian survivor, Clive Doyle.¹²⁹ But there was no avoiding the fact that the movement had been decimated. Seventy-four adults and children perished in the conflagration. Among them was Koresh, probably shot by Schneider (who may then have shot himself) as the fire raged.¹³⁰

Round-the-clock reporting of his final days and the very public manner of his death ensured that Koresh passed instantly into myth, the only person to have come out of Adventism, apart perhaps from Kellogg, to have done so. But



Figure 18. “My own little country”: David Koresh’s flag and the Branch Davidian compound during the Waco siege. *Photo © Bob Daemmrich/Corbis.*

Koresh’s mission had, from the beginning, been a highly personal one. As the illegitimate son of a 14-year-old girl, he was conscious of the absence of a father figure in his life. His relatives say he never really got over this early loss, and it seems to have led him to his surrogate relationship with the heavenly Father.¹³³ He astonished one FBI man by referring to God as “my pop.”¹³⁴ His status as a Son of God did not make up for his lack of schooling, however. Koresh never learned to write properly, and as a result, he disseminated his schismatic message through Bible studies that he taped for circulation beyond his immediate circle. At Mount Carmel he conducted studies twice daily, often for hours—perhaps fifteen hours—at a time.¹³⁵ It was the way he performed at these sessions rather than what he said that appeared to be the thing that held his audience’s attention, however. “I don’t think anyone ever knew what his understanding was, honestly,” one person who spent time with Koresh’s followers said. “If you had given them pencil and paper, I don’t think they could have written down his message.”¹³⁶ But as these students also said, that was not really the point. What impressed them, as they testified repeatedly, was Koresh’s ability to “show” scripture, his virtuoso performances in linking Bible passages in a continuous and unending chain.¹³⁷

In some of Koresh’s studies, like those that dealt with the seven angels’ messages, there is a clear theme that one can follow to a definite end. But his secret, especially as time went by, was never to arrive at a conclusion except that he was the Lamb, the interpreter of the seven seals. A Koresh study therefore had to go on for hours because it was an ongoing act of self-validation: by interpreting the

seven seals, he showed he was the prophesied interpreter of the seals. This was probably why he kept asking the FBI to provide religion scholars with whom he could discuss his approach.¹³⁶ Some have felt that had the authorities taken such requests more seriously, he might have been persuaded to come out of the center peacefully.¹³⁷ But although there is evidence that Koresh was interested in dialogue, it is not clear that he would ever have emerged from Mount Carmel of his own accord. What he seemed to be seeking was a bigger audience, a larger stage on which he could show off his skills.

This need to perform was partly a carry-over from his aspiration to make it as a rock musician. Koresh was a talented guitarist with a "good rock voice," according to one of his recruits, David Thibodeau.¹³⁸ Thibodeau was one of the few non-Adventists to find his way to Mount Carmel, joining the Branch Davidians because of the opportunity to play drums in the band Koresh established at the center. "For him and for me," Thibodeau observed, music was "our most personal avenue of self-expression . . . the main means of communicating our deepest feelings." They both found, according to Thibodeau, that "performance made the private world bearable in public."¹³⁹ Koresh himself confirmed that music was actually his preferred means of expression. "This message was originally supposed to have gone through music," he told the FBI. "It's . . . the most fluent communication there is."¹⁴⁰ Music was also a route, as he told Breault, to the things that he wanted, namely adulation and women.¹⁴¹ Koresh's Bible studies were the flipside of the impromptu jamming sessions that were also a feature of life at Mount Carmel. One text set off another in search of an ending that never really arrives. They were also rather more effective in gaining a following and attracting women than his efforts on the guitar. In one instance, he lured a teenager to his bed after a remarkable 72-hour study.¹⁴²

Koresh's appeal, however, clearly went beyond his ability to perform at a Bible study session. Whatever his detractors may have thought of him, he had certain qualities that people found attractive. He could be witty and funny, and as one of his former lovers whose daughter also had an affair with Koresh said: "He can be nice. He cares about people, or at least he seems to." Even after he broke the bond between her and her daughter, she still had "feelings for Vernon" that she said sometimes overwhelmed her.¹⁴³ Other observers, particularly those based locally, thought Koresh's appeal was to be found in his Southern roots. To some degree he epitomized the hardy Texan spirit, and while it is probably going too far to liken his resistance at Waco to William Barrett Travis's legendary stand at the Alamo, as one writer has done, he did embody some aspects of the defiant local mindset.¹⁴⁴

But in the end, Koresh's behavior was determined by the ethics of the earthly kingdom. The killing of one's enemies followed from the duty to fight for the kingdom, and sexual predation was justified by the need to produce the rulers of the kingdom. But it was not just in these areas that the Branch Davidians

went their own way. Their lives at Mount Carmel were characterized by a general departure from the angelic codes of conduct they had followed as Adventists. Although the Davidians were traditionally conservative, Koresh permitted smoking, drinking, and the eating of meat.¹⁴⁵ The unrestrained quality of the Davidians' behavior probably also accounted for their aggressive stance toward the ATF and FBI during the standoff. They were quite unafraid to show their disdain for the federal authorities, and this translated into a general contempt for America as a whole. Koresh alluded to this in the sixth seal, when he projected the overthrow of "this nation." But as the confrontation with the government came to its head, it was the Adventist theory of the two-horned or lamblike beast that was repeatedly used to make sense of the situation. As he said: "If you reject me . . . you will be punished. And your great nation, the United States of America . . . the lamblike beast of Rev. 13 is going to be made an example of."¹⁴⁶

Koresh interpreted the image in a characteristically personal way, but the better-educated Schneider translated Adventism's traditional rhetoric about the two-horned beast into the language of contemporary conservative politics. From the outset, Schneider warned the FBI that things were not going to be "straightened out" between them because of the prophecy that identified the United States as the lamblike beast.¹⁴⁷ Speaking, he said, as "an extremely patriotic person, very conservative," Schneider argued that America was doomed since it had been corrupted by secret organizations such as the Illuminati, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Trilateral Commission.¹⁴⁸ The latter two are basically think tanks designed to foster America's cooperation with the wider world, but they were viewed by many on the right as proponents of a one-world government intent on taking away American freedoms. The result, according to Schneider, was that America was entering a new "dark ages" in which Old World tyranny was resurfacing.¹⁴⁹ Rich industrialists or "merchants" were behind it all, as was the federal government that had got "so out of hand that it's not the people in control anymore."¹⁵⁰ There were too many policemen.¹⁵¹ Agencies like the ATF were "unconstitutional," and the ATF and the FBI together had realized the Orwellian nightmare of a "Big Brother" state.¹⁵²

Like the early Adventists, Schneider looked to the Antifederalist safeguards in the Bill of Rights for protection against the government. But while the church turned to the First Amendment and its separation of church and state, Schneider also looked to the Second Amendment—the right to bear arms. As he said: "I think that the founding forefathers wanted individuals to be allowed to have guns against the . . . possible tyranny of their own government."¹⁵³ The First and Second Amendments embodied the Antifederalists' main fear about the central state: that it would form a despotic alliance with religion and take away the people's guns. One half of this idea had contributed to the Adventist interpretation of the two-horned beast, the other to the growth

of modern militia and the gun lobby. Schneider reunited the two strands during his final assertion of the Branch Davidians' rights.

On the day before the siege ended, Schneider announced that the group would not be taking any more instructions from the authorities: "It's come to the place where I think . . . everything needs to really end as far as I'm concerned or you can bring the issues to the entire American people. But the Constitution has been so ripped apart and run over its principles that, you know, do what you got to do."¹⁵⁴ Schneider's statement on the day before the FBI stormed the center ought to be taken into account in any evaluation of what happened next. It shows that the group was in no mood to yield to a system they considered bankrupt. There is thus little reason to doubt the evidence from official intercepts and autopsy reports that, on the last day of the siege, Koresh's immediate entourage poured fuel around the building and set it alight, possibly in an effort to create the "wall of fire round about" that Koresh talked about in the second seal. They then shot themselves, or each other, with no regard for the fate of their fellows, some of whom were trapped.¹⁵⁵ This was perhaps always the most likely outcome. During the siege, Kiri Jewell had told the *Phil Donahue Show* that the Branch Davidians had been taught to commit suicide, and on *Oprah* other former members predicted that the standoff would end in a bloodbath.¹⁵⁶ The government seems to have been right in its belief that Koresh was prepared to sacrifice the lives of his followers in the end.

Nevertheless, the authorities made a number of mistakes in handling the situation, and for some, the Branch Davidians became martyrs.¹⁵⁷ Revenge was not slow in coming, and on April 19, 1995, the anniversary of the ending of the siege, an anti-government extremist, Timothy McVeigh, bombed a federal building in Oklahoma, killing 168 people in what was then the worst terrorist outrage in U.S. history.¹⁵⁸ But at the same time that many Americans were expressing their solidarity with the Branch Davidians, Seventh-day Adventists were declaring that they had nothing to do with them.¹⁵⁹ In some ways they were right to do so, for the Davidians had separated from the church some sixty years earlier. But although many of Koresh's ideas came via the Davidians, his followers did not. Most had not previously been Davidians or even Branch Davidians; the vast majority were, until shortly before joining, Adventists in good standing. Although Adventist leaders may have wished to shake off the Davidians, they never could. The Davidian tradition clung to the main body of the church, accepting the validity of Adventist history and theology, and recruiting almost exclusively from its membership.

Parasitic though it was, the Davidian tradition only survived because Adventism continued to nourish it. At every stage, Davidian leaders reflected contemporary trends within the church. Houteff emphasized that his group was rooted in fundamentalism. Ben Roden was part of the reaction to the discussions with Martin and Barnhouse. Lois Roden's belief in the femininity of the Holy Spirit

probably reflected the spread of feminism within Adventism in the 1970s, and Koresh's identity as a sinful messiah may have been an extrapolation of the anti-perfectionism that developed during the same period. However, Davidian theology also addressed deeper tensions within Adventism: the ever-lengthening history of a movement that proclaimed the imminent end of history; and the absence, after Ellen White, of charismatic authority in a people supposedly in possession of the "spirit of prophecy."

From Houteff onward, the Davidian tradition is an ongoing attempt to infuse Adventist and Davidian history with renewed eschatological significance and to demonstrate the presence of a charismatic leader. Houteff's 430 days and six types of food, Roden's three seals and five angels' messages, and Koresh's seven angels' messages and seven seals were all designed to do the same thing: to make the movement's history into a fulfillment of prophecy, establish its continuity with the past, and legitimate the new leader as the source of authority. The issues involved and the way the Davidians sought to resolve them were, in many respects, similar to those faced by early Adventists during the Shut-Door period. Had the early Adventists not cut loose from the ex-Millerites, they too might have become a communal group with an introverted eschatology. The question that the Waco siege raises for Adventist history is therefore not "How did this tragedy come to involve Adventists?" but rather, "Why did it never happen before?"

Any answer to this question must begin with Ellen White. As a woman operating within the constraints of nineteenth-century American society, it was difficult for her to combine the roles of prophet and leader as Houteff, Roden, and Koresh were to do. (Florence Houteff and Lois Roden encountered problems even a century later.) Her charismatic authority was always balanced by the bureaucratic authority of her husband. In their mutual dependence can be found Adventism's primal division of labor—a disjunction of roles that paralleled Adventism's separation between the sacred (located in heaven, and the heavenly time of the Sabbath) and the secular (located on earth, and in the dimension of space).

In the Davidian tradition, however, the two roles have been combined, and ever since Houteff's move to Texas in 1935, the sacred has been defined in terms of particular places—the Davidic kingdom in Israel, and its forerunner, the Mount Carmel community in Waco. Whereas Adventists remained citizens of heaven, able to accommodate to the demands of the state, the Davidians were citizens of an earthly kingdom. The Davidian relocation of the sacred also involved something more than the relaxation of self-discipline that came with the earthly millennium of the age-to-come theory. By making the social model of the community the Davidic kingdom rather than heavenly society, the Davidians replaced the refined morality of the angels with the robust ethical code of the ancient Hebrews. Koresh's "mighty men" and multiple wives were the logical outcome of Houteff's injunction to be "the David of the day."

Even before Koresh's appearance, therefore, the Davidian tradition had greater potential for conflict with the state than Adventism ever did. The Adventist response to the tension of living within a different time had been to replicate the functions and institutions of American society. When Houteff moved the Davidian group to Mount Carmel, his organization of the community reflected this project. But unlike Adventism's parallel society, which kept Ellen White's charismatic authority at one remove from its institutional structure, Houteff's community was theocratic. Instead of Adventism's complex web of social and institutional relationships, the Davidians were increasingly defined by a single relationship—that of the leader to his (or her) followers. As the claims of the Davidian leaders grew, other social relationships within the community withered, although conventional family life continued. When Koresh arrived, he undermined family ties as well.

It was this development that finally led to confrontation with the state and to the group's self-destruction. In the case of many religious groups, it is the dissolution of family ties that prompts state intervention, both because a community without familial units poses less resistance to a leader's will and because the state is most likely to intervene to protect the rights of minors. In this context, the Branch Davidians' inability to respond to outside intervention without violence, first to government agents and then to themselves, is revealing. Jim Jones's People's Temple, which had operated successfully for many years as a church in California, also self-destructed when, after re-establishing itself as a commune in Guyana, it came under investigation as the result of a child-custody case.¹⁶⁰

The striking parallels between the fates of the People's Temple and of the Branch Davidians, two groups that came from very diverse theological traditions, suggest that the social dynamic of a communal group is, in the end, more predictive of its behavior than the content of its theology. For Seventh-day Adventists, in contrast, the eschatological framework within which the Branch Davidians understood the siege would have been very familiar, but the social situation that precipitated it totally alien. Adventists had long imagined the time when they would be hunted down by America's government. But they did not envisage relinquishing family ties and living together in a commune around a single charismatic leader. Within Adventism, imagining persecution was the first step toward the creation of a social and ethical system designed to avoid it. Beginning with the Messenger Party, all the church's offshoots have in some way undermined this central purpose. But the Davidian tradition did most to strip away everything that protected Adventists from their own eschatology.

The Art of Expression

AMONG THE EARLY ADVENTISTS, the preferred mode of religious expression was shouting. In the 1840s they followed the practice of the “Shouting” Methodists, from whose ranks some of them were drawn, and uttered cries of spiritual exaltation. “Glory! Glory! Glory!” the phrase Ellen White repeated on falling into vision, was typical. Speaking in tongues was an unusual but not unknown manifestation of the same enthusiasm. In general, however, Adventists shouted out short, unconnected phrases of their own language, the vigor of enunciation making up for whatever was lacking in the sophistication of the utterance.¹

At a contemporary white Adventist service, there is unlikely to be any comparable display of emotion. The congregation may clap in appreciation at various points in the proceedings or laugh at a joke. In black and Hispanic churches, there is more spontaneity: the words of the preacher may be affirmed with a chorus of “Amen,” and individual worshippers may call out “Praise the Lord” or “Hallelujah.” In “celebration” Adventist congregations, which imported Pentecostal-type practices in the 1980s and 1990s, there is even more zeal. Attendees may kneel, stand, clap, call out, or sway hands, as the spirit moves them.² Despite these divergences, Adventist worship is generally restrained and carefully organized, and bears no resemblance to the unstructured, ecstasy-inducing practices of the church’s earliest years. It would be misleading to account for the change from an enthusiastic mode of expression to a more regulated approach solely in terms of the declining fervor and increasing respectability of the church’s membership. Adventist religious emotions, like those elsewhere, have been susceptible to various forms of expression: they have burst forth seemingly uncontrolled; they have been channeled into evangelistic endeavor; they have been

clothed in the languages of art and music; and they have been repressed in mute but telling gestures of denial. The history of Adventist self-expression is not just the familiar tale of excitement melting into indifference; it is also a story of transformation and renewal in which the peculiarity of the Adventist experience is creatively reinterpreted and re-expressed by succeeding generations.

To appreciate the richness of the Adventist tradition, it is necessary to look beyond the instrumental aspect of Adventist practices to their symbolic significance. An action or creation of the Adventist community may have both a pragmatic and an expressive function. Adventists speak in order to communicate, dress in order to keep warm, build churches in order to hold services, and so on. But the way in which they speak, dress, or build also betrays, sometimes unintentionally, the aspirations and tensions that are inherent in the Adventist experience. In all that they do, church members are liable to betray something of their Adventism. The fact that they have not, on the whole, been noted for artistic achievement does not mean that Adventist culture is devoid of interest. The very absence of artistic experimentation may itself be an important aesthetic statement.

The presence of a shared set of cultural idioms is most easily discovered in Adventist churches. Members may live far from one another in homes that are, structurally at least, indistinguishable from those of their neighbors. When they meet together for worship, they engage in a specifically Adventist activity in a space specially set aside for the purpose. Although it can be said that Adventism became an organized denomination in order to preserve its property, the more significant fact is that the Adventist movement was sufficiently stable to need its own buildings. Churches imply continuity of commitment. Their maintenance demands the presence of a loyal body of adherents; the merely curious, however numerous, are better accommodated in tents or hired halls. A church presupposes a community of believers.

Although in urban areas Adventists may purchase the redundant buildings of other denominations, most churches are purpose built.³ They require few fixtures. A pulpit, a baptistry large enough to immerse adults, a communion table, and seating for the congregation are the only necessities. Of these, the pulpit is of primary importance. Communion is celebrated only four times a year, and baptisms may be infrequent, so the sermons preached from the pulpit are the natural focus of attention. The sense most vital to an appreciation of a service is hearing. There is no incense to smell, usually no bread or wine to taste, and no icons or holy water to touch. The only other sense employed is sight, which serves chiefly to identify the sources of sound and aid the process of hearing. To this end, the pulpit is generally located in the center of a raised platform at the end of the building opposite the entrance. Its prominence emphasizes the authority of the preacher, the centrality of the sermon, and the primacy of the word.



Figure 19. Site of sound: interior of the Orcas Island Seventh-day Adventist Church in Washington state in which the main features of visual interest are those that locate sources of sound: the pulpit in the center, the piano at the side, the hymn books at the back of the pews. The simplicity of this design won a *Faith & Form* magazine and Interfaith Forum of Religion, Art, & Architecture award for religious architecture in 2000. Photo: © 2000 J K Lawrence/www.jklawrencephoto.com. Architect: Lewis Architects & Interior Design/www.lewisarchitects.com.

Potential visual distractions are kept to a minimum: ministers wear no special garb; there are usually no processions, no statues or pictures, no crosses, and no figurative stained glass. Abstract designs in stained glass are a common feature, however, and crosses may be seen in Hispanic churches, a legacy perhaps of the Catholic origins of the church's Latino members. In larger, institutional churches, the image of the preacher may be projected onto screens at the sides of the platform, as may the words of scripture passages for the worshippers to follow. But congregational participation also mainly employs the medium of sound. There are generally two or three hymns or more modern worship songs, and normally special musical items in the main preaching service. At the earlier service, the Sabbath School, children and adults separate into different classes where they listen, and perhaps contribute to, a discussion of the Sabbath School Lesson.⁴ For most Adventists, Saturday morning is occupied with two or more hours of listening, singing, and speaking.

This extensive concentration on sound is balanced only at the quarterly celebration of the Lord's Supper at which, in addition to the communion (itself

purely a memorial and not a sacrament), Adventists perform the "ordinance of humility" in which, in imitation of Christ, they divide into pairs of the same sex to wash each other's feet. This practice is a legacy of the time when Adventists defined themselves by their willingness to wash each other's feet and greet each other with a holy kiss. The kiss, with its suggestion of sexual license, has disappeared, but the equally sensuous, although less obviously sensual, practice of foot washing has survived. Its intimacy serves as a reminder of the strong sense of community that binds members together, but its infrequent performance is typical of the restraint that characterizes Adventist social interaction. The exceptional nature of the rite is emphasized by the actions it requires. The congregation often leaves the church, the customary center of worship, to enter other rooms or grounds outside in which water, bowls, and towels have been made ready. Men and women, who customarily sit together in family groups, are separated.

There may be conversation or prayer during foot washing, but it is irrelevant to the action, which is concerned, not with sound but with touch. The hands, which are normally in contact with other hands, are brought down to touch another person's feet—the customary order of relationships between the parts of the body is thus disturbed. In all of these respects, the ordinance is peculiar, not only in terms of non-Adventist behavior but in an Adventist context as well. In consequence, some members feel awkward or embarrassed when performing the rite. However, the practice is not inappropriate; it can be taken to signify the Adventist estrangement from society. Men and women leave their families to enter the unfamiliar environment of Adventism into which they are initiated by another act of washing—baptism. The ordinance, anomalous in its Adventist setting, re-enacts the process by which Adventists themselves have separated from the world to enter a new sphere of activity. Through its peculiarity in Adventism, the rite symbolizes Adventist peculiarity in the world.⁵

In this, the ceremony of foot washing makes explicit what is implicit in other aspects of Adventist worship. The emphasis on sound is also particularly appropriate in Adventism, because it presupposes, as does foot washing, a social context. The spoken word becomes audible only where speaker and listener are in shared space; it becomes intelligible only where there is shared language. Where worship is constituted through an exchange of sounds, as it is in Adventism, a community of speakers and listeners is assumed. In contrast, those forms of Christianity in which visual or tactile expression is more important lend themselves more easily to individual spirituality. The painter of an icon need not be in direct contact with the person who venerates it. The rosary is a solitary exercise.

The Adventists' concentration on sound belies the superficial impression that they adhere to the minimalist aesthetic of Puritanism. Unlike Quakers, Adventists do not sit in silence, music and speech being vital parts of their worship. Adventist churches may be lacking in visual interest, but the absence of decora-



Figure 20. The humble touch: members of the Cerritos Korean Adventist church in California perform the foot washing ceremony in 2004.
Photo courtesy Robin Park.

tion has more to do with a mistrust of sight than an abhorrence of superfluity. In sound, Adventists are prepared to tolerate a degree of variety and elaboration well beyond functional necessity. Churches that would never contemplate using expensive sculpture or glass are quite prepared to spend large sums on installing a grand piano or a good organ. Strings, wind instruments, bells, guitars, bongos, and in some cases, drums, may all be heard in the course of the Sabbath services. Short items of music, ranging from classical to more popular forms, are also regularly performed in evangelistic meetings and in designated spots on the church's major radio and TV programs, the *Voice of Prophecy*, *It Is Written*, *Faith for Today*, and the African American show, *Breath of Life*.

In this way, local congregations, missionary endeavor, and the requirements of the church's broadcasting output fostered the development of a succession of homegrown Adventist musical acts, which in their turn, and to an extent not generally appreciated by church members, imported into the denomination the popular musical styles of the wider society. The King's Heralds, formed by four Adventist students while attending the church's Southwestern Junior College in Keene, Texas, in 1927, adopted the country idiom and the alto-tenor-

bass-baritone format of the southern gospel quartets then fashionable in the region.⁶ H. M. S. Richards later hired the group as a traveling quartet to promote his *Voice of Prophecy* broadcast, in much the same way as the great popularizers of the southern gospel sound, the James D. Vaughan and Stamps-Baxter music companies, used traveling groups to sell their wares.⁷ Del Delker, who joined the *Voice of Prophecy* in 1947, exemplified the popular entertainment, or “conversational” style of singing that came in the 1920s after the invention of the microphone. This technique was based on patterns of speech rather than the precise pitches and sustained vocal line characteristic of the classical style.⁸ Delker’s own specialty was the slow gospel ballad, but in common with her secular counterparts, she was a contralto (this lower voice being more suited to the sensitivities of the microphone than the soprano), and her singing, like that of Peggy Lee or Jo Stafford of the time, was built on perfect diction and simple phrasing, accompanied by unobtrusive instrumental backing.⁹

The Wedgwood Trio, formed by three southern boys while studying at the church’s Newbold College in England in 1964, derived their brand of commercialized folk from contemporary groups like the Kingston Trio and Peter, Paul, and Mary. They also were the first Adventist group to write their own material, and by absorbing much of the creative spirit that swept through the 1960s, they transformed the sound of Adventist popular music at the same time as English bands like The Beatles were breaking revolutionary new ground in the wider musical world.¹⁰ The bright, airy vocals of the 1970s Adventist group the Heritage Singers echoed those of such popular 1960s ensembles as the New Christy Minstrels, the Johnny Mann Singers, and the 5th Dimension, as the latter sounded in their big late 1960s hits, *Up, Up and Away*, and *Aquarius/Let the Sunshine In*.¹¹ Reflecting the growth of popular religious music in the latter part of the twentieth century, the Adventist acts signed up by the church’s Chapel Music label in the 1980s and 1990s, modeled themselves on a variety of contemporary Christian artists such as Amy Grant, Steven Curtis Chapman, 4Him, and Avalon.¹² But they freely acknowledge that they also drew inspiration from an eclectic array of popular sounds.

For the group Faith First, these include the soft rock of the Carpenters; for Jaime Thietten, the rich tones of Whitney Houston; for the gospel singer LoLo Harris, it is Tina Turner and Aretha Franklin, the Queen of Soul.¹³ For singer-songwriter Kathy Schallert, it is the adult contemporary voices of James Taylor, Carole King, and Carly Simon, with which she grew up; while for the members of the a cappella group Naturally Seven, the varied influences include Sting, Stevie Wonder, Simon and Garfunkel, James Brown, Luther Vandross, and Céline Dion.¹⁴ The Breath of Life Quartet, while learning the basic sound of the black spirituals-singing group from an Oakwood College foursome called the Cathedral Quartet (not to be confused with the southern gospel group of the same name) also say that elements of the 1950s jazz-oriented groups, the

Four Freshmen and the Hi-Lo's, and the 1960s vocal group, the Lettermen, also went into the making of their own individual sound.¹⁵ One of the Hispanic acts on the Chapel label, the Undivided Musical Group, mentions the Italian a cappella singers Neri Per Caso, as well as the Mexican rock group Maná, as influences.¹⁶ The gospel ensemble 7th Element cites Billy Joel; Earth, Wind and Fire; Lionel Richie; and the 1970s jazz-rock band, Chicago.¹⁷

With Adventist ears so attuned to all types of sound, it is not surprising that despite its formal opposition to most forms of popular music, the church has also produced a host of musicians who have made notable contributions in the wider world (often leaving the church behind in the process). They include the sometime church member and rock singer Little Richard; the recording artist Prince, who grew up in the church; the former conductor of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, Herbert Blomstedt; the a cappella group Take 6; opera singer Faith Esham; gangsta rapper Busta Rhymes; the Latin singer Patty Cabrera, voted among the world's 50 most beautiful people in 1996; the British pianist Joanna MacGregor; jazz vocalist Al Jarreau; classical baritone Thomas Hampson, who spent his formative years in Adventist schools; the Australian country singer Kasey Chambers; the gospel baritone Wintley Phipps; mezzo soprano Shirley Verrett; R&B singer and producer Brian McKnight; the classical soloist Janice Chandler; blues guitarist Kelly Joe Phelps; and the Jamaican vocalist Frederick "Toots" Hibbert, who began singing in his local Adventist church before joining the Maytals, with whom he recorded the famous 1968 single, *Do the Reggay*, which gave reggae music its name.¹⁸

Although Adventists have not made as great an impact with their oratory, the art of rhetoric, on which popular singing from easy listening to hip-hop is based, is equally carefully nurtured within the church. This is because so much of the way Adventists relate to one another and to the outside world is through verbal communication. This is effected through various means: the school lesson, the college lecture, the evangelistic address, the radio and television script. But most of all it is achieved through the Sabbath sermon. It is a relatively long event in Adventism, lasting about half an hour or more, and the preferred form is the "expository" discourse. Unlike the "topical" sermon, which focuses on some current political or social issue, the expository sermon "consists of ideas drawn from the Scriptures and related to life."¹⁹ The centerpiece is a biblical passage, chosen for its applicability. In the course of the homily, pastors use illustrations drawn from everyday experiences, perhaps quotations from Ellen White, and humor, Adventist ministers being expert at the use of the well-timed joke to break up the tension or to drive home a point. Adventist sermons are often quite witty and funny, and Adventist congregations spend moments during the service laughing as well as listening and singing.

Pastors deliver their sermons in a variety of ways, according to aptitude and individual preference. Some memorize the speech and recite it, others speak



Figure 21. Latin style: Hispanic Adventist singer Patty Cabrera at a children's rehabilitation center in Puerto Rico in 2003. *Photo courtesy Patrona Productions/ www.patronaproductions.com.*

from outline notes. A few ad-lib, dispensing with the pulpit and wandering about the platform, microphone in hand or attached around the head, like a televangelist. But whatever the precise mode of delivery, the oration generally progresses in four main steps: introduction, exposition, application, and conclusion. The introduction, where an attempt is usually made to grab the attention of the congregation through a startling thought or arresting illustration, is often considered the most important segment.²⁰ The rhythm of the black sermon is different and generally follows a five-part structure. It is best summed up by the poetic instruction, now of unknown provenance, that an old preacher gave to his understudy: "Start low, build slow, move higher, strike fire, retire."²¹ The black Adventist preacher may also employ traditional African American rhetorical devices such as the "hum" (call and response), the "hoop" (the rhythmic chant), and subtle and not-so-subtle variations of pause, pace, and pitch.²² The delivery of the Hispanic sermon is more even, more passionate than the white sermon, less dramatic than the black, but because of a tendency to em-



Figure 22. Moving higher: C. D. Brooks delivering a sermon at Walla Walla College in 1981. *Photo courtesy James Richman/E. L. Mabley Archives, Walla Walla College Library/www.wwc.edu/photos.*

phasize conservative Adventist living, particularly by older preachers, it is often more exhortatory than either.

Adventist ministers are always being urged to improve the presentation of their sermons, and since the Second World War the denomination has produced several who are masters of the art—preachers like Morris Vendon, H. M. S. Richards Jr., and Dwight Nelson in the white community; E. E. Cleveland, Charles Bradford, and C. D. Brooks in the black; Braulio Pérez Marcio, Alejandro Bullón, and Jose Vicente Rojas in the Hispanic. But the concentration is not solely on such ministers, who are much in demand as guest speakers for camp meetings organized by conferences in the summer and for weeks of prayer, which the denomination holds in its institutions and churches each autumn. Laypeople are also encouraged to acquire rhetorical skills. In church services, members are expected to contribute to discussion of the Sabbath School Lesson, announce hymns, make long extemporized prayers, and, in smaller churches, preach sermons. Obviously, all members do not engage in these functions, but

many do, and children are taught to speak in public by reciting Bible texts. In Adventist schools, unusual emphasis is placed on the acquisition of skills in public speaking. Adventists, as individuals, are often unusually articulate, for speech, the organized production of sound, is their chosen, and often their exclusive, means of expression.

This concern with sound is significant, not only because it presupposes a high degree of social interaction but also because time, rather than space, is the dimension that makes it possible. Music and speech extend through time, not space.²³ It is through the modification of tempo and frequency that variety, and thus significance, is given to sound. The Adventist preference for sound as a means of expression is indicative of particular sensitivity to the modalities of time, to beginnings and endings, speeds and rhythms. Such awareness is unsurprising. Adventist theology is primarily concerned with time—with the time of the end, the correct timing of the Sabbath, the prophetic interpretation of time.²⁴ To be an Adventist is to have an acute awareness of location in time. It is important to know which day of the week it is; it is vital to think of history as temporal progression punctuated by dates of prophetic significance.

It is a very different attitude from that of mainstream Christians, whose perceptions are framed not only by services that are held each Sunday but also by an annual cycle that celebrates Jesus' coming, birth, life, death, resurrection, and commission. Thus in the Anglican or Episcopalian tradition, the season of Advent is followed by that of Christmas, which in turn is followed by the seasons of Epiphany, Lent, Easter, and Pentecost.²⁵ Adventism too has its "church year," but it is divided instead into four quarters, each of which is measured by thirteen consecutive Sabbaths. During each quarter, members usually meet their spiritual and theological needs by studying the Sabbath School Lesson, whose themes and topics are unrelated to the seasons of the Christian year, and normally celebrate the Lord's Supper on the twelfth Sabbath. Most Adventists in most parts of the Western world also recognize the significance of, and participate in, the customs associated with the important days on the traditional Christian calendar, such as Christmas Day and Easter Sunday. They hold no special services on these days, however, since their recognition of them is distinctly secondary to the observance of the Sabbath. It is this weekly celebration that gives Adventists their particular understanding of time, their peculiar temporal obligations, and their sense of the extraordinary future that is projected for the church. Adventists use time as the dimension of expression, for it is also their primary dimension of experience.

As a corollary of this, Adventists tend to disregard the significance of all that is extended in space. Since the world is soon to perish, all that it contains is an irrelevance; only that which will travel through time to eternity is important. This attitude is clearly revealed in an 1849 hymnal compiled by James White. Many of the hymns, some of Millerite origin, express this conviction:

Farewell! farewell! to all below,
 My Jesus calls and I must go:
 I'll launch my boat upon the sea,
 This land is not the land for me.
 This world is not my home;
 This world is not my home;
 This world is all a wilderness;
 This world is not my home.²⁶

This perception is particularly interesting when viewed in the light of American history. The United States was founded by immigrants who crossed the Atlantic to build a new life in a strange land. The new continent may have been a wilderness, but it was one in which Christians had a mission. In the revolutionary war against Britain, the republic was likened to “the woman in the wilderness” persecuted by the dragon.²⁷ The pilgrimage hymns take on additional significance when understood in this context. The words “I’ll launch my boat upon the sea, / This land is not the land for me” were sung by the descendants of relatively recent immigrants. “This world is all a wilderness; / This world is not my home” is a sentiment expressed by people whose neighbors looked on the American wilderness as a sacred opportunity to realize the millennium.²⁸ The last verse of the hymn contains a final insult for those who took egalitarianism to be the philosophy favored by God over the antiquated, feudal institutions of Europe:

Praise be to God our hope’s on high;
 The angels sing and so do I:
 Where seraphs bow and bend the knee,
 O that’s the land—the land for me.²⁹

Even without this added twist, which equated heaven with hierarchical social organization, such sentiments were unorthodox. Americans felt that they could overcome their difficulties by moving through space; Adventists asserted unequivocally that this was impossible and that only temporal transition opened the prospect of eternal bliss. The sister of Uriah Smith, Annie R. Smith, reinforced the point in one of the most popular of all Adventist hymns, *I Saw One Weary*. It contained the same sentiment:

While pilgrims here we journey on
 In this dark vale of sin and gloom,
 Through tribulation, hate, and scorn,
 Or through the portals of the tomb,
 Till our returning King shall come
 To take His exile captives home.³⁰

And the church’s most prolific hymn writer, F. E. Belden, also explored the theme in his very wide repertoire:

Soon to that city, bright, eternal,
Weary pilgrims all shall go;
Soon we shall rest in pastures vernal,
Where life's waters ceaseless flow.³⁷

This idea that church members are only passing through this world helps to explain the Adventist preference for unadorned churches and functional buildings. That which is visible and tangible is, of its very nature, unlikely to offer anything of spiritual benefit. Adventism's unenthusiastic response to the visual arts is thus, at least in part, a reflection of the general tendency to devalue those things that are extended in space.

It is an attitude that also finds expression in Adventist taboos. Ostentatious clothing signifies an undue concern with the time-bound things of this world, and as such, is discouraged. Jewelry suffers similar condemnation, as does, at least among conservative Adventists, the use of makeup. The problem with such adornment is that it attracts attention to the surfaces and orifices of the body, thus emphasizing that the body is defined in space. Similarly, Ellen White objected to the use of confining garments because they were designed to create a particular shape and thus redefine the body in spatial terms. Concern with female health was the primary motivation for this stand, but it can also be seen as an effort to avoid anything that draws attention to the human form as an entity extended in space.

Even the reform dress attracted needless attention to the body, which was possibly an underlying reason why White kept changing her mind about it.³⁸ At any rate, after she finally gave up the costume, Adventists as a people never again adopted a collective uniform. Nor did Seventh-day Adventists freeze their style of clothing in a particular time, like Hasidic Jews or the Amish, with their respective eighteenth-century outfits.³⁹ Whatever the church may say about "the outward adorning," the Adventist style of dress moves broadly in step with the secular style of dress. Possibly Adventists clothe themselves more plainly, but this varies from individual to individual. Any general comparison of Adventist fashion and "worldly" fashion in the last one hundred years or so will indicate that there is little external difference. Women's hemlines rise and fall when they do in the wider culture; men's facial hair goes in and out of style at the same time as it does elsewhere.⁴⁰

While Adventists through their clothing were careful to prevent themselves from being locked in any one time, they have been discouraged from keeping up with other forms of popular culture that might offer a rival understanding of the structure and significance of time. Fiction is the most obvious example.⁴¹ In the novel, in which the narrative flows from a clearly defined beginning to a predetermined end, and the plot develops in the shadow of its unknown but ineluctable resolution, the reader is induced into an experience of time different from that of everyday life. There is a sense of expectation supplementary to,

and perhaps conflicting with, ordinary intimations of the future. In these respects, fiction performs the same function as biblical apocalyptic, which is also concerned to reorient perceptions of time. Adventist eschatology, with its strong apocalyptic content, offers a unique apprehension of time: enjoyment of fiction involves at least a temporary betrayal of that understanding.

Ellen White clearly perceived that Adventism was incompatible with the reading of secular novels. In *Ministry of Healing*, she compared fiction to alcohol, advising that “the only safety for the inebriate, and the only safeguard for the temperate man, is total abstinence. For the lover of fiction the same rule holds true. Total abstinence is his only safety.”³⁶ Her objection to novels, even those of reputed quality, was that they interfered with the mind’s ability to make coherent sense of the world: “Even fiction which contains no suggestion of impurity, and which may be intended to teach excellent principles, is harmful. It encourages the habit of hasty and superficial reading merely for the story. Thus it tends to destroy the power of connected and vigorous thought; it unfits the soul to contemplate the great problems of duty and destiny.”³⁷ Novels disrupted perceptions of time: “To the active minds of children and youth the scenes pictured in imaginary revelations of the future are realities.”³⁸ Even fairy tales “impart false views of life and beget and foster a desire for the unreal.”³⁹ The trouble with all narrative was that it offered a sequence of perceptions to the mind that might constitute an alternative way of viewing the world. Fictional works “contain statements and highly wrought pen pictures that excite the imagination and give rise to a train of thought which is full of danger, especially to the youth. The scenes described are lived over and over again in their thoughts. Such reading unfits the mind for usefulness and disqualifies it for spiritual exercise.”⁴⁰

Along with novels, Adventists were also taught to avoid other forms of entertainment that offered an apprehension of time incompatible with that of the church’s theology. The theater came in for particular condemnation, and the cinema fell under similar disapproval in the twentieth century. Unlike fiction, which relies solely on the organization of words in time, the cinema, the theater, and, most recently, television, all involve the organization of images. As such, they are manifestations of the concern with space that Adventists have long equated with worldliness and vice. Ellen White complained that in the theater “low songs, lewd gestures, expressions and attitudes deprave the imagination and debase the morals.”⁴¹ It was, she said, “the very hotbed of immorality”; as for dancing, it was “a school of depravity”; opera opened “the door to sensual indulgence.”⁴²

The purpose of these bitter denunciations was not so much to reject these art forms altogether, however, but to make room for their Adventist alternatives. After all, Ellen White herself found types of jewelry that she could wear; and Del Delker brought the popular entertainment style of singing to Adventist

audiences. In Adventism's parallel society, it is not only necessary to provide schools and hospitals church members can use, but it is also important to produce radio programs they can listen to, TV shows they can watch, music that they can go out and buy. It is also essential to produce fiction they can read. Adventists produce nothing like as many novels as the Southern Baptists or the Mormons, which in these churches are huge industries, but fiction is a large and growing part of the denomination's literary output.

In spite of what Ellen White said about novels, it was the prophetess herself who first saw that fiction could be used to reinforce the church's own perceptions of time and space. Her *Desire of Ages* had incorporated some novelistic material.⁴³ But more importantly, beginning in 1863 she edited, under the broad title of *Sabbath Readings*, a rolling series of fictional moralistic tales for young people that she collected from contemporary Christian journals.⁴⁴ The 1905 edition of the series contained a story called "The Record" that was indicative of the style. It related a couple of disconnected vignettes, one of a girl who finds her unkind words have been printed in a newspaper, another of a man at a tribunal who belatedly realizes that his testimony is being written down, all by way of imparting the idea that "silently and unseen by us the angel secretaries are taking a faithful record of our words and actions, and even of our thoughts."⁴⁵ The literary merit of such fables has sometimes been disparaged by Adventist professors.⁴⁶ But they did begin a particular line of Adventist children's fiction, of which *Uncle Arthur's Bedtime Stories* by Arthur S. Maxwell was the most successful example.

These first appeared in England in 1924 and ran annually for a remarkable forty-eight years, reaching an audience beyond the denomination. Maxwell maintained that all the stories were "founded on fact," but it is safe to assume that most of the scenarios came from his fertile imagination.⁴⁷ A tale that appeared in the 1949 volume exemplified the genre. It is the story of two sisters, Patsy and Peggy, who get lost in a Manitoba forest. Frightened, and spotting a big black bear, they decide to pray to Jesus. Then, out of the blue, a man on a white horse appears, befriends them, escorts them safely out of the forest, and then vanishes as mysteriously as he had arrived. Relieved, the girls muse about the stranger:

"I wonder who he was?" said Patsy, as they hurried on into town.

"I don't know," said Peggy. "But don't you remember how we prayed for help and it was just after that that we saw him? Could it be that Jesus sent an angel to save us?"

"It could have been!" said Patsy. "Maybe it was! Maybe it *really* was!"⁴⁸

The obvious implications of this conversation are also evident in Jerry D. Thomas's *Detective Zack* children's books that were very popular among Adventist youngsters in the 1990s. The antecedent of this juvenile sleuth was prob-

ably a character that appeared in a one-off 1951 story, again by Maxwell, called *The Secret of the Cave*. In this mystery, a "Detective Roy" arrives in a remote Scottish village and proceeds to clear up a series of unexplained happenings that the local people start to believe are caused by angels.⁴⁹ In the eighth Detective Zack book, *Mystery on the Midway*, Zack and his friends encounter false angels and true angels, and the adventure is largely about how the children learn to distinguish between the two.⁵⁰

Adult Adventist fiction is similarly teeming with angels. This is because the predominant Adventist sub-genre is the apocalyptic novel, which allows the author to reorient time in line with biblical apocalyptic, instead of against it, and to place human and heavenly beings, often without the humans knowing it, in the same spatial environment. In Merikay McLeod's *NOW!* which began the Adventist interest in the apocalyptic novel in the 1960s, one of the human characters is eventually revealed as an angel. June Strong's best-selling *Project Sunlight* is narrated by a recording angel. In Ken Wade's *The Orion Conspiracy*, a takeover of the American government is masterminded by a satanic angel. Other Adventist novels, like David B. Smith's *Watching the War*, feature beings from other planets as well as angels.⁵¹ These divine emissaries are never entirely absent, even in realist novels like Elaine Egbert's 1993 retelling of the Great Disappointment experience, *Till Morning Breaks*. This is similar in some ways to Edward Eggleston's *The End of the World* in that the story is told largely through the eyes of a young couple, Justin and Bethene Fletcher. But while Eggleston's characters never quite escape the attractions of earth, the reader can tell that Egbert's couple, though they do not find it easy themselves to give up the things of this life, are much more of the next world rather than this one. At the end of the book, word reaches the Fletchers of Ellen Harmon's first vision, and the novel finishes with a report of her, and her accompanying angel, ascending with the saints to the divine realm.⁵²

Adventists were well aware that their true home was in heaven, and they were constantly being exhorted to emulate the devotion and obedience of the angels.⁵³ The corollary of this orientation toward the divine realm was the desire to be free of the limitations of this world. The angels were the representative inhabitants of heaven; the time-bound character of earth was exemplified by the animals. Humans were pictured as standing somewhere between the angels and the animals; and in becoming like angels, people were expected to become as unlike animals as possible. According to Ellen White, it was the mingling of human and animal characteristics that had prompted God to destroy humanity in the Noachian flood: "But if there was one sin above another which called for the destruction of the race by the flood, it was the base crime of amalgamation of man and beast which defaced the image of God, and caused confusion everywhere."⁵⁴

In particular, animals were associated with unbridled greed and lust. Having neither reason nor intellect, animals needed to be trained by human beings.⁵⁵

But human beings shared animal instincts, and for this reason, they needed to acquire self-control. Ellen White was adamant that “the animal part of our nature should never be left to govern the moral and intellectual” but should rather be kept in “rigid subjection.”⁵⁶ Parents were instructed not “to degrade their bodies by beastly indulgence of the animal passions,” and were advised to feed their children properly lest “everything noble is sacrificed to the appetite and animal passions predominate.”⁵⁷

Food was particularly dangerous, for through eating animals, people were in danger of becoming more like them. Ellen White warned one couple that “your family have partaken largely of flesh meats, and the animal propensities have been strengthened, while the intellectual have been weakened.”⁵⁸ She continued, “The use of the flesh of animals tends to cause a grossness of body, and benumbs the fine sensibilities of the mind.”⁵⁹ By eating meat, people could lose those qualities of mind that distinguished them from the animal kingdom. In a sense, eating the flesh of animals was liable to effect the same confusion of the species that had existed before the flood. The amalgamation of human being and beast had “defaced the image of God.” According to Ellen White, Christ died so that “the defaced image of God will be restored in humanity, and a family of believing saints will finally inherit the heavenly home.”⁶⁰ Meat eating endangered this restoration: “Grains and fruit . . . should be the food for the tables of all who claim to be preparing for translation to Heaven.”⁶¹

It was peculiarly appropriate that meat eating and the “animalism” it caused would jeopardize the reproduction of the image of God in human beings, for at the end of time, all those who were not to be saved would have the “mark of the beast” as a result of worshipping the leopard-like beast of Revelation 13. The convergence of these ideas is probably fortuitous, but it is also significant, for it constitutes a coherent set of symbols. Salvation involves the repudiation of animal passions, flesh foods, the beast, and his image. For people, poised between heaven and earth, between the angels and the animals, such imagery is compelling. It reinforces the Adventist message that what is extended in space, what is purely material or animal, is to be left behind by the saints as they move into heavenly time to join the company of the angels.

In the light of this, it is especially interesting that pictures of the beasts in Daniel and Revelation are perhaps the images most characteristic of Adventist art. They were present from the beginnings of the church. When John Greenleaf Whittier attended a Millerite camp meeting, he commented on seeing “the wonders of the Apocalyptic vision—the beasts, the dragons, the scarlet woman . . . exhibited like the beasts of a traveling menagerie.” One particular image caught his eye, a dragon with “hideous heads and scaly caudal extremity.”⁶² Pictures of the beasts featured prominently in the early evangelistic charts, such as in the 1851 production illustrated in figure 11, which helped to forge a common aesthetic among the Adventist people.⁶³ Later Adventist preachers



Figure 23. Snorting bison: the two-horned beast, ominously looming larger than America's other national symbols. Arlo Greer, *United States in Prophecy*, oil on canvas, 16" x 20", 1952. © Review and Herald Publishing Association.

even used three-dimensional models. Ellen White wrote warmly of one such evangelist: "Brother S. dwells especially upon the prophecies in the books of Daniel and Revelation. He has large representations of the beasts spoken of in these books. These beasts are made of papier-mâché, and by an ingenious invention, they may be brought at the proper time before the congregation. Thus he holds the attention of the people, while he preaches the truth to them."⁶⁴

Adventists devoted time and imagination to the depiction of the beasts, whose appearance could only be reconstructed from their strange description in the Bible. The preacher and amateur designer Samuel W. Rhodes was largely responsible for the images of the creatures in the first evangelistic charts.⁶⁵ Uriah Smith, the great expositor of prophecy, used his artistic skill to make woodcuts in which he depicted the beasts of Daniel 8 and Revelation 13.⁶⁶ The absence of any one authorized representation left considerable scope for individual artists to portray the beasts in ways that reflected their own preoccupations. For example, twentieth-century representations of the two-horned beast, symbolizing the United States, have ranged from a snorting bison of 1907 to a

cuddly lamb in 1947, depending, it would seem, on how close the threat from America has been perceived to be.⁶⁷ But the most common representation has been the snorting bison (see figure 23).

The beasts were illustrated with regularity and ingenuity. There were obviously good pragmatic reasons for this. The biblical descriptions of the beasts were difficult to visualize, and pictorial representations served both a didactic and a dramatic purpose. But the significance of the depictions surely ran deeper. Adventists were not generally given to using visual media for religious expression. It is odd that the most striking exception to the general rule should be the pictures of the beasts. These are the visual images most likely to be referred to during a traditional Adventist religious meeting. There are no crucifixes, no representations of the nativity, no statues or icons of saints to draw the eye. The chief occasion of visual stimulus is the exposition of the prophecies in which the speaker, over the years, has used charts, cloths, slides, videos, and most recently, computer presentational software, showing the beasts.

In assessing this practice, it must be remembered that the beasts are the adversaries of God and his remnant church. The beasts of Daniel 7 persecuted the Jews and the early Christians; the beasts of Revelation 13 are expected to persecute the Adventists. They represent dangerous and demonic powers. Could it be that Adventists, through depicting their foes on paper and in *papier-mâché*, are expressing both their fear and their assurance of ultimate victory? To represent such malevolent forces, to enclose them within a clearly defined space is to limit their potency; it is an act of control. The significance of this is enhanced by the fact that the Adventists who created these images were also being exhorted to control their animal passions. The beasts, with their multiple heads and monstrous deformities, exhibited the full pathology of lust. As embodiments of animality, the beasts symbolized the defacement of God's image resulting from sensual indulgence. The representation of the beasts enclosed them within space—the dimension of damnation—and distanced their creators from both their eschatological adversaries in the world and their animal appetites within.⁶⁸

Obviously, not every act of representation has the effect of controlling and distancing its object. The peculiarity of the beasts is their appearance in the context of religious meetings in which visual imagery is largely taboo. In general, Adventists have not been encouraged to engage in the visual arts for the reason that the decoration of space is a wasteful activity. Part of this attitude comes from the church's desire to uphold the second commandment, which forbade the creation of "graven" images or the "likeness of *any thing*" in heaven or earth.⁶⁹ This all-encompassing edict has served to limit the visual imagination of Protestants in general, and of orthodox Jews in particular.⁷⁰ But Adventists have always made certain deviations from it.

One was a series of prints the church produced in the 1870s and 1880s, which



Figure 24. Paying the price: an Adventist representation of salvation history, appropriating familiar images like the Israelite sacrifices and the Last Supper, but uncharacteristically displaying Jesus on the cross. Thomas Moran, *Christ, The Way of Life*, engraving, 24" x 32", 1883. Courtesy Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

was both a response to the popular religious art of contemporary lithographic firms and a reflection of its own shift toward a more Christ-centered theology in the run-up to the General Conference session of 1888.⁷¹ The last picture in the sequence, *Christ, The Way of Life* was by the landscape artist Thomas Moran, and although he was not a church member, it was a rare Adventist visual commemoration of the crucifixion (see figure 24). Another departure is represented in the work of Adventism's first professionally recognized sculptor, the British-born Alan Collins. It was he who created in 1963 the first real example of Adventist iconography, the merged *Three Angels of the Apocalypse*, pictured in figure 4.⁷² It has been reproduced as a church emblem ever since, and Collins's subsequent figurative and abstract sculptures inspired a greater use of imagery in some Adventist churches and institutions that was welcomed by the *Review* in 2003.⁷³

The other deviation has been book illustration. Adventists, with their preference for language, have been exceptionally active in publishing and distributing books, periodicals, and tracts. As many of these were traditionally sold to the public by colporteurs, there was considerable pressure to make Adventist publications



Figure 25. Time traveler: the first of the Harry Anderson paintings placing Christ in modern settings. *What Happened to Your Hand?* watercolor, 16" x 22", 1945. © Review and Herald Publishing Association.

as attractive as possible. Ellen White sanctioned this practice but warned against any extravagance.⁷⁴ In consequence, Adventist publishers in the twentieth century recruited professional illustrators. Initially, these were non-Adventists like the Indiana artist Franklin Booth, whose enduring interpretation of Adventism's concept of the Second Coming can be seen in figure 6.⁷⁵ But in time, the publishing houses hired Adventist artists such as Vernon Nye, Russell Harlan, Clyde Provonsha, and Harry Baerg, whose paintings are now familiar to church members throughout the world.⁷⁶

The most famous of these artists was Harry Anderson. The son of a Swedish immigrant, he became a commercial illustrator, working for popular magazines. He was converted to Adventism in 1943. His best-known picture for the Review and Herald Publishing Association was painted in 1945. Called *What Happened to Your Hand?* it established a new genre in Adventist art. It depicted Christ, clad in long white robes, seated in a garden with an inquisitive girl in contemporary dress on his knee and a boy holding a toy airplane at his feet. It was the first of numerous pictures in which Christ is shown in modern settings.

Figure 26. Surgeon general: an original oil painting commissioned by the Versacare Corporation to demonstrate the care of Jesus in human suffering. Nathan Greene, *Chief of the Medical Staff*, 42" x 54", 1990. Courtesy Hart Classic Editions/ www.hartclassics.com.



In *Christ of the Highway*, he directs lost travelers in an open-top sports car; in *A Modern Nicodemus*, he reasons with a middle-aged man in a well-appointed room; in the *Couple in a Garden*, he talks to two suburbanites who have interrupted their garden chores to listen. It is a striking compositional technique, juxtaposing the eternal and temporal, the sublime and the commonplace. It was a procedure that could be reversed. In *May I Hold Him?* a group of modern children are present at the nativity in the stable in Bethlehem.⁷⁷

Two of Anderson's paintings, *Christ at the Sickbed* and *The Consultation*, place Christ in modern medical surroundings: the former at the bedside of a young girl with a nurse and parents looking on; the latter in essentially the same scene but with a doctor and nurse in attendance.⁷⁸ This aspect of Anderson's work was developed by a younger Adventist artist, Nathan Greene, in a series of paintings in the 1990s. *Chief of the Medical Staff* shows Jesus guiding the hands of a surgeon as he conducts an operation while two colleagues assist; *The Difficult Case* depicts him leaning over the shoulder of a contemplative doctor; *The Physician's Prayer* shows him extending his arms around a family and a



Figure 27. The creation of Lisa: Greg Constantine, borrowing a motif from Michelangelo to bring the *Mona Lisa* and Leonardo da Vinci to contemporary California. *Lisa and Leo at Poolside*, conte crayon on paper, 23" x 35", 1984.
© Greg Constantine.

doctor in a hospital lobby; *The Comforter* portrays him watching over a nurse as she comforts a sick child in a hospital bed.⁷⁹ The genesis of these paintings differs from that of Anderson's in that they were often commissioned, not by the church's publishing houses, but by Adventist medical institutions. Greene's Christ is also partly Hispanic, rather than the Viking that Anderson's very clearly is, as befits a church whose complexion is steadily darkening.⁸⁰ But in all other respects, the conception is identical. The figures appear united within the picture space, but the viewer can perceive the incongruity by recognizing that the figures are not united in time—one or more of them belongs to a different time or is outside of time altogether. (See figures 25 and 26.)

Another Adventist artist, Greg Constantine, a professor at Andrews University, has also explored the idea of locating Christ in a contemporary setting. Although his technique is very different, owing more to expressionism and pop art than to commercial realism, Constantine's vision is essentially the same. His Christ inhabits not suburbia or the hospital theater, but New York City. The story of the Good Samaritan becomes a mugging in Central Park. Lazarus is raised at Calvary cemetery in Queens.⁸¹ For Constantine, placing Christ in New York is the natural development of a series of books in which famous artists have been pictured visiting major American cities. *Van Gogh Visits New York*,

Leonardo Visits Los Angeles, and *Picasso Visits Chicago* all follow a similar pattern.⁸² The artist is brought out of his own time and enters the modern world, where he both adapts to contemporary culture and attempts to pursue his own projects in an unfamiliar setting. Constantine's work lacks Anderson and Greene's sentimental piety; it is urbane, witty, and depends for its effect on a detailed knowledge of art and popular culture. But his pictures of time travelers fulfill precisely the same function: they prompt reflection on the character of the alien, and they constitute an invitation to look at the world through the eyes of a stranger (see figure 27).

Many Adventist artists work in this way. Even those like Elfred Lee or Lars Justinen, who generally eschew the technique, occasionally return to it: Lee's *The Christ of San Diego* depicts Jesus addressing a group of 1990s youngsters, and Justinen's *What Happened to Your Hand?* updates Anderson's original concept with a modern girl pointing to a close-up view of Christ's wounded palm.⁸³ The importance of these scenes lies in the way they seem to reflect the religious and social position of the denomination. The time travelers of Adventist art are not distanced from their surroundings in an arbitrary fashion but in the exact manner that Adventists are separated from the rest of society. The spectator is not deceived by spatial continuities but can see that one of the protagonists owes allegiance to a different temporal framework. The viewer is placed in the position of the divine judge for whom invisible discrepancies of synchronization are manifestations of an eternal choice. But those within the picture are unable to perceive its temporal dislocation. Reassured by the apparent unity of the space they inhabit, they treat the time traveler as one of themselves. In turn, the alien seems well adapted to his new environment, at home in a world of which he is not a part. Space elides the boundaries of time.

Nothing could reflect the Adventist experience more closely. Like time travelers, Adventists share space with their fellow Americans but do not themselves belong to it. They adapt to their surroundings, for they know that their stay is only temporary. They move unnoticed. Their peculiarity is unobtrusive, their dissent silent.

Adventism and America

IN ADVENTIST ART, a dominant motif is the incongruous presence of an alien figure in familiar surroundings. The viewer realizes that the alien is displaced in time, but his interlocutors do not. The objects of everyday life are transmuted by the gaze of the stranger, who, in turn, is domesticated by the homeliness of his setting. The reassuring becomes threatening, and the startling becomes mundane. It is a vision of the world precisely aligned with Adventist eschatology in which today's newspaper is a fulfillment of yesterday's prophecy, and future salvation is an imminent reality. It accurately reflects a perspective from which American society seems foreign and Adventism is Americanized.

In early Adventist apocalyptic, the church was placed in opposition to the American nation. In the nineteenth century, many Americans believed that their country would be the vehicle through which a millennium would be realized on earth. Adventists came to believe that there would be no earthly millennium and that America would become an agent of the antichrist before its destruction at the Second Coming. Those who survived the final cataclysm would be identified by their adherence to the seventh-day Sabbath; those who gave allegiance to the American Sunday would perish. In this scenario, the division between the saved and the damned hinges on which day of the weekly cycle is considered more important. The essential criterion of salvation is a correct apprehension of temporal sequence. Time, the least visible of divisions, is the basis for an irreversible separation of good and evil. Access to eternity is gained through synchronizing weekly routines with those of heaven and enduring the difficulties created by being out of synchronization with the rest of the world.

To appreciate fully the tensions inherent in this situation and their precise reflection in the superficially bland productions of Adventist art, it is necessary to

recapitulate. In part one it was shown that Adventist theology, although apparently a malleable cluster of beliefs, in fact constitutes a coherent ideological system in which individual elements are replaceable only within a framework that legitimates the continued independent existence of the church. Sources of authority are interchangeable; apocalyptic is renewable; identity may be defined by organic unity as well as taboo; the road to salvation may be enlarged to accommodate more travelers. But throughout these transformations, there has always been a combination of ideas sufficient to differentiate those that hold them from the rest of American society and to maintain a sense of distance between the church and the world.

In many instances, the details of Adventist theology were worked out in order to differentiate the church from other marginal groups, notably the former Millerite factions and the spiritualists. But to understand the central dynamic in Adventism, it is necessary to look beyond this jockeying for position at the sectarian margins of American religion to the larger gulf between Adventism and mainstream Protestantism. Despite conducting dialogues with other churches from time to time, Adventism does not define itself against individual denominations in the mainstream, but against the mainstream as a united body of tradition. That Adventism should respond to the mainstream in this way is not entirely surprising. Many commentators have noted the high degree of consensus among American Protestant groups.¹ Whatever differences there may be about, say, the correct form of church organization or the proper time for baptism, there is agreement that Protestantism is the most valid expression of Christianity and that America has provided a singular opportunity for the Christian religion to realize its full potential. The mainline denominations share a common history with the American state. The founding fathers of the nation are also the patriarchs of mainstream religion. America nurtured the Protestant impulse, and Protestantism bestowed on the state a unique role as the instrument of the divine will.

A somewhat diluted version of this religious consensus can be said to constitute a "civil religion" that "relates the citizen's role and American society's place in space, time and history to the conditions of ultimate existence and meaning."² As such, it loses something of its exclusively Protestant content and focuses rather on the state, investing its institutions and symbols with a sacred character. The inauguration of a president or the saluting of the flag become religious ceremonies in which citizens are reminded of God's special interest in the American nation and the consequent responsibilities placed on president and citizens alike.³ In its stronger forms, the ideology of civil religion allots to America a vital role in the salvation of humankind. Translated into political terms, this may be expressed, as it was in the last century, as a desire to save the world from the menace of Communism, or, as it was presented early in the twenty-first century, as a war to defeat Islamic terrorism. In a religious context,

it is found in the belief that America is the only place in which humanity is free to strive toward perfection. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this view was embedded within an eschatological framework. The colonies had justified the revolt against Britain by casting their adversary in the eschatological role of Babylon and themselves as the persecuted woman in the wilderness. Flushed with the success of the Revolution, the new nation saw itself as the stone in Daniel 2 that smashed the image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream and grew to fill the entire earth.⁴ In the Second Great Awakening, revivalists called for conversion and reformation of character to achieve the perfection of society and precipitate an earthly millennium in which the American republic would become the seat of a righteous empire.⁵

At the base of the rift between Adventism and the mainstream is the Adventist refusal to view American society as the means of universal redemption.⁶ Millerism negated the optimistic dream of progress. The world was not on the verge of perfection but at the brink of final catastrophe. In Seventh-day Adventism, the denial of contemporary orthodoxy was further refined. Not only was the world about to end, but America, according to many the instrument of the world's salvation, was actually a diabolical monster bent on the destruction of the saints. In opposition to this malevolent force, there was only the remnant, a group whose defining characteristic—the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath—made it more or less coterminous with the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. It was this group, not America, that would be the vehicle of redemption. Its members would be the sole survivors of the last judgment, the only persons for whom eternity could become continuous with the present.

For Adventists, the difference between themselves and other Americans lay in the orientation of the two groups. Americans viewed their country as a sanctuary from the Old World, but as the Harry Anderson painting shown in figure 28 illustrates, Adventists sought their sanctuary in heaven. Americans were participants in the somber drama of history, bounded by time and destined for destruction. But for Adventists, the world was but a temporary stage on which to rehearse the roles they were destined to play in heavenly society. Not being subjected to time, Adventists danced to a different music—harmonious with heaven but dissonant from the world—the rhythm of their lives marginally out of step with American routines. It was a lack of synchronization perfectly symbolized by the seventh-day Sabbath. Adventists joined with other Americans in putting an emphasis on one day in seven but syncopated the rhythm by emphasizing the day before everyone else's Sabbath.

The Sabbath is the key to understanding the Adventist relationship with America. In its peculiarity, it makes sacred the Adventist alienation from the American way of life, but in its conformity to the American expectation that there should be one holy day in a week, it aligned Adventists with wider society. Churchmen and politicians in the nineteenth century saw the proper obser-



Figure 28. Seeking a sanctuary: while Seventh-day Adventists are grounded in the United States, their true connection is to heaven. Harry Anderson, *Christ as High Priest*, watercolor, 22" x 30", 1957. © Review and Herald Publishing Association.

vance of Sunday as one means of effecting the perfection of the American people. The nation's ability to realize the earthly millennium was understood to depend upon its loyalty to the Sunday Sabbath.⁷ Seventh-day Adventism denied the American dream, usurped the redemptive role of the nation, and appropriated the Sabbath as a test of collective purpose. The seventh-day Sabbath was just the latest in a series of alternatives to the ideology of American civil religion. Adventism offered not an earthly but a heavenly millennium; it presented itself as the social vehicle of salvation; and it enjoined the observance of a sabbath, but one day earlier than that sacred to America. Adventism did not create a new religious synthesis, but an alternative form of American civil religion that provided a divergent route to salvation.

If the development of Adventist theology can be viewed as a sustained effort to create and maintain a distinctive ideology, the history of Adventism's organizational growth reveals the desire to reproduce a parallel version of American society, distinguished by its alternative ideological orientation but familiar in its internal construction.⁸ It is possible to perceive two dynamics in this process. The

first is the need to compete with America—the body against which Adventism has defined itself. The second is the need to avoid conflict. Although America is the ultimate eschatological adversary, Adventists expect divine intervention to be the means through which they are vindicated and America is toppled. Until then, they are prepared to cohabit and to facilitate superficial integration through the emulation of American customs and institutions. It is essential to Adventism that its deviation from the American way of life is expressed in the invisible dimension of time. Deviance is both disguised and reinforced by a willingness to clothe Adventist practices in American dress. Adventists do not so much participate as imitate. They have not been incorporated into American society; they function as a separate organism within the larger body.

The spread of Adventism throughout the world exemplifies this relationship. The church emerged in a country that had but recently shaken off its allegiance to Britain and whose independence was precarious. In his farewell address of 1796, George Washington counseled the young nation not to entertain foreign influence, for it was “one of the most baneful foes of republican government.”⁹ It was a suspicion that developed easily into a thoroughgoing isolationism of which the classic expression became the Monroe Doctrine. The early years of Adventism replicated this pattern. Having struggled away from their own Babylon—the mainline churches—Adventists were unwilling to ally themselves with other bodies for fear of contamination. During the Shut-Door period, even evangelism was considered unwise. When missionary activity was eventually restarted, Adventists persuaded themselves that they could fulfill the gospel commission to go “into all the world” by evangelizing within the boundaries of the multiracial United States. While America was isolated from the rest of the world, Adventism, which had initially disengaged from America, only re-engaged with the world within America.

When Adventist missionary activity finally began to bear fruit around the globe in the second decade of the twentieth century, it was a world that Woodrow Wilson had pledged to make “safe for democracy” and in which America was ever more actively engaged.¹⁰ Similarly, after the Second World War when America became involved in international affairs to a hitherto unprecedented degree, Adventism’s global expansion was accelerated. Countries within the American sphere of influence proved particularly receptive to the Adventist message, not least because it is actually through American power that Adventist eschatology becomes credible. In operating as the world’s policeman, the United States rehearses the very role that Adventists expect it to play in enforcing the universal Sunday law. Most converts are inspired by Adventism’s apocalyptic vision of the world. Demonstrations of American economic and military strength can only serve to reinforce the Adventist message. But the fact that Adventists foresee themselves being persecuted by America suggests that Third World converts may not be wholeheartedly enthusiastic about those aspects of American

power with which they are already familiar. Adventism may thus function as one means of coming to terms with America's dominating presence in the world. To become an Adventist is to join an American religion but one distanced from, and wary of, the most obvious manifestations of American power.

Much the same thing applies to Adventism in America. To become a member there is to join a movement that quietly subverts the basic philosophy of the American state. Ellen White sometimes implied that even the freedoms fought for in the War of Independence were of the devil. Her account of the war in heaven in the *Spirit of Prophecy* was conceived like the War of Independence, with Satan acting like the American revolutionaries and the Godhead representing the reigning monarchy. The source of this interpretation was probably Books V and VI of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, for she follows Milton's narrative almost completely, including his descriptions of Satan's speeches. But her Satan goes significantly beyond Milton's in standing on an unambiguous republican platform. He speaks of an "invasion of his rights," of plans for "new and better government," and of the need of the angels to "assert their liberty" and "gain by force" the authority denied to them. Satan, in other words, makes what appears to be a diabolical "Declaration of Independence."¹¹

But in spite of such veiled attempts to demonize the principles of republicanism, Adventists have not entirely rejected the inalienable rights the founding fathers asserted. Instead, they have reappropriated and reinterpreted the central tenets of American self-understanding for their own ends. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" become, within the Adventist context, ideals of a very different character from those upheld by the signatories of the Declaration of Independence. For Adventists, the pursuit of happiness has involved, not individual self-expression within a libertarian social order, but the restraint of the emotions and the regulation of the appetites. Adventists have devoted more time to preparing for eternal bliss than to enjoying the fleeting moment. But they have not agreed to endure present hardship in return for future reward. Adventists do not expect to be made happy in heaven in compensation for being miserable now. For them, the pursuit of happiness means setting out on a clearly marked and unbroken path that leads from earth to heaven.¹²

The dominant Adventist conception of heaven has been of a court populated by angels. According to Ellen White, the saved would replace those angels who had fallen with Satan before the creation of the world. The heavenly court was conceived as a place of hierarchical organization and bureaucratic employment. Salvation was a continuing process by which the saints became perfectly adapted to heavenly society through acquiring the requisite characteristics on earth. Adventist perfectionism has never involved the mindless observation of a legal code: its orientation has always been toward purposive self-improvement — its objective, the reassimilation of a remnant of the human race into the divine realm. Ellen White emphasized that heaven was a place of obedience and order;

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face the difficulties of ignoring government war efforts, Adventists established their own programs for medical cadet training. Even in their support for temperance, Adventists worked primarily through their own organization rather than with other agencies.

In order to coordinate the multifarious activities in which Adventists engaged, the church rapidly developed a hierarchical administrative structure. With its widely disbursed and expanding membership, its numerous semiautonomous institutions and agencies, and its multiracial composition, the church has needed strong central government to hold it together. The overall unity of the denomination is a testimony to the success of this arrangement. But the cohesiveness of the Adventist system is not simply imposed by the weight of bureaucratic authority; it also derives from the cooperative nature of the Adventist ethic. In anticipation of their incorporation into the divine realm, Adventists were enjoined to develop nonassertive modes of behavior. Individual initiative and expression were not particularly encouraged, but harmonious interaction with fellow believers was held to provide a foretaste of heavenly society.

A failing of this cohesiveness, however, was that it also made Adventists easy prey for fraudulent financial operators. It is a telling commentary on the church's insularity that Adventists have found it rather easier to cooperate with one another in the un-Adventist pursuit of quick wealth than they have to join with outsiders in the promotion of Adventist goals such as temperance. Several times during the latter stages of the twentieth century, the church was embarrassed by financial impropriety. The Davenport and other similar affairs should not primarily be taken as indications of venality, however. These scandals were rather the unintended consequences of a culture that sets great store by the interrelationships among Adventists, however unwise those interrelationships might be.

This emphasis on social integration combined with the need to dissociate from the Babylon of mainstream religious life meant that Adventists were, as a group, fairly easy to control. There was, of course, a constant stream of apostasies; but while an Adventist, an individual was inculcated with the virtues of passivity and mistrust for the world. Consequently, members have been inhibited from forming strong dissident or schismatic groups: dissent would be un-Adventist; schism might lead back into Babylon. A succession of early, factional "parties" and the development of Margaret Rowen's "reformed" Adventism, shows that there have been breakaway groups. But apart from the Davidian family of Seventh-day Adventists, which emerged later, there have actually been remarkably few schismatic movements of any importance for an international church with a 150-year history.

The Davidians and the Branch Davidians are, however, the exceptions that prove the rule. The latter's experience in particular shows what might have happened to the church if it had not confined its opposition to the nation to the

realm of theology. The Branch Davidians ignored the central strategy the church devised to ease its passage in America: they concerned themselves with space rather than time. They built a commune instead of a parallel set of ameliorative institutions, invoked the Second Amendment for the protection of their rights rather than the First, and prepared themselves for a kingdom on earth. The resulting cataclysm at Waco indicates that the church may indeed have been wise to encourage its followers to plan for the society of heaven, rather than try to create an independent community within the geographical boundaries of the United States.

For all Adventists, however, the church and its institutions are the family home, and America is to some degree a foreign land. Its institutions are familiar, but familiar through resemblance to their Adventist counterparts, not through direct contact. In its effort to exempt itself from American time (a time bounded by annihilation), while forced to share American space, Adventism has recreated America within America. It has turned the ideology of civil religion inside out to form a faith that consigns the nation to damnation and locates salvation within another social group—a group defined by the seventh-day Sabbath, inspired by ideals that reinterpret fundamental American values, and nurtured within an alternative network of institutions. It is small wonder that Adventist artists have often portrayed the world around them through the eyes of a visitor from another time; Adventists in America are themselves visitors from another time, surveying a culture different from their own.

In part three the focus will shift from Adventism as a culture to subcultures within Adventism. The purpose of this change is not only to give full weight to the diversity within the church but also to analyze the process by which Adventism produces and maintains its peculiar symbiosis with the American nation. But before turning to the internal dynamics of the church's subculture, it is worth making a comparison with another religious group. Is the Adventist experience of, and response to, American society a unique phenomenon? If not, with which other deviant social movement is it comparable? And how does the Adventist system differ from that of other minority religions that share a similar historical and geographical position?

The most illuminating comparison is with the Latter-day Saints. Adventists and Mormons share very little theological common ground, and Adventists stand much closer to traditional Christianity. Yet the public has persisted in confusing the two groups: Millerites in Britain explained repeatedly that they were not Mormons; Ellen White had to make the same denial when visiting the American West; even in 2003, the church's own public awareness poll found that many those who thought they knew about Adventism were actually thinking of Mormonism.¹³ Such muddles are not fortuitous; the two groups emerged more or less in the same place at the same time, and both reflect the religious and social milieu from which they came.

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geographical movement. It inspired the arduous trek from the Eastern United States to the West, and it drew thousands of immigrants from among Mormon converts in Britain and Scandinavia.

In Mormonism, the sacred is located in space, not time. Its boundaries are geographical, not temporal. It can be reached by a physical journey across land and sea, not through an experiential journey through time. In this respect, Mormonism represents the mirror image of Adventism. Adventists separated themselves from other Americans by choosing as sacred their own portion of time—the Sabbath. The Mormons distanced themselves from America by moving outside the then territorial boundaries of the United States and choosing for themselves a sacred place. Adventists were content to share American space, to remain dispersed throughout the continent, but were determined not to participate in American time as manifested in the observance of Sunday and the expectation of an earthly millennium. In contrast, the Mormons fought, often literally, to preserve their own space, but acknowledged the validity of Sunday and anticipated a millennium on American soil.

The Mormons explicitly identified themselves with American time, with the idea that the Pilgrim Fathers had opened a new and final chapter in the history of God's dealings with humanity. The Mormon vision differed only in its particularity, in its concentration on a specified location. The overall conception of the American era as the inauguration of a unique period in sacred time was accepted without question. But the Mormons did differentiate themselves from their background by their sense of time: they separated themselves, not from America, but from Christianity. As Jan Shipps has argued in *Mormonism*, the Latter-day Saints recapitulated the events of the exodus, constituted themselves as a new Israel, and made a fresh start, placing themselves "once again at the beginning."²² By identifying themselves with the Hebrew patriarchs, the Mormons bypassed Christianity, forming a new religious tradition distinct from Christian orthodoxy.

American civil religion has always involved the interpenetration of religious and political ideas. In its early nineteenth-century guise of civil millennialism, it embodied the belief that the thousand-year reign of Christ was to be realized through the independence, prosperity, and moral improvement of the United States. It was a potent but uneasy fusion of ideas, suggesting that the territory and political institutions of America were peculiarly adapted to the millennium and that the religion of the majority of American Protestants was the closest available approximation to the Christian ideal. Both Adventism and Mormonism responded negatively to these ideas: Adventists questioned the first; the Mormons, the second. In Adventism, the American dream is reinterpreted; in Mormonism, Christianity is reinterpreted. Adventists have become un-American in an effort to be more truly Christian. Mormons have become un-Christian in attempting to be more truly American.

Such dichotomies may oversimplify the complexities of history, but they illustrate the important contrasts between the two most important religious movements native to America. These differences are further exemplified by the disparity between the value systems of the two groups. For Adventists, the present is patterned after ancient prophecy and controlled by an apocalyptic future. For Mormons, the present is the locus of control for past and future—they baptize the dead by proxy in order to aid their progress in the afterlife. For Adventists, the present is a time of preparation; for Mormons, it is a time of action. In the nineteenth century, Adventists prepared for the kingdom of God by practicing self-control; Mormons built the kingdom through massive physical exertion. Adventists sought to restrain sexuality; Mormons advocated a plurality of wives and abundant children. In short, Adventists sought command over themselves, while Mormons took command of their environment. Unsurprisingly, Adventists have contributed more to medicine; Mormons, more to agriculture.

In Mormonism, spatial extension—achieved through migration, farming, building, and fecundity—is the primary dimension of experience. In Adventism, time is the primary dimension. Self-restraint engenders a heightened awareness of duration; Sabbath keeping promotes chronometry; prophetic interpretation focuses on chronology, health reform on longevity, and the Second Advent on the hope of eternity. For a Mormon, morality is the proper use of space; for an Adventist, it is the correct use of time. In their peculiar concentration on either space or time, Mormons and Adventists were both dissenting from an ideological consensus in which God's time was combined with American space to form the spatio-temporal unit of the American millennium.

Adventism was thus not unique in responding to the dominant ideology of civil religion; Mormonism, which developed in similar circumstances, reacted to the same stimulus. But the Adventist response diverged from that of the Mormons in almost every respect. While the Mormons embarked on noisy migration across space, Adventists were setting out on a quiet pilgrimage through time.

PART 3

Adventist Subculture

Gender

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM is the largest Christian denomination to have been founded by a woman. It has also attracted many more women than men, and although there is a preponderance of women in most Christian denominations, the Adventist ratio of 3 to 2 is unusually high.¹ The church thus offers unique opportunities to researchers interested in female religious experience and in women's roles in social movements. Such questions fall outside the scope of this book, but the analysis of the church's relationship with America provides some indication of the ways in which Adventism exemplifies female responses to a patriarchal social order.

Within patriarchy, women are excluded from the centers of power and are confined to the margins of society. They are denied the possibility of self-definition, save in opposition to, or in imitation of, dominant male groups. Their ability to control and occupy space is limited by the boundaries established by men.² These characteristics apply to Adventists as well as to other peripheral social groups. What is particularly interesting about Adventism is that it represents a feminine response to these conditions — feminine, that is, within the norms of modern Western culture. Adventists, like “feminine” women, have made virtues out of the limitations imposed on them by their social subordination. They have managed to coexist with their potential persecutors by defining themselves in the mirror image of the dominant ideology. At no stage have they attempted to confront the state. They have, rather, remained quiet and malleable, not seeking to draw attention to themselves lest this provoke a hostile reaction.

Furthermore, Adventism, like traditional femininity, requires the avoidance of explicit sexuality and violence, and seeks to disarm its opponents through promoting temperance, health reform, and self-control. Adventist concerns,

such as health and education, are issues that have long been the prerogative of women (at least in a nonprofessional context). Like women, Adventists have tended to play caring, healing, and nurturing roles. And also like women, they have not claimed the right to their own space but have defined themselves through time—not by the monthly cycle of menstruation, but through the weekly observance of the Sabbath.

By contrast, groups that have dissented from Adventism have tended to adopt a more “masculine” set of standards. Gilbert Cranmer specifically stated that he could not stay in a church run by a woman.³ Snook and Brinkerhoff, again training their sights on Ellen White, declared that prophesying was a male rather than a female occupation.⁴ The final Branch Davidian regime at Mount Carmel was distinctly patriarchal. Koresh brought in guns, ordered affairs so that he had first rights to the center’s women, and fought to protect his territory. A similar response can be seen in Adventism’s great counterparts, the Mormons. Their reaction to nineteenth-century America was also a “masculine” one. It was loud, often violent, and controversially polygamous. The historic values of the Latter-day Saints are what you would expect of a group whose prophet was a man, just as those of Seventh-day Adventists are those of a denomination whose messenger was a woman.

So within American society, Adventism may be perceived to occupy a “feminine” position. This helps to explain the church’s stance toward organizations situated at the opposite end of the gender spectrum, such as secret societies and trade unions. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, out of an adult male population of about 19 million, nearly six million American men were members of brotherhoods like Odd Fellows and the Freemasons, and several million more were members of labor organizations. Some bodies, like the Knights of Labor, which claimed a membership of three-quarters of a million at its peak in the late 1880s, were both secret societies and trade unions. These organizations were exclusively male preserves, places where men, through ritual and custom, could express their masculinity, unencumbered by women.⁵ Ellen White was probably speaking in gender-specific terms when she said that it was under satanic influence that such “men bind up with one another in confederacies, in trades unions, and in secret societies.”⁶

As an organization, the church illustrates a process that occurred in several other marginalized groups that also promoted feminine traits as America became increasingly mechanized and masculinized. For instance, Protestant clergymen feminized their liturgy after losing their standing following the disestablishment of the churches in the 1830s, and nineteenth-century women, having lost their economic status with the spread of industrialization, romanticized such feminine qualities as modesty and docility in numerous sentimental and domestic novels.⁷ So far did this process go in Adventism that the church did not, initially, appear to see any differences in the sexes, choosing to impose

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teams, and as administrative officials. Individuals such as Ruie Hill and Hattie Enoch were sent to General Conference mission areas in the United States. Ellen Lane, one of the first Adventist women to hold a ministerial license, conducted an effective ministry from 1878 to 1889. Lulu Wightman, a brilliant evangelist, was largely responsible for 60 percent of all Adventist conversions in New York State up to 1903, and Anna Knight, an African American, demonstrated the worth of foreign women missionaries when she went to India in the early 1900s. In the fields of medicine, where Phoebe Lamson became the first woman doctor employed at the Health Reform Institute in 1866 and Kate Lindsay initiated the denomination's first school of nursing at Battle Creek Sanitarium in 1883, and education, where Flora Williams became the first female principal of the denomination's Battle Creek Academy in 1907, women worked alongside men with no distinction made as to their respective roles and functions.¹⁵

However, by 1900 this attitude was changing as Adventists sought to differentiate the roles of women and men for the first time. This started in the home, where the church emphasized women's domestic duties and where the images of wife and mother were set before Adventist females as the ultimate in womanhood. In part, this was a by-product of the home's separation from the wider society and its depiction as a spiritual "walled garden," or "sacred circle" in Ellen White's phrase.¹⁶ Compared to other Protestants, however, Adventists came to this ideal relatively late. By the 1830s and 1840s, "the Protestant emphasis on the domestic virtues had blossomed into a cult of domesticity that endowed the home with . . . transcendental qualities that it was a woman's sacred mission to preserve." With this was harnessed "the cult of true womanhood" in which women, because of "their greater moral purity," were ideally placed to be "the moral inspiration of their husbands as well as the moral guardians of their children."¹⁷ The bulk of the church's own statements on motherhood, which were later collected in books like *The Adventist Home*, did not come until the 1880s and 1890s. But they were set within the overall context of the denomination's feminine position. Ellen White referred to the mother as "the queen of her household," whose "distinctive duties" were "more sacred, more holy, than those of man."¹⁸

The secondary role of fatherhood, which the prophetess delineated at the same time, was similarly placed in this feminine framework. Although she nominally acknowledged that men were in charge of the home, it was, in her view, "no evidence of manliness in the husband for him to dwell constantly on his position as head of the family." And it would "not make him more manly," she went on, "to require his wife, the mother of his children, to act upon his plans as if they were infallible." Moreover, she said that the father should "not excuse himself from his part in the work of educating his children for life and immortality," because he had to "share in the responsibility." The father should also encourage the mother by "cheerful looks and kind words" and should "cul-

tivate refinement of manners, courtesy," and "gentleness." His task was to "lead on softly" and, "amidst the world's eager rush for wealth and power," to "stay his steps" and "comfort and support the one who is called to walk by his side." Above all, he needed to curb his sexual desire. "Husbands should be careful, attentive, faithful, and compassionate," she said. "Their love will not be of a base, earthly, sensual character that will lead to the destruction of their own bodies and bring their wives debility and disease."¹⁹

This feminized version of fatherhood conformed in some ways to the practice in many contemporary northern homes that has been identified as "masculine domesticity."²⁰ The interesting point, however, is that Ellen White developed this model at a time, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when new forms of aggressive, sexualized masculinity were being promoted. It was a period when the mythologizing of the cowboy began, words like "sissy" entered the American vernacular to describe the effeminate male, the eating of red meat was held up as the diet of real men, sports such as boxing and baseball became popular, and even Jesus, in a sudden plethora of books with titles like *The Manhood of the Master*, *The Manly Christ*, *The Manliness of Christ*, and *The Masculine Power of Christ*, was reclaimed as a brawny carpenter. The new manhood was personified by the popularizer of the Wild West "Buffalo" Bill Cody; the boxer John L. Sullivan; president Teddy Roosevelt, who derided "effeminacy"; and fictional characters like Tarzan of the Apes—part human, part beast creations that celebrated the animality in man.²¹ The emergence of the carnivorous A. G. Daniells, who brought a new muscularity to the Adventist leadership, may show that Adventism was not entirely unaffected by the trend. But the masculine face the church presented to the world was embodied by desexualized males like John Harvey Kellogg.

Nevertheless, the placing of women and men in separate spheres resulted in women losing their positions in the church hierarchy. In 1902 there were at least six women licensed ministers working in America out of a total (non-officer) pastorate of around 390.²² In 1910 about a third of education department leaders in all conferences in the United States were women, as were a third of conference treasurers and conference secretaries, and about two-thirds of the Sabbath School departmental leaders, where females appeared to dominate. By 1915, the hiring of women ministers had virtually ceased, and the proportions of women secretaries and women treasurers had dropped to around 16 and 14 percent respectively, although the percentages for education and Sabbath School increased slightly. After 1915, however, the number of women in these positions began an immediate and inexorable decline, so that by 1950 there were no women leaders in either department. The same is also true of conference secretaries and conference treasurers, although there was a temporary increase in the latter between 1915 and 1920. By 1950, however, all woman secretaries and treasurers had disappeared from view as men filled the available vacancies.²³

This is always liable to happen in highly structured church bureaucracies, which is what Adventism increasingly became after the reorganization of 1901.²⁴ But it was still quite a turnaround, since it was known as early as 1906 that male Adventists constituted only about a third of the church membership (with only the Christian Scientists and Congregationalists having a lower number of males).²⁵ The proportion of men in Adventism improved slightly in the late twentieth century as the increasing black and Hispanic memberships became more gender-balanced, but even then there appeared to be a shortage of males of working age in American Adventism, particularly in the 30–49 age group.²⁶ Since many local church offices such as elders, Sabbath School teachers, and youth leaders are also predominantly held by men, they have stood, for maybe a century, a much higher chance than their female counterparts of playing some sort of leadership role in the church as a whole. Middle-aged men in Adventism are almost always officers rather than foot soldiers.

It seems that Ellen White herself helped to bring this situation about. In 1891, she told female Adventists who were now looking outside the home for fulfillment: “If you have the idea that some work greater and holier than this [home-making] has been entrusted to you, you are under a deception.”²⁷ Such statements were not only key to turning Adventist women from church administrators into homemakers; they also perhaps had the more important effect of preventing any other female visionary from taking her place. Would-be successors like Anna Rice Phillips and Margaret Rowen were rejected, not just because of their “deviant” ideas, but because they emerged at the precise time, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when strong female leaders in Adventism were no longer being recognized.²⁸ The overall femininity of the denomination did not change, however, as the style of leadership Ellen White urged on the new male administrators was of a conspicuously non-macho kind. True, the General Conference was invested with supreme power, but it was to be a collective. Its members were to show qualities of “kindness” and “meekness.”²⁹ She actually condemned Daniells and the other men at the top of the leadership at one point for the “man-ruling power that has been coming into our ranks.”³⁰ These males were to set themselves “free from all egotism” and not “order and dictate and command” or “climb upon the judgment seat and censure and condemn [their] brethren.”³¹

During the first half of the twentieth century, the church maintained this feminine orientation. This was easier to sustain for women than for men because although in the wider society there emerged more subversive models of femininity, such as the liberated Flapper of the 1920s or the *femme fatale* beloved of Hollywood in the 1940s, the virtuous mother in the home remained the dominant conception of womanhood up to the 1960s.³² In Adventism, the process was aided by able propagandists such as Sarepta Myrenda Irish Henry, a late convert to the denomination who had previously established a national

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stereotyping, with the girls all passive and silly, and the boys active and clever.³⁸ But in fact, the stories assume that girls as well as boys possess the same innate, lawless natures, and both need to be taught the worth of feminine values, as two fables, one from 1924 and another from 1949, illustrate.

The first, "Unlucky Jim," was about a boy who finds himself down on his luck one Christmas and with his sister ill in bed. Walking aimlessly near his house, he gets a surprise invitation to a party. On arrival, the host informs the children that they can pick any present from a heavily laden Christmas tree. When Jimmie's turn comes, he is tempted by a toy engine. But he tells his host: "I would like that red engine, but if you don't mind I will take that fairy doll over there." This causes pandemonium. "Some of the boys called out 'Cissie!' and others, with a superior air, 'Fancy a boy taking a doll!'" Embarrassed, Jimmie rushes home and delivers the gift to the intended beneficiary—his sick sister. But just then there's a knock on the door. It's the host, with the red engine, which leaves Jimmie with the happy feeling that his fortunes are finally on the way up.³⁹ The second tale, "Teasing Trixy," described a girl who terrorizes the boys in the school playground by pulling off their caps, stealing their tennis balls, throwing stones at them, and even getting into fights with them as a consequence. When her mother actually observes this wild behavior, she mourns: "I thought you were a nice, ladylike little girl. Now I know you are just a naughty little tomboy tease. I'm ashamed of you." Suitably scolded, Trixy decides to mend her ways, and "by the end of the school year," we are told, "instead of being known as 'Trixy the tomboy tease,' the other children came to think of her as a pretty nice girl after all."⁴⁰

To some extent, the morals in these stories reflected the genteel values of the English upper-working, and lower-middle classes from which Uncle Arthur originally came. But they also fitted perfectly the feminine principles the denomination taught. This is not to say that some of society's more machismo attitudes did not occasionally spill over into Adventism. A study of Adventist advertising shows that this was one area where the church did use women in decorative and even in sexist ways. Women have always been used in the marketing of Adventist products, probably more so than men. Part of the reason for this is that many of the products advertised in Adventist publications are aimed at the home. Church enterprises have obviously seen women as the natural promoters of such merchandise. Thus, images of women advertising cookery books, food products, and health magazines, or women with children advertising story books, abound.

When products are not of this nature, however, women still seem to be the preferred sex. To take one example, in 1940 the *Review* ran four advertisements for the *Youth's Instructor*, an early Adventist young people's journal. Of these, three advertisements used women—two bright young girls and an older lady who contributed to the journal. The other advertisement used a man, but un-

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the traditions of the church—Adventist males after all had been encouraged to develop their feminine sides since the beginnings of the movement—the male leadership responded coolly to feminism and prevented the full participation of women in the church through the use of its own primitive, female-excluding ritual—the ordination of men by the laying on of hands.

The question of widening this ceremony to women had first come up in 1881, when delegates at a General Conference session passed a resolution advocating the ordination of female pastors. The resolution was not adopted, however, amid strong suspicions that the General Conference deliberately sabotaged the proposal.⁵³ In 1923 the General Conference then recommended that holders of top administrative positions should “preferably” be ordained ministers, which was partly responsible for the disappearance of women leaders in the middle years of the twentieth century.⁵⁴ The issue did not come up again in America until Josephine Benton’s appointment as a pastor at Sligo church. A few weeks after that, a General Conference committee, including many of the church’s leading feminists, met at Camp Mohaven in Ohio to discuss the way forward. It suggested that a plan for ordination be drawn up to be considered “by the 1975 General Conference session.”⁵⁵ At the 1973 Annual Council, the committee’s report was received. It was recommended that the report and selected papers be studied by General Conference divisions.⁵⁶ The next year the divisions reported. There was no consensus on the ordination of women, and the Annual Council recommended “no move be made in the direction of ordaining women to the gospel ministry.”⁵⁷

There was no mystery on this occasion as to why the church did not proceed. In referring the issue to the divisions, church leaders made the ordination of women impossible unless the worldwide church unanimously agreed on it. With so many different cultural traditions involved, the chances of such agreement were virtually nil. The North American Division was, however, gradually moving toward ordination. Sensing this, conservative Adventists in the United States launched an anti-ordination magazine, *Adventists Affirm*, in 1987, with the aim of helping “Seventh-day Adventist fellow believers resist the liberalizing influences which are eroding the confidence in the . . . contemporary relevance of Adventist beliefs and practices.”⁵⁸ This campaign was successful, for the NAD’s desire to ordain women within its jurisdiction was defeated at the 1990 General Conference session and again at the 1995 session, when the Third World divisions ensured that the motion did not pass.⁵⁹

Some individual churches and conferences in America did go ahead with some unofficial forms of female ordination.⁶⁰ Sympathetic academics also tried to establish a conceptual basis for extending the rite to women.⁶¹ But this was fiercely contested by the supporters of *Adventists Affirm*.⁶² They believed that women should not exert authority over men, and at the 2005 General Conference session, they succeeded in excluding entirely the possibility of a woman

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Race

WITHIN AMERICAN ADVENTISM, almost all major ethnic groups are now well represented. But the fact that the demographic profile of Adventism broadly reflects that of American society is also a measure of the church's distance from the standard patterns of American denominationalism. The United States may be a melting pot, but its churches are not. In many cases, ethnic identity and religious affiliation are closely linked. The English and Scots are still dominant among the Episcopalians and Presbyterians; Germans and Scandinavians among the Lutherans, and so on. Evangelically orientated groups like Baptists, Methodists, and Pentecostals have made headway in attracting converts from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, but perhaps no American denomination can match Adventism's degree of inclusivity. Its members can claim ancestry in almost all the countries from which the American population is drawn, with only Poles, Italians, and East Europeans being significantly underrepresented.¹

The major difference between Adventism and American society is that there are fewer whites and more blacks than in the general population. For this reason, Adventism is also exceptionally integrated. Many religious traditions have distinct black and white denominations, so most Protestants, both black and white, are members of congregations whose members are exclusively of their own racial group, whereas 69 percent of Adventists are not—a higher proportion than any substantial religious organization save the Jehovah's Witnesses.² However, within Adventist history, inclusiveness and integration have often been in tension, and the representative ethnic character of the church has led to conflict both between and within racial groups.

In origin, Adventism is a white, Anglophone faith, as the names of Adventism's

forerunners and earliest leaders—Miller, Bates, White, Andrews, Smith—testify. But this ethnic homogeneity did not last long. Immigration from other parts of Northern Europe increased rapidly from mid-century onward, and the Adventist church was quick to benefit. By 1877 about 13 percent of the membership was composed of non-English-speaking immigrants.³ These new recruits were mainly of Scandinavian and German origin, farmers who had gone straight from their homelands to the Midwest. The first Norwegian church was established in Wisconsin in 1861, and the first Danish one was founded by John Matteson in Minnesota in 1868.⁴ Evangelism among the Germans developed in the 1870s and was later led by L. R. Conradi, who was especially successful among Russian Germans with a Mennonite background in Kansas and the Dakotas.⁵

Although the Adventist German and Scandinavian populations grew at a similar rate for many decades, and both played a leading part in Adventism's move into the Pacific states, there were differences between the groups. Adventist penetration of the smaller Scandinavian population was much higher, and to judge from tithe receipts, the Swedes in particular may have been wealthier than the Germans—and indeed, than most other Adventists.⁶ Scandinavians appear to have played a positive role in the leadership of the church at large, beginning with O. A. Olsen, who became president of the General Conference in 1888. In contrast, German Adventists were sometimes associated with schism. Conradi rejected the 1888 message and eventually separated from the church, while the German Adventist population in North Dakota showed some sympathy with both the Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement in Germany and the prophetic claims of Margaret Rowen at home.⁷ A son of German immigrants, R. R. Figuhr, was president of the General Conference at the time of the publication of the contentious *Questions on Doctrine*.⁸

In the U.S. census of 1906, close to one in ten American Adventists attended a church where a foreign language was used for all or some of the services, and a decade later, one in eight did.⁹ This figure, which does not include those immigrants who now worshipped exclusively in English, represented the highest proportion of foreign-language members in any originally Anglophone church. The multiethnic character of Adventism in America was already a fact, and some of the institutional structures designed to accommodate this diversity were now in place. The Foreign Department of the General Conference was set up in 1905 to oversee work in other languages, and later plans were made to establish educational institutions for each major language group.¹⁰

Broadview Swedish Seminary was founded in 1909; Clinton German Seminary in Missouri, in 1910; and the Danish-Norwegian Seminary at Hutchinson, Minnesota, in 1911, with M. L. Andreasen, himself a Danish immigrant, as principal.¹¹ These institutions were not designed to segregate their respective ethnic groups or to accelerate their assimilation into English-speaking America, but rather to mediate between the language groups and the wider society so that a

person's integration might take place through Adventism at a pace that did not leave his compatriots behind. There was already a Scandinavian division at Union College in Nebraska, but as the calendar of the Swedish seminary noted, "those who have attended the college have taken up studies in English almost exclusively, and the result has been that they have drifted into the English work."¹²

Because the seminaries were designed to keep pace with assimilation rather than prevent it, they had soon served their purpose, and in the 1920s all were closed or merged. In 1926 the proportion of foreign language members was still as high as ever, but a decade later officials of the Bureau of Home Missions (as the Foreign Department was now called) noted the high death rate among the Swedish membership and the fact that half or more of those with German and Scandinavian heritage were now worshipping in English churches.¹³ These people were not being replaced, for by this time immigration from Northern Europe had diminished. In the 1930s, immigration overall slowed to its lowest point, so the church made a conscious attempt to look elsewhere for new members.¹⁴

Some of this attention focused on America's native peoples. The first converts were a Chippewa couple in Minnesota who joined the denomination back in 1893.¹⁵ Contact was subsequently made with the Navajos in Arizona, but there was very little momentum until the 1930s and 40s, when converts were won from the Maricopa, Yaqui, and Mohave-Apache tribes in Arizona; the Sioux in South Dakota; the Cherokees in Oklahoma, who were to yield the largest number of recruits; and the Onondagas in New York State.¹⁶ In 1946 there was a baptized Native American membership of 200, a figure that increased to 4,500 by 2003, a rate that was about half that of the Native American growth in the country.¹⁷ However, it was for the nation's Jews that greater efforts were made. Believing that they "will receive our literature more favorably because it comes from Sabbath-keeping, non-pork eating Christians," Adventists approached them with high hopes.¹⁸ But Adventist feelings of affinity with Judaism were unreciprocated, and apart from the establishment of a Jewish church of 25 members in New York in 1949, these endeavors met with little success.¹⁹ Nonetheless, a few later Jewish converts, such as the writer Clifford Goldstein, were to become leading lights in the denomination.²⁰

More receptive to the Adventist message was the growing Hispanic population, whose conversion rate exceeded that of the Swedes for the first time in the early 1930s.²¹ The Hispanic work in the United States had begun in 1899 in Sánchez, Arizona, where enough members of the Sánchez family joined the church to establish a congregation. By the following year there were 41 Hispanic members in the area.²² However, the Spanish work progressed slowly thereafter, and in 1920 there were still only 470 Hispanic Adventists. In that year a Spanish-American Training School was established in Phoenix, Arizona, but it suffered from inadequate funding and closed in 1933. Other short-lived educational initiatives followed, but, as with the schools for Northern Europeans,

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the church has achieved higher levels of penetration in other parts of the world than it has in its country of origin. Immigrants are therefore often more likely to have some prior awareness of the church than members of the indigenous population, and for them, Adventism may be a relatively familiar denomination in a strange land (rather than a strange one in a familiar country). This does not necessarily mean that immigrant Adventists were church members before they arrived—75 percent of first generation Hispanic immigrants are baptized in the United States rather than in their home countries.³⁴ But it does suggest one reason why, in the late twentieth century, Adventism was so successful among new immigrants while struggling to attract native-born converts.

This hypothesis is supported by recent studies of Hispanic Adventism, which have suggested that the church may function as a *pueblo*, giving immigrants to the anonymous and threatening cities of the United States the sense of a supportive community they took for granted in their countries of origin.³⁵ As a respondent in one study put it: “For me the church, in a sense, is like a small refuge—a refuge in the sense that the community (our people), the same as the individual, is going through the same process . . . there is some kind of . . . interaction that serves as a free ground, because it allows me to give total freedom to my expression of feelings and the like. These things you cannot express in front of Anglo Saxons.”³⁶ However, the church is not a place of retreat, for it also provides the motivation and social support networks needed to succeed in American society. Although articulated in terms of Hispanic culture, this experience may be common to Adventist immigrants from many countries. If converts are seeking a refuge from American society, the church will become more attractive insofar as it reminds them of home.

This link is particularly relevant to immigrants of West Indian origin, for the Caribbean is the region of Adventism’s greatest success. According to the GSS, almost 10 percent of Adventists in the United States are of Caribbean origin (including Puerto Ricans), making them by far the most overrepresented geographical or ethnic group within the church’s membership.³⁷ Detailed studies of urban congregations in the 1990s revealed that almost two-thirds of Adventists in metropolitan New York came from the Caribbean (not counting the Puerto Ricans), and that even in Los Angeles, one established black congregation was found to be 22 percent West Indian.³⁸ The Caribbean includes a large number of islands, each with a distinct ethnic and linguistic heritage. The countries in which Adventism is strongest are former British colonies, and most Caribbean immigrants are English-speakers; however, there are also a large number of Francophone Haitians in New York, and in the wider Adventist population, Hispanics of Caribbean origin are overrepresented. Caribbean Adventism is therefore a diverse but powerful presence in the church in America, and a disproportionate number of both Black and Hispanic leaders are of, respectively, West Indian or Puerto Rican origin.

In part, these figures reflect the steady increase in immigration from the Caribbean since the 1960s, but the story of West Indian involvement in the American church goes back a long way, as it does in America in general.³⁹ Because Adventist missionary work in the West Indies progressed more rapidly than that among African Americans, it became the training ground for black evangelism in America, and from the early twentieth century onward, West Indians have played a significant role in black Adventist affairs. One of them, G. E. Peters, from Antigua, became the second person of African descent to head the General Conference's Negro Department in 1929; another, Hyveth Williams, who came from Jamaica, was American Adventism's first black woman pastor in the 1980s.⁴⁰

Racial intermingling was somewhat more fluid in the Caribbean, and when, in the early days, West Indians arrived in America "immaculately dressed like British statesmen," they often neither expected nor received the same hostility and discrimination as African Americans—something that could cause resentment.⁴¹ In consequence, some Caribbeans found their way into traditionally white Adventist churches. If anything, those that joined the almost exclusively black churches where African American Adventists worshipped encountered more problems. Adventism's extraordinary openness to immigrants has not been matched by its reception of America's black population, and many African Americans considered that the West Indian newcomers catered "to whites in America to obtain favors which are never given to native blacks."⁴² Immigrants from Africa have also quickly made their mark on American Adventism. A traditionalist like Samuel Koranteng-Pipim was embraced by white conservatives after he arrived from Ghana in the 1980s and subsequently became one of the church's most articulate critics of liberal Adventism.⁴³ Thirty percent or more of Adventists may be black, but that figure disguises fundamental differences in the experience and trajectory of black immigrants (from the West Indies and Africa) and African Americans.

Unlike most immigrant groups, which have constituted a separate entity within Adventism for a few decades after the heaviest influx of converts, African Americans have remained a distinct group for over a century. Partly as a result, the church has found their presence in Adventism far more difficult to cope with than that of other races; and despite drawing a disproportionately high number into their ranks, which on the face of it suggests the church is unusually hospitable to America's blacks, the denomination has often displayed the same prejudice toward them as has the country at large.

The white Adventist pioneers first encountered African Americans in significant numbers in the 1870s when their evangelistic endeavors brought them into the South. They did not, however, set out to evangelize these communities. Rather, it was African Americans who found the church after turning up at Adventist meetings without being directly invited. At these gatherings, Adventist ministers discovered a pattern of segregation existing in the South to which,

as northerners, they had never really been exposed. They had had some previous contact with African Americans. The famous ex-slave known as Sojourner Truth mixed freely among them after she moved to the Battle Creek area in the late 1850s.⁴⁴ But the blacks who now came to Adventist assemblies sat in a separate partition or outside the meeting halls. Elbert B. Lane, the first Adventist minister in the South, reported holding gatherings in a Tennessee depot building with "white people occupying one room, and the colored the other."⁴⁵

This self-segregation apparently took some Adventist workers by surprise. In 1876 Dudley M. Canright described a meeting he held near Dallas, Texas. People "came from every direction," he wrote in the *Review*, "afoot, on horseback . . . with wagons, men, women and children both white and black." But then he saw "something new — the whites all seated inside the house and the colored people all outside — an invariable custom through the South."⁴⁶ There is no indication at this stage that Adventists endorsed these practices, although they did accept them as part of life in the region. The reports of Lane and Canright do show, however, that Adventists first saw blacks in the movement separated from whites or on the back seats outside the church. It was an appropriate beginning to the association of whites and African Americans in Adventism, for from that time to the present day, Adventists have never relinquished the idea that good relations between the two are best served by some kind of segregationist policy.

It was initially felt that blacks could not be reached without alienating whites unless mission work was divided along color lines. Canright was one of the first to advocate this. He argued in 1876 that evangelism among the freedmen had to be a distinct mission. "A man cannot labor for them and for the whites too, as the white would not associate with him if he did," he wrote in the *Review*. "There is no objection to laboring for them and teaching them, but it must be separately."⁴⁷ This policy was adopted by other Adventist workers, including Edson White, the son of Ellen White, who sailed down the Mississippi River in the 1890s in the riverboat *The Morning Star*. He went specifically to evangelize the black communities and took great care not to antagonize whites in doing so.⁴⁸

Prejudiced attitudes thus dictated the Adventist approach to African Americans. But soon Adventism itself began to reflect the black-white divide in America. In 1886 the first African American Adventist church was established in Edgefield, Tennessee. It was followed by another in Louisville, Kentucky, founded by Charles M. Kinney, the first ordained black minister. Not all Adventists agreed with this separatism. Kinney himself was in favor of integration until such time as black Adventists were sufficiently numerous to form conferences of their own.⁴⁹ The liberal John Harvey Kellogg did not subscribe to the principle of the color line and supported other Adventists who defied it. Kellogg's stand upset Edson White, who in 1899 wrote to his mother about the doctor's attitude. White felt that Kellogg and others who wanted to defy segregation would "close up the field" if their ideas gained any credence.⁵⁰

His mother, however, had more ambivalent feelings. In the 1890s she urged the integration of the Adventist church and told white Adventists they had no right to exclude blacks from their places of worship.⁵¹ She argued that men who believed the separation of the races to be the best way of meeting the prejudice of white people "have not had the spirit of Christ."⁵² But in 1908, in a pamphlet called *Proclaiming the Truth Where There Is Race Antagonism*, Ellen White bowed to the white racism she had earlier tried to resist. "Among the white people in many places, there exists a strong prejudice against the colored race. We may desire to ignore this prejudice, but we cannot do it. If we were to act as if this prejudice did not exist, we could not get the light before the white people," she wrote. The prophetess argued for separate white and black churches "in order that the work for the white people may be carried on without serious hindrance."⁵³

The lower priority given to black evangelism in the nineteenth century is striking. By the 1890s Adventism had already established missions overseas with several thousand members, and the church had overcome the language barrier to convert almost as many Scandinavians and Germans within the United States. But color was a greater obstacle than either geography or language, and by 1894 there were only 50 African American members out of a black population of 8 million.⁵⁴ That this was not due to a lack of receptivity is apparent from the speed with which the African American membership grew once efforts were made to accommodate it. By 1906 there were 562 black Adventists.⁵⁵ Following the example of the North American Foreign Department established in 1905, a Negro Department was established in 1909. But whereas the Foreign Department had given responsibility for German and Scandinavians to members of their respective ethnic groups, it was not until 1918, when there were 3,500 black Adventists, that an African American was considered suitable to lead people of his own race.⁵⁶

As more blacks came into the church, the pattern of separate institutional development became more entrenched. Oakwood College, originally an industrial training school, had been established for blacks in Huntsville, Alabama, in 1896.⁵⁷ Periodicals for blacks were also set up: the *Gospel Herald*, first published in Mississippi by Edson White, followed in 1934 by *Message*, which remains the voice of black Adventism.⁵⁸ In 1927 a Scots woman, Nellie Druillard, established Riverside Sanitarium in Tennessee specifically for blacks.⁵⁹ In every case, however, these institutions were run by whites. This situation was not confined to the rural South, for the demographics of the black Adventist community quickly turned into a much more northern and urban phenomenon than the African American population at large. By 1906, more than half the black membership lived north of the Mason-Dixon line.⁶⁰ In 1916, over 30 percent of the community was to be found in New York, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. Men made up only a quarter of the total, and this marked gender im-

balance may have been an additional factor in both the slow development of an African American leadership and the relative prominence of West Indian immigrants, who tended to settle in places like New York.⁶⁴

By 1944, the black Adventist population stood at nearly 18,000. At about 9 percent of the Adventist membership in America at that time, it had almost caught up with the proportion of blacks in the country, which was just under 10 percent in 1950.⁶⁵ But African Americans were still virtually unrepresented in the administration and institutions of the church. A Committee for the Advancement of Worldwide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists, set up by leading black Adventists the previous year, submitted to the General Conference a document that revealed the extent to which black Adventists lacked control over their own affairs and encountered discrimination at white Adventist institutions.⁶⁵ One such incident gained lasting notoriety. In 1944 the Adventist Washington Sanitarium refused to treat a black woman after she had fallen ill while visiting the capital. Lucy Byard, an Adventist from New York, was then rushed to the Howard University Hospital instead. But the delay was fatal, and she died of pneumonia before she could be properly treated. Ironically, at Howard she was attended by a black Adventist doctor, who would not have been allowed to work at the Washington Sanitarium either.⁶⁴

From the outside, and to those with a Caribbean heritage, the church could seem more welcoming. At around this time, a young Malcolm X attended a white Seventh-day Adventist church with his West Indian mother in Michigan, and the members he met there, he concluded, were "the friendliest white people" he ever came across.⁶⁵ But inside the denomination, the committee for the advancement of the colored work had to struggle for the integration of Adventist medical, educational, and administrative institutions. One demand, a black editor for *Message*, was quickly met by the appointment of Louis B. Reynolds in 1945, but the others were not. What the General Conference offered instead was the creation of conference structures solely for the black churches. This was better than nothing, and, save on the West Coast (where there were few blacks and the practice of segregation was less entrenched), black Adventists accepted the plan. The regional conferences, although administered by blacks for blacks, bore the same relationship to the union administration as other Adventist conferences, and nine have since been formed around the country. In this context, at least, African Americans could experience something of the sense of autonomous community, which immigrant groups had long enjoyed in virtue of their linguistic separation.⁶⁶

However, regional conferences did little to address the problem of institutional segregation. The policy of not treating blacks in the church's hospitals was only one aspect of Adventist discrimination. Blacks were barred from some Adventist schools and segregated in others. Even the head of the Negro Department faced discrimination. Calvin E. Moseley, who became the fourth black to

head the department in 1953, recalled the situation when he arrived: "It was very uncomfortable from the very first. There were a number of Southern white people in high positions in the General Conference at the time and they brought their prejudices with them. I could not eat in the General Conference cafeteria with everyone else. Some whites would not even greet you when they saw you in the morning."⁶⁷

Such practices put black Adventists in a dilemma. Should they leave the church or remain and fight for racial justice within an organization they otherwise felt to be right? And what was the best way to achieve equality: integration or separatism? In both cases, the search for racial justice brought official disapproval. In 1903, Louis C. Sheafe was the pastor of the First Church of Seventh-day Adventists in Washington, D.C., a black minister leading a racially mixed congregation. But after the General Conference headquarters was transferred to the capital in that same year, it provided no support for his integrationist approach. Sheafe later transferred to another Adventist church in the area, known as the People's Church, which declared its independence of the General Conference administration in 1907. Sheafe continued to lead the congregation for many years, associating first with the Church of God, and then with the Seventh Day Baptists. He likened the experience of blacks and whites in Adventism to that of two sheep meeting on a precipitous mountain path: both could proceed safely on their way provided that one lay down and let the other walk over it.⁶⁸

Sheafe had been a minister of a Baptist church before becoming a Seventh-day Adventist, and like many African American preachers, he clearly viewed the pastor's bond with his congregation as something that transcended sectarian divisions. It is perhaps significant that another black pastor who fell out with the General Conference, the Jamaican J. K. Humphrey, was also a Baptist minister before becoming an Adventist in 1902. He was subsequently chosen to lead a newly formed black group in New York, and later founded the First Harlem Seventh-day Adventist Church, whose membership reached 600 in 1920. Everywhere he looked, he saw discrimination: in the church's schools, hospitals, sanitariums, and conferences. But finding there was as yet no General Conference support for the idea of separate black conferences, he started work on a secret communitarian project called Utopia Park. It would be situated just outside New York and would consist of an orphanage, an old people's home, a training school, an industrial area, and health care facilities. Humphrey emphasized that the park would not be just for Adventists but would be open to all blacks in the United States. When word of the plans leaked out, the denomination expelled Humphrey, and, when his congregation stood by him, disfellowshipped the church as well. Reformed under the name United Sabbath-Day Adventist Church, the congregation survived for many years, but the dream of Utopia Park quickly foundered on legal and financial difficulties.⁶⁹

No doubt Humphrey's vision was affected by the stirring events that were



Figure 30. Oakwood students: a group poses outside the school sign in 2001. Of all the early separate language and ethnic colleges that the denomination established in America, Oakwood is the only one that remains.
Photo courtesy Public Relations Office, Oakwood College.

then occurring on his doorstep. Marcus Garvey's black nationalist movement and Harlem's 1920s revival were in full swing at the time. Adventists in New York did not stand on the sidelines. A central figure in the Harlem Renaissance was Arna Bontemps, a graduate of Pacific Union College, who taught at the Adventist Harlem Academy from 1924 onward. He was already making a reputation as a poet, and while in Harlem established a lifelong friendship with the writer Langston Hughes. But when he transferred to Oakwood College in 1931, he was in for a shock. "This is perhaps the world's worst school," he wrote to the poet Countee Cullen. "No buildings, few teachers, no vision, and no learning."⁷⁰ Exaggeration was his style, but dissatisfaction with the college was widespread, and on October 8, 1931, the students went on strike. The students' leaders were expelled, but the strike ultimately led to the appointment of the college's first black principal, J. L. Moran.⁷¹ Under his leadership and that of subsequent African Americans, the school recovered, gradually acquiring a reputation for producing confident individuals (see figure 30).

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all races reluctant to speak out on racial injustice. As the Adventist A. W. Spalding explained in an unpublished history of the black work: "Injustice and oppression are repugnant to the Christian; pride and disdain are foreign to his heart; but his Christian experience should not therefore lead him to start a crusade against customs which do not interfere with the Christian's duty."⁸⁰

As a result of this attitude, the church did not openly support the principle of black equality. During his mission down the Mississippi River, Edson White and his associate, F. R. Rogers, often met with hostile opposition from white groups. In Yazoo City, Mississippi, the editor of the city newspaper viciously attacked the Adventist workers for, among other things, teaching equality of the races.⁸¹ In a letter to the paper, Rogers wrote: "Understanding the reports that have been circulated about us and our work, I wish to state to the public, in order to right myself on these matters, that we DO NOT believe in social equality, neither do we teach or practice it."⁸² Ellen White, too, made similar statements. She advised that the mingling of whites and blacks in social equality was not to be encouraged.⁸³ "The colored people," she wrote, "should not urge that they be placed on an equality with white people."⁸⁴

Interracial marriage was also opposed. According to Ellen White, "no encouragement to marriages of this character should be given among our people," and no encouragement was.⁸⁵ John Ragland, a black student at Emmanuel Missionary College in 1908–1909, later recalled how he was almost driven to suicide when the principal told him he could not marry his white girlfriend.⁸⁶ As late as 1968, the North American Division drew up guidelines that advised against marriage where "there are different racial backgrounds."⁸⁷ When an interracial marriage did take place on the campus of Andrews University in this period, white southern students boycotted the institution.⁸⁸ Such ill-will was not lost on black leaders, some of whom also frowned upon intermarriage on the grounds that "in a white racist society, it is unwise, inconvenient, and unnecessary."⁸⁹

Much of the debate about interracial marriage took place against the tense backdrop of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. An incident that occurred at an Adventist church in Alabama dramatically portrayed the uneasy relationship that existed between white and African American members in the decade. The congregation, composed mostly of white Adventists, invited a group from Oakwood College to present a Sabbath program. Arriving at the church, the black group found a roped-off section for them to sit in. However, the section could not hold them all, so some of them attempted to find seats elsewhere in the church. As this was against the church's policies, the deacons tried, unsuccessfully, to usher the blacks out. In the midst of the confusion, an elder reportedly stood up, pulled out a gun, and declared: "I've got six bullets here and they all say nigger on them." The minister's wife started to cry. "We love you niggers," she said, "but we just don't want you to sit with us."⁹⁰

In other cases, white Adventists linked arms outside their churches to prevent

blacks from entering them.⁹³ Similar battles were played out in the church's schools. When a black girl was refused admission to an Adventist academy, her parents publicly attacked the denomination for what they considered to be a clear example of racial prejudice. This incident prompted a large protest at the denomination's General Conference session in San Francisco in 1962. About a thousand black Seventh-day Adventists gathered in the city in a demonstration of defiance at the church's racial policies. The event attracted considerable attention in the local press.⁹⁴

Eventually, church leaders responded to the pressure for change. Typically, however, they distanced themselves from the campaigns inside and outside the denomination. In a 1965 editorial in the *Review*, F. D. Nichol implicitly criticized clergymen who took part in the freedom marches. He wrote that the Adventist church sympathized with "those underprivileged," but it did not feel that the answer lay in social protest. Revealing once again the priority given to the church's overriding mission, he stated, "We have ever felt that we can best reveal true Christianity and thus best advance the Advent cause, by taking the more quiet and perhaps indirect approach to problems that so often arouse human passions."⁹⁵

But throughout this period, major pillars of Adventist segregation were falling. In 1965 the *Review* carried actions of the General Conference that called for the ending of racial discrimination in the denomination's schools, hospitals, and churches.⁹⁴ The General Conference cafeteria had already been desegregated in the 1950s. But the integration of Adventist schools was a slow process. After a bitter struggle, Southern Missionary College in Tennessee, a bastion of white southern Adventism, admitted its first black students in 1968, five years after the last state university, Alabama, had integrated its campus.⁹⁵ The church also appointed more blacks in leadership positions. In 1962 Frank L. Peterson became the first of several African Americans to hold the position of general vice-president of the General Conference. In addition, Adventist publishing houses put out books and articles to educate the membership on these issues. Among the most significant were Ronald Graybill's *E. G. White and Church Race Relations* (1970), which presented the prophetess as a champion of racial equality, and a series of articles by Roy Branson that appeared in the same year.⁹⁶

Despite these moves toward integration, the black conferences remained. Indeed, the controversies of the 1960s convinced many black leaders that only through the creation of black unions, the next level of government in Adventism, could parity be reached with whites. The question, for E. E. Cleveland, was one of power. He believed that union presidents were decisive figures in church administration but that blacks had very little hope of reaching such positions. He thus supported black unions because it was "imperative that black men have someone at Union Conference level to speak for them."⁹⁷ For Calvin Rock, then the president of Oakwood, the issue was more one of community.

He argued for black unions on the grounds of the genuine cultural differences that exist between the races.⁹⁸

Rock was supported by the fact that the separation of the African American work had apparently led to a spectacular increase in the black membership. Between 1944 and 1970, the number of black Adventists rose from 18,000 to just under 74,000, or 18 percent of the total American membership, now far in excess of the proportion of blacks in the general population, which had stayed fairly static at 11 percent.⁹⁹ Men were also forming a rapidly expanding segment of the black Adventist community, which at this point was well on its way to becoming Adventism's most gender-balanced ethnic group. This may actually have had something to do with the increasing desire to create another tier of administrators. Like all Adventist males, black men found that the bureaucratic structures of the church were one of the few places in the denomination where they could act out masculine roles. At any rate, they pushed for black unions throughout the 1970s.¹⁰⁰ The proposal was rejected several times during the decade by the General Conference.¹⁰¹ But they did make progress in other ways. Walter E. Arties began the African American telecast *Breath of Life* in 1973, and another black Adventist, Charles Bradford, became president of the North American Division in 1979.¹⁰²

In addition to the calls for greater separation, African American leaders also raised the level of black consciousness in the 1970s. This was not dissimilar to the "black is beautiful" movement of the 1960s. The roots of this in Adventism, however, went back to 1934, when Frank L. Peterson published *The Hope of the Race*, which contained the traditional Adventist themes but differed from all Adventist books before it in the attention it paid to black history. Its pages were sprinkled with photographs of black heroes such as Booker T. Washington and the singer Roland Hayes. The book celebrated the black experience almost as much as the Adventist message. E. E. Cleveland wrote a similar book in 1970 called *Free at Last*. The inside cover contained a collage of famous black figures from Jesse Owens to George Washington Carver.¹⁰³

This is something that all Adventism's minorities tend to do, finding encouragement in the worldly achievements of non-Adventists who have the same ethnic background as themselves. When the Adventist administrator Manuel Vásquez wrote a history of Hispanic Adventism in 2000, he included a discussion of Hispanic American celebrities such as the actor Anthony Quinn, the TV personality Desi Arnaz, and the black, Cuban-born baseball player Adolfo Luque.¹⁰⁴ Even a history of the Scandinavian contribution to American Adventism published back in the 1940s fêted the renowned Norwegian explorers Bjarni Herjulfson and Leif Ericson.¹⁰⁵ Because they have thought it important to celebrate their ethnic identities as well as asserting their collective Adventist identity, the church's various racial groups have drawn inspiration from ethnic role models (who by the yardstick of the church's own standards might seem

otherwise unsuitable) from outside the Adventist community. It is a strategy that is exploited well beyond Adventism, of course, for all minority groups in the wider society have pointed up their own high achievers as a means of gaining recognition of their respective races in an historically dominant Anglophone culture.

Even so, despite facing initial prejudice, nearly every immigrant group has sought absorption into American society. In a famous study of race relations in 1944, Gunnar Myrdal made the same assumptions about African Americans. Indeed, he believed that not only did blacks want to be assimilated but that this was the only viable option.¹⁰⁶ With the early emergence of individuals such as W. E. B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, and even Booker T. Washington, it is doubtful if black leaders, in contrast to their counterparts of other racial groups, would have seen integration as their only objective. But it was the black nationalist movement of the later 1960s that forced sociologists to recognize the separatist, as well as the integrationist, impulse in black history.¹⁰⁷

The paradox of African Americans in the United States, observed one writer, "is that black people have to get out of white society in order to get into it, and they have to get into it in order to get out. They have to get into the society to get a minimum of those palpable things that people need in order simply to survive—material goods, education, government, a minimum of justice. . . . Yet because white people are prejudiced and have the power to manifest their prejudices in a multitude of ways, they have to get out . . . to maintain a sense of worth and self-esteem."¹⁰⁸ In an Adventist context, the paradox has a further resonance. Immigrants, including West Indians, who come from outside, have primarily been motivated by the desire to get into American society, yet they have been able to use the church as a refuge that also facilitates their assimilation. African Americans, who come from within and have often sought separation, have found it difficult to get sufficiently integrated within Adventism to use the church as a refuge from American society.

These complex dynamics suggest that it would be simplistic to interpret racial integration in Adventism as the result of increasing harmony between African Americans and their white counterparts. It may be partially accounted for by the presence of Caribbean Adventists in historically white churches, and Hispanic immigrants (some also from the Caribbean) in historically black churches. Nevertheless, the assimilation of immigrants on both sides of the color line may eventually create a situation that renders the existence of regional conferences superfluous. In metropolitan New York, for example, members in the regional conference are overwhelmingly of Caribbean origin, while those in the former "white" conference are mostly Hispanic or Caribbean as well. A division that was designed to facilitate the separate development of white and black Americans hardly seems relevant when few of either remain.

Yet at the same time as regional conferences were becoming an anachronism

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Ministry

DISHARMONY AMONG ADVENTISTS can, of course, be occasioned by many issues in addition to that of race. The smooth running of any congregation is often upset by the disruptive behavior of a church member or by disagreements over theology or worship styles. On these and other issues, surveys have found that Adventist churches have a higher level of conflict than the congregations of other religious groups.¹ Adventist leaders generally try to maintain unity and order even when they need to disfellowship members. Their agents in this difficult task are the ordained ministers of the church. They are expected to lead exemplary lives while at the same time giving priority to their pastoral responsibilities. This chapter examines the tensions inherent in the position of those called upon both to be model individuals and to be committed to sustaining the efficiency of a complex social organization.

The Adventist church had ministers from its earliest days, largely due to its distinctive origins. The Millerites had converted many established clergies, some of whom later became Sabbatharians. Joseph Bates and James White had both been ministers in the Christian Connection, so the church's leadership always accepted the need for ordination. But being ordained in the Christian Connection was essentially a license to preach, and neither Bates nor White had ever been the pastor of an established congregation. The first who had was Frederick Wheeler, who was an ordained clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal Church when he became impressed with Millerite views around 1842. Two years later, he accepted the Sabbath and thereafter led what was effectively the first Seventh-day Adventist congregation in Washington, New Hampshire.

As Adventism gradually expanded throughout America after the Shut-Door era, the need to distinguish between approved preachers and unwelcome inter-

lopers grew, and from 1853 the church gave out cards signed by Bates and White.² The new ministers were still often individuals previously ordained in other denominations. M. B. Czechowski, the church's first unofficial missionary, was a Catholic priest and then a Baptist minister before being converted to Adventism in 1857. However, there were also pastors newly ordained to work in the Adventist movement, not, as James White noted, because "the church has power to call men into the ministry, or that ordination makes men ministers," but to ensure "gospel order."³ Some of these people, like Elbert B. Lane, the evangelist who pioneered the Adventist work in the southern states, had farming backgrounds; others were very young converts who demonstrated particular ability or commitment. Among those who fell into this category were J. N. Andrews, J. N. Loughborough, and Uriah Smith. They were in their early twenties when ordained, and all subsequently rose rapidly in the Adventist hierarchy.⁴

By 1876 the Adventist church had 166 working ministers (96 of whom were ordained), who supervised 398 churches.⁵ According to the Adventist historian A. W. Spalding, individuals without previous ministerial training were educated during evangelistic tent meetings. "A young man aiming at the ministry," he wrote, "was taken into company with an evangelist, and acted as his tent master." The prospective pastor had to erect and maintain the tent, advertise and promote meetings, lead out in congregational singing, and, "on some fateful evening to try his callow wings at preaching."⁶ It was not long, however, before the denomination's leaders decided that pastors needed more formal academic training. In 1874 the church founded its first college in Battle Creek, Michigan. Planned in part as a ministerial training center, the college gave Adventism's increasing number of homegrown ministers the opportunity to obtain formal qualifications.

Additionally, the General Conference devised rigorous reading programs for the edification and improvement of Adventist pastors. For example, in 1881 church officials recommended for Adventist ministers a six-year reading course that was remarkable for its breadth. In addition to denominational publications, Ellen White books, and works of practical ministry, church pastors were expected to read Rollin's entire multivolume *Ancient History*, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, and D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*. They were to study standard histories of England and the United States and were expected to be fully conversant with authors as varied as Josephus, Eusebius, and Hagenbach.⁷

However, these attempts to improve the Adventist ministry seem to have failed. Because the need for workers was so great, it appears that few ministerial students actually finished the course at Battle Creek before taking up pastoral responsibilities. Nor did the prescribed reading courses improve the competence of Adventist pastors. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, General Conference President O. A. Olsen lamented the "exceedingly weak" condition of the Adventist clergy. This situation shortchanged local members who were,

Olsen reported, "in many things ahead of the ministry."⁸ Such criticism spurred on the professionalization of the clergy. Significant steps included the creation in 1922 of the General Conference's Ministerial Association, an organization designed to cater to the interests of Adventist pastors, and the founding in 1928 of *Ministry* magazine, which provided a forum for the exchange of ideas.

But the most important development was the establishment in 1937 of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary in Takoma Park, Maryland. The seminary soon became the premier center for ministerial training, although preparatory theology courses continued to be offered at the denomination's colleges. Within a decade, the seminary had developed full master of arts and bachelor of divinity degrees (the master of divinity replaced the bachelor of divinity in 1972) and had founded departments of archaeology and history of antiquity, Bible and systematic theology, biblical languages, church history, and practical theology. In 1959, the institution moved to Berrien Springs in Michigan to become part of Andrews University. In the 1970s the seminary inaugurated its first doctoral programs and received accreditation from the American Association of Theological Schools.⁹ As a result, by 2001, 44 percent of Adventist ministers had a master's degree and 8 percent a doctorate.¹⁰

All of these institutional developments were the result of the initial acceptance of the idea that the church should have an ordained ministry at all. That decision, taken without prolonged discussion, has shaped the history of the denomination ever since. Of the major sects that emerged in nineteenth-century America, the Adventist church was the only one that developed a professional ministry. The Mormons did not do so, nor did the Jehovah's Witnesses or the Christian Scientists. Without a professional ministry there is no need for seminaries or their accreditation, and no need to keep abreast of theological developments in the rest of the Christian world. Adventism may owe its distinctive doctrines to the Bible study and visionary experiences of lay men and women, but its theological development thereafter has been in the hands of professionals conscious of the need to maintain parity with, and yet remain different from, their rivals in other denominations. Adventism's subsequent tendency to track wider developments in American Protestantism has in large measure been the result of the professionalization of its clergy, who have always had one eye on what other ministers are likely to think of them.

Some indication of the nature of Adventist ministry relative to that of other denominations is provided by a comprehensive study, *Ministry in America*, that was completed in the 1980s. Researchers of the Association of Theological Schools in the United States and Canada and of the research agency Search Institute identified four different models of ministry in contemporary North America: (1) the spiritual emphasis model practiced by various Baptist groups; (2) the sacramental-liturgical model favored by the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches; (3) the social action model of Jewish and Unitarian groups;

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tist ministry in Australia found that 41 percent of those who trained for the ministry left their jobs; that the median age at the time of exit was 36, and that 40 percent of leavers gave up during the month of November, around the time that pastors might expect to receive a transfer to another assignment.⁴³

In the case of male ministers (there is a lack of similar information on female clergy) the Australian study indicated that the pastor's spouse emerged as a key player in the decision to exit. This confirmed the 1981 ICM survey, which showed that the greater ministers' family problems, the more frustrated they are likely to be in their ministry—a conclusion that also supported what Ellen White and others believed about the importance of ministers' spouses and homes.⁴⁴ Seventy-eight percent of the surveyed pastors said that they regularly take time to spend with their spouses and children.⁴⁵ However, when ministers' wives were studied by the Institute of Church Ministry in 1981, they generally felt they took second place in their husband's priorities and complained that their husbands rarely took time off for recreation or to be with the family.⁴⁶ In the Australian study, those pastors who did not take time off to spend with their spouses were more likely to end up leaving their jobs.⁴⁷

The ministerial vocation puts peculiar strains on spouses and families. Because important aspects of the work—visiting, prayer meetings, evangelistic meetings, and so on—all take place in the evenings, it may be difficult for Adventist ministers to see their families at all. In addition to the feelings of neglect this may cause in the minister's spouse, he or she also has to cope with the exacting expectations of church members and conference officials. In the survey on ministers' wives, these expectations were listed among the chief sources of frustration.⁴⁸ Similar problems are experienced by ministers' children, who face the daunting prospect of growing up under the critical eye of the congregation. Again, it would be wrong to paint too pessimistic a picture. The majority of ministers' wives, at least, enjoy their position, believe they are successful, and do not feel that ministers' children face more problems than other children.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it was becoming clear by the 1980s that the nature of the pastor's work was exacting a high price from ministerial families when it was found that the rate of divorce among the church's ministers was rising at an "alarming rate."⁵⁰

Thus, the Adventist pastor is sometimes a victim of the emphasis placed on two vital Adventist institutions: the ministry and the family. The family's importance to Adventism is clear enough, but the significance of the ministry lies in the way it is linked into the particular purposes of the denomination. In a series of articles in the *Review* in 1865, James White based the importance of the Adventist ministry on the commission to go "into all the world, and preach the gospel." In the first article, he argued that the behavior, spirituality, intellect, and ability of the minister needed to be cultivated, because the preaching of the gospel commission affected humanity's eternal destiny.⁵¹ Allied to these considerations was another conception of the minister that White developed in his second

article. In this instance, he viewed the minister as a sort of watchman—the keeper of the eternal interests of the congregation. Ministers are thus the guardians who warn the members of impending dangers. It is their duty to prevent sin from entering the gates. It is also their duty to “watch for the salvation of men.”⁵² The idea of the minister as the keeper of the gates became a favorite theme of Ellen White’s, and it provided an appropriate framework for her stress on the vital personal qualities required in those who must remain vigilant at their isolated outposts.⁵³

Depicting ministers as watchmen is also perhaps an appropriate concept given the church’s attitude toward society. Adventists constantly watch for evidence of society’s malevolent character in anticipation of the day when it will turn its wrath upon them. Viewed in this light, the idea of the minister as watchman takes on a symbolic importance. Ministers stand at the gate between the church and an implicitly hostile culture. They keep a watchful eye on the monster that lurks outside the wall that separates Adventism from the rest of America, and at the first signs of danger, they act as a sort of early warning system for the Adventist community. This almost military image of the ministry is plainly revealed in the language Ellen White chose to describe its functions. Ministers, she wrote, “are to stand as watchmen on the walls of Zion, to sound the note of alarm at the approach of the enemy.”⁵⁴ Elsewhere, the prophetess described Adventist pastors as “sentinels” who must remain constantly “on duty.”⁵⁵ The importance of the minister in a denomination isolated from the surrounding culture can perhaps also be seen in the way in which ministers are expected to maintain the ideological and structural foundations of Adventism’s alternative society. According to White, the pastor was to be a “correct exponent” of Adventist doctrine and an upholder of the church’s organization.⁵⁶

The strategic importance of the clergy was a major reason why they quickly achieved a position of dominance within the Adventist community. Effectively, the Adventist pastor was set above the ordinary church member. In many respects, Adventism reverted to a pre-Reformation ethic in its attitude toward God’s calling. Martin Luther had taught that all legitimate occupations were of equal worth in the sight of God. Adventists, however, held that the minister’s calling was more sacred than others. But in the 1890s the minister’s supremacy within Adventism was challenged. At that time, John Harvey Kellogg began to be more open about his deep contempt for Adventist pastors. He considered the men who comprised the Adventist ministry to be uneducated, ignorant, second-rate individuals. He believed that the standing of the doctor was at least as high as the minister. During the 1890s, Kellogg, in the words of those who knew him, “ran down the ministry in every way that he could.”⁵⁷

During this period, Ellen White felt obliged to defend the position of the church’s ministers. She had written earlier that physicians had responsibilities greater than those of ministers.⁵⁸ Now she argued that “no enterprise should be

so conducted as to cause the ministry of the word to be looked upon as an inferior matter. . . . The highest of all work is ministry in its various lines, and it should be kept before the youth that there is no work more blessed of God than that of the gospel minister." In a reference that seemed particularly aimed at Kellogg (although she did not mention him by name), she went on: "Let not our young men be deterred from entering the ministry. There is a danger that through glowing representations some will be drawn away from the path where God bids them walk. Some have been encouraged to take a course of study in medical lines who ought to be preparing themselves to enter the ministry. The Lord calls for more ministers to labor in His vineyard."⁵⁹

Ellen White's clear support for the church's ministers provided a suitable foundation for the professionalization of the Adventist ministry that took place later in the twentieth century. But her comments also brought into focus a deep conflict between the church's ministers and doctors—a conflict that was not just about the relative status of these two groups but that also embodied fundamental differences about the nature of Adventism. Insofar as they were called upon to insulate the congregation from a hostile world and to sustain the ideological and structural bases of the church's alternative society, ministers personified the Adventist response to the American nation. Adventist doctors, on the other hand, symbolized a new tradition. They were the first group to mount an effective challenge to the authority of the clergy and to attempt to modify the church's attitude toward the world around it.

Medicine

IT WAS NOT ANTICIPATED that the church's ministers and doctors would come to represent alternative interpretations of the Adventist tradition. The two groups were to work in tandem. Like harnessed horses, they were to pull the Adventist carriage at the same speed, along the same route. Perhaps for a time they did. Until the 1890s, Ellen White did not find it necessary to discuss the relative status of ministers and doctors. They were both equally vital in disseminating the church's message, which concerned, on the one hand, a distinctive theology, and on the other, an unusual emphasis on health. But ever since Dr. Kellogg had taken over the Battle Creek Sanitarium in 1876, he had slowly been redefining the nature of Adventism. He presented a reinterpretation that challenged both the church's internal management and the way which Adventism related to American society. Ellen White's implicit rebuke of Kellogg was not simply an attempt to put the Adventist doctor in his place. It can also be seen as an effort to stem a form of Adventism that, by the 1890s, threatened to upset the balance of the church's relationship with the republic.

Kellogg's Adventism revolved around an almost fanatical devotion to health reform. He used the Battle Creek Sanitarium as a platform to promote "biologic living"—a system of human perfection that could be reached through obedience to natural law and the strict control of diet. Kellogg was one of the few Adventists to take White's views on health seriously. The church's ministers in the nineteenth century did not regard health as central to the Adventist message. As a medical practitioner, Kellogg found this difficult to understand. He viewed Adventism from the perspective of health reform rather than the other way round, which is why he invariably arrived at deviant theological positions. According to him, "The Great Decalogue" was not composed of the Ten Commandments

but the laws of health, and these he reduced to just one law that God required humans to obey—*“the law of life.”*¹

His belief that God had written this law throughout nature was partly behind his dalliance with pantheism. But it is also what led him into more fundamental opposition to Adventist theology. In a letter to Ellen White in 1898, he argued that those saved at the Second Coming would be people who had overcome the power of disease—a condition that could only be reached through obedience to health reform. On this basis, he questioned the church’s traditional understanding of the seal of God (Sabbath keeping) and the mark of the beast (Sunday worship). He argued that these concepts had less to do with adherence to different days of the week than with obedience to the law of life. He wrote: “It seems to me our people have been wrong in regarding Sunday observance as the sole mark of the beast. . . . [It] is simply the change of character and body which comes from the surrender of the will to Satan.”²

This erosion of the church’s theological foundations was accompanied by a diminution of Adventist distinctiveness. This is best seen in the development of Battle Creek Sanitarium. When Kellogg was appointed superintendent, he aimed to make the institution a force in the community. Local residents were invited to attend sanitarium functions, and the institution advertised extensively throughout the country. Into its wards flowed a constant stream of famous visitors and patients. It is true that many of them came because Kellogg offered special rates, but his success in creating an institution attractive to the world’s elite was remarkable.³

A key element in this success was Kellogg’s rejection of Adventist peculiarity. In 1897 he declared, much to the consternation of Adventist leaders, that the work of the sanitarium was “of an undenominational, unsectarian, humanitarian and philanthropic nature.”⁴ When he stated that the sanitarium was not in the business “of presenting anything that is peculiarly Seventh-day Adventist in doctrine,” Kellogg placed the sanitarium on a path that diverged from traditional Adventism.⁵ The institution met the outside world on medical and humanitarian grounds rather than on a specifically Adventist basis. What mattered was one’s state of health, not one’s theology. Kellogg’s belief that disease constituted the mark of the beast and that those sealed at the end were those who overcame it appeared to render doctrine superfluous. The important thing—and this was the essence of biologic living—was making sick people well and keeping them well when they attained good health. This was the key to salvation. Ellen White had also considered health reform to be a vital element of the salvation process, but for her it was an adjunct to, rather than the foundation of, the Adventist message. Kellogg went a step further. For him the practice of health reform was more important than commitment to theological ideas. He determined to keep the sanitarium free from Adventist practice, not so much because he wished to annoy church leaders but because in his system doctrinal issues really were irrelevant.

Perhaps the most important casualty of his approach was Sabbath observance. Kellogg did not enforce strict Sabbath keeping at Battle Creek Sanitarium—something that concerned Adventist leaders. In 1886 G. I. Butler, the church president, wrote to Ellen White about the lax attitude toward the Sabbath that prevailed at the sanitarium.⁶ Such behavior was not surprising, given Kellogg's feelings about the Sabbath theology and his desire to create an "unsectarian" institution. But the loss of interest in the Sabbath may also have been a consequence of the special Sabbath privileges granted to Adventist medical personnel. Unlike other workers, Adventist doctors were exempted from strict Sabbath observance once the denomination established medical institutions. This was granted only after due consideration and some hesitation. Nevertheless, Ellen White concluded that it was right for medical staff to work on the Sabbath "for the relief of suffering humanity."⁷ The doctor's special status in this respect may have contributed to the looser attitude toward the Sabbath that existed at Kellogg's sanitarium.

There were other ways in which Kellogg's version of Adventism differed from the mainstream. Kellogg advocated a social gospel "without sectarian trammels."⁸ He conceived of the church as a benevolent organization and argued that it was "more important for a man to be a good Samaritan than to be a good theologian."⁹ He wanted to "rescue lost souls, not to teach theology," and he believed that humanitarian work would win more converts to the Adventist cause than all the church's ministers combined.¹⁰ In the *Judgment*, Kellogg argued, the great question would not be what a person preached, but what he had done to help someone in need.¹¹ To promote these goals, the Adventist doctor not only founded other sanitariums around the country, but he also established the denomination's first orphanage in 1891 and developed the church's burgeoning work in American cities with the founding of the Chicago Medical Mission in 1893. In that same year, he became the first director of the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association (MMBA), which controlled all the denomination's humanitarian endeavors. Through this organization, Kellogg ministered to society's disadvantaged, the poor, and the unemployed.¹²

Another factor in Kellogg's revisionism was the introduction of recognized professional education in the church. As early as 1878, he opened a School of Hygiene at the Battle Creek Sanitarium. In 1883 a nursing school was added to the sanitarium, with a woman doctor, Kate Lindsay, playing a prominent role in its formation. The most important development, however, was the establishment of the denomination's American Medical Missionary College (AMMC) in 1895. The AMMC's graduates were recognized by various state examining boards. Recognition even came from the London Medical Council, which Kellogg called the "highest examining body in the world."¹³ Such public acceptance was highly significant. Up to this point, Adventists had considered the seeking of "worldly recognition" as a potentially corrupting influence on their

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Both sides appealed for support from the church membership. Kellogg wanted the church's brightest young people to go into medicine. Ellen White urged them to go into the ministry. The prophetess allied herself with the church leaders, who in 1901 elected as president A. G. Daniells, a man capable of matching the imperious doctor. A fire that burned down the Battle Creek Sanitarium in 1902 further cemented the divide. Anxious to limit the indebtedness of the institution, the General Conference decreed only a limited rebuilding. But Kellogg, ignoring the leadership, rebuilt the sanitarium to his own ambitious plan. In 1907 the doctor was finally banished, but he took the Battle Creek Sanitarium and the American Medical Missionary College with him.¹⁷

Although Kellogg's expulsion was a turning point in the history of the denomination, the event was not decisive. The clerical leadership did maintain control of the church, but it was unable to eradicate the form of Adventism Kellogg advocated. Adventist doctors continued to enjoy a special status within the church, continued to practice an "undenominational" Adventism, and maintained the tradition of medical innovation. Kellogg was the archetypal Adventist doctor, and since his time, many of the church's physicians have, in one way or another, caught some of his spirit. A good example was Percy Tilson Magan, who came from a prominent Irish family.¹⁸ A Kellogg sympathizer who nevertheless remained within the denomination following the doctor's dismissal, Magan was originally not a doctor but an educator who had helped establish an alternative form of Adventist education in the early 1900s.¹⁹ He received his M.D. degree at the age of 46 from the University of Tennessee in 1914. He arrived at the church's College of Medical Evangelists (CME) as dean in 1915 and was president of the institution between 1928 and 1942. Magan probably did more than any other person to build the medical school that became incorporated into Loma Linda University in 1961.²⁰

Like Kellogg, Magan desired society's recognition once he qualified as a physician. When he became dean at CME, the institution had been established for a decade. In the aftermath of the Flexner Report on medical education published in 1910, the college made tentative steps toward accreditation, and it received a C rating from the American Medical Association in 1911. Since this meant that graduates could not take recognized examinations, Magan described the classification as "utterly worthless." He thus set himself the task of obtaining the coveted A rating, which, after Herculean efforts, he achieved in 1922.²¹ Thus, within fifteen years of Kellogg's expulsion, Adventism possessed another accredited medical institution that combined the prestige of the Battle Creek Sanitarium and the recognition of the AMMC.

Following accreditation, the CME began to feed the church's sanitariums with qualified, recognized doctors. These sanitariums expanded steadily, became more professional, and during the 1920s won an excellent reputation for their standard of health care. Glendale Sanitarium in California and the Wash-

ington and New England facilities on the East Coast made impressive progress. Many of the sanitariums also added nursing schools, which produced an increasing number of Adventist nurses to support the growing community of doctors.²²

It was not long before the prosperity of the medical institutions and the power of the doctors who ran them once again began to threaten the church. Adventist leaders felt that the sanitariums were consuming money that could be spent on foreign missions. They particularly criticized the cost of rebuilding the Glendale Sanitarium in 1924. At the Annual Council of that year, they called a halt to all further sanitarium expansion during 1925.²³ In particular, church leaders were concerned about the type of Adventism symbolized by the sanitariums. Practices at the medical flagship, CME, seems to have been more acceptable to them in this respect, but in general, church leaders felt that the medical work was drifting into worldliness. This was because of the spirit of professionalism and "universitatus" (as leaders called it) that Adventist medicine engendered and because the popularity of the health institutions brought about an alien and unwelcome rapport with the world.²⁴

All of this served to underline the fundamental differences between the Adventist doctor and the Adventist minister or administrator. There was no Kellogg, yet by 1930 medical work had developed in exactly the same way as it had before 1900. The sanitariums espoused the same unsectarian Adventism, and this caused the same problems. The type of Adventism associated with Kellogg was not unique to him. Adventist physicians were governed by their own traditions and those of the profession. Like the needle of a compass, they naturally pointed in their own direction, which always seemed to differ from that of the church's administration.

In the subsequent development of Adventist medicine, this divergence became clearer. One reason for this was the gradual disappearance of the old sanitarium ideal. In the beginning, Adventist doctors practiced in institutions in which patients were taught the principles of healthful living. Patients were seldom acutely ill and could be expected to stay for relatively long periods of time. Around the mid-century, however, the nature of health care in Adventist institutions began to change. Because of rising costs, patients stayed only as long as was necessary. They were normally seriously ill and were interested only in getting well, not in the long-term principles of health reform. These developments helped accelerate the changes in medical personnel and institutions. Doctors became practitioners of scientific medicine; sanitariums were transformed into hospitals.

These changes were also the result of new demographic trends. At first, Adventist sanitariums were located in the country, well outside metropolitan areas. As time passed, however, they became caught in the net of urban development. Whole suburbs grew up around them, and they had to become community hospitals, with an emphasis on acute care, in order to remain viable institutions.²⁵ An example is the Washington Sanitarium. When it was founded in 1907, it was

located in the peaceful environs of Takoma Park, Maryland. By the 1960s it was surrounded by Greater Washington. Its changing name reflected the evolution of Adventist health care. Originally known as the Washington Sanitarium, it was renamed the Washington Adventist Hospital in 1973.²⁶

This change in medical practice was not, of course, confined to Adventism. Doctors and medical establishments elsewhere underwent similar transformations.²⁷ The change within Adventism, however, drove an even bigger wedge between Adventist health care and the rest of the church. Divorced from health reform, the church's doctors and the hospitals in which they practiced became virtually identical to their counterparts in the outside world. This fact did not escape church leaders. In 1963 F. D. Nichol, editor of the *Review*, urged the church to curtail the growth of acute care hospitals and develop institutions to teach people the laws of health. In support of his case, Nichol produced a brochure that described the philosophy of the kind of institution he had in mind:

This institution is unique and seeks to fill a distinct need. . . . Here you will receive both restful and tonic treatments—hydrotherapy and related types of physical medicine. . . . Here you may listen to medical specialists give lectures on how to follow rules to improve your health and to ward off sickness. . . . This is a place with all the advantages of a quiet vacation spot. . . . Why not come and enjoy a new kind of vacation that may help you live to enjoy many more in the future? . . . Not operated for the acutely ill or regular medical or surgical patients.²⁸

One hundred years after Ellen White's landmark health reform vision of 1863, Nichol was trying to recreate a medical practitioner and an institution that had all but disappeared. The editor's imaginary brochure highlighted the changes that had occurred in Adventist medicine. Adventist doctors now saw patients for an average of seven days, according to Nichol, not for the weeks and months that had been common in the nineteenth century.²⁹ They used the latest scientific techniques, not natural methods. And they worked in hospitals that were concerned to provide the best in modern health care while remaining financially viable institutions. By the end of the 1960s, it was evident that the numerous Adventist hospitals had more in common with each other in furthering these interests than with the general church body. It was therefore not surprising that the directors of the medical institutions should seek their own organization.

In the 1970s five regional corporations of Adventist health institutions were created: Eastern and Middle America, North, Loma Linda, Sunbelt, and West. In 1982 a national organization, Adventist Health Systems/United States (AHS/US), was formed to oversee the medical work as a whole, although the regional subdivisions remained.³⁰ The health institutions were thus the only segment of the church to form an alternative administrative and economic structure to the system of conferences and unions. For although AHS/US was created by an act

of the Annual Council and retained a nominal majority of General Conference personnel on its board, it was largely independent of clerical control. Its headquarters were based in Texas, not in Washington, D.C., where the General Conference was then located. It held the power to acquire or close down hospitals. It functioned much like the General Conference in that it provided central direction and pooled the resources of its constituent institutions, so that stronger hospitals supported weaker ones. At its height, AHS/US grew into the seventh-largest system in America, which enabled it to compete strongly with other national health care corporations.³¹

But not long after the system had been set up, the church leadership began to worry about the ascending liabilities of the national organization in much the same way as the administration had become concerned with the Battle Creek Sanitarium at the turn of the twentieth century. As a result, the General Conference, taking advice from its lawyers, broke up AHS/US in 1990. This was followed by a slight restructuring and renaming of the former system's regional subdivisions.³² The dismantling of the national health corporation did not, however, ease the tensions between the hospitals and the church. In 1999 the denomination's Boston Regional Medical Center closed. Its collapse appears to have been due to a variety of causes, ranging from difficulties in the local health care market to financial mismanagement of its board.³³ But to many Adventists, the rot set in when the hospital, then known as New England Memorial, appointed as its chief of staff in the 1980s, the non-Adventist Deepak Chopra, later to become the well-known New Age teacher and guru.³⁴ Eyebrows were also raised in 1995 when, in order to ease its own financial burdens, the Portercare Adventist Health System based in Colorado formed a joint venture with a Catholic health corporation. But in words Kellogg might have approved, the chief executive of Portercare explained: "We have some differences in theology with the Catholic church, obviously, but the focus of our health care systems is very similar."³⁵

Hospital administrators get away with appointing non-Adventists like Chopra, or collaborating with eschatologically condemned churches like the Catholics because the health system provides an alternative Adventism to that practiced in the rest of the denomination. To visit Adventist hospitals today is to see an Adventism that is "of an undenominational, unsectarian, humanitarian and philanthropic nature." Chief executives emphasize that they seek to preserve a "Christian" rather than a specifically "Adventist" atmosphere.³⁶ Meat is sometimes served in the hospitals—something not countenanced in other Adventist institutions. Smoking areas for visitors are occasionally provided.³⁷ Looser attitudes toward the Sabbath generally prevail. Employees are also paid at vastly higher rates than other church workers, the hospitals having broken free of the denominational wage scale in 1979. In 2002 the chief executive of the Adventist Health System Sunbelt Healthcare (AHSS), the largest of the church's regional hospital corporations, received a base salary of \$816,874—sixteen times higher

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Figure 31. Loma Linda as it is today: the flagship of “unsectarian” Seventh-day Adventism. *Photo courtesy University Relations Department, Loma Linda University.*

came known to more people as a flagship Seventh-day Adventist institution.⁴² But all this was achieved at the expense of longstanding Adventist traditions. Dr. Bailey and his associates had effectively brought about an “amalgamation of man and beast,” which Ellen White had viewed as an abomination.⁴³ She referred to the sexual union of different species; the Baby Fae operation concerned the transposition of organs. Nevertheless, some Adventist members perceived the operation to have effected an amalgamation not intended by God between human and animal kingdoms. Once again, the pursuit of scientific medicine was seen to be undermining the church’s religious principles.⁴⁴

Throughout the history of Adventist medicine, the church’s medical professionals have rarely been free of the charge that they are subverting the theology and discipline of the denomination. The underlying causes of this phenomenon are not difficult to discover. The church is a clerically dominated organization, and Adventist doctors constitute the only group with sufficient authority and independence to challenge clerical control. Ministers sometimes view doctors with suspicion. Doctors perceive ministers in equally negative terms. A survey of Loma Linda medical students in 1969 revealed that only 22 percent rated ministers positively, while 42 percent rated them negatively, considering them to be poorly educated, insincere, and incompetent.⁴⁵ This rather condescending attitude is

probably rooted in the superior status and income society accords to the medical profession. Ministers justify their actions in terms of Adventism's distinctive theology; doctors can draw on the wider consensus of scientific opinion to back up their decisions. For this reason, the church's leadership sometimes defers to medical authority, particularly on contentious ethical matters.

The issue of abortion illustrates this. In their first statement on the procedure, published in 1971, General Conference officers did not make any attempt to resolve the ethical difficulties and did not draw on the Adventist theological tradition in formulating their guidelines. Instead, they deferred to the judgment of the church's doctors, for, they argued, "the performing of abortions" is "the proper business of responsible staffs of hospitals."⁴⁶ There were plenty of Adventist theologians and ministers who, on the basis of their interpretation of Adventist theology, were prepared make a stand against abortion.⁴⁷ Most laypeople too appeared to take a pro-life position. The GSS suggests that about 65 percent of the Adventist membership oppose abortion on demand, a higher level of opposition than that shown by the general public, other Protestants, and even, fractionally, by American Catholics.⁴⁸ But officially, it was doctors' concerns and the realities of their work in the public sphere that took precedence in determining Adventism's surprisingly open, noncommittal position.

Adventist hospitals themselves chose to interpret the guidelines in a variety of ways. A survey of 26 denominational medical facilities conducted in 1988 found that almost all performed abortions with varying provisos. Four percent reported that no abortions were permitted in their facilities, and one said that they conducted abortions without restrictions. A clear majority, however, stated that it would not be a good idea for the church to take an official stand on abortion and insist that all Adventist facilities abide by that position.⁴⁹ This duly influenced the church when the abortion guidelines were updated in 1992. Mindful of lay opinion within the church, and probably also affected by the campaigning of the New Christian Right on this issue in the 1980s and 1990s, Adventists stated for the first time that "abortions for reasons of birth control, gender selection or convenience are not condoned by the Church." Nonetheless, the denomination distanced itself from the Moral Majority and other such groups by reiterating that it was up to the medical institutions to develop "their own policies in harmony with this statement."⁵⁰

Such deference to the church's hospitals is a clear example of the extent to which Adventist polity has become largely medicalized. It is a process that has been going on more or less since the Western Health Reform Institute was founded in 1866. Ellen White's assertion that physicians had greater responsibilities than those of ministers; Kellogg's substitution of a medically defined category—health—for a religious doctrine—correct Sabbath observance—in his reinterpretation of the mark of the beast; the license given to medical personnel to work on Saturdays; and even the medically oriented Christ of the art-

ist Nathan Greene, are further examples of the tendency for medical criteria to take the place of religious values within the life of the church. The process has also been supported by the creation of the health care network itself, which now towers above the rest of Adventism in terms of prestige and the financial rewards it provides to its employees. Insofar as Adventism has departed from its original faith, it has not really been through the model of denominationalization at all, but by a process of medicalization. This has, however, occurred in parallel with the wider society, as the questions of life and death, previously decided by priests and bishops, are now largely determined by doctors and surgeons.⁵¹

Two other late-twentieth-century developments served to embed this process of medicalization in the church. One was the establishment of the Center for Christian Bioethics (CCB) at Loma Linda University in 1984. This provided an institutional framework for dealing with the moral dilemmas posed by such issues as abortion, euthanasia, artificial insemination, xenotransplantation, and latterly, genetic engineering and stem-cell research. The center's first director was physician and ethicist Jack Provonsha, who together with subsequent CCB staff such as David Larson, other Loma Linda professors like Gerald Winslow and James Walters, and the British Adventist ethicist Michael Pearson, proceeded to expand the church's ethical horizons.⁵² But such academics were not just content to explore issues that arose from medical practice. All of these individuals contributed to a CCB-sponsored volume, *Remnant & Republic: Adventist Themes for Personal and Social Ethics* (1995), which recast Adventism's relationship to America in ethical rather than theological terms.⁵³

The other development, which in large measure informed the approach of the Center for Christian Bioethics, was the creation of the philosophy of "holism."⁵⁴ This was pioneered in Adventism again by Provonsha, who defended the Baby Fae operation against its critics within and without the denomination. Provonsha suggested that there is no absolute distinction between those factors that produce physical health and those that promote spiritual growth. "A Christian ethic," he argued, is essentially "an ethic of health."⁵⁵ This holistic approach has the effect of giving a religious sanction to health promotion, for that which effects physical well-being is also likely to facilitate spiritual development, and vice versa. As Loma Linda professor Richard Rice put it: the "health sciences are an extension of God's redemptive work in the world, a manifestation of his abiding commitment to human welfare, and an example of his providential use of human abilities and energies to achieve his purposes."⁵⁶

Holism thus provides an ideology that validates the activities of health professionals in Adventist theological language. As such, it plays a similar function to Kellogg's biologic living. Just as Kellogg wanted to see the mark of the beast as general spiritual and physical illness, so contemporary holism diminishes the significance of traditional doctrines in favor of an approach that interweaves medical and theological objectives. It is a philosophy that inspired the creation

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Education

THE ACCREDITATION MOVEMENT of the 1930s was a key moment in Adventist education. Thereafter, church schools and colleges were primarily concerned with preparing students for professional careers, and Adventist teachers, particularly those in higher education, became increasingly preoccupied with their professional standing. This bred a skeptical spirit toward the Adventist tradition, which, during the middle decades of the twentieth century, paralleled that of the church's doctors.

In assessing the effects of this, it is tempting to believe that the Adventist educator has always been in tension with other sections of the church. But the relationship between Adventist teachers and, for example, church leaders has not been quite so simple. For most of the denomination's history, educators and leaders have shared the same presuppositions about Adventist education and have been equally responsible for the development of the church's school system. When disagreements have broken out, they have normally been over the teaching community's desire to take the denomination's commitment to academic endeavor to its logical conclusion, and the leadership's unwillingness to accept the consequences of policies they have themselves instituted.

The establishment of the denomination's first school at Battle Creek in 1872 reveals several common assumptions that were prevalent in early Adventism. One of these was the emphasis that many of the pioneers placed on the intellect. This may well have been a legacy of the Baconianism that had infused the thinking of the Millerites. Certainly in James White's opinion intellectual development was important, because it was "a well disciplined and informed mind," that could "best receive and cherish the sublime truths of the Second Advent."¹ Another reason for the founding of the school was the perceived

need to train ministerial workers — again, a major concern of James White.² A third factor was the distrust of the public school system exhibited by the believers in general. This latter consideration had, in fact, led to the establishment of several short-lived church schools in the 1850s and 1860s, before the emergence of the institution at Battle Creek.³ In other words, the pioneers' tendency to distance themselves from society by replicating its institutions can be seen in the creation of Adventist schools. But this was not the result of adherence to a specifically Adventist educational philosophy (there was initially no philosophy); rather, it was a function of the church's drive toward institutional independence.⁴

It was in keeping with this understanding that the church encouraged two educated converts to run the first school. Adventist leaders did not appoint an established pioneer — something that might have been expected if Adventist education had been founded simply to inculcate the church's worldview. The chosen educators were Goodloe Harper Bell and Sidney Brownsberger. As teachers who had been educated in secular institutions and had taught in public schools, they brought to the denomination the weight of their professional expertise. They were qualified to operate schools based on secular models, not on sectarian ideals. Bell founded the Battle Creek School, starting with twelve students at the old print shop of the *Review*. He had become an Adventist after being treated at the Western Health Reform Institute in the late 1860s. He was noted for his mechanical teaching methods, incessant drilling, strict discipline, and a desire "to inspire his pupils with a spirit of cheerful, voluntary industry in study." Bell was a grammarian who frequently used poets like Longfellow and Coleridge to illustrate his exercises, and he later published several successful books on the English language.⁵

Sidney Brownsberger arrived as head of the school in 1873, leaving Bell free to concentrate on teaching. Brownsberger was studying classics at the University of Michigan in the 1860s when he became convinced of the Adventist message. He wanted to curtail his studies and enter the church's ministry, but as he recalled, James White "wrote me suggesting that it might be my duty . . . to pursue my college course as there were but few comparatively that had so favorable an opportunity as myself."⁶ Brownsberger was probably more of an educational thinker than was Bell, and he retained his enthusiasm for the classics. His basic academic outlook is evident in the subtle twist he gave to the Adventist hope: "When the Lord comes, Adventists expect to leave their farms, their business, and their homes, and take their brains with them."⁷ Accordingly, he introduced a rigorous five-year degree in the classics as the core program when the school evolved into a college in 1874. The college also offered degrees in science and English and diplomas in business, ministry, and teaching. It was a measure of the secular nature of the institution that Bible courses were not made compulsory and, in an early example of the Adventism Kellogg later de-

veloped, the catalog of 1876 stated that "nothing in the regular course of study" was "in the least denominational or sectarian."⁸

The college continued to operate under a classically dominated curriculum for the rest of the decade. Brownsberger resigned in 1881 and was succeeded by Alexander McLearn, another recent and, as it later proved, temporary, convert from the Seventh Day Baptists. He knew very little about the church but was recommended to the college presidency by James White, who regarded McLearn as "a highly educated Christian gentleman."⁹ McLearn's tenure was disastrous—not so much because of his tenuous Adventist links as because of certain aspects of his personality. He was not a disciplinarian, and he liked to interfere in the running of college departments. Disagreements with Bell precipitated the latter's resignation in April 1882. A few months later, as a result of the General Conference's perception that the "policy of the school has been gradually changing, becoming more and more like that of the worldly schools around it," the college was shut down by the Adventist leadership.¹⁰

The closure of Battle Creek College marked the end of the first phase of Adventist education. Because of the glaring lack of an "Adventist" content in the school, it is usually viewed as a puzzling episode in the denomination's history. Adventist writers tend to dismiss the period as a false start, as the product of un-Adventist educators who somehow slipped through the denominational net.¹¹ But far from being an accident, the development of independent education was entirely in line with the nature of early Adventism, which emphasized the autonomy, rather than the philosophical peculiarity, of church institutions. In keeping with this, secular authors were studied, traditional curriculum practices adopted, and educators with flimsy denominational ties were placed in positions of authority.

These developments chimed perfectly with the attitudes of James White, who seemed content for Adventist education to replicate the public school system. The progress of Adventist education from Bell to McLearn was underpinned by, and made possible through, the attitudes of the Adventist leadership. Thus, the idea that the college was closed because it had become like worldly schools appears to have been misplaced. The practices of the college had scarcely altered since its foundation. The change was rather to be found in the attitudes of Adventist leaders after the death of James White in 1881. The resignations of Bell and Brownsberger coincided with a new desire in the church to make the curriculum more distinctive. The closure of the college signified that church leaders had changed their minds about denominational education. The college had not become more worldly; the Adventist community had become more sectarian.

It was Ellen White, who had always been much more suspicious of the intellect than her husband, who inspired the revision of educational policy. At first, this involved criticizing the methods of the college's principal teachers. In 1880

she accused Bell of making “grammar his idol.”¹² He had made it “the one all-important study . . . and some had left college with only half an education.”¹³ In a speech read in the college hall in December 1881, she implicitly held Brownsberger responsible for taking the college to “a position that God does not approve.”¹⁴ It was in this address that White advocated change. She stated that “the study of the Scriptures should have the first place in our system of education,” for “as an educating power the Bible is without a rival.” She also argued that agriculture and practical trades should be introduced “to instruct the students in the various departments of physical labor.” In advocating a biblically based education, White rejected the classical curriculum of the church’s pioneer educators. She broke, too, with her husband’s emphasis on intellectual development. She urged a practical, sectarian education that was better adapted for ministerial training.¹⁵

Although she had made some earlier observations on Adventist schools, Ellen White’s educational philosophy developed in reaction to the college at Battle Creek.¹⁶ The early educators did not depart from a blueprint laid down by White; she rejected the principles established by them. But it was not for another twenty years, until she published her classic work *Education*, that all her ideas came to fruition. The book brought together a number of themes she had emphasized repeatedly in the late nineteenth century: the centrality of the Bible; the benefit of manual labor; the importance of character; and the necessity of firm, but not mindless, discipline. In a familiar refrain, White argued that education must produce balanced, Godlike individuals who were fit ultimately for heavenly society. As she put it:

True education means more than the pursual of a certain course of study. It means more than a preparation for the life that now is. It has to do with the whole being, and with the whole period of existence possible to man. It is the harmonious development of the physical, the mental and the spiritual powers. It prepares the students for the joy of service in this world and for the higher joy of wider service in the world to come.¹⁷

Despite the force of Ellen White’s arguments, they did not permanently change the attitudes of Adventist educators. Like the church’s doctors, most denominational teachers were governed by their sense of professionalism and found it either difficult or undesirable to reverse the course they had set for the school system. Brownsberger, for example, founded another institution at Healdsburg, California, in 1882, which later became Pacific Union College. According to one Adventist historian, he established there “an almost exact replica of the academic program of Battle Creek College.”¹⁸ Even Battle Creek, when it reopened under Wolcott Littlejohn in the 1883–1884 school year, continued to offer a classical course.¹⁹ While later presidents, such as W. W. Prescott, established a more biblically based curriculum, and others, such as E. A.

Sutherland, attempted a practical and labor-oriented program, mainstream Adventist educators cannot be said ever to have followed White's philosophy completely.²⁰ Sutherland's reforms were short-lived and controversial. So too was his plan, which other Adventist colleges followed for a time, to dispense with academic degrees. He did, however, succeed in moving the college from Battle Creek to a more rural location in Berrien Springs, Michigan; and his reformist inclinations were to some extent reflected in the institution's change of name to Emmanuel Missionary College in 1901.²¹

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Adventist church also had a wide and expanding primary school system. The teachers at these institutions were supplied mainly by Battle Creek College, and they appear to have been more diligent in putting Ellen White's ideas into practice.²² This was probably because the need to instill Adventist standards and ethos was perceived to be relatively more important at this level. Even today the Bible and associated topics are still listed as the first items in the North American Division's grade school curriculum materials.²³ But other aspects of the prophetess's philosophy, like her emphasis on manual labor, have mostly been discarded as the elementary system gradually evolved in the twentieth century "to accommodate local, provincial, or state laws and policies."²⁴ Any hope, too, that Adventist teachers in higher education might follow the program in *Education* foundered in the accreditation process.

By 1930 there were six major Adventist colleges: Emmanuel Missionary and Union in the central states; Atlantic Union and Washington Missionary (later Columbia Union College) in the East and South; and Pacific Union and Walla Walla in the West. By 1942 all six had been recognized as senior colleges by American accrediting associations.²⁵ Probably not coincidentally, the liberal arts philosophy of education was undergoing a revival in America in the 1930s.²⁶ It was as part of this wider process of renewal that Adventist colleges gained state recognition and began offering—as they still do—a broad-based training in the sciences and humanities. Attending students were prepared mainly for professional employment, and Ellen White's heavenly ambitions for the church's education were pushed into the background. At first, the most important of the professions was medicine, but in time, Adventist institutions offered options in other fields. The founding of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary in 1937 in Takoma Park, for instance, meant that Adventist ministers could obtain training comparable to that of the church's growing group of professionals.²⁷

The 1930s accreditation process fundamentally altered the concerns of Adventist educators. In the three decades following Ellen White's speech at Battle Creek, teachers had conducted a lively debate about the education system. After the prophetess died, this discussion was continued by Frederick Griggs, President of Emmanuel Missionary College between 1918 and 1924. Griggs advocated

a philosophy that mediated between traditional education and White's reforms.²⁸ After accreditation, however, Adventist educators ceased to think creatively about educational philosophy. Their new concerns were survival, consolidation, and the overriding wish to see the church's remaining colleges achieve senior status. La Sierra College in California was thus accredited in 1946; Southern Missionary in Tennessee in 1950; Oakwood, the black college in Alabama, in 1958; and Southwestern in Texas in the early 1960s.²⁹

Another possible reason for the lack of attention to educational theory was the development within the system of academic scholarship. Again, this was a direct consequence of accreditation. In order to obtain recognition, Adventist colleges sent staff to acquire doctoral degrees at outside universities. The individuals who undertook such studies became increasingly enamored with their status as professional scholars, with the result that the energy once expended on defining the role of Adventist education was now largely spent on defining their own role within Adventism. This was felt at two colleges in particular.

One was Walla Walla, which after its accreditation in 1933 immediately produced a number of self-confident academics. Chief among them was the president of the school, William Landeen, a specialist in European history. A man who "was very comfortable moving in worldly circles," Landeen formed close links with the faculty at the University of Washington and Washington State College.³⁰ Uneasy Adventist officials soon denounced "the university spirit" that pervaded Walla Walla, and in 1938 they forced out Landeen and several of his associates in the religion department for standing for "scholasticism in education minus the distinctive Seventh-day Adventist views."³¹ The other college where scholarly endeavor caused early friction was Pacific Union College (PUC). Here Bible teachers began meeting on a monthly basis in the early 1940s to present and discuss papers on Adventist doctrine. When the group was joined by other Adventist college staff who likewise believed "in the value of cooperative effort in the quest for truth," it spawned the church's first academic organization, the Bible Research Fellowship.³² Between 1943 and 1952, the fellowship circulated more than a hundred papers that challenged received opinions on prophecy and the Godhead.³³ This too alarmed church leaders, and during the Bible Conference of 1952, the General Conference took over the group and eventually turned it into the apologetic Biblical Research Institute.³⁴

Despite the problems encountered in places like Walla Walla and PUC, the denomination's pursuit of greater educational recognition and prestige continued. In 1959 and 1961 respectively, the General Conference established Andrews University (which amalgamated Emmanuel Missionary College and the theological seminary in Berrien Springs), and Loma Linda University (which absorbed the College of Medical Evangelists and later La Sierra College).³⁵ Though isolated in their very rural settings, these institutions were led by presidents who agreed "with the principle, long held in universities, that faculty



Figure 32. Country idyll: the Andrews University campus pictured in 2000. Physically, but not always intellectually, isolated from the outside world. Photo courtesy University Relations Department, Andrews University.

members should be free to teach in their assigned academic discipline . . . as long as their teaching met the standards and canons of that discipline."³⁶ As a consequence, Andrews and Loma Linda bred scholars who were made aware of, and were increasingly influenced by, the attitudes of their secular counterparts. Discussions of the hitherto unexplored concept of academic freedom therefore became common in the denomination's *Journal of True Education* in the 1960s and revealed the interests of those in the denomination for whom academic respectability was fast becoming an article of faith.³⁷

In the twentieth century, then, Adventist college teachers came to see themselves as scholars rather than educators. This change was not envisaged by Ellen White, and it did not conform to her sectarian educational philosophy—even though she did write, as the liberal Adventist professor never failed to point out, that an object of Adventist education is to produce individuals who are “thinkers, and not mere reflectors of other men’s thought.”³⁸ The modern Adventist professor was nevertheless largely the creation of church leaders. Whatever their reservations and the periodic purges they carried out, they accepted accreditation,

nurtured liberal arts colleges, and provided the resources for the denomination's universities. They supported the expansion of graduate education, encouraged talented individuals to secure Ph.D. degrees, and employed only those teachers with the best academic qualifications. It was clear, once the dust of accreditation settled, that the General Conference wanted an educational system that compared with the best in outside society. What they found difficult to accept were the consequences of their own actions.

The most important of these was the formation of a second academic organization, the Association of Adventist Forums (AAF), in 1968. The association was largely the brainchild of Roy Branson, an ethicist at the seminary. The church's doctors, who through the accreditation movement had sparked the growth of Adventist scholarship, also helped to foster this new development. A physician, Molleurus Couperus, was appointed as the first editor of the AAF quarterly journal, *Spectrum*, and the medical community gave generous financial support to the organization.³⁹ Even so, the AAF might not have succeeded if the North American Division president at the time, Neal Wilson, and General Conference officers, had not supported the organization and the aims and objectives of its constitution.⁴⁰ It is difficult to know exactly what the church hierarchy expected, but the founders of the AAF were determined to carry out the obligation "to examine . . . freely ideas and issues relevant to the church in all its aspects."⁴¹ The contributors to *Spectrum* faithfully followed the journal's objective "to look without prejudice at all sides of a subject."⁴²

The results were far-reaching. The AAF gave Adventist academics the opportunity to turn their scholarly expertise on the Adventist tradition, sometimes to devastating effect. Professors from the denomination's colleges, universities, and seminary published in *Spectrum* critical articles on Adventist theology and history. This provided the educated Adventist, and other members who cared to look, with a new view of the church and its development. *Spectrum* became a meeting place for those in the church who believed in the benefits of academic freedom. Donald McAdams, an academic who took a leading role in the demythologizing of Ellen White in the 1970s, summed up the position of Adventist scholars: "We have no choice but to be honest at heart, acknowledge facts, and seek the truth. The search for truth is, after all, the basic premise upon which Adventism is founded."⁴³

The other effect of *Spectrum* was on the denomination's media. Initially, the journal was simply an academic periodical that specialized in scholarly debate. But under its most influential editor, Roy Branson, who succeeded Couperus in 1975, *Spectrum* began hiring trained journalists to report objectively the affairs of the church. One of the reporters, Bonnie Dwyer, was to become editor herself in 1998. Dwyer and others were part of a newsgathering operation of which the denomination had relatively little experience. *Spectrum* took on the role of an independent press. As a result, General Conference leaders were un-

able to control the publication of information in the same way their predecessors had done. The AAF journal did not immediately affect the *Review*, where Kenneth Wood, following in the tradition of the paper's other twentieth-century editors, F. M. Wilcox and F. D. Nichol, continued to present an uncritical view of the Adventist church.

However, when William Johnsson took over the editorship in 1982, he realized that the *Review* would cease to be a credible paper if readers had to go to elsewhere in order to find accurate information about the church. Johnsson thus began reporting more openly the issues and problems that faced Adventism.⁴⁴ In a similar way, the denomination's clerical paper, *Ministry*, took to reporting doctrinal debates in the manner that *Spectrum* had pioneered.⁴⁵ The AAF's journal also created the climate for other, more radical publications to appear. An independent magazine, *Adventist Currents*, which styled itself as "an unauthorized free press supplement to official Seventh-day Adventist publications" was founded in 1983.⁴⁶ When that closed in 1988, another news magazine, *Adventist Today*, was established in 1993 on the basis that "any hierarchical system affecting the lives of millions of people needs the check on power that comes from a free press."⁴⁷ In these ways, *Spectrum* opened up a closed society to a freer circulation of information.

For the most part, church leaders kept to themselves whatever doubts they had about the activities of Adventist scholars. Indeed, throughout the 1970s they continued to serve as advisers both to the AAF and to *Spectrum*. However, there was one preoccupation of the academic community that proved more sensitive than others. This was its dissatisfaction with the denomination's hierarchical structure. Articles advocating the reform of Adventist government appeared at regular intervals in *Spectrum*.⁴⁸ In 1982 the AAF commissioned a special task force to work out proposals for an alternative administrative system. After two years, the task force reported in *Spectrum*, calling for a democratic church, open elections, freedom of information, and the end of the General Conference oligarchy.⁴⁹

Predictably, Adventist leaders were not slow to perceive the threat; and later in 1982, Neal Wilson, by now president of the General Conference, finally ostracized the organization. Rejecting the notion that "*Spectrum* is the most authentic source of information regarding church affairs," he attacked "the AAF and *Spectrum*" for "actively urging what appears to us to be irresponsible concepts of, and changes in, denominational administration, operations, structure and organization."⁵⁰ That Wilson was the individual who made this statement was of course ironic. In the late 1960s, as president of the NAD, he was heavily involved in setting up the AAF. In the mid-1980s, he attempted to close a Pandora's box that he himself had opened.

It did not, however, prove easy to silence the AAF. Historically, the organization was the product of an increasingly well-educated community that the

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puses" and backed parents who wanted to send their children to church schools that taught "historic Adventism."⁵⁵ Church officials themselves either sacked or forced the resignations of dissident academics.⁵⁶

A direct effect of this conservative fightback was the premature disappearance of a promising generation of Adventist historians. Despite producing outstanding works of amateur scholarship, Adventism had been slow to develop a community of professionals devoted to the study of the denomination's history. One of the earliest, Everett Dick, had worked on Millerism in the 1920s but had never published his research for fear of provoking a hostile response from the church's administration; similarly, Richard Schwarz's biographical study of Kellogg (1964) was only published in more anodyne form as a popular biography. Encouraged by the apparent liberalization of the church and sponsored by a wealthy Californian Adventist, Vern Carner, Adventist historiography flourished in the 1970s, however. Carner established an important new outlet, *Adventist Heritage: A Magazine of Adventist History*, in 1974. "Adventism and the American Experience," a seminal essay by 26-year-old Jonathan Butler published in the *Rise of Adventism*, heralded the dawn of the new era; Ronald Graybill, a young employee of the White estate, proved a versatile writer on many Adventist historical topics; and work by Donald McAdams and Ronald Numbers opened up new territory in Ellen White studies.⁵⁷

But the church discouraged the kind of controversy caused by Numbers' *Prophets of Health*, and subsequent projects either never materialized or were never completed. Numbers went on to pursue a successful academic career outside the church, Graybill ceased writing, Butler and McAdams stopped working as academic historians, Carner decided to devote more time to his business interests, and *Adventist Heritage* folded in 1998. The fruits of previous work were not entirely lost. Andrews historian Gary Land eventually edited Dick's work on Millerism and also a collective history, *Adventism in America* (written in the mid-1970s but published a decade later, though its projected companion volume on Adventism in the world never appeared), and wrote a comprehensive *Historical Dictionary of the Seventh-day Adventists*.⁵⁸ In the 1990s, Andrews professor George Knight emerged as a prolific writer on Adventist history and biography. His work on Ellen White tended to downplay the research of the 1970s, but on subjects like Millerism, Knight produced lucid books that incorporated the findings of his predecessors in an uncontroversial way.⁵⁹ Overall, however, Adventist historiography remained an underdeveloped discipline compared with Mormon history, which over the same period grew from equally unpromising beginnings into a flourishing academic industry.⁶⁰

The conservative revival had adverse consequences for *Spectrum* too. From its peak in the late 1970s and early 1980s when its circulation was around 6,000, the number of subscribers fell to 4,000 in 1995, and then to 2,500 in 2005.⁶¹ The high point occurred when controversy within the church was most intense, so

part of this drop may be attributed to a natural decline of interest that inevitably happens when times become calmer. But it was also the case that the ethos of the journal was being rejected by a growing number of Adventist academics, particularly by those based at the theological seminary. The change in attitude here may be dated from 1981, when the traditionalist Gerhard Hasel was appointed dean of the school.⁶² In 1988, exactly twenty years after liberals at the seminary founded the AAF, conservatives at the institution, and at Southern College (as Southern Missionary was then known), formed the Adventist Theological Society with the aims of “upholding the fundamental beliefs and piety of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in education” and “promoting sound, conservative biblical scholarship among Seventh-day Adventist scholars, teachers, and students.”⁶³ A scholarly *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* was subsequently produced to further these ends, as was a popular magazine, *Perspective Digest*.

These developments reflected changing patterns in the education of Adventist academics. When the church's scholars first sought to obtain doctorates, they set their sights on the major universities of the United States and Europe. In consequence, by 1981 of the thirty-six members of the faculty of the theological seminary three had doctorates from the University of Michigan; two each from Harvard, Chicago, and Princeton Theological Seminary; and more than half a dozen others had completed their studies in Britain or Europe, often at the historic Protestant universities of Switzerland or the Netherlands.⁶⁴ Twenty years later that situation had been transformed. Whereas in 1981 only 8 percent of all seminary faculty had doctorates from Andrews, in 2003, 30 percent now did, while 26 percent had received them from seminaries with a conservative evangelical orientation (a type of institution unrepresented in 1981). Of the latter, two-thirds had been to Fuller, which meant that more than half the seminary's doctorates came from just two institutions—Andrews and Fuller.⁶⁵

There is no reason to suppose that these people are any less well-trained than their predecessors, but it does mean that few of the faculty have now been exposed to what was once a bracing rite of passage for the prospective Adventist academic—graduate study at a secular or mainstream Christian institution. So while in the early 1980s many Adventist theologians had been influenced by a wide variety of outside thinkers, few are now exposed to theological perspectives fundamentally at odds with their own. At Fuller, for example, prospective students are reassured by the faculty that “none of us denies the infallibility of the Bible.”⁶⁶ The development of theological education in Adventism therefore illustrates an interesting paradox: the relative insularity of contemporary Adventist academia is a direct consequence of the efforts of the previous generation, whose exposure to secular and liberal thought provided them with the academic credentials that allowed Andrews to set up its own accredited doctoral programs in theology. In the 1960s and 1970s, many assumed that Adventism's

increasing openness to outside perspectives would inevitably lead to the liberalization of Adventist theology itself. In fact, it helped to provide the institutional structures needed to insulate Adventism from external influence and turn Adventist theologians in a more conservative direction.

More or less the same cycle can be observed in the history of another set of educators, the church's scientists. Adventism has never had a scientific community as such, but Adventist scientists have, like other academics, argued among themselves, challenged the church's doctrines, and then reverted back to a more traditional position, which became entrenched as they began to obtain their doctorates from Adventist institutions. An examination of Adventist science is also important in view of the contribution it has made to American creationism.

Adventism's best-known creationist was George McCready Price. He promoted anti-evolutionism in the first half of the twentieth century, deriving his views from Ellen White and interpreting them in the light of Baconian principles. Price believed in a literal six-day creation, in an earth that was no more than 6,000 years old, and in the Genesis flood as the chief cause of the geological record. In the 1920s, his trenchant attack on evolution brought him to the attention of the public outside Adventism, and he became, in the view of both supporters and detractors, fundamentalism's leading creationist. Price wrote his first book in 1902, a work published at his own expense, called *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*. In the next twenty-five years, there followed more than twenty others. His magnum opus was *The New Geology*, published in 1923, which represented a monumental effort to correlate geological data with the Genesis flood. It was this book that secured his reputation. At the famous Tennessee court case of 1925 in which a high school teacher, John T. Scopes, was tried for teaching Darwinism, Price's work was cited by the prosecution's main witness, William Jennings Bryan.⁶⁷

Most of Price's theories denied the principles of geological science. He did not recognize progressive order in the geological column or the concept of thrust faults (or overthrusts) by which geologists explained instances of out-of-order sequence in stratified rocks. He refused to believe in the validity of index fossils as geological dating devices or in the occurrence of continental glaciation. To explain the layering in the geological column, he invented a "law of conformable stratigraphic sequence," which proposed that "any kind of fossiliferous rock . . . may be found conformably on any other kind of fossiliferous rock." In this way, he held that the arrangement of the column was arbitrary.⁶⁸

Price's influence waned in the middle of the century, his ideas being overtaken in the wider world by those of Bernard Ramm. This evangelical philosopher rejected the ideas of a young earth and a universal flood, and in 1954 argued the case for "progressive creationism."⁶⁹ But two years before his death in 1963, Price's views were rehabilitated with great success by the non-Adventists

John Whitcomb and Henry Morris in *The Genesis Flood*. This book marked the rebirth of the creationist movement in the United States, and Morris went on to become the leading creationist in the following two decades, founding the influential Institute for Creation Research in 1972. Many observers noted, correctly, that this new movement was little more than a revival of the philosophy of Price's *New Geology*. Though the wider public may not have known it, the Seventh-day Adventist geologist was the founding father of the creationist movement that became such a marked feature of American life in the late twentieth century.⁷⁰

Ironically, Price's theories were most effectively challenged by other scientists in his own church. Harold Clark, a biology teacher, used *The New Geology* in his classes at Pacific Union College until his fieldwork in 1938 led him to conclude that the geological column "seemed to have a definite order which could not be denied."⁷¹ Clark also studied the question of glaciation, index fossils, and thrust faults. They all appeared to be valid geological concepts. The only problem was how to explain the data in a way consistent with a short chronology and a worldwide flood. Clark solved this with an ingenious "ecological zonation" theory. He postulated that the natural world was arranged in distinct zones. When the flood came, it simply buried organisms in this orderly arrangement. The geological column therefore represented "not ages of time, but stages of flood action—the burial of the zones or habitats of the antediluvian world."⁷² Clark published his findings in *The New Diluvialism* in 1946, a milestone in the church's creationist literature. Price was so shocked by the acceptance of the geological column that he suggested Clark's explanation was "a theory of Satanic origin."⁷³ But it was Clark's views that eventually prevailed and became the church's accepted position.⁷⁴

A little over a decade after the publication of *The New Diluvialism*, the General Conference entered the debate by establishing the Geoscience Research Institute (GRI). In keeping with the pursuit of academic respectability that had resulted in the establishment of Andrews and Loma Linda Universities, the institute was founded in 1958 so that church scientists could conduct research in geology and biology. As with the universities, the General Conference wanted a center of academic excellence and encouraged promising individuals to gain the necessary scientific qualifications to make the institute credible. To that end it appointed Peter Hare, Richard Ritland, Harold James, and Ed Lugenbeal, who obtained their doctorates from the California Institute of Technology, Harvard, Princeton, and the University of Wisconsin, respectively.⁷⁵ Again, it was not clear precisely what the General Conference envisaged, but like the Association of Adventist Forums, the institute was soon busily undermining Adventist traditions.

It is important to note that several GRI staff were very conservative. The institute's first director was a biologist, Frank L. Marsh, whose books, *Evolution*,

Creation, Science (1947) and *Studies in Creationism* (1950), strongly defended Ellen White's creationist framework. Later, GRI scientists Ariel Roth and Harold Coffin, although they received their doctorates from the Universities of Michigan and Southern California respectively, saw themselves as keepers of the church's faith.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, in much the same way as had the denomination's colleges, the institute became a breeding ground for the independent Adventist scientist. The experiments of Peter Hare, the research of Richard Ritland, and the work of Harold James and Ed Lugenbeal cast what appeared to be serious doubts on a 6,000-year chronology and on the efficacy of the Genesis flood. These conclusions derived from the discovery that radioactive dating was apparently much more reliable than Adventist scientists had previously supposed, that the layered fossil forests in Nova Scotia and Yellowstone Park suggested an earth of great age, and that the distribution of animals and plants in the geological record suggested some kind of evolutionary development. On this basis, the liberal scientists at GRI abandoned the explanations of Harold Clark just as he had rejected the ideas of McCready Price.⁷⁷

Ritland succeeded Marsh as director in 1964, and his views, along with those of Hare, James, and Lugenbeal dominated the institute in that decade. It seemed possible that these scientists would change the church's understanding of the earth's origins until the holding of a Geoscience Field Conference in 1968. At this meeting of church leaders and Adventist scientists, several speakers seriously questioned traditional creationism. Adventist officials became so alarmed that they started to abort the proceedings. This was not necessary, however, because the scientists proved to be divided among themselves—Roth and Coffin defended the 6,000-year chronology and the Genesis flood. As would be the case at Glacier View, the way was now open for the General Conference to take control. The church president Robert Pierson issued a resolution instructing GRI personnel to refrain from raising problems in public, and exerted pressure on the institute to abandon its open-ended approach. The institute's liberal scientists were then placed in a situation where they felt they had no option but to resign.⁷⁸

The dramatic events of the 1968 Geoscience Field Conference remained hidden from the general membership. However, to the perceptive eye, the polarization that had occurred among Adventist scientists could be detected in two books published in 1969 and 1970. The first, *Creation—Accident or Design?* by Harold Coffin, supported the two traditional answers to the evolutionary theory: the young earth and the Genesis flood as the main source of the geological record. Significantly, Coffin cited Ellen White as a scientific authority on more than seventy occasions.⁷⁹ In the second book, *A Search for Meaning in Nature*, Richard Ritland did not repeat established Adventist views. He maintained a discreet silence about the age of the earth, questioned the influence of the flood, and made only one passing reference to Ellen White.⁸⁰ While Coffin addressed

himself “to the task of helping God’s remnant people to preserve an intelligent faith,” Ritland argued that accepted explanations “very often . . . impair or repress inquiry prematurely.” It was, therefore, “continually essential to re-examine and test the validity of theories and basic assumptions.”⁸⁴

In the 1970s, the Geoscience Research Institute was governed by Coffin’s traditional, rather than Ritland’s open-minded, philosophy. Ritland resigned as director of the institute in 1971. Thereafter, the institute’s staff became increasingly estranged from their liberal colleagues and began instead to forge tentative links with non-Adventist creationists.⁸² They also found comfort in secular theorists such as Karl Popper and Thomas Kuhn, whose philosophies of science replaced Baconian methodology in the mid-twentieth century. As GRI staff and other creationists interpreted them, the models of Popper and Kuhn either denied evolution the status of a true science or suggested that creationism was as valid a “scientific” paradigm as any other.⁸³

At the beginning of the 1980s, GRI personnel became involved in the public debate about the teaching of evolution and creation in American schools. Roth, Coffin, and another Adventist creationist, Robert Gentry, testified for creation legislation in Arkansas at the highly publicized court case of 1981.⁸⁴ Some Adventists wondered whether this kind of activity breached the denomination’s separating wall between church and state, but it went with the grain of the wider membership, which held solidly creationist views. A survey in 1980 showed that 80 percent of Adventist ministers and laypeople believed that the earth was 6,000 years old.⁸⁵ Support for evolutionary theory was, however, running remarkably strongly within the science departments of Adventist colleges. The same questionnaire revealed that 39 percent of Adventist scientists thought the earth to be around 4.5 billion years old, the accepted age of planet in the scientific world.⁸⁶

But as in other disciplines, this was the high point of the intellectual revolt against the church’s beliefs. An *Adventist Today* poll of science faculty in Adventist colleges and universities in 1994 suggested that 21 percent of respondents believed the earth to be of great age—half of the 39 percent that said they held a similar view in 1980.⁸⁷ This drop was undoubtedly assisted by the continuing apologetic approach of the Geoscience Research Institute. Under the directorships of the physicist Robert H. Brown and his successor, Ariel Roth, the institute sought to rebuild confidence, especially on Adventist campuses, in the Genesis account of creation and the flood.⁸⁸ It also embraced new creationist concepts such as “intelligent design” (ID), which asserted that life forms were consciously designed by an intelligent creator, although unlike the standard formulation of the design argument for the existence of God, it did not necessarily identify the designer.⁸⁹

The idea came into vogue in the 1990s and was welcomed in the pages of the GRI journal, *Origins*, and by the Loma Linda biologist Leonard Brand, who in

his *Faith, Reason, and Earth History*, published in 1997, presented intelligent design as an alternative to the mechanism of natural selection.⁹⁰ This explication of ID theory was not what might have been expected, for as Numbers points out, the original proponents of intelligent design were ill-disposed toward “scientifically disreputable” young earth creationists.⁹¹ But the effort to co-opt new creationist ideas, rather than the evolutionary models that the first GRI researchers like Hare and Ritland thought best explained the evidence, was now being driven by an attitudinal shift on the part of a new generation of science teachers. The *Adventist Today* poll revealed that church scientists under fifty were more conservative than those older than fifty.⁹² This was perhaps because, like their counterparts in the seminary, the younger instructors were beginning to obtain their doctoral degrees from Adventist institutions. One of these, the vertebrate specialist, L. James Gibson, received his Ph.D. from Loma Linda, and in 1994 became the first director of the GRI with an Adventist science doctorate.⁹³

However, even a conservative GRI was unable to assist the church in settling the question of the earth’s antiquity if the denomination’s official and unofficial public statements on the subject were anything to go by. An authorized declaration released after almost four years of argument in 1980 mentioned only “a short history for life and the human race on the earth.” However a “Statement of Affirmation” signed by the General Conference president and twenty other senior officials after a Geoscience Field Conference in 1983 explicitly endorsed the 6,000-year chronology.⁹⁴ This was followed by an unambiguous pronouncement from the Adventist Theological Society, which declared that “the world was created in six, literal, consecutive 24-hour days; that the entire earth was subsequently devastated by a literal world-wide flood, and that the time elapsed since creation week is to be measured in terms of ‘about 6,000 years.’”⁹⁵ Despite this, a General Conference report issued in 2004 did not support the 6,000 year date. It merely noted that the earth’s creation “is of recent origin,” although it reaffirmed belief in a literal six-day creation and the biblical worldwide flood and was accompanied by a “call upon all Adventist educational institutions to ‘continue upholding and advocating the Church’s position on origins.’”⁹⁶

With Adventist theologians and scientists thus working within such parameters, perhaps the only academic area where the church encouraged a fully open-ended approach was in the discipline of sociology. Here church leaders were particularly interested in studies revealing the state of their members, no matter how unpalatable the results. Conducted principally by the Institute of Church Ministry at Andrews University and the Center for Creative Ministry (CCM), an independent but aligned research center based in Nebraska, data on numerous aspects of Adventism, such as church growth, race relations, giving practices, voting behavior, attitudes toward Adventist standards, and the nature of converts

and dropouts, burgeoned after the 1970s. As a result, the behavior and habits of Seventh-day Adventists became better known than those of the members of almost any other comparable denomination, and the social researchers who analyzed this material, Roger Dudley at the ICM, Monte Sahlin at the CCM, and others, such as Edwin Hernández and V. Bailey Gillespie, produced perhaps the most enlightening studies on Adventism in any area, as the twentieth century drew to a close.⁹⁷

In the 1990s Adventism's educational system appeared to advance in the way it had always done. An end-of-century push for further recognition saw Southern, Southwestern, and the La Sierra campus of Loma Linda University all agitating for and achieving university status.⁹⁸ Walla Walla biblical scholars Alden Thompson and John Brunt continued to promote the virtues of reason, which prompted an official, but on this occasion inconclusive, investigation of the entire religion department of the West Coast college.⁹⁹ The academic community also generally opposed the leadership's attempt to exert greater control over educational institutions as manifested by a "Total Commitment to God" statement passed at the Annual Council in 1996 and the creation of a monitoring International Board of Ministerial and Theological Education in 1998.¹⁰⁰

But compared to the 1960s and 1970s, or even the 1930s or 1940s, when scholars attempted to narrow the gap between the church and the world, Adventist academics posed few problems to the church leadership in the final decade of the twentieth century. This was just as well, for in those *fin de siècle* days, the General Conference was assailed by a conservative set of Adventist institutions whose personnel believed that the leadership itself had become too worldly and needed to return to the path of orthodoxy.

The Self-Supporting Movement

IT IS SOMETIMES DIFFICULT to tell if an institution is owned and operated by the Seventh-day Adventist Church. In the hospitals run by the denomination, the majority of the staff is usually non-Adventist, and the type of patient care is determined by the latest developments in medical science and the ever-pressing need to balance the budget, rather than the natural principles espoused by Ellen White. In Adventist schools and colleges, the primary focus is usually on obtaining the grades required to follow a professional career. Teachers generally use the same books and advance the same arguments as their secular colleagues. In both colleges and hospitals, the most urgent concern is the need to remain economically viable in a competitive market. The views on education and health that Ellen White propounded in the closing years of the nineteenth century may inform the long-term objectives of these institutions, but there is little evidence that they have any influence on short-term planning.

The same cannot generally be said of the hospitals and schools operated by Adventist laypeople independent of denominational control. There are numerous such institutions, including hospitals, colleges, academies, health food restaurants, small industries, and farms. These are not just ventures that happen to be owned by Adventist persons, but often self-conscious attempts to realize the Adventist ideal outside the structure of the church. Many are members of independent umbrella associations such as Outpost Centers International (OCI), based in Tennessee. Although OCI is itself affiliated to a North American Division organization, Adventist-Laymen's Services and Industries (or ASI), associations like OCI represent an implicit criticism of what

is considered to be the church's willingness to compromise its distinctive beliefs and practices.

Despite their diversity, the sixty or so institutions allied to OCI in the United States and in several countries overseas follow a similar pattern. Usually in a rural area and located on agricultural land, the Adventist community operates a program that may include a small health care facility, a school, various basic industries, and even a publishing arm. There may also be a vegetarian restaurant or health center in a nearby town. All employees, whatever their titular role, will probably perform some kind of manual labor. The wages paid to everyone are low, and the wage differential between a physician and a gardener is relatively marginal.¹ The philosophy is exemplified by the Wildwood Lifestyle Center and Hospital in Georgia. The small hospital is run on the principles advanced by Ellen White and pioneered by Kellogg. Although staffed by qualified physicians, the medical facilities are limited. The sanitarium specializes in post-operative care, "no-hope" cancer victims, and lifestyle readjustment for those with cardiac problems. The regimen is based on natural remedies: daily water treatment, a diet free of animal products, moderate exercise, and fresh air in delightful surroundings.²

At OCI's Harbert Hills Academy in Tennessee, Ellen White's educational principles are put into practice. Pupils do not take part in competitive sports but may spend part of each day gardening. Dress is conservative. Girls do not wear makeup, sleeveless clothing, or skirts that ride above the knee whether "sitting or standing."³ Boys do not wear T-shirts in class, since only "collared" shirts are allowed in formal situations.⁴ Incipient male-female relationships are discouraged, and the focus of all teaching is on a religious understanding of the world. The graduation requirements include four units in Bible, another four in English, two in gardening, one in health, and three in mathematics.⁵ The school flatly refuses to conform to contemporary secular practice and is unaccredited by either Adventist or government bodies because it is feared that this would require some modification in a curriculum that fully merges educational and spiritual concerns.

The academy and college run by the Weimar Institute of Health & Education in California operate on the same integrated plan. At Weimar Academy pupils work 12–14 hours a week in one of the campus industries, while at Weimar College undergraduates work at least 10 hours a week since curriculums are based, as the college puts it, on a "philosophical triad of work, study and outreach."⁶ The organization recruits students from all sections of Adventism's multiethnic base. In the 2000–2001 school year, about 11 percent of the college's seventy-one undergraduates were Asian, 10 percent were Hispanics, and one or two African Americans and Native Americans were enrolled as well.⁷ Dress codes are a little more liberal than those at the schools affiliated to OCI. After three decades of unaccredited operation, the college also decided to seek gov-



Figure 33. Field study: teacher and students work the land on the Weimar farm in 2001. *Photo courtesy Weimar Institute of Health & Education.*

eminent approved recognition in 2004.⁸ However, unlike mainstream Adventists, those at Weimar do not encourage the view that professional education is an ultimately desirable end. The dignity of manual labor is emphasized, and the merits of agricultural work are particularly extolled. It is the spiritual and not the material welfare of the individual that is considered to be of primary importance, and staff at self-supporting institutions take seriously the belief that true spirituality may necessitate material sacrifice (see figure 33).

In theology, the employees of self-supporting institutions retain their allegiance to early-twentieth-century Adventism, emphasizing the fallen human nature of Christ, the work of sanctification, and the need for moral perfection. They regard the publication of *Questions on Doctrine* as the great betrayal in Adventism's history. They perceive God's direct involvement in the development of self-supporting work, and from their independent bases, they call for revival in the church and a return to traditional values. Notable in this regard has been Colin Standish, formerly dean of Weimar and subsequently president of another self-supporting enterprise, the Hartland Institute of Health and Education in Virginia. In conjunction with his twin brother, Russell, he has written numerous books upholding traditional Adventist views on theology and education and criticizing the church's leadership for its openness to secular influence.⁹ A similar role is performed by a former minister, Ron Spear, leader of the independent ministry, Hope International, in Illinois. From there, he exhorts Adventist administrators to

"boldly proclaim the historic truths of Adventism."³⁰ In return, church leaders, particularly those in denominational colleges, complain bitterly about what they perceive to be the disruptive effects of conservative polemic. The debate is carried on by both sides with a fair amount of *odium theologicum*. The denomination describes the most uncompromising elements as an "informal church" whose presence in Adventism is likened to a "cancer" within a healthy body.³¹

The fissures that underlie these disputes are, however, not always easy to trace. Conservative Adventism is a complex phenomenon that has not been well documented even by the movement's academic supporters. In what follows, it is argued that there is a sufficient degree of historical continuity, doctrinal similarity, and institutional overlap among its various strands to indicate that there is an identifiable movement that represents a particular kind of response to mainstream Adventism. The movement appears to have been formed in two stages. The first was the development of an alternative type of Adventist institution in the form of Madison School, founded near Nashville, Tennessee, in 1904. The second was the return to the ideals of Ellen White by those displeased with trends in Adventism since the Second World War. The first stage represented the emergence of a separate tradition within the church; the second embodied a reaction to a church that was perceived to be changing beyond recognition.

Madison was the creation of two senior educators who had the enthusiastic support of Ellen White.³² At the turn of the century, E. A. Sutherland was president of the denominational college at Battle Creek. Along with the dean, Percy Magan, he attempted reorganization. The transfer of Battle Creek College to Berrien Springs, Michigan, and its redesignation as Emmanuel Missionary College represented a success for Sutherland's vision of missionary education in a rural setting. But the victory was achieved at a cost. The church's membership lost confidence in the college, enrollment plummeted, and, amid bitter criticism, Sutherland and Magan resigned. But as one experiment failed, the opportunity to start another emerged.

Edson White's independent work for blacks in the South had suggested to his mother that an agriculturally based program might benefit poor southern whites. Accordingly, Sutherland and Magan moved to Tennessee, where a farm was purchased and a school established. Ellen White was particularly excited about the project; in 1908 she penned "An Appeal for the Madison School." She remained on the school board (the only such position she ever held) until her death, and she recommended that "every possible means should be devised to establish schools of the Madison order in various parts of the South."³³ Her interest continued, and while at Madison on a picnic arranged in her honor, she suggested that a sanitarium might be built.³⁴

Her advice on both counts was soon heeded. A sanitarium was established, and Sutherland and Magan, both in middle age, qualified as physicians. In 1924 the Layman Foundation was organized partly from money from a rich sympa-

thizer, Lida Funk Scott.¹⁵ It was designed to foster the growth of rural self-supporting units that were offshoots of the mother institution. In the years before the Second World War, about forty such units were established. One unit sometimes spawned another. Thus, in 1924 the Layman Foundation purchased a farm near Knoxville, Tennessee, that became the basis for the Little Creek Sanitarium and Academy, and in 1950 a teacher went from Little Creek to establish Laurelbrook School on a farm near Dayton, Tennessee.¹⁶ Of the 1,000 Madison graduates, more than one-quarter went on to work in self-supporting institutions, including a group who spent two years in the early 1950s constructing the first buildings of Harbert Hills Academy on land donated by a non-Adventist judge in Savannah, Tennessee.¹⁷ Thus, a network was created that provided an alternative to the system offered by official church institutions.

Although some of its progeny survive, Madison itself was closed in 1964, one year after being transferred to denominational control. Its failure was precipitated by the state's requirement that the hospital be rebuilt to higher standards, but the underlying causes of decline lay in the postwar prosperity of the young, who no longer needed to work in order to be able to study, and in the declining commitment of the staff, for whom Madison was no longer a pioneering institution. The closure did not herald the demise of the self-supporting work, however, for a major new center had emerged at Wildwood in 1942.¹⁸ Although influenced by Madison, Wildwood was not an offshoot. Rather, it represented a return to the vision of Ellen White by the members of a younger generation, notably W. D. Frazee, who were inspired by the ideal of rural Adventist communities as centers of health evangelism.

To some extent, this was part of a revival of interest in the countryside in the wider church, caused largely by worries about Trade Unions in urban areas. In 1946 the General Conference established the Seventh-day Adventist Commission on Rural Living and issued booklets to the general membership such as *Country Living*, an Ellen White compilation, and *From City to Country Living: A Guide to Those Making the Change*.¹⁹ Official efforts to encourage rural dwelling petered out in the 1950s, but Wildwood survived. Although it was initially difficult to find medical staff committed to natural remedies, the sanitarium gradually succeeded in winning a favorable local reputation. The subsequent development of a vegetarian restaurant in nearby Chattanooga set the pattern for several of Wildwood's numerous daughter institutions, which operate the successful Country Life chain of restaurants in major cities such as London and Prague.²⁰

Wildwood appears to have taken on Madison's role as the inspiration for a wider movement. But the differences are instructive. Madison was founded by the church's leading educators, at the direct behest of Ellen White, with a view to its being an integral part of the denomination's work in the South. The initiative that resulted in the formation of Wildwood did not come from the church's

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degree that could be earned only through an extended study of Greek and Latin literature. Adventist education embodied precisely those characteristics Sutherland abhorred.

According to Sutherland's successors, Adventist schools continue to exemplify the failings of contemporary education. In a study authored by the Standish brothers, many of Sutherland's themes are reiterated, but there is also a subtle shift of emphasis. Sutherland had argued that "a failure to make the development of thought—independent thinking, in fact—the main object in instruction stamps any method of teaching as papal."²⁶ For the Standishes, the issue is no longer the thoughtless repetition of classical grammar but the view that "academic freedom is necessary for the pursuit of truth."²⁷ Their response is that "the freedom cries are based upon the fundamental error that freedom will lead to truth, while Christ clearly declares that it is the reverse—truth will lead to freedom."²⁸

The context in which Sutherland wrote was different. He was proposing radical ideas in opposition to the educational traditionalists of his day. His followers are writing against moral relativism rather than intellectual dogmatism, and in the modern world they appear conservative.²⁹ However, it is the prevailing intellectual climate rather than the self-supporting philosophy that has changed. Its central tenet remains the view that education is best undertaken through direct involvement with nature. The Standishes repeat Ellen White's statement that "study in agricultural lines should be the A, B and C of the education given in our schools" and conclude that "true Christian education will offer every opportunity for students to gain an education in the pursuits of the soil."³⁰ Such activities, the authors argue, will help to develop patience, responsibility, self-discipline, and obedience to rules. It is an approach that reflects Sutherland's idea that God's laws are embedded in nature and the belief that humanity can learn them through contact with the natural environment.³¹

A comparable discrepancy exists between the philosophies of the self-supporting health facilities and those of the Adventist health system. W. D. Frazee distinguished "genuine medical missionary work" from other medical work by its ability to meet three criteria. According to Frazee, a medical missionary should ask himself:

1. Is my work done wholly from love—unselfish, self-sacrificing love?
2. Am I more concerned with leading people to obedience of nature's laws than I am in relieving symptoms? And are the methods I am using accomplishing that result?
3. Is my great goal in all my work the winning of souls for Christ and his message? And is the program I am following, the work I am doing, producing souls that I can present to Jesus at his coming?³²

In practice, these principles are interpreted to mean that health professionals should receive much less than the customary remuneration, that symptom-

relieving drugs should be avoided, and that distinctive Adventist beliefs should be presented to patients. This is the basis on which Wildwood and similar sanitariums are run. Other Adventist medical institutions charge and pay market rates, make extensive use of drugs, and emphasize that a Christian, rather than a specifically Adventist, atmosphere prevails. Denominational hospitals define themselves primarily by professional and commercial standards, while independent institutions are operated on specifically Adventist guidelines.

Self-supporting ventures thus not only have a long history independent of the denomination but also have an independent philosophy that gives full weight to Ellen White's reformist ideals in a way that denominationally operated institutions have never done. It would thus be a mistake to imagine that self-supporting centers preserve the ethos and ideals of earlier generations of mainstream Adventists. Even the first Adventist institutions, Battle Creek College and the Western Health Reform Institute, did not realize these principles. On the contrary, the ideals of health and education that Ellen White advanced were formulated as a criticism not so much of existing secular practice, but of contemporary Adventist practice. Adventist institutions predated Ellen White's ideals for them. They did not depart from those ideals; they never changed enough to realize them. Self-supporting institutions represent an implicit criticism of the denominational system because they are founded on Ellen White's explicit criticism of that system; they have an independent ancestry that goes back to Ellen White's writings. Denominational institutions were founded, not on the basis of a written program, but in emulation of similar secular institutions. Self-supporting and denominational institutions do not share a common origin.

This conclusion points to the fact that among self-supporting workers there exists a form of Adventism that is not so much deviant or anachronistic as it is alternative. It is true, however, that the self-supporting philosophy was formulated in the early 1900s and that the theology of the movement preserves the beliefs and concerns of the turn of the century—the transitional period between Adventist radicalism and Adventist fundamentalism. But the movement was born at a time when mainstream Adventism was divided. In the crisis of 1900–1907, Adventist radicalism, in the form of Kellogg's biologic living, pantheism, and anticlericalism, was forced outside the denomination. The new fundamentalism downplayed health, natural law, and social service in favor of revivalist evangelism, a strengthened pastorate, and a belief in the virtual inerrancy of the Scriptures and the spirit of prophecy.

The self-supporting movement, however, represented an alternative response to the crisis based on a synthesis of radical and fundamentalist ideas. Sutherland and Magan, who were suspected of being Kellogg sympathizers, retained his devotion to health and harmony with nature, his skepticism of the Adventist leadership, and, reportedly, his pantheistic views.³³ But they anticipated the coming fundamentalist era in the emphasis they placed on the Bible and Ellen White.

Unlike Kellogg's philosophy, this combination of beliefs was not ejected from the denomination, but it was forced outside the Adventist mainstream.

Steps were nonetheless taken to bridge the divide that had opened up. In 1946 the ASI was founded with E. A. Sutherland installed as the association's first secretary. The following year, after a further reorganization, the ASI had twenty-five charter members.³⁴ Thereafter, the number of self-supporting institutions grew steadily until the 1980s, when it started to increase dramatically. By no means all of them were of particular trouble to the church. The Layman Foundation continued to maintain a discreet profile, confining itself to funding capital projects at institutions like the Little Creek Sanitarium.³⁵ OCI, which was formed in 1983, declares that it is a "supportive ministry of the Seventh-day Adventist Church."³⁶ Most of Weimar's academy students go on to study at the various colleges of the church's mainstream educational system, and many of Weimar's college graduates are accepted as pastors and administrators in the conferences.³⁷

Other self-supporting organizations that are well known to Adventists include Maranatha Volunteers International, which has since 1969 been erecting quick-build churches and schools around the world in ways that have been compatible with the church's program.³⁸ The evangelistically oriented Hart Research Center, established in 1986, has worked for, or closely cooperated with, church authorities.³⁹ The same is also true of the Three Angels Broadcasting Network (3ABN), which since 1986 has been producing a popular alternative radio and television service to that provided by the Adventist Media Center or the Adventist Television Network, although it has had to resist General Conference interference.⁴⁰

Many other ministries, however, soon adopted an openly hostile stance toward the church leadership. This appears to have started in the late 1960s with the private publications of conservative Adventists, many of whom may have harbored some lingering resentment about the closure of the Madison School. An early paper was *Watchman, What of the Night?* published by William Grotheer, a former Madison teacher.⁴¹ This was followed in 1971 by the launch of *The Layworker*, funded by a group of disaffected laymen in California. Ironically, this journal originally supported the early perfectionism of Brinsmead but failed to move with him when he changed his position.⁴² In the 1980s harsher critiques of the Adventist mainstream were made by the newsletter of the Hoehn Research Library, written by Hermann Hoehn, who specialized in producing unflattering cartoon representations of the then-president of the General Conference, Neal Wilson, and by another bulletin, *Pilgrims Waymarks*, produced by Vance Ferrell of the Pilgrims Rest organization.⁴³

These publications, with the exception of *The Layworker* (which was distributed as *The Protestant Layworker* between 1991 and 1993) and Hoehn's newsletter, are still being issued. But they were eventually overtaken by the Internet, which proved an ideal medium for publishing privately funded attacks on the

denomination. Grotheer himself established *adventistlaymen.com*. Ferrell set up *sdadefend.com* and the related *ellenwhitedefend.com*. From California came the anti-liberal *greatcontroversy.org*, "A Positive Place on the Web for the Third Angel's Message." In West Virginia emerged *smyrna.org*, the "paper and electronic publishing" site of Smyrna Gospel Ministries, which regarded the earlier acceptance of the Trinity, rather than the publication of *Questions on Doctrine*, as the church's great act of betrayal.⁴⁴

Gradually, however, the self-supporting opposition to the church's various compromises with the outside world came to be embodied in two institutions, the Hartland Institute and Hope International. The two ministries were not identical. Hartland conformed to the classic self-supporting pattern, with a college, a Wellness Center, and a publishing house set in beautiful grounds in Rapidan, Virginia. It started in 1983 as a result of assistance from the Hewitt Research Foundation and generous donations from, among others, the McKee Foods Corporation, the well-known, privately run Adventist business in Tennessee.⁴⁵ The idea was to create a "Weimar in the East," and to that end the dean of Weimar, Colin Standish, was called to be the institute's founder president. Since Standish felt that Weimar itself was beginning to compromise with state authority, he did not take long to accept the post.⁴⁶

Hope International was based initially in Eatonville, Washington, before moving to Knoxville, Illinois, in 2003. It was more akin to the newer style "independent ministry," built around the dissemination of books and tracts, a propagandizing Web site, and a monthly magazine, *Our Firm Foundation*, named after the title of the two-volume report of the church's Bible Conference of 1952, where fundamentalist Adventism had made its last stand. The ministry's founder, Ron Spear, had held responsible positions within the church before becoming disaffected with the leadership and direction of the denomination. He began as a pastor in Washington State in 1954, served as a departmental director in the Tanzania Union between 1969 and 1971, and as president of the South Rwanda Mission in 1971 and 1972. After that he worked as a field representative for the *Review* from 1979 to 1982 before setting up *Our Firm Foundation* as a rival to the church paper in 1985 on his understanding that the Seventh-day Adventist Church "does not now perfectly reflect the will of our Lord."⁴⁷

To a large extent, Hartland and Hope were a reaction to the personnel changes at the top of the General Conference at the beginning of the 1980s. During the previous decade, Adventism was led by Robert Pierson, a staunch conservative and the last church president who openly encouraged their movement. In 1983, Pierson wrote a celebration of self-supporting institutions called *Miracles Happen Every Day*. The new president, Neal Wilson, was not as sympathetic to their objectives, although he did meet leaders of the faction, at Pierson's instigation, in 1988.⁴⁸ The second key change was at the *Review*. In Kenneth Wood, they had an editor who was willing to use the paper to condemn

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had been a member of OCI and ASI, but in 1992 both associations expelled Hartland because in their view, no self-supporting institution should knowingly accept tithe.⁵³ The issue also split the Hartland community. As a result, in 1988 about a third of Standish's staff and students departed from the organization over his stand on tithe and also over his links to Spear, which many considered detrimental to the welfare of the institute.⁵⁴

Despite this revolt, Hartland and Hope continued to work together. The Standishes contributed articles to *Our Firm Foundation*, and Spear featured Hartland's books in his organization's publications catalog.⁵⁵ Their joint agitation put them high on the agenda of the man elected to the church presidency in 1990, Robert Folkenberg, who was even more unsympathetic to the self-supporting movement than was Wilson. At the 1991 Annual Council the church issued the Perth Declaration, which deprecated those who "circulate private publications and electronic media presentations among the believers in a manner to suggest they represent the authentic teachings of the body as a whole."⁵⁶ This was followed in 1992 by the even more confrontational *Issues* publication, which identified Hartland and Hope as the chief cause of division on issues such as the human nature of Christ and tithe.⁵⁷ The book did not name its authors, stating only that it was "Authorized by the North American Division Officers and Union Presidents." The self-supporting people, however, strongly suspected that Folkenberg was behind it and vigorously rebutted the book's criticisms.⁵⁸

They soon inflicted a more telling blow against the church president, however. The opportunity arose from various articles and books Folkenberg had published. After examining these, in 1997 Spear prepared a paper, "An Appeal to the General Conference President," itemizing alleged similarities between Folkenberg's theology and that of Desmond Ford, among others. Standish wrote an introduction to the document, and other Hope International supporters, such as Ralph Larson and Kevin Paulson, contributed supporting material. The paper was sent to Folkenberg, who was told that it was compiled "to help you understand that the course you have chosen is leading you and our beloved church into spiritual confusion."⁵⁹ Folkenberg responded by placing the ministries "on trial."⁶⁰ A General Conference ad hoc committee was convened to act as liaison between the parties. The atmosphere was greatly improved from the self-supporting point view by the forced resignation of Folkenberg over his personal financial dealings just before the meetings started.⁶¹ This may have meant that the report of the discussions that was published in the *Review* in 2000 was not as bad for Spear and Standish as it might have been.

The report mildly rebuked the ministries for their concentration on the human nature of Christ and rebuffed their claim to a portion of the church's tithe. It also expressed concerns about their differing ecclesiology—rejecting their view that the church consists of "both an organized system of administration and a parallel self-supporting ministry independent of the organized sys-

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leled that of the parachurch movement, which by the end of the century was providing services for everything from rescue missions to media production.⁷² The problems caused by the self-supporting movement to the Adventist church were, as well, the same as those posed by parachurch institutions to mainline denominations. Anything from 15 to 40 percent of church members' giving went to parachurch organizations in the 1990s, and many of the denominations' best young people were lured by the rigor, and in some cases, the greater glamour of parachurch alternatives.⁷³

Like Catholic monasticism or Protestant parachurchism, the self-supporting movement embodies an implicit criticism of the church's worldliness and provides a base for rigorist revivalists. It also supplies an outlet for zealous individuals whose enthusiasm might otherwise lead them outside the church, and it attracts those for whom the church might otherwise have little to offer. The movement permits adherence to the Adventist denomination through partial opposition to it. In this it may be seen to function in relation to Adventism in precisely the same way that Adventism functions in relation to the mainstream of American life. As an intensification of the Adventist experience, the self-supporting movement replicates that experience in microcosm.

The Revolving Door

SOME RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS are impossible to join. Others are almost impossible to leave. Most fall between the extremes of exclusivity and inclusivity. They have boundaries that can be crossed in both directions. This is certainly true of American Protestantism. Only about 60 percent of people remain within the denomination in which they are brought up.¹ But one church's loss is usually another's gain.² Some denominations maintain a steady total membership that disguises a high turnover. A growing church combines numerous gains with few losses. In decline, the ratio is reversed. A denomination may thus be characterized by the flow of people through its entrances and exits. Its relationship to other groups can be clarified by the source of its gains and the destination of its losses. Churches appear to be static bodies continuous through time. But those with a shifting constituency can be seen, not as discrete entities, but as processes through which a constant stream of individuals may pass. This final chapter looks at Adventism as a process. It seeks to account for the diversity within the church, the varying socioeconomic status of Adventist members, and the position of Adventism as a whole within American society.

For about the first seven years of its existence, Adventism was a movement that was impossible to join. The door of mercy was deemed to be shut, and entrance to the movement was barred. Adventists were so estranged from the surrounding culture that they did not even recruit from it. When the entrance was opened in the 1850s, converts came through, at first in a trickle, later in a flood. Today, half or more of the Adventist membership is made up of people who were born into another church (or had little religion at all) and decided to become Adventists as adults.³ At the same time, at least a third of those who are born Adventist or entered Adventism along with a parent during childhood subsequently leave the

church altogether.⁴ Converts may drop out at an even higher rate.⁵ Even among lifelong members, many will stop attending church for a period (typically during late teens and twenties) and return (often with a young family) at a later date.⁶ And since the church is slow to clear its membership records of the apostate and inactive, this means that at any given time only about 60 percent of the membership is involved with the church on a regular basis.⁷ Given that roughly half of those are likely to be converts anyway, and that a third or more of the rest may leave, either temporarily or permanently, the proportion of Adventists who are born into the church, remain loyal to it without ever faltering, and die within the faith in which they were raised may well be less than 20 percent of the total membership.

This fact is not fully reflected in Adventist publications, where many authors address their readers as though being a lifelong Adventist in an all-Adventist family were the norm rather than the exception. In fact, perhaps a third of church members are married to non-Adventists, and only a minority of Adventists live in all-Adventist households.⁸ For obvious reasons, a disproportionate number of church leaders are likely to be lifelong members married to other lifelong members, but their experience does not reflect that of the membership as a whole, for most of whom Adventism is part of a more complex pattern of religious affiliation. Most Adventists are in the process of either entering or leaving the denomination, and even among those who are constant there may be periods of ebb and flow in their level of engagement.

Using the General Social Survey, it is possible to distinguish between respondents at different stages in their commitment to the church—converts (who were not Adventists at 16), lifelong members, and those raised Adventist who have left the denomination—and to relate this to their economic status.⁹ The GSS indicates that Adventist converts are poorer than lifelong members and that lifelong members are poorer than ex-Adventists raised in the denomination.¹⁰ However, since the question about income was asked across a thirty-year period and does not take account of inflation, it may be more reliable to use respondents' subjective perception of their income relative to that of others. The results are the same. While 42 percent of converts considered their income below average, only 11 percent thought it above average. The corresponding percentages for lifelong members were 37 and 17 percent in rounded figures; for ex-Adventists they were 23 and 27 percent.¹¹ (See table 5.) A similar distribution can be found in answer to the question about class. Whereas Adventists mostly identified themselves as working class, with lifelong members placing themselves slightly above converts, ex-Adventists raised in the church predominantly thought of themselves as middle class.¹²

These categories do not distinguish between fringe Adventists and those who are actively involved in the church. But more than a third of those who identify themselves as Adventist in the GSS actually attend church less than once a

TABLE 5
 Seventh-day Adventist income relative to others in percentages.
 Source: GSS 1972–2000 Cumulative Datafile.

	Below	Average	Above
All members	39.7	46.6	13.7
Converted members	41.9	46.5	11.2
Lifelong members	36.9	46.6	16.5
Ex-members	22.6	50.0	27.2

month or not at all. Using attendance as a variable, converts and lifelong members who are regularly involved with the church share a similar profile, but significant differences emerge between fringe converts and fringe lifelong members. Fringe converts (people who once committed themselves to Adventism but now seem to be losing contact) evaluate their income more negatively than converts who attend at least once a month. But fringe Adventists raised in the church have a more positive view and have a distribution somewhere between that of lifelong members and that of ex-Adventists raised in the denomination. This suggests that whereas disengagement is likely to be associated with lower economic status for converts, for those raised in the church (whether they are drifting out or have left altogether), it is associated with higher economic status.¹³ (See table 6.)

The GSS alone does not include enough Adventists to establish the existence of this pattern. But its findings are reflected in data from a variety of other sources as well. The Donnelley marketing study of 1986 and the AVANCE survey of Hispanic adults both clearly indicate that converts are of lower social status than existing members.¹⁴ There is also abundant evidence of a strong positive correlation between assimilation into the church and higher socioeconomic status. In AVANCE, 73 percent of converts said they were better-off, or much better-off, and only 7 percent worse-off after becoming Adventists, and 81 percent said that

TABLE 6
 Seventh-day Adventist attendance and income relative to others in percentages.
 Source: GSS 1972–2000 Cumulative Datafile.

	Below	Average	Above
Converts, irregular	48.1	48.1	3.7
Converts, regular	39.3	45.9	14.6
Lifelong, regular	39.5	48.8	11.6
Lifelong, irregular	35.7	42.9	20.6
Ex-members	22.6	50.0	27.7

they had become motivated to advance their education.¹⁵ Other surveys reveal that Adventists who are better-off, college educated, or in professional-managerial jobs are all more fully assimilated within the church than those who are not so advantaged. These members are considerably more likely to have had some Adventist education, to be or to have been in church employment, and to live in exclusively (or almost exclusively) Adventist households.¹⁶ Indeed, in another survey, having a spouse raised in an Adventist family emerges as a mark of some social distinction: only among college graduates and the very wealthiest did a majority have a spouse who was a lifelong member.¹⁷

However, internal surveys also indicate that in some respects the better-off feel less close to the church than their poorer coreligionists. People who do not read Ellen White regularly, for example, are wealthier and more likely to have had at least one Adventist parent than those who do.¹⁸ The very wealthiest have the least assurance of eternal life and are the least certain of the need to attend church: three-quarters of them never go to prayer meetings. The wealthiest are also the least likely to have converted others.¹⁹

The disengagement of the relatively wealthy may have served to mitigate the long-term effect of upward social mobility within the church. This can be seen in the intergenerational changes that have taken place in members' employment. Originally, Adventists were mostly farmers, but by the 1930s technical and clerical workers were also overrepresented.²⁰ At the end of the following decade, most farmers' children had become white-collar or skilled workers, and many more Adventists were engaged in occupations of a professional, technical, or craft nature. The *Mid-Century* survey of Adventist youth pointed to the probability that the next generation would move into the professions. Twenty-nine percent of the employed children of those in clerical-sales occupations, 26 percent of the children of craftsmen, and 28 percent of the children of managers had already moved into the professional-technical field. Of those whose parents were professionals, 47 percent had taken up similar employment.²¹

The survey probably exaggerated the number of those already in such occupations by using a sample in which church employees were overrepresented, but given the marked orientation toward upward social mobility evidenced by the findings, one would anticipate that, thirty or forty years later, Adventists might be overrepresented among professionals at the upper end of the social scale. However, as the discussion in chapter 8 has indicated, data from the closing decades of the twentieth century revealed that Adventists had not, as a group, enjoyed the kind of upward social mobility that might have been expected. So how could individual Adventist families have experienced occupational mobility across the generations without the church as a whole benefiting from it? There are no available data that can give a conclusive answer to this question, but the evidence of the GSS suggests that as Adventists changed their occupations and grew richer, many also left the denomination.

When converts join the church, they are usually persons of limited education and low economic status, and (like members of many other sectarian groups) they are likely to obtain some economic benefit from the discipline, hard work, and supportive social networks fostered by their new faith. But Adventism's particular capacity to promote upward mobility derives from another factor—the church's extensive educational system. Just how important education was in effecting the integration of the young into Adventist society was revealed in the *Mid-Century* survey. There was, it appeared, a direct correlation between the amount of Adventist education a young person received and the likelihood of his or her becoming and remaining a member of the church.²² And through education provided by the denomination, Adventists can obtain skills that they (or their parents) did not previously possess. Among Hispanic Adventists, for example, those with some Adventist education were six times as likely to go to graduate school than those who had never attended a church school.²³ As the *Mid-Century* survey already indicated, the education that facilitated continued church involvement also enabled people to change their social and occupational status.

It is at this point that church employment becomes important in the Adventist experience. Adventism promotes mobility not so much within wider society as within Adventism. Upward mobility is easier within the church than it is outside. Education at Adventist colleges is generally of a high standard relative to the low admission requirements, and the church's heavy institutionalization creates wide-ranging job opportunities for its own graduates. During most of the twentieth century the ratio of employees to members in the United States has hovered around 1:16.²⁴ About half this number are non-Adventists working in health institutions. However, given that many members are not actively involved with the church and many others are not currently in employment (the labor force is usually only about 60 percent of the population), about 10–15 percent of active, employed Adventists may be working for the church at any one time.²⁵ In places where there are major institutions, the proportion of Adventists working for the denomination will be even higher. A survey in the South-eastern California Conference (which includes Loma Linda) suggested that a quarter of all active members, and over 10 percent of ex-Adventists, were currently in church employment in 1980.²⁶

Given that for every current employee there are perhaps two others who worked for the church in the past, this suggests that there is a significant pool of people who are, or have been, in denominational employment.²⁷ Such individuals are not evenly distributed within the membership, however. The vast majority (almost 90 percent) of church employees have some college education, so whereas half or more of those who are college-educated or in professional and managerial jobs have probably worked for the church at some stage, very few of those whose education finished at high school or below will have had the opportunity.²⁸ Since

lifelong members are more than twice as likely to have been to college than converts, perhaps one in seven will have served the denomination at some point in their careers, while only a tiny fraction of new recruits will ever do so.²⁹

The availability of employment may help to explain the church's ability not only to produce but also to retain educated members. In 1926, Adventist colleges were producing more than twice the number of college graduates that might be expected for a group of its size.³⁰ The ratio has been diminishing ever since as higher education became more widely available, but the overall proportion of graduates in Adventism is now probably in excess of 25 percent.³¹ While lifelong members have a much higher level of education than converts, the GSS suggests that there are fewer graduates among ex-Adventists (though half of these had gone on to a graduate degree, compared to a fifth of the lifelong group).³² These figures imply that up to the level of graduate school, education promotes the retention of members in a way that improved economic status does not. One reason for this may be that education leads to employment in the church, and hence dependence on it, whereas making money in other ways makes people more independent of the denomination. Although both are liable to hold more liberal views on social issues than other members, it is the wealthiest, rather than the most educated, who are more disengaged from the church.³³

But because graduate education that leads to a professional qualification is also liable to result in increased income, there is obviously some potential overlap here. Denominational education and employment are not generally likely to make a person wealthy. Ministers, teachers, and others may earn a little more than the national average, but the ceiling on denominational pay-scales is low.³⁴ The salaries enjoyed by health professionals, on the other hand, are very much higher.³⁵ The health professions are one of the careers to which an Adventist education leads—indeed, for a long time it constituted the only form of recognized professional education within the church. As such, historically it was the best means for second- or third-generation Adventists to move beyond the educational level of their parents while staying within the Adventist system. By 1936 there were at least 816 Adventist physicians in the United States, which meant that one in every 200 members was now a doctor—almost four times the ratio in the general population. Adventism continued producing physicians at above the national rate, and in the decades after the Second World War, when the spread of health insurance boosted the incomes of medical professionals, Adventism's doctors became increasingly prosperous as well.³⁶

Becoming a doctor, dentist, or nurse was, and to some degree remains, the natural culmination of the Adventist experience. The physician was, in Ellen White's words, "God's nobleman," someone with a work above that even of the ordained ministry.³⁷ In the early twentieth century the names and addresses of Adventist physicians were even listed in the church's yearbook, irrespective of whether they worked for the denomination.³⁸ The status of the profession is

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4. Lifelong members are of lower socioeconomic status than ex-members raised Adventist.

Combining GSS data from tables 5 and 6, which indicate the status of each group, with information from internal Adventist surveys, it is possible to give a rough estimate of the proportion in each phase. This suggests that of every 100 Adventists, 55 are converts (of whom perhaps half will leave without establishing themselves in the church); 27 are lifelong members attending regularly, and 18 are lifelong members destined to leave (and usually already drifting out). This last group enjoys the highest socioeconomic status, although it is still below that of people born in the church who have left altogether.

The best way to conceive of the process is as a revolving door, with a continuous flow of people entering and leaving. On the way into Adventism, socioeconomic marginality is exchanged for religious marginality. On the way out, religious marginality is exchanged for socioeconomic centrality. The process can be subdivided into three distinct stages, corresponding, perhaps, to individual segments in a revolving door. In the first phase, Adventists aspire to realize the church's ideals; in the second, they attempt to sustain those ideals; and in the third, they seek to transform those ideals. Converts are, at least initially, aspirers; sustainers are established converts and lifelong members; and transformers are a mix of lifelong members and future defectors born into the church (see figure 34).

At the point of entry, converts are inspired by an apocalyptic vision of the world. They are eager to separate themselves from a society bound for destruction and to ally themselves with a body of believers bound for heaven. They are, however, still embedded within American society, and their family, friends,

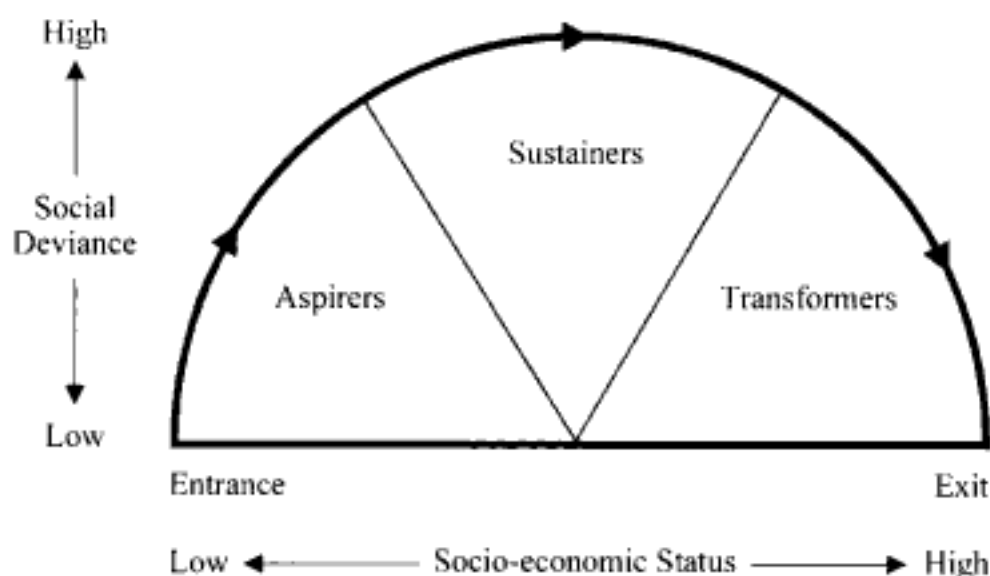


Figure 34. The Revolving Door.

neighbors, and workmates are unlikely to share their convictions. Moreover, if they fail to establish themselves within their new denomination, they are unlikely to experience much in the way of upward social mobility, for this comes through accepting the discipline of the Adventist way of life and embracing the opportunities the church provides. Many will therefore leave the church the same way they came in, without ever passing through the revolving door. But to those who persevere in the faith, Adventism potentially offers a long and varied religious career.

For converts who remain in the church and establish themselves well enough to become sustainers, contact with Adventism is nevertheless still chiefly a religious matter. They do not have an Adventist schooling, and their social connections with Adventists are focused around the local congregation. Unless young, these recruits are likely to have preexisting economic ties, and because they lack sufficient education, they are unlikely to be employed by the denomination. They may, however, eventually become leading members of their local churches, and the increasing prosperity they enjoy does not seem to prevent them from remaining enthusiastic about their faith and eager to convert others.

Although established converts and lifelong members work together in the running of the local church, the experience of the latter is somewhat different. Many will probably have had at least some Adventist education, which gives them an easy familiarity with the Adventist system. Education will also equip them for church employment, and they are integrated into an Adventist milieu that is not just local, but extends across the nation and often overseas as well.⁴² Socialization can be so complete that some church members do not know intimately anyone who is not an Adventist. Their parents, relatives, friends, and schoolmates are all likely to be fellow members. Bound to the church by economic, educational, and social ties, their objective is to maintain the Adventist system and advance within it.

Nevertheless, a significant number of those born in the church eventually drift away.⁴² Although some will have received their education within denominational schools and colleges, it may have provided them with qualifications that give them professional status outside Adventism as well. This provides a means of reaching out into the world. They will make professional contact with non-Adventists, perhaps adopt some elements of non-Adventist lifestyle, and seek to reconcile Adventist beliefs with the philosophical presuppositions of their profession. Since many Adventist professionals are medically orientated, the synthesis is often expressed as holism, which perceives Adventism as a superior lifestyle package that maximizes physical and psychological health. This quest for self-realization may lead them outside of the church as a religious organization, even though they may still consider themselves to be practicing their own brand of Adventism and may still maintain social contacts with continuing members.⁴³

This, it must be emphasized, is a model designed to interpret a wide variety of evidence about who Adventists are and what they believe and do. As such, it has no claims to prescriptive accuracy. No particular individual has to conform to the patterns suggested above. Nonetheless, the various phases of the Adventist experience have been evident for a long time. In 1960 a sociologist, James T. Borhek, studied an Adventist congregation in California and identified three groups—the doctrine oriented, the group oriented, and the community oriented—whose theological and social orientations broadly correspond to those in the three phases in the model above. Borhek investigated a single congregation for only a limited period of time and thus failed to emphasize both the transformational power of the Adventist experience and the potential for losses among the community-oriented group.⁴⁴ A social anthropologist, Gary Schwartz, studied another Adventist congregation just over a decade later. He observed the strong drive toward upward mobility in Adventism, but perhaps because his sample was limited to a single urban, ethnic congregation, he did not perceive the diversity that already existed within the church.⁴⁵

The model of the revolving door is designed not only to describe the diversity within Adventism but also to emphasize the relationship between continuity and change. As the door turns, those close to the exit move out, more lifelong members swing into the third segment, existing converts establish themselves as sustainers, and a new generation of converts enters the process. This is probably why a religion that has promoted education and fostered upward social mobility for more than a century nevertheless has a remarkably unchanging socioeconomic profile relative to that of the U.S. population as a whole. While the door revolves and the final products of the process make an exit, the internal composition of Adventism does not alter. Each stage in the progression is equally vital. If there is a relatively constant flow through both entrances and exit, the church stays the same.

The operation of the revolving door has depended on three factors. The first, discussed in chapter 6, is the maintenance of ideological difference, which legitimates the separation of Adventism from the mainstream of society. The second, discussed at length in part two, is the creation of institutions and strategies that allow the church to work within, but remain distinct from, the American state. The third, discussed above, is the provision of a variety of roles that permit Adventist converts and their descendants to re-enter American society at a higher level than that from which they came. There is a close relationship between the maintenance of deviance, the resistance to incorporation, the provision of internal social opportunities, and the flow of people through the Adventist system. The speed at which the revolving door turns may be either slowed or accelerated. In either case, the character of the Adventist experience may be modified.

The revolving door turned for several generations in the denomination without exciting much attention. Those exiting the church were not visibly different

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status religion in the generally poorer black population. This suggests that while a wealthy white Adventist may feel under some social pressure to leave Adventism behind and join another church whose members are of similarly elevated status, a black Adventist is unlikely to feel the same pressure at the same point on the socioeconomic scale. One result of this may be that, as white Adventists disappear, the revolving door will begin to turn more slowly.

Most American religions function like a revolving door. All that differs is the speed and direction of the flow. Adventism recruits people whose perception of their economic circumstances is rather similar to that of Jehovah's Witnesses in that over 40 percent see their income as below average. Ex-Jehovah's Witnesses have a more positive view, and the percentage who think of themselves as above average is double that of converts. But whereas the percentage of ex-Adventists who think of themselves as having below average income is half that of Adventist converts, 37 percent of ex-Witnesses are still under the same impression. The Witnesses, who do not provide schools and who actively discourage higher education, may foster economic advancement, but they do so less reliably than Adventists.

The Church of the Nazarene recruits people with a far more positive view of their economic status, and yet membership of the church appears to have little effect. While the Witnesses and the Adventists recruit among the self-perceived poor and, to varying degrees, foster economic advance, over 50 percent of Nazarene converts, lifelong members, and ex-members think of their income as average. So although Adventist converts may be poorer than Nazarene ones, apostate Adventists think of themselves better-off than their Nazarene counterparts. Among Episcopalians, the flow goes in the opposite direction. Episcopalian converts are people with a very high estimation of their incomes, with 39 percent considering them above those of other people. But ex-Episcopalians are less confident of their economic status, with 5 percent fewer thinking they are above average, and 10 percent more suspecting their incomes might actually be below average.⁵⁰ (See table 8.) So whereas sectarian groups like Adventism tend to have a high turnover that takes low-status individuals up the social scale, middle-ranking Protestant denominations such as the Church of the Nazarenes have less effect, and in the Episcopalian Church, one of the highest ranking Protestant groups, the revolving door actually turns in the opposite direction, depositing the downwardly mobile further down the ranks of American religion.

As long as such contrasting flows continue to occur, it is difficult to argue that Adventism has completed the transformation from sect to denomination. As has been suggested in chapter 6, the church-sect hypothesis significantly oversimplified the complex history of Adventist theology in relation to mainstream American Protestantism. The revolving door indicates that, at a sociological level, Adventism functions like a sect, and not at all like a denomination, for it recruits low down the social scale and deposits ex-members higher up.⁵¹ Having

TABLE 8
 Denominational income relative to others in percentages.
 Source: GSS 1972–2000 Cumulative Datafile

	Below	Average	Above
JW Converts	43.1	47.8	8.9
Ex-Jehovah's Witnesses	37.2	45.5	17.5
Adventist Converts	41.9	46.5	11.2
Ex-Adventists	22.6	50.0	27.2
Nazarene Converts	25.2	58.8	15.5
Ex-Nazarenes	31.8	51.3	16.6
Episcopalian Converts	16.6	44.2	39.0
Ex-Episcopalians	25.8	40.3	33.3

an upwardly mobile membership is in itself a characteristic of a sect, not a denomination, for upwardly mobile sects only become denominations when, like the Episcopalians, they lose the capacity to attract the poor.

A more comprehensive review of the evidence can be derived from the six factors that Niebuhr identified as leading to the reduction of tension between a sect and wider society, alongside the six opposing factors that Bainbridge argued would contribute to the maintenance or increase of tension.⁵² They can be summarized as follows with Niebuhr's tension-reducing factor given first, and Bainbridge's tension-maintaining factor second:

1. Arrival of a second generation v. continuing preponderance of converts.
2. Upward socioeconomic mobility v. failure to achieve upward mobility.
3. Assimilation of ethnic group v. nonassimilation.
4. Membership growth v. failure to grow.
5. Bureaucratization and institutionalization v. revivalism.
6. Regression to the mean v. anchoring traditions.

Considering each of these in turn, it is apparent that, in Adventism, the latter factors are always either stronger than, or a counterbalance to, the first.

1. After more than 150 years, Adventism is still predominantly a religion of converts, thanks both to the church's continued success in attracting new recruits and to its rather low birth-rate and its inability to retain more than about 60 percent of those born into the church.
2. Although many individual Adventists do achieve impressive levels of socioeconomic advancement, it does not have impact on the membership as a whole because new poor converts are constantly entering the church and wealthier lifelong members are leaving.

3. Like many sects, Adventism has been associated with ethnic minorities. But although the Scandinavians and Germans who once made up a significant portion of the church's membership have been fully assimilated into American life, the new ethnic minorities, African Americans, West Indians, and Hispanics, who now make up a large proportion of the church's membership, have yet to be assimilated to the same degree.
4. In global terms, Adventism has grown at a phenomenal rate, but its growth tends to be extensive rather than intensive, so the church remains a tiny minority in most places in the world, including the United States. Accordingly, it has not been able to exercise significant influence over its local environments in a way that would reduce tension with them.
5. Bureaucratization and institutionalization have been notable features of Adventism from an early date, but the effect has been to internalize upward social mobility and create low-tension ghettos rather than lower tension for the membership as a whole. To the mass of the membership, the Adventist leadership addresses repeated calls for revival and evangelism in order to finish the work before the impending Advent.
6. Rather than regressing to the mean through random movement, Adventists have, in Ellen White, a specific source of authority whose teachings anchor them to high-tension positions.

Taking all these things together, there is thus little evidence to suggest that Adventism is reducing rather than maintaining tension with its environment and thus no basis for assuming that it is a sect in the course of transformation into a denomination. On the contrary, the sociological evidence helps to explain why that metamorphosis has not taken place, and why, although a lowering of tension is experienced by many individual Adventists as they pass through the revolving door, it is not something that has happened to Adventism as a whole.

Adventism is a movement at variance with the mainstream of American society that recruits from mainline Protestant denominations and eventually feeds its former members back into the mainline at a level slightly above that of the average Protestant. Between entrance and exit, Adventists pass through a range of experiences similar in structure to those of any other American undergoing upward social mobility. They advance in education and obtain qualifications and professional employment. In the course of this rise, their orientation is comparable to that of their secular counterparts. They first aspire to what they do not possess, then attempt to uphold what they have achieved, and finally shake off the memories of their own rise. What is unusual in Adventism is not the process itself but the fact that it takes place almost entirely within an alternative society at odds with American culture.

Because this transformation occurs largely within the Adventist system, it is outside the view of the American observer. This fact explains the peculiarly unbalanced perceptions of Adventism recorded in the introduction. Adventists have been perceived either as apocalyptic fanatics or as philanthropic physicians.

These images, it will now be apparent, correspond to the first and third phases of the Adventist experience. Adventists fall within the public gaze as they leave American society to enter the church, inspired by visions of impending catastrophe. They re-emerge as public-spirited professionals prepared to guide the nation toward better health. The public perceives only entrances and exits. It sees William Miller going in and John Harvey Kellogg coming out. Hidden from view is the internal process—the second phase of Adventism characterized by Ellen White. It is that process that takes men and women out of American time, places them within heavenly time, and accelerates their progress in human society. For those who undergo this experience, Adventism is the place where one social identity is exchanged for another. During that exchange, Adventists have a religious identity but little social identity, for they have moved outside American society.

In chapter 13 it was argued that Adventism had defined itself as a negation of the American dream of unlimited material and spiritual progress. The millennium would not take place on American soil, for the nation was in league with the devil, and its achievements were doomed to destruction. The way to salvation and the experience of a heavenly millennium was to seek a sanctuary among the band of Sabbath keepers who were moving toward perfection. From the first, Adventism presented itself as a more effective means of realizing the spiritual objectives for which the rest of society was striving. Interestingly enough, Adventism has also proved to be an effective means of gaining the material and social benefits for which most Americans yearn. But the accelerated upward mobility that Adventists achieve depends on their deviation from the mainstream. It is precisely because Adventism has developed an alternative network of schools and institutions that it is possible to rise so rapidly within it. Adventism's deviant ideology has provided a justification for the replication of state institutions. This, in turn, has provided a way to realize more rapidly the goal of material prosperity. Through negating the American dream, Adventism has made it into a reality.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ellen G. White

EGW Ellen G. White

Ellen G. White Books and Compilations with Dates of Publication

AA	<i>Acts of the Apostles</i> (1911)
AH	<i>The Adventist Home</i> (1952)
CG	<i>Child Guidance</i> (1954)
CH	<i>Counsels on Health</i> (1928)
ChL	<i>Christian Leadership</i> (1974)
ChS	<i>Christian Service</i> (1925)
CL	<i>Country Living</i> (1946)
COL	<i>Christ's Object Lessons</i> (1900)
CS	<i>Counsels on Stewardship</i> (1940)
CSW	<i>Counsels on Sabbath School Work</i> (1938)
CT	<i>Counsels to Parents, Teachers, and Students</i> (1913)
CW	<i>Counsels to Writers and Editors</i> (1946)
DA	<i>Desire of Ages</i> (1898)
Ed	<i>Education</i> (1903)
Ev	<i>Evangelism</i> (1946)
ExV ₅₄	<i>Experience and Views</i> (1854 supplement)
EW	<i>Early Writings</i> (1882)
FE	<i>Fundamentals of Christian Education</i> (1923)
GC	<i>Great Controversy</i> (1888)
GW	<i>Gospel Workers</i> (1915)
LDE	<i>Last Day Events</i> (1992)
LS	<i>Life Sketches of Ellen G. White</i> (1915)
MH	<i>The Ministry of Healing</i> (1905)
MM	<i>Medical Ministry</i> (1932)
MYP	<i>Messages to Young People</i> (1930)
PK	<i>Prophets and Kings</i> (1917)
PP	<i>Patriarchs and Prophets</i> (1890)
1SG	<i>Spiritual Gifts</i> , vol. 1 (1858)
2SG	<i>Spiritual Gifts</i> , vol. 2 (1860)

3SG	<i>Spiritual Gifts</i> , vol. 3 (1864)
4SG-a	<i>Spiritual Gifts</i> , vol. 4, pt. 1 (1864)
4SG-b	<i>Spiritual Gifts</i> , vol. 4, pt. 2 (1864)
1SM	<i>Selected Messages</i> , bk. 1 (1958)
2SM	<i>Selected Messages</i> , bk. 2 (1958)
1SP	<i>Spirit of Prophecy</i> , vol. 1 (2SP, and so on for vols. 2-4, 1870-1884)
SW	<i>The Southern Work</i> (1966)
1T	<i>Testimonies</i> , vol. 1 (2T, and so on, for vols. 2-9, 1885-1909)
TM	<i>Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers</i> (1923)

All Ellen White books are published either by the Review and Herald Publishing Association, the Pacific Press Publishing Association, or the Southern Publishing Association, except the 1854 supplement to *Experience and Views*, which was published by James White.

Works of Reference

1BC	<i>Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary</i> , vol. 1 (2BC, and so on, for vols. 2-7) of the <i>Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary Reference Series</i> . All references are to the 1976-1980 revised edition except where otherwise indicated.
SDA Encyclopedia	<i>Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia</i> , vols. 10 and 11 of the <i>Commentary Reference Series</i> . All references are to the 1996 2nd revised edition except where otherwise indicated.
SDA Handbook	<i>Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology</i> , vol. 12 of the <i>Commentary Reference Series</i> . References are to the 2000 1st edition.
SDA Yearbook	<i>The Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook</i>

Publishing Houses

PPPA	Pacific Press Publishing Association
RHPA	Review and Herald Publishing Association
SPA	Southern Publishing Association

Annual Statistical Report

ASR	The General Conference <i>Annual Statistical Report</i> , followed by year of issue.
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Adventist News Network

ANN	The <i>Adventist News Network Bulletin</i> , followed by date of release.
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Church Paper

The *Review* refers to Adventism's general church paper, which has changed its name on three occasions. Originally the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, it became the *Review and Herald*, and is currently known as the *Adventist Review*.

The Bible

All quotations are from the authorized King James translation, the version SDAs used to work out their doctrines.

General Social Survey

GSS 1972–2000 *The General Social Survey 1972–2000 Cumulative Datafile.* The GSS is made available every two years by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, based at the University of Connecticut. This dataset was accessed on the University of California's online Survey Documentation & Analysis program at <http://sda.berkeley.edu:7502/archive.htm>, using the "frequencies or cross tabulation" key. Usage demands some familiarity with the GSS codebook. The Adventist code is "other(77)," which yields a sample of 167 church members, and is used each time when extracting Adventist information. The other variable codes used for generating data are specified with the references and follow the same abbreviations for page numbers: "c." for one code; "cc." for more than one. All references are to the 2000 survey except where otherwise indicated.

Internal Revenue Service

IRS 990 *Internal Revenue Service Form 990.* This has been used on a few occasions to obtain financial and other information from SDA medical and self-supporting institutions. Organizations that fall under the IRS nonprofit, 501(c)(3) category, are required to file these every year, and they are open to public inspection. Forms cited were accessed from the online database at <http://www.guidestar.org>.

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49. See Mark England and Darlene McCormick, "The Sinful Messiah," pt. 1, *Waco Tribune-Herald*, 27 February 1993, 1A.

50. For example, Gustav Niebuhr, "Sect is Marked by Schisms and Dire Predictions," *Washington Post*, 1 March 1993, A1, A6.

51. James D. Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher, *Why Waco? Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 43.

52. David Marshall, "In the Wake of Waco," *Messenger: News Journal for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the British Isles*, 2 April 1993, 3.

53. See John C. Danforth, *Final Report to the Deputy Attorney General Concerning the 1993 Confrontation at the Mt. Carmel Complex Waco, Texas* (St. Louis: Office of Special Counsel Waco Investigation, Nov. 8, 2000), 152; U.S. Department of the Treasury, *Report of the Department of the Treasury on the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Investigation of Vernon Wayne Howell, Also Known as David Koresh* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 30, 64, 140, n. 38; and U.S. Department of Justice, *Report to the Deputy Attorney General on the Events at Waco, Texas, February 28 to April 19, 1993*, redacted version (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 226–27.

54. FBI spokesman Bob Ricks, speaking in the aftermath of the siege. His comments are recorded in the film documentary, "Waco: The Rules of Engagement," available at www.waco93.com.

55. *Riverside Press Enterprise* (California), 12 October 1979, B1, 2.

56. "Public Perceptions of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," 16–17, 19.

57. See EGW, 4SG-a, 120–51.

58. On Kellogg, see Richard W. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1964).

59. See Helen Turner, *Henry Wellcome: The Man, His Collection and His Legacy* (London: Heinemann, 1980), 3; and Marjorie Stilling, "Henry Solomon Wellcome—Pioneer and Humanist," *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, 23/30 December 2000, 922.

60. His name, however, was frequently misspelled "Welcome," in the publication. For an example of his articles, see chapter 14, n. 11.

61. See A. R. Hall and B. A. Bembridge, *Physic and Philanthropy: A History of the Wellcome Trust, 1936–1986* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3–6; and William Hoffman's article, "The Long View from the Watonwan River: The Millenarian Odyssey of Pioneer Druggist Henry Wellcome," at http://mbbnet.umn.edu/hoff/hsw_art.html.

62. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 207.

63. *Ibid.*, 170.

64. *Ibid.*, 194ff.

65. *Ibid.*, 236.

66. See John Money, *The Destroying Angel: Sex, Fitness, and Food in the Legacy of Degeneracy Theory* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1985), 83ff.

67. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 135.

68. George Wharton James, "Spiritual Life of Great Men: Dr. John Harvey Kellogg," *New York Magazine of Mysteries*, August (1906). See cutting in Scrapbook 2, Kellogg Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan.

69. Upton Sinclair, *The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), 140.

70. Upton Sinclair and Michael Williams, *Good Health and How We Won It: With an Account of the New Hygiene* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1909), 258.

71. Sinclair, *Autobiography*, 145.

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1. Authority

1. The chronology here is drawn from the account in the *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:873.

2. For biographical information, see Gerald Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 2003).

3. See Rev. 19:10. There is no adequate biography of Ellen White, but for a critical review of her life, see Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: Ellen G. White and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventist Health Reform*, rev. ed., with an introduction by Jonathan M. Butler (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992). The authorized account of her career is by her grandson, Arthur L. White, in the six-volume *Ellen G. White* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1981–1986).

4. EGW, *EW*, 12. The classic exposition of the dark night of the soul is given by St. John of the Cross, in *The Complete Works*, trans. and ed. E. Allison Peers, vol. 1 (London: Burns Oates and Washburne, Ltd., 1948), esp. p. 10. See also Ingemar Linden, *The Last Trump: An Historico-Genetical Study of Some Important Chapters in the Making and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1978), 153–62.

5. EGW, *EW*, 79–81. See St. Teresa of Jesus, *The Complete Works*, trans. and ed. E. Allison Peers (London: Sheed and Ward, 1946), 1:170.

6. EGW, *EW*, 12.

7. St. Teresa of Jesus, *Complete Works*, 1:193, and EGW, *EW*, 12.

8. See J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Nashville: SPA, 1905), 203–11, for a collection of eyewitness testimonies. See also James White, *Life Incidents in Connection with the Great Advent Movement* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 272–73.

9. See Ronald L. Numbers and Janet S. Numbers, “The Psychological World of Ellen G. White,” *Spectrum* 14:1 (1983): 25.

10. EGW, *EW*, 20.

11. *Ibid.*, 33.

12. For example, Snook and Brinkerhoff alleged that Ellen White saw Satan in heaven in 1844, when he had not been there since his fall; that she saw a temple in the Holy City, which contradicted Rev. 21:22; that she claimed she could not see the “Father’s person” and then said that she had; and that her view of the tree of life astride the river of life was “more fanciful than true.” See *The Visions of E. G. White, Not of God* (Cedar Rapids: Cedar Valley Times Book and Job Print, 1866), 5–6, 16.

13. William Sheldon, *The Visions and Theories of the Prophetess Ellen G. White in Conflict With the Bible* (Buchanan: W.A.C.P. Association, 1867), 4.

14. Significantly perhaps, Smith did not answer the Sabbath point directly, but for his general response to the idea that the revelations were merely confirmations of theories with which the prophetess was already acquainted, see *The Visions of Mrs. E. G. White: A Manifestation of Spiritual Gifts According to the Scriptures* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 86. On his more specific answers to Snook and Brinkerhoff on the devil in heaven, the temple in the Holy City, the Father’s person, and the tree of life, see, respectively, 47–49, 75–77, 78–79, and 79–80.

15. EGW, *1T*, 119.

16. For a description of the spread of print in mid-nineteenth century America, see Carl Bode, *The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840–1861* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 109–16.

17. *Ibid.*, 145–48.

18. EGW, 1SG, 20, and 1SP, 33.

19. EGW, 1SG, 21, and 1SP, 38.

20. EGW, 1SP, 35, and PP, 53.

21. *Ibid.*

22. See, for example, Daniel March, *Night Scenes in the Bible* (Philadelphia: Zeigler and McCurdy, 1868–1907), and *Walks and Homes of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publishing Committee, 1856); Alfred Edersheim, *Bible History: Old Testament*, 2 vols. (1876–1887), repr. ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1949); William Hanna, *The Life of Christ* (New York: American Tract Society, 1863); John Harris, *The Great Teacher*, 17th ed. (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1870); W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *The Life and Epistles of the Apostle Paul* (New York: Crowell, 1852); J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation*, vol. 4, bk. 9 (Glasgow, Scotland: Collins, 1841); J. W. Wylie, *History of the Waldenses* (London: Cassell, Pelter and Galpin, n.d.). Comparisons of these and other sources with Ellen White's writings may be found in Walter Rea, *The White Lie* (Turlock: M & R Publications, 1982). For a review of the literature on White's borrowing, see Donald McAdams, "Shifting Views of Inspiration: Ellen White Studies in the 1970s," *Spectrum* 10:4 (1980): 27–41.

23. Dudley Canright, *Seventh-day Adventism Renounced*, 4th ed. (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1889), 141.

24. Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 83.

25. EGW, *Ed.*, 134.

26. "Address to the Public," *Midnight Cry*, 21 November 1844, 166.

27. Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853), 66–67, 68. For an account of Miller's deist phase, see 24–26.

28. For a parallel account of Millerism and Baconianism, see Ruth Alden Doan, *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 98–102. On Scottish realism and American religion, see Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum American Religious Thought* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), esp. 3–31 and 132–59. See also Herbert Hovenkamp, *Science and Religion in America 1800–1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978); and Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology," *Church History* 24:3 (1955): 257–72. For the importance of Baconianism to dispensationalism, see George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 55–62.

29. Robert Frederick West, *Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 91. On the Disciples and Bacon, see David Edwin Harrell Jr., *Quest for a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966), 28.

30. David T. Arthur, "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism, 1839–1845" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1961), 12.

31. Francis Bacon, *The Great Instauration and New Atlantis*, ed. J. Weinberger (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1980), 22.

32. Bliss, *Memoirs*, 69.

33. See Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Knopf, 1963), 92–95; and David Arnold Dean, "Echoes of the Midnight Cry: The Millerite Heritage in the Apologetics of the Advent Christian Denomination, 1860–1960" (Th.D. dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1976), 171–77.

34. Alexander Campbell, *Millennial Harbinger*, 1843; quoted in Bliss, *Memoirs*, 240.

35. For a discussion of the psychological consequences of the Great Disappoint-

ment, see Leon Festinger et al., *When Prophecy Fails* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), 12–28.

36. Ronald Graybill, “The Power of Prophecy: Ellen G. White and the Women Religious Founders of the Nineteenth Century” (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1983), 88–90.

37. See Hovenkamp, *Science and Religion*, 52, on the Scottish realist understanding of language; cf. EGW, *EW*, 211–12.

38. George I. Butler, *Review* supplement, 14 August 1883, 12.

39. Bliss, *Memoirs*, 70.

40. EGW, *1SM*, 206.

41. EGW, *2SG*, 97–98, and *1SM*, 206.

42. EGW, *1SM*, 207.

43. EGW, *2SG*, 98–99.

44. EGW, *2T*, 605.

45. A. G. Daniells, quoted in “The Use of the Spirit of Prophecy in Our Teaching of Bible and History,” transcript of the 1919 Bible Conference, July 30, 1919, in *Spectrum* 10:1 (1979): 30, 31.

46. W. W. Prescott, quoted in *ibid.*, 39.

47. See Gary Land, “Shaping the Modern Church, 1906–1930,” in *Adventism in America: A History*, rev. ed., ed. Gary Land (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 130.

48. See Steven G. Daily, “How Readest Thou: The Higher Criticism Debate in Prophetic America and Its Relationship to Seventh-day Adventism and the Writings of Ellen White, 1885–1925” (M.A. thesis, Loma Linda University, 1982). See also Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, esp. 141–70; and Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 233–69.

49. William G. Wirth, *The Battle of the Churches: Modernism or Fundamentalism, Which?* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1924), 5.

50. Carlyle B. Haynes, *Christianity at the Crossroads* (Nashville: SPA, 1924).

51. For example, George McCready Price, *The New Geology* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1923). For more on this, see ch. 18.

52. George McCready Price, *The Fundamentals of Geology* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1913), 240.

53. See ch. 18.

54. William Jennings Bryan, quoted in Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, 125.

55. Raymond F. Cottrell, “The Untold Story of the Bible Commentary,” *Spectrum* 16:3 (1985): 44.

56. See Billy Graham’s autobiography, *Just As I Am* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998), 46, 284–94. Graham mentions his “friend” Barnhouse several times, e.g., 284. See also Mark A. Noll, *American Evangelical Christianity: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), particularly 18–20, 44–54.

57. Donald Grey Barnhouse, “Spiritual Discernment, or How to Read Religious Books,” *Eternity*, June 1950, 9, 42–44. For Unruh’s account, see, “The Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conferences of 1955–1956,” *Adventist Heritage* 4:2 (1977): 35–36.

58. *Our Firm Foundation: A Report of the Seventh-day Adventist Bible Conference held September 1–3, 1952*, was published in two volumes in 1953 by RHPA in Washington, D.C.

59. See Walter Martin, *The Rise of the Cults* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1955), 15.

60. See Walter Martin, "Currents Interview," *Adventist Currents* 1:1 (1983): 16. Unruh, however, suggests that Martin made contact with him, rather than the other way around. See Unruh, "Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conferences," 36–37.

61. *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine: An Explanation of Certain Major Aspects of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1957), 89–98. Quotations from 93, 92.

62. For more on this, see chapter 5.

63. See M. L. Andreasen, "Downgrading Mrs. White," *Letters to the Churches* (1959), repr. ed. (Payson: Leaves-of-Autumn Books, 1980), 44.

64. *Ibid.*, 43, 48.

65. See, for example, the discussion in General Conference Defense Literature Committee, *The History and Teaching of Robert Brinsmead* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1961). See also chapter 5.

66. Roy Branson and Herold Weiss, "Ellen White: A Subject for Adventist Scholarship," *Spectrum* 2:4 (1970): 30.

67. *Ibid.*, 32.

68. See William S. Peterson, "A Textual and Historical Study of Ellen G. White's Account of the French Revolution," *Spectrum* 2:4 (1970): 57–68; Donald McAdams, "Ellen G. White and the Protestant Historians: The Evidence From an Unpublished Manuscript on John Huss" (circulated by the author, 1974); Rea, *White Lie*, 45–56, 66–100, 106–187; Numbers' book was originally published by Harper & Row as *Prophetsess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White*. See also McAdams, "Shifting Views of Inspiration," 27–41, where all of this is recounted; and Gary Land, who provides a summary of the issues in "Coping with Change, 1961–1980," in Land, *Adventism in America*, 180–81.

69. Fred Veltman, *Full Report of the Life of Christ Research Project* (n.p. 1988), 91–12, 934, 938–39.

70. Desmond Ford, "Daniel 8:14, The Day of Atonement, and the Investigative Judgment" (unpublished manuscript, n.d.). See also chapter 5.

71. Herold Weiss, "Formative Authority, Yes; Canonization, No," *Spectrum* 16:3 (1985): 10.

72. A brief overview of the historical-critical method, its related disciplines, and its place in biblical studies can be found in J. Maxwell Miller, "Reading the Bible Historically: The Historian's Approach," in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, rev. and exp. ed., ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Stephen R. Haynes (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999), 17–34.

73. See, for example, Raoul Dederen, "Revelation, Inspiration and Hermeneutics," in *A Symposium of Biblical Hermeneutics*, ed. Gordon M. Hyde (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1974), 4–5 and 10–11.

74. On Adventism's interest in archaeology, see, for example, Siegfried Horn, *The Spade Confirms the Book* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA 1957). On chronology, see Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings: A Reconstruction of the Chronology of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1951), which was very influential in its time and has been regularly reissued since. On linguistic criticism, see Steven Thompson, *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

75. *SDA Encyclopedia*, 1966 ed., 428–29.

76. Herold Weiss, "Revelation and the Bible Beyond Verbal Inspiration," *Spectrum* 7:3 (1975): 53.

77. Jerry Gladson, "The Bible Is Inspired," *College People* 5:2 (1985): 18–20; and Alden Thompson, *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1991), 70.

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93. *Ibid.*, 459. Italics in original.

94. *SDA Handbook*, 628.

95. Fritz Guy, *Thinking Theologically: Adventist Christianity and the Interpretation of Faith* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1999), 123–26.

96. Figures from the surveys in Roger L. Dudley and V. Bailey Gillespie, *Valuegenesis: Faith in the Balance* (Riverside: La Sierra University Press, 1992), 84, and Roger L. Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church: Personal Stories from a 10-year Study* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 2000), 39. Additional signs of returning confidence in Ellen White were another defense of her career, *Prophets Are Human*, by Graeme Bradford (Victoria: Signs Publishing Company, 2004), and a very late reply to Numbers, *The Prophet and Her Critics: A Striking New Analysis Refutes the Charges that Ellen G. White “Borrowed” the Health Message*, by Leonard Brand and Don McMahon (Nampa: PPPA, 2005).

97. Quotation from EGW, CSW, 34.

2. Identity

1. Everett N. Dick, “The Adventist Crisis of 1843–44” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1930), 232.

2. EGW, LS, 50–53.

3. Charles Fitch, “Come Out of Her, My People”—A Sermon (Rochester: J. V. Himes, 1843), 15.

4. *Ibid.*, 17.

5. *Ibid.*, 23.

6. *Ibid.*, 24.

7. See Festinger et al., *When Prophecy Fails*.

8. William Miller, letter dated Nov. 18, 1844, in the *Advent Herald*, 11 December 1844, 142. Italics in original.

9. S. S. Snow and B. Matthias, editorial in the *Jubilee Standard* 1:1 (1845), quoted in *Morning Watch*, 20 March 1845, 94; Ellen G. White, “To the Remnant Scattered Abroad,” in James White, *A Word to the “Little Flock”* (Brunswick: n.p., 1847), 14.

10. On post-Disappointment splintering, see David T. Arthur, “‘Come Out of Babylon’: A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840–1865” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1970), 85–145.

11. Eli Curtis, letter in the *Day Star*, 6 December 1845, 37. Italics in original.

12. Benjamin Spaulding, letter in the *Hope of Israel*, 11 April 1845, quoted in the *Morning Watch*, 1 May 1845, 141. Italics in original.

13. Editorial comment on the above; *ibid.* Italics in original.

14. Sister Minor, letter quoted in Sister Cook’s letter in the *Day Star*, 3 January 1846, 9.

15. See Bert Haloviak, “A Heritage of Freedom: The Christian Connection Roots to Seventh-day Adventism” (unpublished paper, General Conference Archives, 1995), 2–3.

16. For a summary of these events, see *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:502, and Haloviak, “Heritage of Freedom,” 3–4. Further information on Bates’s Christian Connection background can be found in George Knight, *Joseph Bates: The Real Founder of Seventh-day Adventism* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 2004), 38–41.

17. James L. Boyd, letter published in the *Day Star*, 22 November 1845, 25. Italics in original.

18. EGW, EW, 15.

19. *Ibid.*, 33.

20. EGW, letter to Brother and Sister Howland, Nov. 12, 1851.
21. "Mutual Conference of Adventists at Albany," *Morning Watch*, 8 May 1845, 151. Italics in original.
22. Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 153.
23. EGW, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *Present Truth*, August 1849, 22.
24. See Dennis Hokama's discussion, "The Great Controversy Over the Deletions in the Vision of 1844," in *Adventist Currents* 1:4 (1984): 26–29, 40; and Wes Ringer, "From Shut Door to Investigative Judgment: Legacy of Guilt," *Adventist Currents* 1:4 (1984): 32–33.
25. See James White, "Editorial Note 1," *Review*, 17 February 1852, 95, and EGW, *ExV*54, 4. The Shut-Door was, however, an awkward episode in Ellen White's career, and she was subsequently reticent to admit that she ever believed in it. This was a major point of criticism on the part of detractors like Snook and Brinkerhoff, and was picked up by all her subsequent opponents who regarded her visions as fraudulent. The issues are set out in Douglas Hackleman, "Picking the Shut-Door Lock," *Adventist Currents* 1:4 (1984): 10–18, 41. Herbert Douglass puts the case for her defense in *Messenger of the Lord*, 500–11.
26. H. S. Gurney's hymn "The Seal," printed in Joseph Bates, *The Seal of the Living God* (New Bedford: Press of Benjamin Lindsey, 1849), 70. Italics in original.
27. EGW, *1SG*, 111.
28. *Ibid.*
29. EGW, *EW*, 33.
30. J. N. Andrews, *History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1859), 93.
31. EGW, *5T*, 712.
32. *Ibid.*
33. EGW, *EW*, 42.
34. For the development of Adventist ideas on the timing of the Sabbath, see *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:503.
35. *Ibid.*, 505.
36. EGW, *6T*, 353.
37. *Ibid.*, 355.
38. See B. F. Snook, *The Nature, Subjects, and Design of Christian Baptism* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1861).
39. EGW, *4T*, 40.
40. Quoted in R. W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1979), 86. Italics in original.
41. On this, see Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 205–207.
42. *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:260.
43. "Report of General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," *Review*, 26 May 1863, 204.
44. This was actually one of several prophetic sequences that Adventists used to place themselves at the end of the world. Another was the seven churches of Revelation 2–3. On this, see Robert Surrige, "Seventh-Day Adventism: Self-Appointed Laodicea," in *Studies in the Book of Revelation*, ed. Steve Moyise (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2001), 21–42.
45. For the development of Adventist ideas on the remnant and the three angels' messages, see *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:434–35 and 772–74.
46. Uriah Smith, "Who Are the Remnant?" *Review*, 28 February 1856, 176.
47. *Ibid.* Italics in original.

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ment, Class VII (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 211–12, and 229–31. See also Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 198–200, 201–202, and “Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, The Sabbath, and the Transformation of American Political Culture,” in the *Journal of the Early Republic* 10:4 (1990): 557–62.

25. For example, Luther Martin, “The Genuine Information Delivered to the Legislature of the State of Maryland Relative to the Proceedings of the General Convention Lately Held at Philadelphia,” 1788, in *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, ed. Herbert J. Storing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 2:62; Republicus, *Lexington Kentucky Gazette*, 1 March 1788, in Storing, *Complete Anti-Federalist*, 5:170; and William Lloyd Garrison, “Fourth of July in Providence,” *The Liberator*, 28 July 1837, 123.

26. A full exploration of this theme can be found in Keith Lockhart, “From Anti-federalism to Seventh-day Adventism,” *Spectrum* 30:4 (2002): 60–69.

27. Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, 4:1093–94.

28. See Ron Graybill, “The Family Man,” in *J. N. Andrews: The Man and the Mission*, ed. Harry Leonard (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1985), 15, 17. For details of the congressional career of Andrews’s uncle, see entry on Charles Andrews in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1971* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 518.

29. J. N. Loughborough, “The Two-Horned Beast,” *Review*, 21 March 1854, 75, 67.

30. *Ibid.*, 66–67.

31. Andrews, “Thoughts on Revelation,” 83, 84.

32. *Ibid.*, 83.

33. *Ibid.*, 84.

34. EGW, *EW*, 284, and *GC*, 613–34.

35. Andy Nash, *Growing Up Adventist: A Fond Look Back at the Church that Taught Me Faith, Love, and Laughter* (Nampa: PPPA, 1997), 75–77.

36. *Ibid.*, 77.

37. Merikay Mcleod, *NOW!* (Orlando: Worldwide Bible Lectures, [1964]), 3.

38. *Ibid.*, 13.

39. Penny Estes Wheeler, *The Appearing* (Nashville: SPA, 1979), 22, 55–58, 65–69. This story was slightly expanded, and re-issued by the RHPA, in 1996.

40. Elaine Egbert, *The Edge of Eternity* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1999), 226ff.

41. Jon Paulien, *What the Bible Says About the End-Time* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1994), 20–24.

42. James White, *The Sounding of the Seven Trumpets of Revelation VIII and IX* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1859), 30–68.

43. Uriah Smith, *Daniel and the Revelation: The Response of History to the Voice of Prophecy, A Verse by Verse Study of These Important Books of the Bible* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1912 ed.), 610ff.

44. *Ibid.*, 302–20. For further discussion, see Eugene F. Durand, *Yours in the Blessed Hope, Uriah Smith* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1980), 207, 211. For a discussion of the Adventist preoccupation with Turkey during the war, see Gary Land, “The Perils of Prophecy: Seventh-day Adventists Interpret World War I,” *Adventist Heritage* 1:1 (1974): 28–33, 55–56.

45. Smith, *Daniel and the Revelation*, 624–27.

46. *Ibid.*, 691–93. Adventist views on this subject have, however, varied. See the entry in the *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:109–13; and Donald E. Mansell, *Adventists and Armageddon: Have We Misinterpreted Prophecy?* (Boise: PPPA, 1999).

47. EGW, *GC*, 601.

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90. EGW, *Ev*, 694-97.

91. *Ibid.*, 695.

92. A. V. Wallenkampf, for example, was one Adventist theologian who maintained that human beings have no control whatever over the timing of the Second Coming. See his *The Apparent Delay: What Role Do We Play in the Timing of Jesus' Return?* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1994), particularly 79, 82, 87, 91-92, 103.

93. Herbert E. Douglass, *The End: Unique Voice of Adventists about the Return of Jesus* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1979), 65.

4. *The Divine Realm*

1. No. 2, Fundamental Beliefs, *SDA Yearbook 2003*, 5.

2. Richard Rice, *The Reign of God: An Introduction to Christian Theology from a Seventh-day Adventist Perspective* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1985), 88.

3. C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Sanctuary and Atonement in SDA Theology: An Historical Survey," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical Historical and Theological Studies*, ed. A. V. Wallenkampf and W. R. Leshar (Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1981), 530.

4. EGW, *EW*, 17.

5. *Ibid.*, 16.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, 19.

8. *Ibid.*, 18.

9. EGW, *4T*, 429.

10. EGW, *EW*, 288, 16.

11. *Ibid.*, 77. Italics in original.

12. See EGW, *CT*, 273, and *4T*, 219.

13. See EGW, *1SP*, 17.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, 19.

16. *Ibid.*, 23, 20.

17. *Ibid.*, 21.

18. EGW, "Christ's Ambassadors," *Review*, 29 May 1900, 338.

19. See EGW, *1T*, 296, and *DA*, 99, *4SG-a*, 58.

20. For example, EGW, *PP*, 197, 366.

21. EGW, *PP*, 50.

22. EGW, *DA*, 99.

23. EGW, *GC*, 512-13; *COL*, 341-42.

24. EGW, *GC*, 482; *2T*, 442. Ellen White generally assigned the task of recording the deeds of men and women to one angel, although occasionally she indicated there were more than one, e.g., *1T*, 468.

25. EGW, *1T*, 146; *GC*, 412, 415 on the cherubim, and 414 on the seraphim. See also EGW, "The Sanctuary," *Signs of the Times*, 24 June 1880, 277, which contains additional information on the cherubim.

26. Quoted in *4BC*, 1173.

27. *Ibid.*

28. EGW, *EW*, 168.

29. Quoted in Loughborough, *Great Second Advent Movement*, 260.

30. Thomas Chalmers, *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation Viewed in Connection with the Modern Astronomy* (Glasgow: J. Smith & Son, 1817), 73. See also

Michael J. Crowe's discussion in *The Extraterrestrial Life Debate 1750–1900: The Idea of a Plurality of Worlds from Kant to Lowell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 182–90. For Crowe's evaluation of the possible influence of Chalmers on the early Adventist understanding of celestial beings, see 239–41.

31. Crowe, *Extraterrestrial Life Debate*, 241–46.

32. See Martin Gardner, *Urantia: The Great Cult Mystery* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1995), esp. 225–54.

33. EGW, DA, 834.

34. Andrews also tied it to the two-horned beast in "Thoughts on Revelation," 84.

35. EGW, EW, 77.

36. *Ibid.*, 17.

37. On Shaker worship, see Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 165–84; or Edward Deming Andrews, *The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society*, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover, 1963), 136–51. For crawling Adventists, see EGW, LS, 85–86. On the relationship between the groups, see Lawrence Foster, "Had Prophecy Failed? Contrasting Perspectives of the Millerites and Shakers," in Numbers and Butler, *The Disappointed*, 73–88.

38. EGW, EW, 107–10 and 2SM, 34.

39. *Ibid.*, 77.

40. James White, letter to Enoch Jacobs, Jan. 8, 1845 [sic]. Published in the *Day Star*, 24 January 1846, 25.

41. Stein, *Shaker Experience in America*, 209–11; Andrews, *People Called Shakers*, 223.

42. James White, "The Faith of Jesus," *Review*, 5 August 1852, 52.

43. See Haloviak, "Heritage of Freedom," 2, 16.

44. Uriah Smith, *Thoughts, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Revelation* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1865), 59.

45. For information on Waggoner and a survey of Adventist Arianism, see Froom, *Movement of Destiny*, 148–87.

46. Erwin R. Gane, "The Arian or Anti-Trinitarian Views Presented in Seventh-day Adventist Literature and the Ellen G. White Answer" (M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1963), 65.

47. James White, "Mutual Obligation," *Review*, 13 June 1871, 204.

48. For the full account, see O. R. L. Crosier, "The Law of Moses," in the *Day Star*, extra ed., 7 February 1846, 37–44.

49. Pöhler, *Continuity and Change*, 88–94 and *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:790–91.

50. EGW, GC, 480–85.

51. This was, however, a controversial position. Put forward early in twentieth century principally by L. R. Conradi and W. W. Prescott, it became the accepted view. They argued that the phrase "taken away" described in the text referred to the usurpation of Christ's heavenly ministry by the Catholic practice of the Mass. This idea was opposed mainly by the minister J. S. Washburn, who defended the view of Uriah Smith and others that the prophecy referred to paganism. For details of the debate over "the daily," as Adventists called the issue, see *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:429–33.

52. EGW, EW, 152.

53. *Ibid.*, 187.

54. Quoted in Pöhler, *Continuity and Change*, 257 and 260. See also Froom, *Movement of Destiny*, 159ff.

55. See Haloviak, "Heritage of Freedom," 2, 11–12.

56. EGW, EW, 14.

57. James and Ellen White's participation in ecstatic Adventist worship services is perhaps most clearly indicated by the eyewitness testimonies given in the Dammon trial of 1845. Israel Dammon, an early Adventist leader, was sentenced to ten days in prison for holding ecstasy-inducing meetings, although he does not appear to have served his sentence. See the court transcript in "Trial of Elder I. Dammon, Reported for the *Piscataquis Farmer*," *Spectrum* 17:5 (1987): 29–36.

58. James White, letter to EGW, 6 November 1860.

59. EGW, *1T*, 47.

60. EGW, letter to Brother Hastings, portion written 1 June 1848.

61. EGW to Brother and Sister Howland, 12 November 1851.

62. Uriah Smith, quoted in *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:702.

63. EGW, *EW*, 45 n. 1, and *GC*, 265.

64. EGW, *9T*, 20.

65. James White, letter to Brother Jacobs, 11 October 1845.

66. EGW, *EW*, 107–10.

67. EGW, *DA*, 107.

68. *Ibid.*, 143.

69. *Ibid.*, 669.

70. *Ibid.*, 805.

71. See W. W. Prescott, "The Promise of the Holy Spirit—No. 10," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 3 March 1893, 459–61, and Lowell Tarling, *The Edges of Seventh-day Adventism: A Study of Separatist Groups Emerging from the Seventh-day Adventist Church (1844–1980)* (Barragga Bay: Galilee, 1981), 76–77, 87.

72. See Tarling, *Edges of Seventh-day Adventism*, 77–81. See also information on the Holy Flesh movement in Ella M. Robinson, *S. N. Haskell: Man of Action* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1967), 168–76.

73. EGW, *DA*, 675.

74. EGW, *2SM*, 36.

75. See, for example, Jan Paulsen, *When the Spirit Descends* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1977); Rene Noorbergen, *Charisma of the Spirit: In Search of a Supernatural Experience* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1973); Kenneth R. Wade, *Secrets of the New Age: Discover the Sources of the Supernatural Powers and Prophetic Messages That are Sweeping Americans into a New Spiritual Allegiance* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1989); Manuel Vásquez, *The Mainstreaming of New Age* (Nampa: PPPA, 1998).

76. EGW, *Ed.*, 99, and J. H. Kellogg, *The Living Temple* (Battle Creek: Good Health Publishing Company, 1903), 29.

77. See Schwarz, "The Perils of Growth, 1886–1905," in Land, *Adventism in America*, 86.

78. J. H. Kellogg to G. I. Butler, June 1, 1904; quoted in Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 387.

79. *Ibid.*, 386, n. 110.

80. EGW, *MH*, 429, 428.

81. EGW *8T*, 263, 264.

82. EGW, *DA*, 671. Following White, Kellogg seems to have been the second major Adventist to state that the Holy Spirit was a person, but as with his view of God in nature, he was soon ostracized by the prophetess and the rest of the Adventist leadership for his interpretation of the idea. See Allen Stump, *The Foundation of Our Faith: Over 150 Years of Seventh-day Adventist Christology* (Welch: Smyrna Gospel Ministries, [1995]), 190–91; and Jerry A. Moon, "The Adventist Trinity Debate, Part 2: The Role of Ellen G. White," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 41:2 (2003): 284–90.

83. W. W. Prescott, *The Doctrine of Christ* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1920), 3.
84. Froom, *Movement of Destiny*, 414.
85. See Pöhler, *Continuity and Change*, 259, for the wording of the declaration.
86. See J. S. Washburn, "The Trinity," (Hagerstown: circulated by the author, 1940), 1.
87. C. S. Longacre, "The Deity of Christ," (Angwin: Bible Research Fellowship, 1947), 4–7.
88. Stump, *Foundation of Our Faith*, 78. This and other Smyrna publications were partly responsible for provoking a reaction from the church that included Gerhard Pfandl's paper, "The Doctrine of the Trinity Among Adventists" (Silver Spring: Biblical Research Institute, 1999), 1, 5; and a new survey of the belief, Woodrow Whidden et al., *The Trinity: Understanding God's Love, His Plan of Salvation, and Christian Relationships* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 2002), 7–9.
89. A. Graham Maxwell, *Can God Be Trusted?* (Nashville: SPA, 1977), 42, 82–88.
90. See No. 9, Fundamental Beliefs, *SDA Yearbook 2003*, 6.
91. David R. Larson, "The Omnipotence Fallacy and Beyond," *Spectrum* 23:3 (1993): 39.
92. This view was partially influenced by process theology, which suggests that God evolves along with his creation. Rice acknowledged this in "Why I Am a Seventh-day Adventist," *Spectrum* 24:1 (1994): 38, but later played down the connection in "The Openness of God: A New Level of Discussion," *Spectrum* 29:3 (2001): 58–59, 60.
93. See Richard Rice, *The Openness of God: The Relationship of Divine Foreknowledge and Human Free Will* (Nashville: RHPA, 1980), 26, 33.
94. See Clark H. Pinnock, Richard Rice, John Sanders, William Hasker, David Basinger, *The Openness of God: A Biblical Challenge to the Traditional Understanding of God* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1994).
95. The book was, however, reissued by Bethany House Publishers in 1985 as *God's Foreknowledge and Man's Free Will*.
96. This is not to say that the idea was unopposed. A critique appeared in the *SDA Handbook*, 148. The open view was contested outside the denomination too. After three days of heated debate at the 2001 meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, the idea was voted down as incompatible with mainstream evangelical doctrine, although the fact the ETS devoted so much time to it indicated the extent to which Rice's theory had spread beyond Adventism. See "Scholars Vote: God Knows Future," *Christianity Today*, 7 January 2002, 21.

5. The Human Condition

1. Walter R. Martin, "Seventh-day Adventism Today," *Our Hope*, November 1956, 275.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Froom, *Movement of Destiny*, 465.
4. *Questions on Doctrine*, 349, 369. For the 1872 statement on the atonement, see Pöhler, *Continuity and Change*, 260, or Froom, *Movement of Destiny*, 160–61.
5. EGW, GC, 489.
6. Quotations from 7-ABC, 681, and EGW, FE, 370.
7. *Questions on Doctrine*, 354–55. Italics in original.
8. Crosier, "Law of Moses," 41.
9. *Questions on Doctrine*, 444.
10. *Ibid.*, 50.
11. *Ibid.*, 50, 55, 383.

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39. Ellen White had similar fears, see *EW*, 262–66.
40. For example, *EGW*, 1*T*, 132.
41. James White, “Repairing the Breach in the Law of God,” *Present Truth*, September 1849, 29.
42. *EGW*, 1*T*, 188.
43. *EGW*, 2*T*, 355–56.
44. *Ibid.*, 63, and 352.
45. *EGW*, *COL*, 69.
46. *EGW*, 3*T*, 188.
47. *EGW*, 5*T*, 500.
48. See Woodrow W. Whidden, “Adventist Soteriology: The Wesleyan Connection” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 30:1 (1995): 173–86.
49. See Melvin Easterday Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1980).
50. *EGW*, 1*T*, 335, 334.
51. John Wesley, *Works*, 3rd ed. (London: John Mason, 1829), 5:53.
52. *EGW*, 1*T*, 340.
53. Woodrow W. Whidden, *Ellen White on Salvation: A Chronological Study* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1995), 17–21, interprets Ellen White’s mystical experience after her “dark night of the soul” (see chap. 1) as the Methodist “second blessing,” but ignores her later rejection of the doctrine.
54. E. J. Waggoner, *Confession of Faith* (n.p., 1916), 5.
55. For succinct accounts of the 1888 conference, which also involved disputes over such issues as the law in Galatians and the authority of Ellen White, see Schwarz, “Perils of Growth,” in Land, *Adventism in America*, 79–82; and Tarling, *Edges of Seventh-day Adventism*, 159–62.
56. A. T. Jones, “Five Sermons on Righteousness,” presented at Ottawa, Kansas, Institute and Camp Meeting, May 1889 (duplicated typescript, General Conference Archives, Washington, D.C.), 8.
57. *EGW*, *COL*, 312.
58. Quoted in Bert Haloviak, “From Righteousness to Holy Flesh: Disunity and Perversion of the 1888 Message” (unpublished paper, General Conference Archives, Washington, D.C., 1983), 27.
59. *Ibid.*, 14.
60. For more on the Ballenger apostasy, see Calvin W. Edwards and Gary Land, *Seeker After Light: A. F. Ballenger, Adventism, and American Christianity* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2000), 87–164; Bert Haloviak, “Pioneers, Pantheists and Progressives” (unpublished paper, General Conference Archives, Washington, D.C., 1980), 23–30; Pöhler, *Continuity and Change*, 155. Ballenger’s argument that the cross was the only place of atonement was repeated regularly during the twentieth century. E. J. Waggoner in 1916, W. W. Fletcher in 1930, L. R. Conradi in 1932, R. A. Greive (who also opposed the idea of Christ’s sinful human nature) in 1956, as well as Desmond Ford in 1980, were all removed, or removed themselves, from the church after making more or less the same point. See Tarling, *Edges of Seventh-day Adventism*, 177–82, on Waggoner, Fletcher, and Greive; and Pöhler, *Continuity and Change*, 159–60, on Fletcher and Conradi. The most recent example is Dale Ratzlaff, who left the church in 1981 in the wake of the Ford schism. His 1996 book *The Cultic Doctrine of Seventh-day Adventists*, similarly maintained that the atonement was completed at the cross (219–22) and illustrated the enduring capacity of this argument to unsettle the denomination. See “A Book That is Shaking Adventism,” *Adventist Today*, March–April 1998, 7.

61. A. F. Ballenger, *Cast Out For The Cross of Christ* (Tropico: Published by the author, n.d.), 15, 68.

62. E. E. Andross, *A More Excellent Ministry* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1912), 20.

63. *Ibid.*, 201.

64. M. L. Andreasen, *The Sanctuary Service* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1937), 282.

65. See Dennis Hokama, "Out of Africa: 1888 Re-Examined Turns 50," *Adventist Today*, March–April 2000, p. 12.

66. R. J. Wieland and D. K. Short, *1888 Re-Examined* (Baker: The Adventist Forum Association, n.d.), 3. Wieland and Short sparked a debate within Adventism over the meaning of 1888 that ran to the end of the century. On this, see Hokama, "Out of Africa," 12–13, and George R. Knight, *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 2000), 178–84, for the most up-to-date internal summaries, and Pöhler, *Continuity and Change*, 154, n. 2, for a chronology of the literature.

67. C. M. Maxwell, "Trends in Second-Coming Emphasis and Interpretation Among Seventh-day Adventists" (unpublished paper, Andrews University, n.d.).

68. No. 23, "Fundamental Beliefs," *SDA Yearbook 2003*, 7.

69. The eight volumes, all published by the church's Biblical Research Institute, were: Wallenkampf and Leshner, eds., *The Sanctuary and the Atonement* (1981); William H. Shea, ed., *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation* (1982); and, all edited by Frank B. Holbrook: *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies* (1986); *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy* (1986); *Issues in the Book of Hebrews* (1989); *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey* (1989); *Symposium on Revelation Book I* (1992); *Symposium on Revelation Book II* (1992). The last seven titles comprised the Daniel and Revelation Committee series.

70. See Dudley and Gillespie, *Valuegenesis*, 84, and Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church*, 39.

71. No. 4, "Fundamental Beliefs," *SDA Yearbook 2003*, 5.

72. Norman R. Gulley, *Christ Our Substitute* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1982), 43. Gulley went on to defend this view in an article, "What Human Nature Did Jesus Take? Unfallen," in *Ministry*, June 1985, pp. 8, 10–21. Writing under the pseudonym "Benjamin Rand," he debated the issue with Herbert E. Douglass who presented the postlapsarian view in the same edition under the pseudonym "Kenneth Gage." See pp. 9–21. The two authors were given these bylines to avoid prejudicing readers, but later critiqued each other's position under their own names in the Aug. 1985 issue of the magazine. See pp. 10–11, 23–24. A large reader response followed. See the Dec. 1985 issue of *Ministry*, pp. 2, 25–28.

73. Ralph Larson, *The Word Was Made Flesh: One Hundred Years of Seventh-day Adventist Christology 1852–1952* (Cherry Valley: Cherrystone Press, 1986), 294.

74. Colin D. Standish and Russell R. Standish, *Deceptions of the New Theology* (Hartland: Hartland Publications, 1989), 49, 59.

75. *Seventh-day Adventists Believe: A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines* (Silver Spring: Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1988), v.

76. *Ibid.*, 47.

77. *Issues: The Seventh-day Adventist Church and Certain Private Ministries* (Silver Spring: North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992), 12. A further statement to this effect, invoking the Declaration of 1872, is made on p. 39.

78. See Pöhler, *Continuity and Change*, 259, for 1872 statement; and *Issues: Clarified: A Clarification of Issues: The Seventh-day Adventist Church and Certain Private Ministries*

(Eatonville: Hope International, 1993), 25–26, and *Report and Appeal of Hartland Institute to Seventh-day Adventist Leadership and Worldwide Membership* (Rapidan: Hartland Institute, 1993), 12.

79. Roy Adams, *The Nature of Christ: Help For a Church Divided Over Perfection* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1994), 54.

80. *Ibid.*, 69; 72, n.1; 72, n. 3.

81. *Ibid.*, 61–62, 67–68.

82. J. R. Zurcher, *Touched With Our Feelings: A Historical Survey of Adventist Thought on the Human Nature of Christ*, trans. Edward E. White (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1999), 167–70. However, Zurcher also cites a study that claimed that between 1940 and 1955 references to Christ's fallen human nature were largely written out of Adventist publications; see p. 176.

83. Jack Sequeira, *Saviour of the World: The Humanity of Christ in the Light of the Everlasting Gospel* (Boise: PPPA, 1996), 10–11.

84. See Kevin Paulson, "The Lower and Higher Natures: The Key to Resolving the Adventist Christology Debate," in Woodrow W. Whidden II, *Ellen White on the Humanity of Christ: A Chronological Study* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1997), 90. For Whidden's own reflections, see 69–77, and for his proposals for compromise, 77–78.

85. See "Report on Hope International and Associated Groups," *Review*, [3] August 2000, 35.

86. Kevin D. Paulson, "The Crying Stones: A Reply to Recent Articles in the *Adventist Review and Ministry* on Hope International and Associated Groups" (posted on <http://www.greatcontroversy.org/documents/papers/pau-cryi.html>, Sept. 7, 2000), 2.

87. *SDA Handbook*, 164–65.

88. *Ibid.*, 299.

89. Norman H. Young, "Jesus—Divinity Revealed in Humility," in *The Essential Jesus: The Man, His Message, His Mission*, ed. Bryan W. Ball and William G. Johnsson (Nampa: PPPA, 2002), 112.

90. Paxton picked this up in the 1970s in *Shaking of Adventism*, 153.

91. *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*, annotated by George R. Knight (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2003), 277, 521.

92. Walter Martin, *The Kingdom of the Cults* (Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 1985), 410.

6. The Development of Adventist Theology

1. Walter R. Martin, *The Truth about Seventh-day Adventism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960), 236–37.

2. Norman F. Douty, *Another Look at Seventh-day Adventism* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1962), 189.

3. Anthony A. Hockema, *The Four Major Cults* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1963), 403.

4. See, for example, *The Sunday School Times*, 1 December 1956, and *The King's Business*, April 1957.

5. Martin, *Truth about Seventh-day Adventism*, 7.

6. GSS 1972–2000, c. *fund*; for a survey of doctrinal issues, see "General Conference World Survey" (Silver Spring: Report 9, Office of Information and Research, North American Division, 1994); on belief among those estranged from the church, see Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church*, 39; and Jerry W. Lee, *Seeking the Lost Sheep*:

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7. *The Structure of Society*

1. Statistics calculated from ASR 2001, 15 (primary schools); 54–55 (secondary schools); 52 (colleges and universities); 59–60 (hospitals); 61–62 (nursing homes and retirement centers). Note that figures in the ASR relate to North America and include institutions from Canada and Bermuda. These have been removed in an attempt to provide U.S. statistics only. It is also worth noting in regard to education, the Lutheran Missouri Synod's claim to run the largest Protestant system in America. Their preschool and primary program is larger, but Adventists run more secondary schools, colleges, and universities, which perhaps gives them the edge. The Lutheran claim can be found in A. L. Barry, "What About . . . The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod," an information pamphlet from the church's Web site at www.lcms.org. See also the education statistics on the "LCMS At a Glance" page on same site.

2. See ASR 2001, 65.

3. On Chapel Music, see www.pacificpress.com/products/chapel/index.htm. Information on the Adventist Radio Broadcaster's Association can be found at www.adventistradio.net. For further details of the programming at the Adventist Media Center, see www.sdamedia.org.

4. ASR 2001, 58, 64, 65. (Radio stations or studios are not listed systematically, but most Adventist conferences and unions run at least one.)

5. Schwarz, "Perils of Growth," in Land, *Adventism in America*, 96–101.

6. On the loss of the publishing house and La Loma Foods (the former Loma Linda Foods), see respectively, Bruce M. Wickwire, "SPA and Review Join Their Operations," *Review*, 3 April 1980, 23; and Richard W. Schwarz, "From Battle Creek to Battle Creek: A Tale of Vegetarian Meat Analogs," *Review*, [7] December 2000, 14, and food manufacturer figures, ASR 2001, 58. On the problems of the media center and health system, see Bonnie Dwyer, "Soul Searching at the Adventist Media Center: A Multimillion Dollar Debate," *Spectrum* 13:1 (1982): 26–35; and Jay Greene, "Adventist Health/U.S. Dismantles System, Forms New Association," *Spectrum* 20:4 (1990): 35–36. Between 1985 and 2001, there was also a big decline in the number of smaller, "incomplete" secondary schools in the United States. On this, compare ASR 1985, 28, and ASR 2001, 55.

7. From the ASR of 2003, 4.

8. For the entire list, see *SDA Yearbook 2006*, 19. Their functions are described in "The Constitution of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists" and "The Bylaws of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists" in the 2006 yearbook, 9–11 and 11–15, respectively.

9. The departments and agencies of the General Conference are listed in *SDA Yearbook 2006*, pp. 22–30. It should be noted that unlike the above agencies, the Ellen G. White Estate is constitutionally independent of the General Conference, an arrangement that maintains the division between the charismatic and bureaucratic that Ellen White insisted upon during her life.

10. See Art. VIII, "Constitution," 10.

11. ADCOM receives its constitutional authority from Art. XIII, Sec. 1(b), "Bylaws."
13. According to information from the General Conference Communication Department, its composition is as follows: GC president, the secretariat, the treasury team, the general vice-presidents, North American Division president, the general field secretaries, communication director, *Review* editor, human resources director, education director, women's ministries director, legal advisor, administrative assistant to GC president,

invitees (who have a vote) and (on a yearly rotating basis) two department directors and one president of an institution/service/agency residing at GC headquarters.

12. See Art. XIII, Sec. 2(a) and (b), "Bylaws," 14.

13. Art. V, Sec. 8, "Constitution," 10.

14. Art. V, Sec. 8(a)(b)(c)(d) and (f), "Constitution," 10.

15. Art. V, Sec. 7(a)(b)(c)(d) and (f), "Constitution," 9.

16. Art. V, Sec. 9, "Constitution," 10.

17. Figures taken from two tables printed in *Review*, 30 June 2000, 36, 37. The GC delegation, which was split into four parts in the tables, has been treated as a single block for this analysis. Similar tables published in *Review*, 3 July 2005, 27, 28, for the 2005 session showed little change in composition, but it is hard to say precisely because there appeared to be several discrepancies in this set of statistics.

18. Art. II, Sec. 4(a)(1 and 2), "Bylaws," 11.

19. Art. II, Sec. 4(b)(3), "Bylaws," 11.

20. See Alvin L. Kwiram, "How the General Conference Election Works," *Spectrum* 7:1 (1975): 17–21. Although the figures are now very dated, this is still the best account of the church's election procedure.

21. *Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual*, rev. ed. (Silver Spring: Secretariat, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2005), 26.

22. Kwiram, "How the General Conference Election Works," 20.

23. For more details of Adventism's initial organization, see Andrew G. Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization: Historical Development, 1844–1881*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Series, vol. XII (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987), and R. W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1979), 86–98.

24. See Gary Land, "Where Did Adventist Organizational Structure Come From?" *Spectrum* 7:1 (1975): 24.

25. More details of the 1901 reorganization can be obtained from Barry David Oliver, *SDA Organizational Structure: Past, Present and Future*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. XV (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1989), or Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 267–81.

26. Further discussion on the creation of the divisions can be found in George R. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil: The Development of Adventist Church Structure* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 2001), 132–40.

27. A general idea of how unions and conferences work can be obtained from the model constitutions in *Working Policy of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 2002–2003), 127–67. On GC participation at union sessions, information from GC treasury indicates it is limited to 10 percent of the official delegation and in practice rarely exceeds 1 percent.

28. *Church Manual*, 80.

29. Local Adventist church organization is fully described in the *Church Manual*.

30. Quoted in Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 86. Italics in original. See also ch. 2.

31. The practice is not universal however. The church minister is appointed by the conference, a level above the pastor, rather than by the congregation, which is the level below. Also, at the 2005 GC session, *Adventist Today* reported that a number of retired General Conference workers on the nominating committee were not elected by a lower level of church administration. On the position of the minister in the church hierarchy, see chapter 16; on the retired workers, see Ervin Taylor and Elwin Dunn, "The Exercise of Supreme Political Power: The General Conference Nominating Committee," at www.atoday.com/email, July 6, 2005.

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history of tithing in the church can be found in Brian E. Strayer, "Adventist Tithing—The Untold Story," *Spectrum* 17:1 (1986): 39–52.

49. See Dudley M. Canright, "Systematic Benevolence, or the Bible Plan of Supporting the Ministry," *Review*, 17 February 1876, 50, and 2 March 1876, 67; and EGW, CS, 65–50. *Working Policy*, 659, 658.

51. EGW, CS, 103.

52. See Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil*, 120–21.

53. Alita Byrd, "The Year of SDA Congregationalism," *Spectrum* 26:4 (1998): 5.

54. Susan Sickler, "Congregationalism—Our SDA Future?" *Spectrum* 25:4 (1996): 41.

55. Monte Sahlin et al., "Giving Practices and Attitudes" (Silver Spring: Report 10, Office of Information and Research, North American Division, 1995), 6, 13.

56. The late 1980s estimate is inferred from the chart in Monte Sahlin, *Trends, Attitudes, and Opinions: The Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America* (Lincoln: Center for Creative Ministry, 1998), 130; the 1976 figure is quoted in Monte Sahlin and Norman Yergen, *Why Do Adventists Quit Coming to Church?* (Lincoln: Center for Creative Ministry, 1998), 1.

57. See the table "How Members Figure Their Tithe," in Monte Sahlin and Paul Richardson, *Beyond Vision 2000: An Information Base for Strategic Planning* (Lincoln: Center for Creative Ministry, 1998, n.p.). The table is based on the American Demographics Institute classification of five generations: the WWII generation (born before 1933); the swing generation (born between 1933 and 1945); the baby boom generation (born between 1946 and 1964); the baby bust generation, also called generation "X" (born between 1965 and 1976); and the millennial generation (born after 1977).

58. This possibility has been noted in Kermit Netteburg et al., "The North American Division Marketing Program: Profiling Adventist Members and Baptisms, with Implications for Church Growth, Communication, Publishing, and Education Strategies" (Berrien Springs: North American Division Strategic Resource Center, Institute of Church Ministry, Andrews University, 1986), 1:56–57.

59. See Dean R. Hoge et al., *Money Matters: Personal Giving in American Churches* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 15.

60. *Working Policy*, 663–67, 628.

61. See Hoge, *Money Matters*, 15.

62. Calculations based on numbers in ASR 1950 and 2001, 6 and 23, respectively. Note that Bermuda (in the Atlantic Union Conference) and Canada have been excluded in order to obtain U.S. figures.

63. See Hoge, *Money Matters*, 15.

64. See Evert McDowell, "North America Forces General Conference Staff Cuts," *Spectrum* 20:5 (1990): 44–46; Ronald Lawson, "The Seventh-day Adventist Church as a Global Organization" (unpublished paper read at the meeting of the Religious Research Association, Pittsburgh, November 1991), 14, and the minutes of the Spring Meeting, April 10–11, 1991, 140–41.

65. Minutes, Spring Meeting, April 19–20, 2000, 23.

66. Information from GC treasury, March 2005.

67. Kenneth H. Emmerson, "Financing a World Church" (Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1969), 20.

68. *Working Policy*, 670–72.

69. ASR 2001, 23 and ASR 1985, 4, and ASR 2001, 6 and ASR 1985, 4.

70. See *Working Policy*, 691–718, which details the divisions' responsibility for retirement plans; and 593, 594, which provides for the investment of church and hospital retirement funds.

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link in the “About Us” section at www.mckeefoods.com/start.htm. On McKee himself, see C. A. Oliphant, *O. D. McKee, America's Snack Cake King* (Cleveland: Sundial Press, 1994).

90. For example, EGW, MYP, 299–303, and CS, 201, 231–44.

91. EGW, 9T, 13–14.

92. An excellent account of the early history of Adventist publishing is found in Donald McAdams, “Pacific Press Versus Review and Herald: The Rise of Territorial Monopolies,” *Spectrum* 8:4 (1977): 11–21. (It should be noted that both the PPPA and the RHPA were known by other names in their early years.)

93. See David Paul Nord, “Systematic Benevolence: Religious Publishing and the Marketplace in Early Nineteenth-Century America,” in *Communication and Change in American Religious History*, ed. Leonard I. Sweet (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 254–56, and “Religious Reading and Readers in Antebellum America,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 15:2 (1995): 243.

94. ASR 2001, 6, although the GC treasury informed the authors that numbers may be higher.

95. See the figures in ASR 1905, 6.

96. McAdams, “Pacific Press Versus Review and Herald,” 11, 19–20. See also George Colvin, “A Short History of Adventist Colporteurism,” *Spectrum* 14:1 (1983): 8–9.

97. *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:10–11.

98. McAdams, “Pacific Press Versus Review and Herald,” 11.

99. The Proctor case was initially reported in Sheree Strom, “Attorney General Studying SDA Literature Policies,” *Student Movement* (Andrews University student newspaper), 27 May 1981, 1. See also George Colvin, “Sad Tidings: Adventist Publishing in North America,” *Spectrum* 14:1 (1983): 10–12. The verdict was recorded and discussed in Lorna Tobler, “Where Has the Proctor Case Taken Us?” *Spectrum* 17:4 (1987): 26–32.

100. See the statement “Activities with Elements of Competition: Perspective and Analysis,” (1988), in *Statements, Guidelines & Other Documents*, 2nd ed., ed. Ray Dabrowski (Silver Spring: General Conference Communication Department, 2000), 21–22.

101. This was pointed out to the authors during a research visit to California in 2000. The breaking of this taboo appears to have begun in the mid-1980s. See Bonnie Dwyer, “Play Has Already Begun,” *Spectrum* 19:1 (1988): 19–22.

102. The colleges were Columbia Union College in Maryland and Southern College in Tennessee, and their rivalry was reported in Maurice Miller, “Northern Industry vs. Southern Comfort,” *Student Movement*, 27 April 1983, 7.

103. Emphasized to the authors by GC treasury in March 2005.

104. Located at www.infbooks.com.

105. This was also pointed out to the authors during their 2000 tour of California, where congregationalism appears to be particularly strong.

106. See “Activities with Elements of Competition,” 16–22.

107. The Davenport affair was well chronicled. See, for example, Tom Dybdahl, “Bad Business: The Davenport Fiasco,” *Spectrum* 12:1 (1981): 50–61, and “The Davenport Bankruptcy and Recent Litigation,” *Spectrum* 12:3 (1982): 49–54; and “The Church of Liberal Borrowings,” *Time*, 2 August 1982, 39.

108. Brenton R. Schlender, “Religion and Loyal Investors Play Big Role in Alleged Trading Fraud,” *Wall Street Journal*, 20 September 1985, sec. 2, p. 17.

109. Stanhiser was fined \$100,000 and received a lifetime trading ban from the British Columbia Securities Commission, in whose jurisdiction his illegal activities fell. See news releases 99/26 and 2000/15, and the full judgment, document 2000/03/20, all of which can be accessed on the commission’s Web site: www.bcsc.bc.ca.

110. See Colleen Moore Tinker, "Folkenberg Resigns," *Adventist Today*, January-February 1999, 24, 10–12, and "Folkenberg Business Details Revealed," *Adventist Today*, March-April 1999, 24, 22. See also "The Kanaka Valley Tragedy," *Spectrum* 27:2 (1999): 58–66.

111. See chapter 3.

112. EGW, *Ev*, 20

113. See chapter 4.

8. *The Patterns of Growth*

1. Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 56.

2. This is James White's estimate in "The Cause," *Review*, 23 July 1857, 93.

3. See *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:62. All subsequent information on the genesis of the Adventist presence in the various states of America is taken from this source, but citations will not be provided in most cases. Researchers interested in precise references should look up the individual states in the two volumes of the *SDA Encyclopedia*, and follow cross-referencing guidance. For further discussion of Bates's position as the denomination's first evangelist, see Knight, *Joseph Bates*, 172–90.

4. Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 163.

5. Borge Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought: Contemporary Appraisal" (Ph.D. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983), 225.

6. Uriah Smith, quoted in Schantz, "Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 232.

7. James White, "The Design of the Chart," *Review*, February 1851, 46, and J. N. Loughborough and M. E. Cornell, "Tent Meeting at Battle Creek," *Review*, 4 July 1854, 174.

8. Loughborough and Cornell, "Tent Meeting at Battle Creek," 174.

9. Figures based on subscribers to *Review* disclosed by James White in "A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Present Truth," *Review*, 14 January 1858, 78.

10. James White, "Moving West," *Review*, 7 May 1857, 5, and EGW, *1T*, 147.

11. On the move to Battle Creek, see James White, *Life Incidents: Connection with the Great Advent Movement, As Illustrated by the Three Angels of Revelation XIV* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 297–98.

12. This estimated figure first appeared officially in a retrospective table prepared for the 1905 ASR, 8. All subsequent SDA statistics are taken or calculated from the relevant editions of this source, except where otherwise indicated. It should be noted, however, that the accuracy of the official figures is not fully accepted by some Adventist researchers. Monte Sahlin, who compiled U.S. data for the Glenmary Research Center's *Religious Congregations & Membership 2000* survey, counted 100,000 fewer Adventists in the United States than did the ASR. Ronald Lawson also criticized the way the membership figures are compiled in some parts of the Third World in his paper, "Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory," 662–63 (previously cited in intro., n. 95).

13. James White, "The Charts," *Review*, 6 October 1863, 152; "The Camp-Meeting at Wright," *Review*, 18 September 1868, 172.

14. See entry on Ontario Conference in *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:247.

15. See the papers by R. L. Dabrowski and Jacques Frei-Fyon in *Michael Belina Czechowski 1818–1876*, ed. R. L. Dabrowski and B. B. Beach (Warsaw: Znaki Czasu, 1979), 100–30 and 234–76 respectively.

16. See J. R. Zurcher, "Missionary to Europe," in Leonard, ed., *J. N. Andrews*, 202–204.

17. The 10 Southern states were, in order of entry: Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Arkansas, North Carolina.

18. For details of the beginnings of the work in these nations, see the relevant country entries in the *SDA Encyclopedia*.

19. The 12 states were: Arizona, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Utah, Washington, West Virginia. On the emergence of colportearing, see *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:931–32. See also ch. 7.

20. On Hawaii, see *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:671, and on Utah, *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:163. It is recognized (also in respect to n. 19) that these two territories were not officially in the union at this point and did not actually become states until later.

21. Schantz, "Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 316.

22. On these ethnic groups, see Roy Branson, "Adventism's Rainbow Coalition," in *Make Us One: Celebrating Spiritual Unity in the Midst of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Delbert W. Baker (Boise: PPPA, 1995), 63–64, 65–68.

23. Schantz, "Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 766–67.

24. See William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 91–93.

25. See Ochs and Ochs, *Past and the Presidents*, 75–87, or Reid et al., "Meet the Presidents," 50.

26. Alaska did not actually enter the union until 1959.

27. See ch. 7, and Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 276–79.

28. See Jonathan M. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," in *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 195–96.

29. A. G. Daniells, "The President's Address," *Review*, 14 May 1905, 8.

30. A. G. Daniells, "The President's Address," *Review*, 14 May 1909, 8. However, the General Conference's dispute with John Harvey Kellogg, which spanned these years, also diverted the church from evangelistic endeavor, according to Schwarz in "Perils of Growth," in Land, *Adventism in America*, 111. Howard B. Weeks has suggested that the church's evangelistic methods simply became moribund during this period. See his *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1969), 14–16.

31. See F. M. Wilcox, "A Sacred and Dignified Calling: An Appeal to the Ministry of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," *Review*, 27 February 1919, 4; and chapter 3 above for discussion of these prophecies.

32. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century*, 131.

33. See Dennis S. Porter, *A Century of Adventism in the British Isles: A Brief History of the British Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists* (Grantham: Stanborough Press, 1974), 20–21; and Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century*, 125.

34. See Keith A. Francis, "Ecumenism or Distinctiveness? Seventh-day Adventist Attitudes to the World Missionary Conference of 1910," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church, Papers Read at the 1994 Summer Meeting and the 1995 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996), 484–85. For general discussion of the 1910 and 1928 conferences, see Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965), 395–96, 455–56; or Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7, 21–23, 65–70.

35. Schantz, "Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 768.

36. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century*, 99–100.

37. *Ibid.*, 137.

38. *Ibid.*, 161–63, 168–69.

39. *Ibid.*, 225–26, 136–37.
40. *Ibid.*, 229.
41. *Ibid.*, 225–26, 227–28.
42. *Ibid.*, 193–94.
43. Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 579.
44. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century*, 212–18.
45. *Ibid.*, 238–39; and Porter, *Century of Adventism in the British Isles*, 36–39. See also *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:525.
46. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century*, 229–31, and 264–68.
47. *Ibid.*, 249–50, 271–75.
48. See Porter, *Century of Adventism in the British Isles*, 39.
49. See *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:443–44.
50. Schantz, “Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought,” 405–407. See also Baldur Ed Pfeiffer, *The European SDA Mission in the Middle East* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1981).
51. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century*, 259.
52. See *SDA Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, 772–73.
53. See the *Review* report of 23 December 1971, 4–5, and *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10: 524–25.
54. See Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches Are Growing: A Study in the Sociology of Religion* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 21.
55. See figure 1 in Gottfried Oosterwal, *Mission Possible* (Nashville: SPA, 1972), 44.
56. See Gottfried Oosterwal, “Seventh-day Adventist Mission in the Seventies,” *Spectrum* 2:2 (1970): 7; and Schantz’s discussion in “Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought,” 412–19.
57. Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 596.
58. See “Prioritizing Evangelism—One Thousand Days of Reaping,” *Review*, 12 November 1981, 8; “Session Adopts Harvest ‘90,” *Review*, 1 July 1985, 24; “Global Mission: Person to Person,” *Review* supplement, 5 July 1990, 2.
59. On the creation of the office of Global Mission with Michael L. Ryan as its first head, see the minutes of the Annual Council of Oct. 5, 1990, 378; for the origins of the Islamic center, see *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:585–86; on Luis Bush’s original description of the 10–40 window, see his address, “The Challenge Before Us,” in *Proclaim Christ Until He Comes: Calling the Whole World to take the Whole Gospel to the Whole World, Lausanne II in Manila, International Congress on World Evangelization*, ed. J. D. Douglas (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1990), 61; for examples of the Adventist preoccupation with the 10–40 window, see references in the essays in *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century: The Joys and Challenges of Presenting Jesus to a Diverse World*, ed. Jon L. Dybdahl (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1999), 33, 143–44, 288.
60. See Graham, *Just As I Am*, 637–39. The president of the NAD invoked Graham’s innovation in the Spring Meeting minutes of March 30, 1994, 18.
61. Monte Sahlin, “Net ‘95 Brings Families Together,” *Review*, 4 May 1995, 6.
62. See *Review* reports of 7 November 1996, 16–18 and 3 December 1998, 8–12.
63. The Mormon membership at the end of 1999, which was posted on the church’s Web site, was 10.7 million. It should also be said that as a movement, Pentecostalism, which also began in the U.S., is much bigger than either Adventism or Mormonism, but it has splintered into many different forms and groups. Specific Pentecostal churches like the Assemblies of God claim a worldwide fellowship of some 40 million, but its branches outside the U.S. are largely autonomous organizations.
64. See the Mormon article, “China and the Church,” posted on April 11, 2002, on

the Cumorah News Service pages of the Cumorah Project at www.cumorah.com. This is a useful independent LDS site containing a wealth of information on Mormon growth and distribution.

65. "Common Declaration of the Heads of the Oriental Orthodox Churches in the Middle East" [Damascus: St. Ephrem Monastery, Feb. 1999], sec. 2(e), and "Adventists Attacked in Wave of Violence Against Christians," *ANN Bulletin*, 5 January 1999.

66. "Statement on Religious Liberty, Evangelism, and Proselytism" (2000), in Dabrowski, ed., *Statements, Guidelines & Other Documents*, 56.

67. Based on the comparative, full communicant statistics in *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches 2003*, ed. Eileen W. Lindner (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2003), 365–77.

68. See table 2 in Martin B. Bradley et al., *Churches and Church Membership in the United States, 1990: An Enumeration by Region, State and County Based on Data Reported for 133 Church Groupings* (Atlanta: Glenmary Research Center, 1992), 5–11. Note that Glenmary calculations are based on total adherent rather than membership figures.

69. See table 4, U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 128.

70. See Doug R. Johnson, *Adventism on the Northwestern Frontier* (Berrien Springs: Oronoko Books, 1996), 131–32, and table 4, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies, 1936* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941), 20–21.

71. Table 3, Bradley et al., *Churches and Church Membership in the United States, 1990*, 14, 30, 34.

72. See Douglas W. Johnson et al., *Churches and Church Membership in the United States, [1971]: An Enumeration by Region, State, and County* (Washington, D.C.: Glenmary Research Center, 1974), 8; Bradley et al., *Churches and Church Membership in the United States, 1990*, 15, and Dale E. Jones et al., *Religious Congregations and Membership in the United States, 2000: An Enumeration by Region, State, and County Based on Data Reported by 149 Religious Bodies* (Atlanta: Glenmary Research Center, 2002), 18. The latter analysis suggested that the Adventist percentage in the District of Columbia had risen to 1.3, but as discussed above in n. 12, one cannot be definite about making a direct comparison because, unlike previous studies in the series, this survey reported an overall Adventist membership significantly lower than the official ASR.

73. The GSS 1972–2000, cc. *age* and *sex*, gives a ratio of 61:39. Compared to U.S. census data, the GSS's total sample contains around 4.5 percent more women (and 4.5 percent fewer men) than in the adult (over 18) population. GSS female/male ratios have therefore been accordingly adjusted to bring figures into line with the census. The 2001 U.S. Congregational Life Survey, which included individuals from age 15, gave an Adventist ratio of 59:41, see Monte Sahlin, *Adventist Congregations Today* (Lincoln: Center for Creative Ministry, 2002), 29. Sahlin found a sharper narrowing of the Adventist gender gap in the late 1990s in *Trends, Attitudes, and Opinions*, 16, 22, although this finding appears not to have been confirmed.

74. Protestant ratio based on the average for 175 denominations provided by GSS 1972–2000, cc. *denom* ("no denomination" category not included for calculation), and *other*. U.S. Congregational Life Survey based on 50 denominations gave a sex ratio of 61 females to 39 males, see Cynthia Woolever and Deborah Bruce, *A Field Guide to U.S. Congregations: Who's Going Where and Why* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 12. U.S. data extracted from table 1, *Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin by Age and Sex for the United States: 2000*, PHC-T-8 (U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000

Summary File 1). Downloaded from the Census 2000 Briefs section on the Census Bureau's Web pages at www.census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html.

75. GSS 1972–2000, cc. *age*(recoded), *sex*.

76. "Ethnic Census Survey, 2000" (Silver Spring: Office of Human Relations, North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 2001).

77. The 2000 census figures for those giving one race were 75 percent white, 12 percent black, 13 percent Hispanic, 4 percent Asian, 0.9 percent Native American. Extracted from tables 1–5, *Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin by Age and Sex for the United States: 2000*.

78. "Ethnic Census Survey, 1989–2000" (Silver Spring: Office of Human Relations, North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 2001). Note that these percentages relate to the NAD, which includes Canada and Bermuda, as U.S. figures were not available for 1990.

79. GSS 1972–2000, c. *born*; Sahlin, *Adventist Congregations Today*, 29. The GSS proportion for the general population is less than 1 in 10.

80. For white and black statistics, see GSS 1972–2000, cc. *age*(recoded), *race*; Asian data is extracted from the U.S. Congregational Life Survey in a report prepared for the authors by Roger Dudley and Monte Sahlin, "Asian Adventist Demographics" (Berrien Springs: Institute of Church Ministry, Andrews University, 2004), 1. For Hispanic figures, see the codebook of *HADULT: A Study of the North American Hispanic Adventist Church—Adult Survey, 1994*, q. 93 at the American Religion Data Archive, www.thearda.com. The results of this investigation are discussed in Johnny Ramirez-Johnson and Edwin I. Hernández, *AVANCE, A Vision of a New Mañana: Report of the Study of the Hispanic Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America* (Loma Linda: Loma Linda University Press, 2003). There is currently no comparable data on Native Americans.

81. GSS 1972–2000, cc. *sex*, *race*; Dudley and Sahlin, "Asian Adventist Demographics," 1. As above, there is no data on Native American members.

82. Ramirez-Johnson and Hernández, *AVANCE*, 23; GSS 1972–2000, cc. *sex*, *race*.

83. "Ethnic Census 2000 Survey."

84. Information from Native Ministries (a subdivision of the NAD's Multilingual Ministries Department), "Ethnic Census Survey, 2000," and Laura Beaven, "Ethnicity and Race in North America," *Spectrum* 23:5 (1994): 26.

85. Dudley's and Sahlin's analysis in "Asian Adventist Demographics," 1, 2, suggests that 54 percent of Asians hold bachelor or higher degrees and that 23 percent of them have an annual household income of \$75,000 or more. This compares with Sahlin's report of the U.S. Congregational Life Survey in *Adventist Congregations Today*, which indicated that 34 percent of Adventists as a whole are graduates and about 18 percent earn above \$75,000. U.S. census statistics indicate that 44 percent of Asians have at least a bachelor's degree, compared to 24 percent of the general population and that 37 percent of the group earn more than \$75,000, compared to 25 percent of all Americans. See Terence J. Reeves and Claudette E. Bennett, U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Special Reports, CENSR-17, *We the People: Asians in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004), 12; Kurt J. Bauman and Nikki L. Graf, U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Brief, C2KBR-24, *Educational Attainment: 2000* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2003), 5; and the 2000 household income figures in DeNavas-Walt and Cleveland, *Money Income in the United States*, 15–17.

86. See the population sampling supplement to *Seventh-day Adventist Youth at the Mid-Century* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1951), 27.

87. *Demographic Profile: The Adventist Community in North America* (Silver Spring: Office of Information and Research, North American Division, 1990), 15–20.

88. The NSRI is in Barry A. Kosmin and Seymour P. Lachman, *One Nation Under God: Religion in Contemporary American Society* (New York: Harmony Books, 1993), 256–71.

89. GSS 1972–2000, using appropriate combinations of cc. *relig*, *denom*, *finrela*, *educ*, *income*, and *class*.

90. Netteburg et al., “North American Division Marketing Program,” iii and v, 28–33.

91. Sahlin, *Trends, Attitudes, and Opinions*, 72.

92. See fig. 3.10 in Sahlin, *Adventist Congregations Today*, 40.

93. This limitation is freely acknowledged in Harold Lee and Monte Sahlin, *A Portrait of a Regional Conference: Survey of the Allegheny East Conference of Seventh-day Adventists* (Lincoln: Center for Creative Ministry, 1993), 2. The *Demographic Profile* is based on data from Adventist Family Opinion, a market research panel of Adventists sufficiently involved with the church to be willing to “provide their opinions regarding products, services and goals of denominational institutions and departments,” 1. Surveys conducted in English may also exclude some of the Hispanic membership, which Ramírez-Johnson and Hernández found to be significantly poorer and less educated not only than the U.S. population in general but also than the U.S. Hispanic population, see AVANCE, 40–42.

94. Supplement, *Seventh-day Adventist Youth at the Mid-Century*, 27; and *Demographic Profile*, 22.

95. For a ratio of SDA to non-SDA employees in denominational hospitals, see the healthcare section in any ASR from 1996 onwards. For church employee figures, see table 1, ch. 7.

96. See table 2 in ch. 7; in the sample used by Sara Tertian and Roger Dudley, “A Survey of Subscribers and Nonsubscribers to the *Adventist Review*” (Berrien Springs: Institute of Church Ministry, Andrews University, 1985), 87 percent of church employees were college educated and 71 percent in professional-managerial jobs.

97. GSS 1972–2000, cc. *region* (although the “Pacific” category from which this inference is drawn also contains Alaska and Hawaii), *degree*, *income(12)*. County distributions come from table 4 in Bradley, *Churches and Church Membership in the United States, 1990*, 409–416 (Washington), 323–29 (Oregon), 59–71 (California).

98. The statistics are found in the *County and City Data Book, 1988* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1989), 46, 59, 423, 566.

99. See table 3 in Monte Sahlin et al., *Philadelphia Metro Initiative* (Lincoln: Center for Creative Ministry), 75–82.

100. See *Adventist Mission in the New York Metro Region* (Silver Spring: Report of the NYC Metro Ministries Long-range Planning Committee, North American Division, 2000), 48–62.

101. Des Cummings Jr., et al., “The Background and Experience of New Members in the Georgia-Cumberland Conference of Seventh-day Adventist 1979–80” (Berrien Springs: Institute of Church Ministry, Andrews University, n.d.), 24–25, 26.

102. Sahlin, *Philadelphia Metro Initiative*, 39; Monte Sahlin and Paul Richardson, *People Joining the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Pennsylvania and their Experience with the Church* (Lincoln: Center for Creative Ministry, 2002), i, 3. (“Blue collar” in both studies is equated here with skilled and unskilled workers.)

103. Sahlin and Richardson, *People Joining the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, ii.

104. Netteburg et al., “North American Division Marketing Program,” table 2, p. 35, and p. 49.

105. Cummings, "Background and Experience of New Members," 20.
106. Ramírez-Johnson and Hernández, *AVANCE*, 26.
107. GSS 1972–2000, cc. *denom16*, *religi16*, *oth16*. The sample identified just twelve Adventists who were brought up in minority religious faiths. Of these, eight came from various Pentecostal groups, one came from the United Brethren, two from the Church of Christ, and one had been a Mormon.
108. Cummings, "Background and Experience of New Members," 20; Sahlin and Richardson, *People Joining the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, v.
109. Codebook, *HADULT*, q. 222; cf. Ramírez-Johnson and Hernández, *AVANCE*, 26.
110. Supplement, *Seventh-day Adventist Youth at the Mid-Century*, 19.
111. Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church*, 160.
112. There is a large literature on the famous Bounty mutineers who settled on Pitcairn, and the later SDA conversion of the island. The Adventist narratives range from the early Rosalind Amelia Young, *Mutiny of the Bounty and the Story of Pitcairn Island* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1894) to the more up-to-date David Marshall, *Breadfruit Buccaneers and the Bounty Bible: A Fresh Look at the Mutiny on HMS Bounty and the Story of the Pitcairn Island Colony Over Two Centuries* (Grantham: Stanborough Press, 1989). Among the non-Adventist accounts are Robert B. Nicolson's *The Pitcairners* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), and Dea Birkett's travelogue, *Serpent in Paradise* (New York: Anchor Books, 1997). The denomination's Pacific Union College supports a Pitcairn Islands Study Center at <http://library.puc.edu/pitcairn/index.shtml>, which monitors news that comes out of the area, such as the rape trial in 2004 that damaged the idyllic image of the island.
113. According to an ANN report of September 23, 2003, there are just 300 Asian Adventists in Fiji out of a membership of 22,000.
114. Eric B. Hare in *Treasure From the Haunted Pagoda* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1947), 22, identifies Heber Votaw as the missionary who orientated the church's evangelism toward the Karens after complaining about the "complacent Buddhists."
115. See *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, Vol. 1: *The World by Countries: Religionists, Churches, Ministries*, 2nd ed., ed. David B. Barrett et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 591, 593. The Adventist largely responsible for evangelizing the Aymara was F. A. Stahl, who wrote up his account in *In the Land of the Incas* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1920), particularly 261. See also Charles Teel, "The Radical Roots of Peruvian Adventism," *Spectrum* 21:1 (1990): 5–18.
116. See Ian Linden, who reports in *Church and Revolution in Rwanda* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), 167, 160, that the Hutus were much more receptive to the church than the Tutsis, who were notably "unimpressed by the eschatological doctrines of the Seventh Day Adventists"; the academic Raphael Ntibazonkiza, who noted in an interview reproduced in *Spectrum* 23:5 (1994): 6, that the leaderships of Adventists and Methodists in Burundi are Hutu dominated, while Catholic, Anglican and Pentecostal hierarchies are Tutsi controlled; the membership breakdown in the East and West Congo Union Missions in *ASR* 2001, 8, 10; and the discussion of the Lulua in Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo From Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (London: Zed, 2002), 103–4.
117. On the conflict between Guadalcanalians and Malaitans, see Judith Bennett, "Roots of Conflict in Solomon Islands—Though Much is Taken, Much Abides: Legacies of Tradition and Colonialism" (discussion paper 2002/5, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 2002), 8.

118. See the Indian newspaper reports discussing the church's success among the untouchables, who are also known as "Scheduled Caste" Hindus in "250 SC Youths Converted to Christianity," *The Times of India*, 25 August 2002, 6, and R. Krishnamoorthy, "250 Villagers Converted to Christianity," *The Hindu*, 25 August 2002, 5.

119. Other churches too, for example, are evangelizing India's Dalit population. See Manpreet Singh, "Quitting Hinduism: 'Untouchables' Find New Dignity in Christian Faith," *Christianity Today*, 9 December 2002, 22–23.

120. The church has just 2,000 members in the region, mainly in Israel (largely composed of immigrant Russian Jews, according to an ANN report of Jan. 3, 2001), Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, and Kuwait.

121. See ASR 2001, 73–75.

122. The British countries on which ratio was based were Botswana, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia (although this was partly Italian), South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, The Gambia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe; the Francophone nations were Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Côte D'Ivoire, Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Gabon, Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia; Portuguese countries were Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe; and Belgian countries were Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda. All ratios are for 2001.

123. Based on World Bank's time series data available on its *World Development Indicators 2001*, CD-ROM (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2001). Although there is little doubt that, apart from one or two countries, the African economy has largely failed since the 1971, the statistics give no more than a general indication. Data is available for more countries now than then, as some nations were not yet independent, and some did not exist. But the World Bank figures indicate that 26 out of 47 countries had a per capita GNI of less than \$500 in 1995 dollars in 1999, and 22 out of 36 did so in 1971. Note also that the indicator used for these historic figures was gross national product (GNP) per capita, equivalent to the bank's current preferred measure of gross national income.

124. Extracted from ASR 2001, 52–57.

125. On the suggestion that Adventist education is losing its exclusivity in places like Africa, see Nehemiah M. Nyaundi, *Religion and Social Change: A Sociological Study of Seventh-day Adventism in Kenya* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993), 241–42; and Lawson, who quotes Nyaundi in "Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory," 660.

126. See 2001 data in World Bank's *World Development Indicators 2003*, CD-ROM (previously cited in ch. 7, n. 44).

127. Bryan R. Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society: A Sociological Comment* (London: C. A. Watts, 1966), 196.

128. GNI figures from *World Development Indicators 2003*, CD-ROM; population figures from Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C., or ASR 2001, 70–71.

129. From the relevant adherent figures in the *World Christian Encyclopedia*.

130. Population figure for 1971 for basis of this calculation obtained from the population statistics Web site at www.library.uu.nl/wesp/populstat/populhome.html; 2001 figure from Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C., or ASR 2001, 70.

131. A comparable pattern can be seen in Argentina, where the church's growth since 1971 tended to be higher during periods of right-wing military rule and during the Peronista era than under center-left administrations. For the political and economic changes in Chile, see Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America*, 5th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 126–36; and on the closeness of the Chilean church to Pinochet, see Lawson, "Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory," 661.

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7. Walton et al., *How You Can Live Six Extra Years*, 5–7 (previously cited in intro., n. 84).
8. Numbers, *Prophets of Health*, 48–49 (previously cited in ch. 1, n. 3).
9. *Ibid.*, 48–76.
10. *Ibid.*, 48–49. See also George W. Reid, *A Sound of Trumpets; Americans, Adventists, and Health Reform* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1982), 28–31. The methods of the health reformers are detailed in Numbers, *Prophets of Health*, 48–76.
11. The first published account of White's Otsego vision is in 4SG-a, 120–51.
12. *Ibid.*, 148.
13. *Ibid.*, 124.
14. *Ibid.*, 120, 134, 137, 140.
15. EGW, "Moral and Physical Law," *The Health Reformer*, October 1872, 314. See also George Reid's discussion of natural law in White's thinking in *Sound of Trumpets*, 120–21.
16. Numbers, *Prophets of Health*, 88–90, 96–97.
17. "The Western Health Reform Institute," *Review*, 7 August 1866, 78.
18. See Dores E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message: The Origin, Character, and Development of Health Education in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nashville: SPA, 1943), 133. See also Numbers, *Prophets of Health*, 107.
19. Numbers, *Prophets of Health*, 169–70.
20. *Ibid.*, 172.
21. To get a sense of this, see Patsy Gerstner, "The Temple of Health: A Pictorial History of the Battle Creek Sanitarium," special issue, *Caduceus: A Humanities Journal for Medicine and the Health Sciences* 12:2 (1996): 11, 16, 27, 68–69.
22. See Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 114.
23. *Ibid.*, 347–48, 395.
24. *Ibid.*, 277–79.
25. *Ibid.*, 283–88. *The New Dietetics, What to Eat and How: A Guide to Scientific Feeding in Health and Disease* was published in Battle Creek by the Modern Medicine Publishing Co. in 1921.
26. Information from Kellogg Company Web site at www.kelloggs.com. There has not been a full-length biography of Will Keith for several decades, but for further details of his career, see Gerald Carson, *Cornflake Crusade* (New York: Reinhart, 1957), reprinted by Arno Press in 1976; and Horace B. Powell, *The Original Has This Signature—W. K. Kellogg* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1956), which contains some inaccuracies.
27. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 286–87.
28. See Peter Gardella, *Innocent Ecstasy: How Christianity Gave America an Ethic of Sexual Pleasure* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 44–56; and Money, *Destroying Angel*, 17–27 (previously cited in intro., n. 66).
29. See Numbers, *Prophets of Health*, 150–59. For a general discussion of Graham and sex, see Stephen Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), 105–24.
30. See, for example, her reference in the account of her health vision in 4SG-a, 124.
31. EGW, 2T, 453. See also ch. 5.
32. EGW, *An Appeal to Mothers: The Great Cause of the Physical, Mental and Moral Ruin of Many of the Children of Our Time* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1864), 9.
33. *Ibid.*, 17.
34. *Ibid.*, 19–20.

35. EGW, "Bible Temperance: Appetites and Passions," *Good Health*, November 1882, 337.
36. J. H. Kellogg, *Plain Facts for Old and Young: Embracing the Natural History and Hygiene of Organic Life* (Burlington: I. F. Segner, 1886), 178.
37. *Ibid.*, 180.
38. *Ibid.*, 119, 462.
39. *Ibid.*, 467.
40. *Ibid.*, 179.
41. See Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 233.
42. Hugh M. Hefner, "The Playboy Philosophy," *Playboy*, July 1964, 29–39, 111–15.
43. Money, *Destroying Angel*, 24.
44. See Gayle V. Fischer, *Pantaloon and Power: A Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001), 79–82; Patricia A. Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850–1920: Politics, Health, and Art* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2003), 31–42; and Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 129–32.
45. Harriet N. Austin, *The American Costume: Or, Woman's Right to Good Health* (Dansville: F. W. Hurd & Co., 1867), 16.
46. EGW, *The Dress Reform: An Appeal to the People in its Behalf* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 11–12. The ideas in this were essentially derived from Austin's *American Costume*, although Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, p. 243, n. 21, suggests that White borrowed from another dress reformer, M. Angeline Merritt. On White's conversion to the reform dress at Our Home, see Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 91, 135–36.
47. Austin, *American Costume*, 20.
48. EGW, *Dress Reform*, 12.
49. See Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 134–39. See also Canright, *Seventh-day Adventism Renounced*, 149–50.
50. Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1986), 2:182.
51. See Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 135, 136, 140–43. See also Fischer, *Pantaloon and Power*, 129, who remarks that the skirt worn by Adventists was probably the longest of any group.
52. EGW, 2T, 477–78.
53. EGW, 6T, 370.
54. EGW, MH, 349.
55. For a good discussion of the nature of the Victorian home, see Maxine Van de Wetering, "The Popular Concept of 'Home' in Nineteenth-Century America" *Journal of American Studies* 18:1 (1984), esp. 13–19. See also Olive Banks, who discusses the Victorian home from a feminist perspective in *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement* (Oxford: Martin Robertson and Company, Ltd., 1981), 85–86.
56. EGW, AH, 177.
57. *Ibid.*, 19, and EGW, MH, 354.
58. Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 283.
59. *Ibid.*
60. EGW, 5T, 326.
61. On theater, novels, dancing, jewelry, and the wedding ring, see EGW, 4T, 653, MH, 445–46, 4T, 653, 3T, 366, and TM, 180–81. On "dramatized films," which were at the heart of the church's opposition to the cinema and television, and on the wearing of cosmetics, see the recreation and amusement and dress sections in "Standards of Christian Living," *Review*, June 16, 1946, pp. 219 and 218 respectively.

62. On opera, see EGW, 4T, 653; on jazz and swing, see “Standards of Christian Living,” *Review*, 16 June 1946, 219; and on rock and its “related hybrid forms,” see “Guidelines Toward an SDA Philosophy of Music,” *Review*, 30 November 1972, 17.

63. EGW, “Questions and Answers,” *Review*, 8 October 1867, 261.

64. EGW, 2SM, 126.

65. The development of Adventist education is discussed further in ch. 18.

66. On the SVM watchword, see Michael Parker, *The Kingdom of Character: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (1886–1926)* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1998), 13.

67. Quotation from *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:37. On the influence of the Scouts, which later led to talk of actually merging with them, see Willie Oliver with Patricia L. Humphrey, *We Are the Pathfinders Strong: The First Fifty Years* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 2000), 40, 49.

68. *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:37.

69. See Julia Grant, *Raising Baby by the Book: The Education of American Mothers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 18–21, 42, 218–27.

70. See, for example, the emphasis placed on obedience and discipline. EGW, CG, 79–88, 223–68.

71. Grant, *Raising Baby by the Book*, 184.

72. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 143–46.

73. See Gerald Wheeler, who presents newspaper and photographic evidence that Ellen White wore chains, pins, and brooches, in “The Historical Basis of Adventist Standards,” *Ministry*, October 1989, 10; and Gary Land, who found that a number of Adventist women continued to wear jewelry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in “Adventists in Plain Dress,” *Spectrum* 20:2 (1989): 46–47. See also the 1990 poll in Sahlin, *Trends, Attitudes, and Opinions*, 80, which showed that 51 percent of church members thought that little or no emphasis should be placed on the issue; and a 1991 survey in Peter L. Benson and Michael J. Donahue, *Valuegenesis: Report 2: A Study of the Influence of Family, Church and School of the Faith, Values and Commitment of Adventist Youth* (Minneapolis: Search Institute, 1991), fig. 38, which indicated that just 38 percent of grade school students supported the church’s ban on jewelry.

74. See Gary Land, *Historical Dictionary of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 171–73.

75. EGW, 4T, 652.

76. Information in this paragraph is based on authors’ observations and conversations with Adventist members.

77. Sahlin, *Trends, Attitudes, and Opinions*, 80.

78. Benson and Donahue, *Valuegenesis: Report 2*, fig. 38.

79. See Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church*, 40. Although 20 percent at the end of this decade-long survey were no longer Adventists, 80 percent of the respondents were still members of the denomination; see p. 32.

80. *Ibid.*, 41.

81. Newton Evans et al., *The Home Physician and Guide to Health*, rev. ed. (Mountain View: PPPA, 1931), 669.

82. *Ibid.*, 676.

83. Marie C. Stopes, *Married Love: A New Contribution to the Solution of Sex Difficulties* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1918), 13.

84. See *United States District Court . . . United States of America, Libellant, Against one Obscene Book Entitled “Married Love”* [by Marie C. Stopes]. Claimant’s memorandum. [Submitted by G. P. Putnam’s Sons. With the judgment of Judge J. M. Woolsey dismissing the case against the publishers.] (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1931).

85. Harold Shryock, *Happiness for Husband and Wives* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1949), 173.

86. EGW, *AH*, 121–28.

87. F. D. Nichol, “Comments on the Recent Kinsey Furor,” *Review*, 10 December 1953, 11.

88. See Charles Wittschiebe, *God Invented Sex* (Nashville: SPA, 1974), 11–14.

89. Nancy Van Pelt, *The Compleat Marriage* (Nashville: SPA, 1979), 143.

90. On the response to AIDS, see Harvey A. Elder, Joyce W. Hopp, and John E. Lewis, “Adventists and AIDS: How We Should Relate to this Modern Scourge,” *Review*, 6 October 1988, 21. Support for Adventist teaching on sex was recorded at 68, 68, and 74 percent respectively in three surveys: Benson and Donahue, *Valuegenesis: Report 2*, fig. 38; Monte Sahlin et al., *Reaching a New Generation: A Strategy for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Pacific States: Report Three: A Survey of the Members of Five Successful Congregations* (Lincoln: Center for Creative Ministry, 1997), table 18; and Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church*, 40.

91. Sahlin et al., *Reaching a New Generation*, table 18.

92. Benson and Donahue, *Valuegenesis: Report 2*, fig. 52; and Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church*, 46–47.

93. GSS 1972–2000, cc. *numwomen*, *nummen*.

94. For a detailed historical and sociological account of the Adventist attitude toward divorce and remarriage, see Michael Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas: Seventh-day Adventism and Contemporary Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), chs. 11 and 12.

95. Charles C. Crider and Robert C. Kistler, *The Seventh-day Adventist Family: An Empirical Study* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1979), 247.

96. See Monte Sahlin and Norma Sahlin, *A New Generation of Adventist Families: What It Means to You and Your Church* (Lincoln: Center for Creative Ministry, 1997), 128.

97. *Ibid.*, 122–23. The General Conference’s effort to counteract the pressures on Adventist families was conducted mainly through an agency, the Home and Family Service, created in 1975. On this, see Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas*, 83 and 227–28.

98. Sahlin and Sahlin, *New Generation of Adventist Families*, 120, 235.

99. For further discussion of Adventist sex ratios, see ch. 14.

100. See Cheri Richardson, “Singles’ Seminar a Big Success,” *Student Movement*, 20 April 1983, 3.

101. See Jocelyn R. Fay, “Singles: What Is the Church Doing?” *Review*, 27 January 1983, 11–12; and, e.g., Jeffrey Brown, *Single and Gifted: Making the MOST of Your Singleness* (Grantham: Autumn House, 2001).

102. Statement released June 24, 1977. Quoted in Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas*, 248.

103. Sahlin et al., *Reaching a New Generation*, table 23.

104. On “outed” Adventist gays, see Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas*, 264 and 309, n. 73. For information on Adventist lesbians in Kinship, see the organization’s Web site at www.sdakinship.org. Kinship also serves Adventists who are bisexual or transgendered.

105. See Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas*, 242–53.

106. See Laura L. Vance, *Seventh-day Adventism in Crisis: Gender and Sectarian Change in an Emerging Religion* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 164–65.

107. *Ibid.*, 165.

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128. See GSS 1972–2000, c. *drink*.

129. Codebook, *HADULT*, q. 128.

130. GSS 1972–2000, cc. *smoke*, *attend*(7).

131. See C. D. Watson, "The British Temperance Society is Launched," *British Advent Messenger*, 12 October 1956, 1.

132. See, for example, Daily Telegraph Reporter, "Colour Film of Lung Cancer: Anti-Smoking Drive," *Daily Telegraph*, reprinted in *Northern Light*, September 1956, 8; and "Horror Film at School—Parents," *Sunday People*, 7 October 1956, 7. Full title of the college's report is *Smoking and Health: A Report of the Royal College of Physicians of London on Smoking in Relation to Cancer of the Lung and Other Diseases* (London: Pitman Medical Publishing Co. Ltd., 1962).

133. For the study, see U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Smoking and Health: Report of the Advisory Committee to the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964).

134. *Smoking and Health*, 22–23.

135. *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:551, 245–46.

136. Money, *Destroying Angel*, 15.

137. It was designed to achieve, as the title of one recent book put it, "heaven's lifestyle today." See P. William Dysinger, *Heaven's Lifestyle Today: Health in the Context of Revelation 14: A Biblical and Modern Science Perspective* (Silver Spring: Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1997).

10. *The Politics of Liberty*

1. For an account of the debate leading up to the adoption of these clauses, see Curry, *First Freedoms*, 193–222 (previously cited in ch. 3, n. 21). See also Saul Cornell, *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), chs. 1 and 2, for the wider context; and Lockhart, "From Antifederalism to Seventh-day Adventism," 60–65 (previously cited in ch. 3, n. 26), for the Adventist perspective.

2. "A Statement on Religious Freedom" (1995), in Dabrowski, ed., *Statements, Guidelines & Other Documents*, 37.

3. An overview of Adventist religious liberty magazines, departments, and associations can be obtained from the *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:391–97.

4. Links to these offices are available from the department's Web site at <http://parl.gc.adventist.org>.

5. For Adventist support of Americans United, see F. D. Nichol, "Protestants Organize Against Catholic Legislative Campaign," *Review*, 1 April 1948, 3–4, and "A New Organization Favors Religious Liberty," *Liberty*, Second Quarter, 1948, 34–35. Adventist involvement in Americans United is discussed in Mary F. Beasley, "Pressure Group Persuasion: Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, 1947–1968" (Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1970).

6. See Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 140–41. The author points out that there was also considerable opposition from the church's religious liberty department to this policy of accepting government funds; see 139–44.

7. For the history of the case, see Sasha Ross, "As the Court Turns: Columbia Union College Wins State Funding," *Spectrum* 30:2 (2002): 20–29. Again, it is worth noting that there was some internal debate about the wisdom of accepting state aid. See the articles in the same issue by Nicholas P. Miller (30–36), and Mitchell A. Tyner (37–44). On Americans United's involvement in the proceedings, see *Columbia Union*

College v. Oliver (Maryland) on the “Current & Completed Litigation” page on the organization’s Web site at www.au.org.

8. Account obtained from the General Conference Office of General Counsel, June 2003.

9. *Sherbert v. Verner*, 374 U.S. 398 (1963), 398.

10. *Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 872 (1990), 873.

11. The coalition’s attempt to bring back the compelling interest provision took the form of getting Congress to pass a Religious Freedom Restoration Act in 1993. The Supreme Court struck this down in *City of Boerne v. Flores*, 521 U.S. 507 (1997), and the subsequent split over civil liberties, which centered on issues like homosexual and housing rights, occurred during the framing of a second legislative remedy, the Religious Liberty Protection Act. For a summary, see Derek H. Davis, “From Engagement to Retrenchment: An Examination of First Amendment Activism by America’s Mainline Churches, 1980–2000,” in *The Quiet Hand of God: Faith-Based Activism and the Public Role of Mainline Protestantism*, ed. Robert Wuthnow and John H. Evans (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 322, 326–28. An opponent of the coalition, Marci A. Hamilton, describes the tensions within the alliance and argues that the Supreme Court was right to resist its lobbying in *God vs. The Gavel: Religion and the Rule of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chs. 7 and 8. Adventist dismay at the division in the coalition was related to the authors by the General Conference Office of General Counsel, June 2003. The church did join the group in 2004, however, in a campaign to win religious freedoms for prisoners. See the coalition’s amicus brief, submitted by the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, to the Supreme Court, December 20, 2004, p. 32, and the court’s decision, siding with the coalition, *Cutter v. Wilkinson*, 544 U.S. 246 (2005).

12. Quoted in Douglas Welebir, “Is the Church Above the Law? God and Caesar in the California Lawsuits,” *Spectrum* 9:2 (1978): 7. Hamilton discusses the U.S. Court of Appeals’ rejection of these arguments in *God vs. The Gavel*, 192–93.

13. See Tobler, “Where Has the Proctor Case Taken Us?” 28–29 (previously cited in ch. 7, n. 99).

14. See Lucy S. Dawidowicz and Leon J. Goldstein, *Politics in a Pluralist Democracy: Studies of Voting in the 1960 Election* (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1963), 41–47, who noted that Kennedy’s religion caused the first large-scale post-war defections of white church-going Protestant Democrats to the Republican Party.

15. Duane Murray Oldfield, *The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1996), 119–203; and Clyde Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), 114–31.

16. For example, Goldstein, *Day of the Dragon*, 63–67. However, some church leaders did express public support for another of the religious right’s later goals—a proposed amendment to the Constitution limiting marriage to a man and woman, which Ronald Lawson described as “wrong and dangerous” in “The Constitution and Same-Sex Relationships,” *Adventist Today*, March–April 2004, 15.

17. Raymond F. Cottrell, “Churches Meddling in Politics,” *Review*, 29 July 1965, 12.

18. James White, “The Political Campaign,” *Review*, 11 March 1880, 176.

19. *Ibid.*

20. See EGW, *FE*, 475.

21. “The Question of Politics,” *Review*, 19 January 1928, 10.

22. James White, “The Nation,” *Review*, 12 August 1862, 84.

23. *Ibid.*

24. James White, "The Nation," *Review*, 26 August 1862, 100.
25. See, for example, J. H. Waggoner, "Our Duty and the Nation," *Review*, 23 September 1862, 132–33; and D. T. Bourdeau, "The Present War," *Review*, 14 October 1862, 154–55.
26. EGW, *1T*, 357.
27. Henry E. Carver, "The War," *Review*, 21 October 1862, 166.
28. See Ron Graybill, "This Perplexing War: Why Adventists Avoided Military Service in the Civil War," *Insight*, 10 October 1978, 6; Peter Brock, *Freedom From Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 237; *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:184.
29. See *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:47.
30. For the full discussion of medicine and Sabbath, see ch. 17.
31. Everett N. Dick, "Adventist Medical Cadet Corps: As Seen By its Founder," *Adventist Heritage* 1:2 (1974): 25; and Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4:296.
32. See "God & the Other Fellow," *Time*, 22 October 1945, 60. Fuller accounts of Doss's achievement can be found in Booton Herndon, *The Unlikeliest Hero: The Story of Desmond T. Doss* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1967); and Frances M. Doss, *Desmond Doss in God's Care: The Unlikeliest Hero and Congressional Medal of Honor Recipient* (Collegedale: College Press, 1998).
33. Dick, "Adventist Medical Cadet Corps," 19.
34. Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 157, relates that the renowned New York journalist Seymour Hersh investigated the project in 1969, as did NBC's *First Tuesday* program and CBS's *60 Minutes*. National Public Radio and the History Channel aired anniversary programs in 1998 and 2000, and the *Los Angeles Times*, 26 November 2001, A1, A5, ran an article on the operation in response to the renewed interest in biological weapons that occurred after September 11 and during the run-up to the second Gulf War. For Adventism's own perspective on the project, in which it takes some pride, see Robert L. Mole and Dale M. Mole, *For God and Country: Operation Whitecoat: 1954–1973* (New York: Teach Services, Inc., 1998). For a more independent review, see Krista Thompson Smith, "Adventists and Biological Warfare," *Spectrum* 25:3 (1996): 35–50.
35. See "Relationships With Civil Government and War," *Review*, 30 November 1972, 20.
36. Details of these centers and the church's chaplaincy service can be found in the *SDA Yearbook 2006*, 22, and on the denomination's Adventist Chaplaincy Ministries Web site at www.adventistchaplains.org, respectively. On Barry Black's appointment, see the 5 October 2000 issue of the *Review*.
37. Harvey Brenneise, "The Gulf War on SDA Campuses," *Spectrum* 21:3 (1991): 4; and Ronald Lawson, "Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-day Adventists and the Issue of Military Service," *Review of Religious Research* 37:3 (1996): 112. In the latter article and elsewhere in Lawson's work, Adventist attitudes toward military service feature as a major piece of evidence for his thesis that Adventism is reducing levels of tension with its environment in the process of transition from sect to church. Lawson claims that there is a clear progression across time in which the church has reduced tension by shifting its position from pacifism, to noncombatancy, to acceptance of combatant status (p. 113). But, as Lawson's own evidence reveals, there has been no such progression. Far from being the preferred option against which subsequent deviations should be measured, Adventists did not start out as pacifists, and both James and Ellen White criticized those who took a pacifist stance in the Civil War. In fact, although many individual Adventists

across the world have since courageously taken a pacifist position, for the church as a whole, it has invariably been the third-choice option. The official preferred position has generally been some form of noncombatancy, although the legal framework within which this has been sought has been subject to considerable historical and geographical variation, and nonparticipation has sometimes been easier to arrange than noncombatancy itself. However, where there has been no obvious loophole, the church has permitted its members to bear arms and repeatedly forced those who refuse to cooperate with the state into the role of schismatics (beginning with the Iowa pacifists in the Civil War, and the Reform Movement in Germany in World War I). Rather than furnishing evidence of a reduction in tension across time, the question of military service illustrates Adventism's general tendency to avoid direct confrontation with the state while attempting to maintain a constant distance from it through a variety of legal expedients.

38. "Seventh-day Adventist Church Statement on War in Iraq," *ANN Bulletin*, 20 March 2003.

39. "A Seventh-day Adventist Call for Peace" (Silver Spring: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, April 18, 2002), 2.

40. Paulsen made these comments at a press conference at Silver Spring on October 10, 2002, the last day of that year's Annual Council.

41. EGW, 2SM, 141–42.

42. EGW, "Our Duty to Leave Battle Creek," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 6 April 1903, 87–88. Almost all of White's injunctions to keep away from trade unions were coupled with warnings to stay away from America's cities. In her mind, organized labor and urban living were essentially one and the same thing. For example, see 2SM, 143, and 7T, 84. Her double warnings about unions and cities also formed major portions of two other compilations, *CL* and *LDE*.

43. Robert C. Kistler, *Adventists and Labor Unions in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1984), 50–51.

44. See appendix C, "Basis of Agreement Council on Industrial Relations of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," in Kistler, *Adventists and Labor Unions*, 116–17.

45. Carlyle B. Haynes, "Adventists and Strikes," *Review*, 18 April 1946, 23.

46. "Basis of Agreement," in Kistler, *Adventists and Labor Unions*, 116–17.

47. On the failure of the Basis of Agreement, see M. E. Loewen, "Seventh-day Adventists and Labor Unions," *Review*, 15 March 1962, 1, 9; on the 1980 law, see Gordon Egen, "U.S. Congress Enacts Conscience Clause," *Review*, 7 May 1981, 4–8; and on the 2003 report, see "First-ever Statement on Employer-Employee Relationship Voted," *ANN Bulletin*, 14 October 2003.

48. See Gerald F. Colvin, "Another Look at Labor Unions: Should the Church Revise Its Historic View?" *Review*, 27 March 2003, 8–13.

49. GSS 1972–2000, cc. *conarmy*, *confed*, *conjudge*, *conlegis*, *conlabor*. (Analyses based on the "great deal" of confidence option.)

50. See ch. 3. See also Reinder Bruinsma, *Seventh-day Adventist Attitudes to Roman Catholicism 1844–1865* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1994), chs. 3 and 4.

51. See J. L. McElhany's letter of Dec. 29, 1939, in *Review*, 11 January 1940, 4–5.

52. See B. B. Beach's presentation in *Review*, 5 April 1984, 4.

53. On these issues, see, e.g., B. B. Beach, *Vatican II: Bridging the Abyss* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1968), and Robert S. Folkenberg's 1995 religious liberty pamphlet, *Hands Across the Gulf and Other Sermons*, 3–9. On Adventist anxieties about "Evangelicals and Catholics Together," see also Reid, *Sunday's Coming!* 32–47, 54–55, 82, 84–86.

54. The conclusions were published as *Lutherans and Adventists in Conversation: Report and Papers Presented 1994–1998* (Silver Spring and Geneva: General Conference

of Seventh-day Adventists and Lutheran World Federation, 2000). There is also, from the Adventist viewpoint, a brief appraisal of the dialogue in B. B. Beach and John Graz, *101 Questions Adventists Ask* (Nampa: PPPA, 2000), 106–107.

55. See B. B. Beach, *Ecumenism: Boon or Bane* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1974), esp. 283–84, 230–35, 275–77.

56. EGW, *GW*, 387–88.

57. For example, “Note and Comment,” *Review*, 12 November 1903, 7; L. L. Caviness, “Prohibition Advances,” 22 February 1917, 2; C. B. Thompson, “Prohibition,” 26 April 1923, 6–7; E. H. Cherrington, “The Benefits of Prohibition,” 18 September 1930, 9–10.

58. See Butler, “Adventism and the American Experience,” in *Rise of Adventism*, ed. Gaustad, 198–99.

59. L. L. Caviness, “A Great Day,” *Review*, 30 January 1919, 5.

60. Andrew Sinclair, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), 431. See also p. 183.

61. See no. 17, “Fundamental Beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists,” *Review*, 19 February 1931, 7.

62. Accounts of the political career of William Gage can be found in John Kearnes, “Ethical Politics: Adventism and the Case of William Gage,” *Adventist Heritage* 5:1 (1978): 3–15; and Yvonne D. Anderson, “The Bible, the Bottle, and the Ballot: Seventh-day Adventist Political Activism: 1850–1900,” *Adventist Heritage* 7:2 (1982): 44–49. Butler’s disapproval of Gage is found in his article “Politics and Temperance,” *Review*, 11 April 1882, 234, but Uriah Smith supported the candidacy in “The Temperance Cause in Battle Creek: An Explanation” in the same issue, p. 232.

63. See Francis Russell, *The Shadow of Blooming Grove: Warren G. Harding in His Times* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 46, 154–55, 439; and *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:847. Note that several of Harding’s other siblings also became Adventists. An assessment of Harding from the Adventist side is offered by Bill Knott, “The Nearly Adventist President: Lessons Learned from the Church’s Brush with Political Power,” *Review*, 26 January 2006, 8–13.

64. For more details of these two Adventist politicians, see William C. White Jr., “Lieutenant Governor George A. Williams: An Adventist in Politics,” *Adventist Heritage* 5:1 (1978): 25–38; and Miriam Wood, *Congressman Jerry L. Pettis: His Story* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1977).

65. These were Shirley Neil Pettis (R), who succeeded her husband as representative for the 37th district of California after he died in a plane crash in 1975 and served until 1979; Robert Lee Stump (R), who represented the 3rd district of Arizona from 1977 to 2003, although he was initially elected as a Democrat; Roscoe Gardner Bartlett (R), who served the 6th district of Maryland from 1993 to the present; and Sheila Jackson-Lee (D), who represented the 18th district of Texas from 1995 to the present. Further details of these politicians can be obtained from the continually updated online edition of the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* at <http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>.

66. Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 244, n. 131.

67. Roger L. Dudley and Edwin I. Hernández, *Citizens of Two Worlds: Religion and Politics Among American Seventh-day Adventists* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1992), 160, 162.

68. See table 4, Roger L. Dudley and Edwin I. Hernández, “Where Church and State Meet: *Spectrum* Surveys the Adventist Vote,” *Spectrum* 32:4 (2004): 43.

69. GSS 1972–2000, cc. *partyid*, *race*.

70. Ramírez-Johnson and Hernández, *AVANCE*, 238–39.

71. EGW, *1T*, 357.

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100. *McGowan v. Maryland*, 576–77.

11. *The Ethics of Schism*

1. T. M. Preble, “The Seventh Day Sabbath—The Law: The Old ‘Dead Schoolmaster’! The Living Jesus,” *The World’s Crisis*, 23 February 1864, 89.

2. *Ibid.*, 90. Quotation is from Eph. 2:14.

3. *Ibid.*, no. 2, 1 March 1864, 94.

4. Uriah Smith’s response was published as *Both Sides—on the Sabbath and Law: Review of T. M. Preble* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1864). On Preble, see ch. 3.

5. See Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1981), 1:276. Russell’s departure was described by A. N. Seymour in “The Shut Door Sabbatarians,” in the former Millerite paper *The Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate*, 3 June 1854, 395. For quotation, see James White, “Western Tour,” *Review*, 23 May 1854, 142. Case’s side of the story was related in J. B. Bezzo, “H. S. Case,” *Messenger of Truth*, 2 November 1854, 2–4. A recent find of copies of the Case and Russell paper, which was thought to have been completely lost, by Theodore Levterov, an Andrews University doctoral student, has provided a valuable new source on the Messenger schism.

6. See J. B. Bezzo, “Test of Fellowship,” *Messenger of Truth*, 19 October 1854, 2–3.

7. Accusation leveled in “From Bro. Russell,” *Messenger of Truth*, 2 November 1854, 2.

8. Loughborough, *Great Second Advent Movement*, 325.

9. See the communications in the *Review*, 4 December 1855, 81.

10. See Erastus Clark, *Messenger of Truth*, 2 November 1854, 1–2; and Loughborough, *Great Second Advent Movement*, 326, 332.

11. Information on Marsh can be found in the *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:37.

12. Joseph Marsh, *The Age to Come, or Glorious Restitution of all Things Spoken of by the Mouth of all the Holy Prophets Since the World Began* (Rochester: Advent Harbinger Office, 1851), 5.

13. *Ibid.* (summary points 5–9), 125–26.

14. See Loughborough, *Great Second Advent Movement*, 331. In addition to its infiltration of Adventism, Marsh’s age-to-come doctrine had an important impact on two Sunday-observing groups that eventually emerged from the post-disappointment splintering of Miller’s movement: the Church of God General Conference and the Christadelphians. A useful history of the age-to-come doctrine was published in the CGGC journal, the *Restitution Herald* of October 1985, 20–25. Further details of the history of the group can be found on their Web site at www.abc-coggc.org. John Thomas, a former Millerite, was one of Marsh’s associates and had published another influential work on the doctrine, *Elpis Israel: Being an Exposition of the Kingdom of God; With Reference to the Time of the End, and the Age to Come*, in 1849. Thomas went on to found the Christadelphians, whose belief in the age-to-come remains central to their self-understanding. For details visit www.christadelphia.org.

15. White, “Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Present Truth,” 77 (previously cited in ch. 8, n. 9), and Loughborough, *Great Second Advent Movement*, 332, 333.

16. Gilbert Cranmer, *Autobiography of Gilbert Cranmer 1814–1903: As Told to M. A. Branch* (n.p., n.d.), 11–12.

17. See the note appended to the letter “Western Tour,” *Review*, Sept. 9, 1858, p. 132.

18. See Robert Coulter, *The Story of the Church of God (Seventh Day)* (Denver: Bible Advocate Press, 1983), 14. However, other researchers are more equivocal about

the exact dates. See Richard C. Nickels, *A History of the Seventh Day Church of God* (published by the author, 1973), 39–40.

19. See points 5–9, in Enos Easton, “Introductory,” *The Hope of Israel*, 10 August 1863, 3.

20. See Snook and Brinkerhoff, *Visions of E. G. White*, 23–24; Nickels, *History of the Seventh Day Church of God*, 85–87, 72–77; Tarling, *Edges of Seventh-day Adventism*, 26; and Coulter, *Story of the Church of God*, 21–22.

21. Tarling, *Edges of Seventh-day Adventism*, 26; Nickels, *History of the Seventh Day Church of God*, 76; Coulter, *Story of the Church of God*, 21–23.

22. Figures obtained from the Church of God (Seventh Day) Web site at <http://home.cog7.org> in 2003 and the Adventist ASR 2003, 2.

23. See the page “What are the Differences Between the Church of God (Seventh Day) and the Seventh-day Adventists?” on the FAQ section at <http://home.cog7.org> (now a restricted part of the site).

24. Paul Kroll, personal correspondence department, Worldwide Church of God, e-mail to authors, May 22, 2001. On the link between Armstrong and the Church of God and the more distant connection between Armstrong and Seventh-day Adventists, see Tarling, *Edges of Seventh-Adventism*, 41–55.

25. A general discussion of the development of this idea can be found in Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 181–99 (first cited in ch. 3, n. 51).

26. James White, *Review* supplement, August 1862, 1.

27. J. H. Waggoner, *The Kingdom of God: An Examination of the Prophecies Relative to the Time and Manner of Its Establishment; Or a Refutation of the Doctrine Called, The Age to Come* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1859), 11.

28. EGW, 4T, 429.

29. *Ibid.*

30. EGW, 2T, 430.

31. In Ellen White’s writings angels are always “watching the development of character” or “watching with intense interest, to see if the individual members of the church will . . . place themselves in connection with heaven.” See respectively, EGW, “True Worth,” *Review*, 29 December 1896, 821; and 5T, 116.

32. EGW, 2T, 352.

33. EGW, 2T, 453.

34. EGW, FE, 478–79.

35. EGW, CH, 83.

36. For more on this point, see Malcolm Bull, “Eschatology and Manners in Seventh-day Adventism,” *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 65:1 (1988): 147–51.

37. Margaret W. Rowen, *A Stirring Message for This Time* (Pasadena: Grant Press, 1918), 12, 15. On Adventism’s contradictory attitude to World War I, see ch. 3.

38. “A Greeting and Introduction,” *The Reform Advocate and Prayer-Band Appeal*, August 1922, 2.

39. *Ibid.*, 3.

40. Quotations from Rowen, *Stirring Message for This Time*, 18–27.

41. *Ibid.*, 17, 28–29. See also B. E. Fullmer, *Pilate’s Millennium: The Identity and Experience of the Crucifiers of Christ* (Los Angeles: Reform Press, n.d.), 2–27.

42. See, for example, J. F. Blunt, *The Rowen Pamphlet* (Los Angeles: Wolfer Printing Co., 1919).

43. Eyewitness accounts of Mrs. Rowen in vision are mentioned in Rowen, *Stirring Message for This Time*, 3.

44. “The Crucial Test,” *Reform Advocate and Prayer-Band Appeal*, December 1923, 7.

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65. Houteff, *Leviticus*, 3.
66. Houteff, *Behold, I Make All Things New*, 45–46.
67. V. T. Houteff, *A Letter Included with the Certificate of Fellowship* (n.d.), 1, 3, 4, 3.
68. See Principle Two, *Military Stand of Davidian Seventh-day Adventists: Noncombatant or Conscientious Objector—Which?* (n.d.), 2.
69. Principle Three, *Military Stand*, 2.
70. Based on the observations of Davidian Sidney Smith in an interview for the Oral History project at Baylor University.
71. “The Time of Modern Israel’s Deliverance,” *Symbolic Code*, November 1955, 12–13. The date was specified in a press release issued in 1959, “What Davidians are Expecting after April 22,” 1.
72. “What Davidians are Expecting,” 1.
73. Tabor and Gallagher, *Why Waco?* 38 (previously cited in intro., n. 51).
74. William L. Pitts Jr., “Davidians and Branch Davidians: 1929–1987,” in *Armageddon in Waco: Critical Perspectives on the Branch Davidian Conflict*, ed. Stuart A. Wright (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 31; and Tarling, *Edges of Seventh-day Adventism*, 129.
75. Confusingly, the New York and Salem groups both identify themselves as the General Association of Davidian Seventh-day Adventists (although the N.Y. faction appear to omit the “s” from “Adventists”); the Exeter group is the Davidian Seventh-day Adventist Association; the West Indian Davidians are also known as the Entering Wedge Society, and the Canadians are referred to as the Gilead Davidians. The New York and Salem groups have Web sites at www.shepherds-rod-message.org and www.davidian.org, respectively. See also Kenneth G. C. Newport, “‘Thy Kingdom Come’: The Davidian Seventh-day Adventists and Millennial Expectation, 1959–2004,” in *Expecting the End: Millennialism in Social and Historical Context*, ed. Kenneth G. C. Newport and Crawford Gribben (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), ch. 8, and Pitts, “Davidians and Branch Davidians,” 31–32.
76. Roden told a more elaborate story about the origins of the group’s name in Tarling, *Edges of Seventh-day Adventism*, 131–32.
77. Tabor and Gallagher, *Why Waco?* 39.
78. See Tarling, *Edges of Seventh-day Adventism*, 131.
79. On these festivals, see Ben Roden, *God’s Holy Feasts* (Waco: Universal Publishing Association, 1965), 3–15.
80. Ben Roden, “Davidian SDA World Session Report,” Aug. 21, 1964, 4.
81. Ben Roden, “The Stone,” Nov. 24, 1958, 4.
82. EGW, *EW*, 15.
83. Roden, “The Stone,” 4, 9–11, 13, 14.
84. See Roden’s “Can You Count to Five?” May 1967, 4; and *The Pentecost* (Waco: Universal Publishing Association, 1973), 7, 11, 12–13.
85. Ben Roden, *Seven Letters to Elder R. R. Figuhr and the General Conference Committee of Seventh-day Adventists*, rev. ed. (Waco: Universal Publishing Association, 1976).
86. *Ibid.*, 39.
87. See Lois Roden’s magazine, *SHEkinah*, December 1980, 1, 3. The feminist movement in Adventism is discussed in chapter 14.
88. Martin King and Marc Breault, *Preacher of Death: The Shocking Inside Story of David Koresh and the Waco Siege* (London: Signet, 1993), 39, 41–42.
89. See Jim McGee and William Claiborne, “The Transformation of the Waco ‘Messiah’: Koresh Sought God, Sex, Rock and Roll,” *Washington Post*, 9 May 1993, A18.
90. Roden’s dispute with Howell is documented in most of the accounts of Waco.

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113. For discussions of Koresh's earlier views of the seven seals, see Marc Breault, "Vernon Howell and the Seven Seals," in his "Some Background on the Branch Davidian Seventh-day Adventist Movement from 1955 to the Early Part of 1991," which can be accessed at www.adventistbiblicalresearch.com; James Trimm, "David Koresh's Seven Seals Teaching," *Watchman Expositor* 11:4 (1994): 7–8; "History and Beliefs of the Branch Davidians," Appendix A in John C. Danforth, *Final Report to the Deputy Attorney General Concerning the 1993 Confrontation at the Mt. Carmel Complex Waco, Texas* (St. Louis: Office of Special Counsel Waco Investigation, Nov. 8, 2000), 7–14.

114. This can be found in Tabor and Gallagher, *Why Waco?* 189–203.

115. Tape 81, Mar. 7, p. 5.

116. *Ibid.*, 7–8. Koresh is quoting here from Zechariah 2:5.

117. Koresh's exposition of this seal is very difficult to follow, and at times he seems to suggest that God is the merchant on the horse. The full discussion is in tape 81, Mar. 7, pp. 8–26, and is recapped in tape 84, Mar. 7, pp. 47–48.

118. Tape 84, Mar. 7, pp. 48–49. See also tape 85, Mar. 7, p. 5.

119. Tape 8, Mar. 1, p. 32.

120. Tape 76, Mar. 7, p. 10; and tape 80, Mar. 7, p. 37.

121. Tape 140, Mar. 19, p. 36.

122. Tape 80, Mar. 7, pp. 31–33; tape 10A, Mar. 1, p. 24; and tape 75, Mar. 7, pp. 17–18.

123. The Breaults' involvement in the Kiri Jewell case and with the media is chronicled in King and Breault, *Preacher of Death*, 233–82.

124. On the beginnings of the ATF investigation, see U.S. Department of the Treasury, *Report of the Department of the Treasury on the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Investigation of Vernon Wayne Howell, Also Known as David Koresh* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Sept. 1993), 17. See also David Leppard, *Fire and Blood: The True Story of David Koresh and the Waco Siege* (London: Fourth Estate Ltd., 1993), 1–12.

125. See Koresh's aside, tape 7, Mar. 1, p. 34.

126. Tape 24, Mar. 3, p. 24, and tape 139, Mar. 19, pp. 7–8, 12. Another reference to the fiery flying serpent can be found in Isaiah 30:6.

127. This is detailed in U.S. Department of Justice, *Report to the Deputy Attorney General on the Events at Waco, Texas, February 28 to April 19, 1993*, redacted version (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Oct. 8, 1993), 249–76.

128. See Lee Hancock, "5 Cult Members Sentenced to 40 years: Branch Davidians Get Maximum Punishment," *Dallas Morning News*, 18 June 1994, 1A; and "Davidians Might Be Free in 6 years," *Dallas Morning News*, 20 September 2000, 31A. Reavis provides an account of the initial trial in *Ashes of Waco*, 278–300.

129. On the post-Waco splintering, see Eugene V. Gallagher, who concentrates on Avraam and Fagan in "The Persistence of the Millennium: Branch Davidian Expectations of the End After Waco," *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 3:2 (2000): 303–19.

130. See Koresh's and Schneider's postmortem reports in *Report to Deputy Attorney General*, 314, 315.

131. McGee and Claiborne, "Transformation of the Waco 'Messiah,'" A18.

132. Tape 77, Mar. 7, p. 27.

133. Mark England and Darlene McCormick, "The Sinful Messiah," pt. 1, *Waco Tribune-Herald*, 27 February 1993, A11.

134. Karl Hennig, quoted in England and McCormick, "Sinful Messiah," pt. 2, 28 February 1993, A8.

135. See Bromley and Silver, "Davidian Tradition," 56–57. The Style and content of

Koresh's Bible studies are analyzed in Eugene V. Gallagher, "Theology is Life and Death: David Koresh on Violence, Persecution and the Millennium," in *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence*, ed. Catherine Wessinger (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 82–100.

136. For example, tape 29, Mar. 3, p. 25; tape 76, Mar. 7, p. 11; tape 81, Mar. 7, p. 27.

137. This is the line taken by Tabor and Gallagher in *Why Waco?* by the essayists in *Armageddon in Waco*, and to some extent by Docherty in *Learning Lessons from Waco*, 47, 294–97.

138. David Thibodeau and Leon Whiteson, *A Place Called Waco: A Survivor's Story* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999), 94.

139. *Ibid.*, 40.

140. Tape 45, Mar. 4, pp. 7, 14.

141. King and Breault, *Preacher of Death*, 21.

142. This was the seduction of Nicole Gent, described in England and McCormick, "Sinful Messiah," pt. 3, 1 March 1993, A6; and King and Breault, *Preacher of Death*, 118–19.

143. Jeannine Bunds, quoted in England and McCormick, "Sinful Messiah," pt. 6, 1 March 1993, A9.

144. See Jan Jarboe, "David Koresh and the Myth of the Alamo," *Texas Monthly*, June 1993, 136–38, 151.

145. King and Breault, *Preacher of Death*, 134–35.

146. Tape 80, Mar. 7, p. 42. See also tape 10A, Mar. 1, pp. 26–27; and tape 60, Mar. 5, pp. 26–27. Koresh also made numerous references to the lamblike beast without mentioning America, but there was no mistaking his meaning; e.g., tape 56, Mar. 5, p. 34; and tape 71, Mar. 6, p. 19. Koresh had used the image before, see Kenneth G. C. Newport, *Apocalypse & Millennium: Studies in Biblical Eisegesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 199, 219–33.

147. Tape 52, Mar. 5, p. 35 (see also p. 36.)

148. Tape 104, Mar. 10, p. 31; and tape 40, Mar. 4, pp. 28–29.

149. Tape 153, Mar. 21–22, p. 6; and tape 107, Mar. 10, p. 17.

150. On the merchants, sinister figures in Branch Davidian thought, see, for example, tape 40, Mar. 4, p. 28; tape 153, Mar. 21–22, p. 37; and tape 201, Apr. 9, pp. 61, 62. On the federal government, see tape 233, Apr. 15–16, p. 46.

151. Tape 107, Mar. 10, p. 19.

152. Tape 243, Apr. 18, p. 31; and tape 24, Mar. 3, p. 32.

153. Tape 153, Mar. 21–22, p. 35.

154. Tape 242, Apr. 18, p. 16.

155. For transcripts of the April 19 Title III intercepts, as they are called, see: SA-73, day 2, tape 2, pp. 9, 10, 11, 15, 18, 42; SA-73, day 2, tape 3, pp. 3, 4, 5; and SA-73, day 2, tape 5, pp. 28, 35, 37 in Appendix B5 of C. M. Mills's report, "Events at Waco, Texas, 19th of April 1993," which is Appendix G of Danforth's *Final Report*. On Danforth's interpretation of the references, see *Final Report*, 7–8. For autopsy reports of all the Branch Davidians that perished in the fire, see *Report to Deputy Attorney General*, 314–28.

156. "Child Speaks Out and Other Waco Cult Insiders," *Phil Donahue Show*, March 10, 1993 (transcript, 800-ALL-NEWS), 18–19, and "Inside Waco and Other Cults," *Oprah Winfrey Show*, March 25, 1993 (transcript, Burrelle's Information Services), 26. Jewell gave the same evidence ten years later, as did several other youngsters who left Mount Carmel before the fire, in the anniversary program "Witness: The Children of Waco," broadcast on ABC's *Primetime Live*, April 17, 2003.

157. Among those who took this view were: Carol Moore, who, in addition to publish-

ing *The Davidian Massacre*, was at the center of the Committee For Waco Justice at www.carolmoore.net/waco; the makers of the documentary *Waco: The Rules of Engagement*, a powerful film that accused the federal authorities of starting the fire, available at www.waco93.com; the militia movement, which said that Waco “woke us up to a very corrupt beast” in Jonathan Karl, *The Right to Bear Arms: The Rise of America’s New Militias* (New York: HarperPaperback, 1995), 31; Gore Vidal, who echoed many of Schneider’s arguments in “Shredding the Bill of Rights,” in his collection, *The Last Empire: Essays 1992–2000* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), particularly 404, 413–14; and John R. Hall et al., who developed the idea in *Apocalypse Observed: Religious Movements and Violence in North America, Europe and Japan* (London: Routledge, 2000) that when an apocalyptic group like the Branch Davidians resorts to violence, it is the external intervention of antagonists like defectors, the media, and governments that causes it, rather than the internal worldview of the group concerned. Nancy T. Ammerman did not go quite this far, but she too claimed that the government was chiefly at fault in her “Report to the Justice and Treasury Departments Regarding Law Enforcement after Waco,” in U.S. Department of Justice, *Recommendations of Experts for Improvements in Federal Law Enforcement after Waco* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 60–69.

158. There are numerous books on McVeigh; the best selling is Lou Michel and Dan Herbeck, *American Terrorist: Timothy McVeigh and the Tragedy at Oklahoma City* (New York: Avon Books, 2002).

159. See the main book the church published on the siege, Cari Hoyt Haus and Madlyn Lewis Hamblin, *In the Wake of Waco: Why Were Adventists Among the Victims?* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1993). A more nuanced account can be found in Ronald Lawson, “Seventh-day Adventist Responses to Branch Davidian Notoriety: Patterns of Diversity within a Sect Reducing Tension with Society,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34:3 (1995): 323–41.

160. David Chidester, *Salvation and Suicide: An Interpretation of Jim Jones, the People’s Temple, and Jonestown* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 7–11.

12. *The Art of Expression*

1. Graybill, “Power of Prophecy,” ch. 4. See also Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), chs. 3 and 4.

2. Myron Widmer, “Adventist Worship—Celebration-Style,” *Review*, 1 November 1990, 12–16. See also Viviane Haenni’s analysis and description in her investigation of one local church, “The Colton Celebration Congregation: A Case Study in American Adventist Worship Renewal 1986–1991” (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1996), 100–109.

3. For a discussion of Adventist church architecture, see Walter O. Comm, “A Study of the Spiritual Influence of the Arts on Christian Liturgy with Special Emphasis on the Impact of Architecture on Seventh-day Adventist Worship Practice” (unpublished D. Min. project, Andrews University, 1976).

4. It should be noted, however, that not all Sabbath School classes study the General Conference lesson; some in recent years have taken to using more general spiritual and Christian workbooks. This was discovered by the authors on their research tour in 2000.

5. On the use of symbolic reversal to enhance community self-awareness, see, for example, Clifford Geertz, “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cock-Fight,” in *The*

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fashion from 1900 to the 1980s can be found in Lee Hall, *Common Threads: A Parade of American Clothing* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1992), 131–301.

35. See Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), ch. 2.

36. EGW, *MH*, 446.

37. *Ibid.*, 445–46.

38. *Ibid.*, 444–45.

39. *Ibid.*, 447.

40. *Ibid.*, 445.

41. EGW, *4T*, 653.

42. *Ibid.*, and EGW, *AH*, 516, 515.

43. See chapter 1 above, and Veltman, *Full Report of the Life of Christ Research Project*, 934, 938–39.

44. *Sabbath Readings, Moral and Religious Lessons for Youth and Children* was published by the Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association in Battle Creek in 1863. A four-volume set, *Sabbath Readings for the Home Circle: Moral and Religious Lessons*, was published by the Pacific Press in Oakland between 1877 and 1881. And a single volume, *Sabbath Readings for the Home Circle*, was published by M. A. Vroman in Nashville in 1905.

45. [EGW, ed.], “The Record,” *Sabbath Readings for the Home Circle*, 26.

46. For example, William S. Peterson, “Some Notes Toward a History of Seventh-day Adventist Literary Tastes” (unpublished paper read at the Midwest Retreat of the Association of Adventist Forums, May 8, 1971), 7–8.

47. Arthur S. Maxwell, *Uncle Arthur’s Bedtime Stories, Twenty-Sixth Series* (Watford: Stanborough Press, Ltd., 1949), 5.

48. *Ibid.*, 96.

49. See Arthur S. Maxwell, *The Secret of the Cave: A Thrilling, Inspiring Mystery Story for Boys and Girls* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1951). The adventure was reprinted by the same publisher in 1995.

50. See Jerry D. Thomas, *Detective Zack and the Mystery on the Midway* (Boise: PPPA, 1996).

51. Bibliographical details of these novels provided in ch. 3, nn. 37 and 83.

52. Elaine Egbert, *Till Morning Breaks: A Story of the Millerite Movement and the Great Disappointment* (Boise: PPPA, 1993), 253–55.

53. EGW, *4T*, 71–72, and *1T*, 216. See also Bull, “Eschatology and Manners,” 150–51.

54. EGW, *3SG*, 64.

55. EGW, *3T*, 132.

56. EGW, *2T*, 364, and *4T*, 244.

57. EGW, *2T*, 391, and *4SG-a*, 132.

58. EGW, *2T*, 60–61.

59. *Ibid.*, 63.

60. EGW, *DA*, 625.

61. EGW, *2T*, 352.

62. Whittier, *Writings*, 5:425 (first cited in intro., n. 9).

63. See David Morgan, *Protestants & Pictures: Religion, Visual Culture, and the Age of American Mass Reproduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 162–77.

64. EGW, *Ev*, 204.

65. Morgan, *Protestants & Pictures*, 163, 167.

66. J. Paul Stauffer, “Uriah Smith: Wood Engraver,” *Adventist Heritage* 3:1 (1976): 17–21.

67. Ronald Graybill, "America: The Magic Dragon," *Insight*, 30 November 1971, 6–12.

68. The *pittura infamante* fulfilled a similar function in Renaissance Florence. See Samuel Y. Edgerton Jr., *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution During the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 71ff.

69. Exodus 20:4.

70. On the latter, see Lionel Kochan, *Beyond the Graven Image: A Jewish View* (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), particularly chs. 5 and 6.

71. Morgan, *Protestants & Pictures*, 177–92, and Froom, *Movement of Destiny*, 182–87.

72. For more on Collins, visit www.collinsculptor.com.

73. See the pictorial feature, "Art for Jesus' Sake," *Review*, 2 October 2003, 26–33.

74. EGW, CW, 169.

75. For more on Booth's distinctive art, which was executed mainly in pen or pencil, see Franklin Booth, *Sixty Reproductions From Original Drawings: With an Appreciation by Ernest Elmo Calkins and an Introduction by Meredith Nicholson* (New York: Robert Frank, 1925).

76. One of Nye's works is shown in figure 7, ch. 4. This, and paintings of the other artists featured in a *Master Art Library* CD-ROM, is available from the lay Adventist ministry, Hart Research Center at www.hartresearch.org/evangelism.html or the Evangelism Media Library unit of the *It is Written* program at www.iiv.org.

77. All of these images are reproduced in Raymond H. Woolsey and Ruth Anderson, *Harry Anderson: The Man Behind the Paintings* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1976). The placement of Christ in modern settings was later copied by the better known religious artist, Warner Sallman. See David Morgan, "Warner Sallman and the Visual Culture of American Protestantism," in *Icons of American Protestantism: The Art of Warner Sallman*, ed. David Morgan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 41–43, 212, n. 23, and the color plates between 188 and 189.

78. *Christ at the Sickbed* is included in Woolsey and Anderson, *Harry Anderson*, 66; *The Consultation* hangs in the entrance to the Loma Linda University School of Medicine Administration building.

79. All of these paintings can be viewed on Greene's Web site at www.hartclassics.com.

80. Anderson's Jesus is also very similar to the famous *Head of Christ*, painted in 1940 by Warner Sallman. As Sallman was also a child of Swedish immigrants, it suggests that both he and Anderson were representing the idealized male features of their own ethnic group. A picture of the *Head of Christ* can be seen in Morgan, *Icons of American Protestantism*, facing p. 188. For discussion of Sallman's background, see Erika Doss, "Making a 'Virile, Manly Christ': The Cultural Origins and Meanings of Warner Sallman's Religious Imagery," in the same book, 69–70. Greene's Christ is modeled on a former Andrews University administrator of Hispanic, Lebanese, and Asian descent. See Judy Lindsay Leach, "The Fine Art of Nathan Greene: Witnessing Through Paint," *Focus: The Andrews University Magazine* 29:1 (1992): 5; and Stephen Chavez, "Sermons on the Wall," *Review*, [6] December 2001, 19.

81. See Constantine's paintings *Central Park Mugging* and *Lazarus and Friend in Calvary Cemetery* on his "Gallery of Past Work" page at www.andrews.edu/~gregcons.

82. Greg Constantine, *Vincent Van Gogh Visits New York* (New York: Knopf, 1983), *Leonardo Visits Los Angeles* (New York: Knopf, 1985), and *Picasso Visits Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1986).

83. To view these pictures visit, respectively, www.geocities.com/elfred_lee, and Justinen's company Web site at www.goodsalt.com/giclee.php.

13. Adventism and America

1. See, for example, Will Herberg, *Protestant—Catholic—Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*, rev. ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1960), 99–135.

2. Gail Gehrig, “The American Civil Religion Debate: A Source for Theory Construction,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20:1 (1981): 52.

3. See Robert N. Bellah, “Civil Religion in America,” *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 96:1 (1967): 1–21; Catherine L. Albanese, *America, Religions, and Religion*, 3rd ed. (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 1999), 432–62; and Gail Gehrig, *American Civil Religion: An Assessment*, SSSR monograph series, no. 3 (1979), for a review of the literature.

4. See Hatch, *Sacred Cause of Liberty*; 148–49, 156, and Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 116–17 (both previously cited in ch. 3, n. 13).

5. See Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837*, 25th anniversary ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), particularly ch. 5.

6. An extended presentation of this argument can be found in Bull, “Seventh-day Adventists,” 177–87 (previously cited in intro., n. 34). For discussion of the essay, see Dudley and Hernández, *Citizens of Two Worlds*, ch. 2 (previously cited in ch. 10, n. 67), and Kenneth Newport, “The Heavenly Millennium of Seventh-day Adventism,” in Hunt, ed., *Christian Millenarianism*, 139–48 (previously cited in ch. 10, n. 82).

7. See, for example, Roy Z. Chalee, “The Sabbath Crusade: 1810–1920” (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1968), or John, “Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously,” 517–67. Joyce Appleby also has a section on the Sunday crusade in her *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2000), 215–23, as has Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics*, 55–57. See also ch. 3.

8. This situation bears some similarity to the “pillarization” of the state in the Netherlands and Belgium. See John Coleman, *The Evolution of Dutch Catholicism 1958–1974* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); and Karel Dobbelaere, “Professionalization and Secularization in the Belgian Catholic Pillar,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 6:1–2 (1979): 39–64.

9. See *My Fellow Americans: The Most Important Speeches of America's Presidents, from George Washington to George W. Bush*, ed. Michael Waldman (Naperville: Sourcebooks, 2003), 13.

10. *Ibid.*, 85.

11. On this, see Bull, “Eschatology and Manners,” 156; and John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. John Leonard (London: Penguin, 2003), 100–149. Quotations from EGW, 1SP, 19, 20, 21, and ch. 4. Those who remained loyal to the British crown during the Revolution also equated America's rebellion with that of Milton's apostate angels. See Lydia Dittler Schulman, *Paradise Lost and the Rise of the American Republic* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 169–71, 216. Ellen White clearly seems to be in this loyalist tradition.

12. For an extended presentation of this argument, see Bull, “Eschatology and Manners.”

13. See Hugh I. Dunton, “The Millerite Adventists and Other Millenarian Groups in Great Britain 1830–1860” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1984), 218; EGW, 2SG, iv; and “Public Perceptions of the Seventh-day Adventist Church,” (first cited in intro, n. 1).

14. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 8–9.

15. See Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1964), 22–40.
16. *The Book of Mormon*, 1 Nephi 2:20.
17. *Ibid.*, Ether 2:12.
18. Quoted in O'Dea, *Mormons*, 171.
19. Quoted in Arrington and Bitton, *Mormon Experience*, 127.
20. *Ibid.*, 128.
21. *Ibid.*, 37.
22. Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 122.

14. Gender

1. See ch. 8.
2. See Shirley Ardener, "Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction," in *Women and Space*, ed. Shirley Ardener (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 11–32.
3. Gilbert Cranmer, "My Experience," *The Hope of Israel*, 10 August 1863, 1.
4. Snook and Brinkerhoff, *Visions of E. G. White*, 1–2.
5. See Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 1–14.
6. EGW, letter to The Leaders in Our Work, May 23, 1903.
7. See Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, chs. 2 and 3 (previously cited in ch. 1, n. 24).
8. See "Rules for Home Education," *Review*, 13 January 1854, 13. Other early *Review* articles made identical or similar points: "Teach Your Children," 11 February 1858, 109; "Rules for Home Education," 15 April 1858, 175; "What Family Government Is," 1 April 1858, 155; "Rules for Home Education," 20 May 1862, 198.
9. James White, "Unity and Gifts of the Church," *Review*, 7 January 1858, 69.
10. See, for example, Sister M. Ashley's letter in the *Review*, January 1851, 39, and Sister Huntley's testimony reported in "Eastern Tour," *Review*, 14 October 1852, 96.
11. S. C. Wellcome, "Shall the Women Keep Silence in the Churches?" *Review*, 23 February 1860, 109.
12. For example, B. F. Robbins, "To the Female Disciples in the Third Angel's Message," *Review*, 8 December 1859, 21–22.
13. D. Hewitt, "Let Your Women Keep Silence in the Churches," *Review*, 15 October 1857, 190.
14. See Jackson W. Carroll, Barbara Hargrove, and Adair Lummis, *Women of the Cloth: A New Opportunity for the Churches* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981), 20, 21; or Sara Maitland, *A Map of the New Country: Women and Christianity* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 9.
15. On Hill and Enoch, see Bert Haloviak, "Route to the Ordination of Women in the Seventh-day Adventist Church: Two Paths" (unpublished paper, General Conference Archives, Washington, D.C., 1985), 7; on Lane, Haloviak, "Route to the Ordination of Women," 8, and Josephine Benton, *Called By God: Stories of Seventh-day Adventist Women Ministers* (Smithsburg: Blackberry Hill Publishers, 1990), 159–60; On Wightman, Haloviak, "Route to the Ordination of Women," 13, and Benton, *Called By God*, 67–84; On Knight, Benton, *Called By God*, 85–106; On Lamson, Lindsay, and Williams, see John G. Beach, *Notable Women of Spirit: The Historical Role of Women in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nashville: SPA, 1976), 65–66, 81–82, 102.
16. See ch. 9.
17. Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, 85, 86 (previously cited in ch. 9, n. 55).

18. EGW, *AH*, 231.
19. *Ibid.*, 215, 216, 218, 125. See also the discussion of ideal Adventist masculinity in Vance, *Seventh-day Adventism in Crisis*, 142–43 (first cited in ch. 9, n. 106).
20. See Margaret Marsh, "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870–1915," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 111–27.
21. References selected from Michael Kimmel's discussion in *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), chs. 4 and 5. On "sissy," Roosevelt, and "muscular" Christianity, see also E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity From the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 273, 231, 224.
22. The six were Mrs. H. H. Haskell, Mrs. G. R. Hawkins, Mrs. Minnie Syp, Ellen White, Mrs. Lulu Wightman, and Mrs. E. R. Williams, according to the ministerial directory in *General Conference Quarterly Bulletin* 4:6&7 (1902): 641–47. Foreign ministers and U.S. ministers working in conference offices were excluded for general calculation. See also list in Benton, Appendix B, *Called By God*, 231–32, though "Mrs. H. H. Haskell" and "Mrs. S. N. Haskell" in the 1902 column are the same person.
23. Figures and calculations based on Benton, Appendix B, *Called By God*, 228–34; Bertha Dasher, "Leadership Positions: A Declining Opportunity?" *Spectrum* 15:4 (1984): 35–37; and relevant editions of the ASR.
24. A similar thing happened to women in the Separate Baptist and Pentecostal churches, according to Carroll et al., *Women of the Cloth*, 22–23, and to women within the Methodist Church according to Maitland, *Map of the New Country*, 10.
25. See the census of 1906 in H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States, Enumerated, Classified, and Described* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), lvii.
26. See table 3, ch. 8. Further comment on these changing ethnic balances, particularly on the black constituency, is made in the following chapter.
27. EGW, "The Mother's Work," *Review*, 15 September 1891, 561; cf. *AH*, 245.
28. On Phillips and Rowen, see respectively chs. 4 and 11.
29. EGW, *ChL*, 6.
30. *Ibid.*, 28.
31. *Ibid.*, 13, 14, 27.
32. On the Flapper, see Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 5, 166, 279–80, or Kate Mulvey and Melissa Richards, *Decades of Beauty: The Changing Image of Women, 1890s–1990s* (New York: Checkmark Books, 1998), 64. On the *femme fatale*, see James F. Maxfield, *The Fatal Woman: Sources of Male Anxiety in American Film Noir, 1941–1991* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996).
33. Margaret White-Thiele, *Whirlwind of the Lord: The Fascinating True Story of Sarepta Myrenda Irish Henry* (Hagerstown: RHPA, 1998), 271–79.
34. See, respectively, for example, J. H. Egbert, "The Model Woman," *Review*, 11 November 1902, 11–12, and EGW, *AH*, 331–34.
35. Wilma Ross Westphal, *Jeanie* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1960), 10. *Jeanie Goes to the Mission Field* was issued by the same publisher in 1966.
36. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 199–201.
37. *Ibid.*, 210–11, 211–12, 254–55, 201–10.
38. Karen Schwartz, "Uncle Arthur's Bedtime Stories: A Content Analysis of Sex-Stereotyping," in *Feminist Frontiers: Rethinking Sex, Gender, and Society*, ed. Laurel Richardson and Verta Taylor (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1983), 84–86.
39. Arthur S. Maxwell, *Uncle Arthur's Bedtime Stories, Second Series* (Watford: Stanborough Press, Ltd., [1924]), 7–11.

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Rowman & Littlefield, 1992); John Stoltenberg, *Refusing to be a Man: Essays on Sex and Justice* (Portland: Breitenbush Books, 1989).

52. Among SDA men who wrote sympathetically on the principles behind Bly's movement was Steve Daily, "Where's Papa? What's Masculinity?" *Spectrum* 22:2 (1992): 22–29; on the history of the Men's Ministry department, see the "A Few Good Men" page on the ministry's site at www.nadadventist.org/linkto/redirect/http://www.emale.org.

53. See Emmett K. VandeVere, "Years of Expansion, 1865–1885," in Land, *Adventism in America*, 54.

54. Quoted in Kit Watts, "Moving Away From the Table: A Survey of Historical Factors Affecting Women Leaders," in Habada and Brillhart, eds., *Welcome Table*, 54.

55. See p. 6 of the September–October 1993 issue of *The Adventist Woman*, which published the Camp Mohaven recommendations for the first time on the 20th anniversary of the event.

56. Minutes, Annual Council, Oct. 18, 1973, 1819.

57. "Actions of General Interest from the 1974 Annual Council," *Review*, 28 November 1974, 19.

58. *[Adventists] Affirm* 1:1 (1987): 8. ("Adventists" was left off the title in this first issue).

59. See, respectively, Charles Scriven, "The Debate About Women: What Happened? Why?" *Spectrum* 20:5 (1990): 25; and Charles Scriven, "World Votes No to Women's Ordination," *Spectrum* 25:1 (1995): 30–32; or Jim Walters, "General Conference Delegates Say NO on Women's Ordination," *Adventist Today*, July–Aug. 1995, 11–13.

60. See reports in *Adventist Today*, November–December 1995, 4; January–February 1996, 19; July–August 1996, 7; July–August 1997, 24, 22; May–June 2000, 9, 22.

61. See the contributions in *Women in Ministry: Biblical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Nancy Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998).

62. See *Prove All Things: A Response to Women in Ministry*, ed. Mercedes H. Dyer (Berrien Springs: Adventists Affirm, 2000).

63. See "Delegates Restrict Top Post to Ordained Clergy," *ANN Bulletin*, 5 July 2005, and "Steps Backward for Women and a New Belief," *Spectrum*, 5 July 2005, in the "Featured Columns" section at www.spectrummagazine.org. It appears that delegates had become concerned that the barrier of ordination had not, as expected, prevented the advancement of women like Simmons, Banks, and Orion at the session; cf. n. 47 above.

64. See *The Adventist Woman*, May–June 1985, 4.

65. Quoted in *The Adventist Woman*, Nov. 1984, 4.

66. Mary K. McLaughlin, letter, *The Adventist Woman*, May–June 1985, 7.

67. For broad overviews of manhood in the different ethnic groups, consult relevant entries in *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Bret E. Carroll (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003).

68. Sahlin et al., *Reaching a New Generation*, tables 31, 30.

15. Race

1. GSS 1972–2002, cc. *ethnic, denom*.

2. *Ibid.*, c. *racchurh*.

3. Based on the Scandinavian and German convert figures in VandeVere, "Years of Expansion," in Land, *Adventism in America*, 70, and U.S. communicant totals in ASR 1911, 16.

4. See Louis Martin Halswick, *Mission Fields at Home* (Brookfield: PPPA, [1944]),

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73. For more details, see Louis B. Reynolds, "She Fulfilled the Impossible Dream," *Review*, 4 January 1973, 15–17.

74. See Kosmin and Lachman, *One Nation Under God*, 272. Carson has been discussed in chs. 1 and 17. Black's promotion in the Navy was mentioned in ch. 10; for his move to Capitol Hill, see "Triple Milestone for New Senate Chaplain," *ANN Bulletin*, 17 June 2003.

75. Jones, *Renaissance Man from Louisiana*, 75.

76. E. E. Cleveland, *Let the Church Roll On: An Autobiography* (Boise: PPPA, 1997), 63.

77. See James M. Penton, *Apocalypse Delayed: The Story of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 284–87.

78. Mormon racial attitudes are chronicled by Newell C. Bringhurst in *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People Within Mormonism* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981). A more sympathetic account is given by Arrington and Bitton, *Mormon Experience*, 321–25.

79. Talbert O. Shaw detected an inherent racism in Adventist theology in a rather technical discussion, "Racism and Adventist Theology," *Spectrum* 3:4 (1971): 36.

80. A. W. Spalding, *Lights and Shades in the Black Belt* (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), 142.

81. See Graybill, E. G. *White and Church Race Relations*, 71, 72, 77.

82. *Ibid.*, 79–80.

83. EGW, "Proclaiming the Truth Where There Is Race Antagonism," 122.

84. EGW, 9T, 214.

85. EGW, 2SM, 344.

86. See Philip Chester Willis, "Dost Thou Still Retain Thine Integrity?" (unpublished term paper, Andrews University, 1977), 18–19.

87. See the division's administration committee minutes, October 10, 1968, 127. This guideline, among others, was later published in the denomination's 1977 *Manual for Ministers*, 120, but it was removed when the booklet was next revised in 1992. See *Seventh-day Adventist Minister's Manual* (Silver Spring: Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992), 246.

88. Richard L. Hammill, *Pilgrimage: Memoirs of an Adventist Administrator* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1994), 144.

89. C. D. Brooks, General Field Secretary of the General Conference, quoted in Patti L. Blosser-Hall, "Seventh-day Adventist Attitudes Toward Black/White Interracial Marriage" (M.A. dissertation, Loma Linda University, 1979), 42.

90. Story quoted in Lee Mellinger, "Racism? Not Here! Not Now!" *Campus Chronicle* (Pacific Union College student newspaper), 18 February 1982, 13.

91. See Tom Dybdahl, "Prejudice in the Church," *Insight*, 21 January 1975, 13–14. Calvin Moseley also recalled such incidents in his interview with the authors.

92. Eugene F. Durand, "Reporting the Big Event: Adventist and Non-Adventist Perspectives on Selected General Conference Sessions," *Adventist Heritage* 10:1 (1985): 37–39.

93. F. D. Nichol, "Unity in the Faith," *Review*, 29 April 1965, 12.

94. See "Actions of General Interest: Spring Meeting of the General Conference Committee," *Review*, 29 April 1965, 8.

95. See Butler, "Race Relations in the Church," 10.

96. See Graybill, E. G. *White and Church Race Relations*, and Roy Branson, "Ellen G. White: Racist or Champion of Equality?" *Review*, 9 April 1970, 3; "Slavery and Prophecy," *Review*, 16 April 1970, 8; "The Crisis of the Nineties," *Review*, 23 April 1970,

4–6. The first edition of Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 196–97, includes a critical response to Branson's articles.

97. E. E. Cleveland, "Regional Union Conferences," *Spectrum* 2:2 (1970): 44.

98. Calvin B. Rock, "Cultural Pluralism and Black Unions," *Spectrum* 9:3 (1978): 4–12.

99. For the national black percentage, see table 8, Hobbs and Stoops, *Demographic Trends in the Twentieth Century*, A-26.

100. For example, Benjamin Reeves, "The Call for Black Unions," *Spectrum* 9:3 (1978): 2–3.

101. Butler, "Race Relations in the Church," 13–14.

102. See *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:244–45, and "New GC Vice-President for North America Elected," *Review*, 25 January 1979, 24.

103. See F. L. Peterson, *The Hope of the Race* (Nashville: SPA, 1934), esp. 21–24, 72, 236; and E. E. Cleveland, *Free at Last* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1970). The West African edition of the latter especially emphasized black history in its presentation. More controversial than either of these books was Charles E. Dudley Sr.'s *The Genealogy of Ellen Gould Harmon White* (Nashville: Dudley Pub. Services, 1999), which was devoted to the (often canvassed but never proven) hypothesis that Ellen White was of partially African descent.

104. Vásquez, *Untold Story*, 41.

105. Christian, *Sons of the North*, 26–28.

106. Gunnar Myrdal et al., *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, 9th ed. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), 927–29.

107. Michael Banton, *The Idea of Race* (London: Tavistock Publications, Ltd., 1977), 135–42.

108. Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 505.

109. See Colleen Moore Tinker, "Lay People Lobby for Regional Conference," *Adventist Today*, November–December 1998, 11; and Carlos Medley, "NAD Leaders Face Pay, Pension Issues," *Review*, [7] December 2000, 35–38.

110. See Carol Draeger, "Federal Probe Rocks Seventh-day Adventist Church: Lake Region Conference Accused of Financial Irregularities, Immigration Violations," *South Bend Tribune*, 25 July 2005, 1.

111. See Ken R. Crane, "Religious Adaptation Among Second Generation Latino/a Adventists: Findings from AVANCE," *Latino Studies Journal* 9:2 (1998): 74–103. Additional discussion of this subject can be found in Crane's comparative study, *Latino Churches: Faith, Family and Ethnicity in the Second Generation* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2003).

16. Ministry

1. See Sahlin, *Adventist Congregations Today*, 79 and 88 (fig. 7.16).

2. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil*, 37.

3. James White, "Gospel Order," *Review*, 20 December 1853, 189.

4. More information on all the above individuals can be found in the relevant entries in the *SDA Encyclopedia*.

5. See retrospective table, ASR 1905, 8.

6. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 3:245, 247.

7. "Report of Committee on Course of Reading for Ministers," *Review*, 20 December 1881, 395. One factor may have been the low salaries paid to Adventist pastors at the

time. In 1916 the average wage of Adventist ministers was \$823, some 20 percent lower than the average for other denominations. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies*, 1916, 68.

8. Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 481.

9. For a good account of the professionalization of the Adventist ministry, including the establishment of the seminary, see Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 481–93.

10. Sahlin, *Adventist Congregations Today*, 75.

11. David S. Schuller et al., *Ministry in America: A Report and Analysis, Based on an In-Depth Survey of Forty-Seven Denominations in the United States and Canada* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), 60–70.

12. *Ibid.*, 57, 60–64. See also 355, 362.

13. *Ibid.*, 64.

14. EGW, 4T, 372.

15. See, for example, EGW, 2T, 610.

16. *Ibid.*, 568–69.

17. Roger L. Dudley et al., “The Personality of the Pastor as a Function of Church Growth” (unpublished research study commissioned by the North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists, Institute of Church Ministry, Andrews University, 1982), 11, 19, 48–49.

18. *Ibid.*, 12, 48.

19. Orley Berg, *The Work of the Pastor* (Nashville: SPA, 1966), 10.

20. Roger L. Dudley et al., “The Pastor as Person and Husband: A Study of Pastoral Morale” (unpublished research study commissioned by Ministerial Department of General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Institute of Church Ministry, Andrews University, 1981), 13.

21. *Ibid.*, 15.

22. Dudley et al., “Personality of the Pastor,” 17, 11, 19, 48.

23. Fig. 7.3 in Sahlin, *Adventist Congregations Today*, 82.

24. Dudley et al., “Pastor as Person,” 15.

25. Schuller et al., *Ministry in America*, 102–3, 126–27, 130–31.

26. Sahlin et al., *Reaching a New Generation*, table 2.

27. Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church*, 63–64; Ila Zbaraschuk, “Why Young Adventists Leave the Church,” *Insight*, 11 September 1973, 13–14.

28. Dudley et al., “Pastor as Person,” 15; cf. Schuller et al., *Ministry in America*, 210–11.

29. Dudley et al., “Pastor as Person,” 15; cf. Schuller et al., *Ministry in America*, 138–

39. For a detailed discussion of the characteristics of the Adventist grouping, see David Allan Hubbard and Clinton W. McLemare in the chapter “Evangelical Churches,” in Schuller et al., *Ministry in America*, 351–94.

30. Dudley et al., “Pastor as Person,” 15–16.

31. *Ibid.*, 16, 19.

32. Sahlin, *Adventist Congregations Today*, 75.

33. According to the *Seventh-day Adventist Minister's Manual*, “Former pastors . . . should seldom return. Pastoral families must sever ties in the old pastorate, no matter how painful,” 236.

34. Dudley et al., “Pastor as Person,” 21.

35. *Ibid.*, 5.

36. *Ibid.*, 23–24.

37. *Seventh-day Adventist Minister's Manual*, 30.

38. Dudley et al., “Pastor as Person,” 24, 18.

39. *Ibid.*, 5.

40. See Monte Sahlin, "Large SDA Churches: Adventism's Silent Majority," *Spectrum* 22:2 (1992): 33.
41. *Ibid.*, 33–34.
42. Dudley et al., "Pastor as Person," 5.
43. Peter H. Ballis, *Leaving the Adventist Ministry: A Study in the Process of Exiting* (Westport: Praeger, 1999), 18, 30, 185.
44. See Dudley et al., "Pastor as Person," 8–9; EGW, *1T*, 137–40, 449–54; and, for example, Carlyle B. Haynes, *The Divine Art of Preaching* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1939), 173–84.
45. Dudley et al., "Pastor as Person," 5.
46. Carole Luke Kilcher et al., "The Pastor's Wife as Person: A Study of Morale of the Pastor's Wife" (unpublished research study commissioned by the Ministerial Department of General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Institute of Church Ministry, Andrews University, 1981), 2, 10.
47. Ballis, *Leaving the Adventist Ministry*, 162.
48. Kilcher et al., "Pastor's Wife as Person," 10.
49. *Ibid.*, 5.
50. *Ibid.*, 2.
51. James White, "The Ministry, No. 1," *Review*, 18 July 1865, 52.
52. James White, "The Ministry, No. 2," *Review*, 25 July 1865, 60.
53. EGW, *4T*, 402–403.
54. EGW, *GW*, 15.
55. *Ibid.*, 451.
56. See EGW, *4T*, 263 and *1T*, 271–72.
57. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 349.
58. EGW, *5T*, 439.
59. EGW, *6T*, 411.

17. Medicine

1. Kellogg, *Living Temple*, 437 (previously cited in ch. 4, n. 76).
2. Kellogg to E. G. White, June 28, 1898; quoted in Richard Schwarz, "The Kellogg Schism: The Hidden Issues," *Spectrum* 4:4 (1972): 24.
3. An account of the development of Battle Creek Sanitarium can be found in Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 170–98.
4. *Ibid.*, 355.
5. *Ibid.*, 356–57.
6. See Schwarz, "Perils of Growth," in Land, *Adventism in America*, 108.
7. EGW, *MM*, 50.
8. Quoted in Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 312.
9. *Ibid.*, 296.
10. *Ibid.*, 335, 338.
11. *Ibid.*, 296.
12. *Ibid.*, 309–17, 321–37.
13. *Ibid.*, 228.
14. EGW, *MM*, 158.
15. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 3:30, 31.
16. Schwarz, "Perils of Growth," in Land, *Adventism in America*, 104.
17. For the full story of Kellogg's break with the Adventist church, see Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 347–417.

18. See William Magan, *The Story of Ireland: A History of An Ancient Family and Their Country* (Shaftesbury: Element, 2000), 309–15, which contains the interesting claim that Magan's second wife, Lillian, came up with the idea of corn flakes while working for Kellogg.

19. See ch. 19.

20. For more details on Magan, see Merlin L. Neff, *Invincible Irishman: A Biography of Percy T. Magan* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1964).

21. See Jerry Wiley, *Loma Linda University: Next Right* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1968), 9–24.

22. The development of the church's health institutions in the period is discussed in James K. Davis, "The Bitter Taste of Prosperity: Sectarian Jeremiads and Adventist Medical Work in the 1920s," *Adventist Heritage* 8:2 (1983): 48–59.

23. See "Report of the Annual Council of the General Conference Committee," *Review*, 4 December 1924, 5–6.

24. Davis, "Bitter Taste of Prosperity," 55.

25. See F. D. Nichol, "Why Our Sanitariums Evolved into Hospitals," *Review*, 23 January 1964, 5–6. See also Ives Roberts et al., "Counsel for Adventist Health Systems" (unpublished research study commissioned by Adventist Health Systems North, Institute of Church Ministry, Andrews University, 1982), 13–16.

26. See *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:56–58.

27. See Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 341–49.

28. Quoted in F. D. Nichol, "Recapturing, in Part, the Sanitarium Idea," *Review*, 30 January 1964, 3–4.

29. Nichol, "Why Our Sanitariums Evolved into Hospitals," 5.

30. On the development of the Adventist health network, see Larmar W. Young, "Building on a Vision: Foundations of the Adventist Health System, 1900–1986," *Review*, 13 February 1986, 20–21; and Robin Duska, "Autumn Council Creates Seventh Largest Health System," *Spectrum* 13:2 (1982), 69–70.

31. The functions of AHS/US were given in an interview with the system's president, Donald W. Welch, in the *Review*, 13 February 1986, 13.

32. Greene, "Adventist Health/U.S. Dismantles System," 35–36 (previously cited in ch. 7, n. 6), and René Alexenko Evans, "Adventist Hospitals: An Ailing System?" pt. 1, *Adventist Today*, May–June 2000, 12–13.

33. Evans, "Adventist Hospitals," 14, 22.

34. *Ibid.*, 12.

35. Quoted in René Alexenko Evans, "Adventist Hospitals: An Ailing System?" pt. 2, *Adventist Today*, July–August 2000, 14.

36. This was revealed in interviews the authors conducted with several Adventist hospital directors in 1985.

37. Observed by the authors during research tour in 2000.

38. Hospital salaries obtained from the corporation's 2002 management IRS 990 return, and 2002 hospitals IRS 990 return. For the comparative GC president salary, see table 2, ch. 7. Employee figures were compiled from the hospital list in the corporation's 2002 annual report and the ASR 2002, 59–60. The disparity between medical and church remuneration only became widely known in recent years. For some idea of the disquiet caused, see William G. Johnson, "Fair Compensation," and Sharon Anderson Wilson, "Health-Care Pay Scale Stirs Controversy," in *Review*, 13 April 2000, 5 and 19–23 respectively.

39. ASR 2002, 59.

40. For example, one of the public relations officers at Florida Hospital in 1985 was a Baptist.

41. See Richard A. Schaefer, *Legacy: The Heritage of a Unique International Medical Outreach* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1977), 123–25.

42. See Richard A. Schaefer, *Legacy: Daring to Care, the Heritage of Loma Linda* (Loma Linda: Legacy Publishing Association, 1990), chs. 1 and 2.

43. See ch. 12.

44. The amalgamation question was immediately recognized by the editors of the *Review* (13 December 1984, 16–17), who later published letters from members criticizing the operation on this basis (31 January 1985, 14).

45. See Roland C. Bainer, “Medical-Ministerial Relationships in the Seventh-day Adventist Church” (unpublished term paper, Andrews University, 1969).

46. See the General Conference’s “Abortion Guidelines,” *Ministry*, Mar. 1971, 10.

47. For example, Ralph Waddell’s “Abortion Is Not the Answer,” *Ministry*, Mar. 1971, 7–9.

48. GSS 1972–2002, cc. *abany, relig.*

49. See Gerald R. Winslow, “Abortion Policies in Adventist Hospitals,” in *Abortion: Ethical Issues & Options*, ed. David Larson (Loma Linda: Loma Linda University Center for Christian Bioethics, 1992), 241–46.

50. “Guidelines on Abortion” (1992), in Dabrowski, ed., *Statements, Guidelines & Other Documents*, 90.

51. For extended presentations of this argument, see Malcolm Bull’s articles, “The Medicalization of Adventism,” *Spectrum* 18:3 (1988): 12–21; and “Secularization and Medicalization,” *British Journal of Sociology* 41:2 (1990): 245–61. See also Steven G. Daily, *Adventism for a New Generation*, 3rd ed. (Portland: Better Living Publishers, 1994), 265–66.

52. See, for example, the contributions of Provonsha, Winslow, and Pearson in Larson, ed., *Abortion*; and James W. Walter’s discussion of viable human life in *What Is a Person? An Ethical Exploration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

53. See *Remnant & Republic: Adventist Themes for Personal and Social Ethics*, ed. Charles W. Teel Jr. (Loma Linda: Loma Linda University Center for Christian Bioethics, 1995).

54. For a non-Adventist definition, see Frank B. Minirth and Paul D. Meier, *Counseling and the Nature of Man* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982), 13. Note that Adventists often refer to the term as “wholism.”

55. Jack W. Provonsha, “The Health of the Whole Person” (cassette tape, Loma Linda University, 1985).

56. Richard Rice, “Toward a Theology of Wholeness: A Tentative Model of Whole Person Care,” in *Spirituality, Health, and Wholeness: An Introductory Guide for Health Care Professionals*, ed. Siroj Sorajjakool and Henry H. Lamberton (New York: Haworth Press, 2004), 30.

57. See Christy K. Robinson, “Wholeness,” *Scope: The Loma Linda University Magazine*, Spring 1997, 67–75.

58. See Carla Gober, “Spiritual Care of the Dying and Bereaved”; Johnny Ramírez-Johnson, “Health, Wholeness, and Diversity: Intercultural Engagement in Health Care”; and Leigh Aveling et al., “Working With Difficult Patients: Spiritual Care Approaches,” in pt. 2 of *Spirituality, Health, and Wholeness*, ed. Sorajjakool and Lamberton.

59. Bull and Lockhart, “Intellectual World of Adventist Theologians,” 33.

60. A good account of the accreditation process can be found in William C. White, “Flirting with the World: How Adventist Colleges in North America Got Accredited,” *Adventist Heritage* 8:1 (1983): 40–51.

61. Quoted in Davis, “Bitter Taste of Prosperity,” 58.

18. Education

1. James White, quoted in “Questions and Answers,” *Review*, 23 December 1862, 29.
2. Roy E. Graham, “James White: Initiator,” in *Early Adventist Educators*, ed. George R. Knight (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1983), 18, 20–21.
3. See George R. Knight, “Early Adventists and Education: Attitudes and Context”; and Graham, “James White,” in *Early Adventist Educators*, 2 and 14, 18–20, respectively.
4. See chs. 7 and 13.
5. See Allan G. Lindsay, “Goodloe Harper Bell: Teacher,” in *Early Adventist Educators*, 50–71; and John O. Waller, “Adventist English Teachers: Some Roots,” *Spectrum* 10:3 (1979): 38–41.
6. Quoted in Emmett K. VandeVere, *The Wisdom Seekers: The Intriguing Story of the Men and Women who Made the First Institution for Higher Learning Among Seventh-day Adventists* (Nashville: SPA, 1972), 27.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Quoted in Joseph C. Smoot, “Sidney Brownsberger: Traditionalist,” in *Early Adventist Educators*, 81. More details on Brownsberger’s contribution can be found in Leigh Johnsen, “Brownsberger and Battle Creek: The Beginning of Adventist Higher Education,” *Adventist Heritage* 3:2 (1976): 30–41.
9. Graham, “James White,” in *Early Adventist Educators*, 23.
10. George I. Butler, “Unpleasant Themes: The Closing of Our College,” *Review*, 12 September 1882, 586.
11. See, for example, George R. Knight, “Ellen G. White: Prophet,” in *Early Adventist Educators*, 30–31, 32, 37–39.
12. Quoted in Waller, “Adventist English Teachers,” 39.
13. *Ibid.*
14. EGW, 5*T*, 27.
15. *Ibid.*, 21–36.
16. The most controversial of Ellen White’s early educational writings is the document “Proper Education,” issued in 1872 (see *FE*, 15–46), which Adventist writers universally regard as the prophetess’s ideal for Adventist education. However, the document failed to recognize the Bible as an essential educational tool, paid only cursory attention to ministerial training, and did not reject secular educational practices— aspects of White’s philosophy that developed only in reaction to Battle Creek College. A close analysis of the document reveals that it really had little to do with education, but rather with health reform. It was the regulation of the body that White, at this stage, regarded as “proper education.”
17. EGW, *Ed*, 13.
18. Smoot, “Sidney Brownsberger,” in *Early Adventist Educators*, 91.
19. VandeVere, *Wisdom Seekers*, 50.
20. On Prescott, see Gilbert M. Valentine, “William W. Prescott: Architect of a Bible-Centered Curriculum,” *Adventist Heritage* 8:1 (1983): 18–24. On Sutherland, see Floyd O. Rittenhouse, “Edward A. Sutherland: Independent Reformer,” *Adventist Heritage* 4:2 (1977): 20–34.
21. The Sutherland presidency is described in VandeVere, *Wisdom Seekers*, 80–118.
22. See Knight, “Ellen G. White,” in *Early Adventist Educators*, 43–44.
23. See “Course of Study” pages on the curriculum section at <http://madeducation.adventist.org>.

24. From introductory note to the Course of Study pages at above address.
25. See White, "Flirting with the World," 40–51.
26. See Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 470–71.
27. For the details of the development of the seminary, see Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 485–93. See also ch. 16.
28. On Griggs, see Arnold C. Reye and George R. Knight, "Frederick Griggs: Moderate," in *Early Adventist Educators*, 184–204.
29. For fuller accounts, see the colleges' respective entries in the *SDA Encyclopedia*.
30. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, "The Walla Walla Witch Hunt of 1938," *Spectrum* 26:3 (1997): 19, 20.
31. *Ibid.*, 22.
32. Raymond F. Cottrell, "Facts About the Bible Research Fellowship" (Angwin: Bible Research Fellowship, 1951), 5.
33. They are all held at the Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
34. See Cottrell, who suggests the 1952 Bible Conference was called partly to counter the activities of the BRF, in "The Bible Research Fellowship: A Pioneering Seventh-day Adventist Organization in Retrospect," *Adventist Heritage* 5:1 (1978): 48–50; and *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:205–6.
35. The story of these universities is told in the *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:70–81, and 940–54, respectively.
36. Hammill, *Pilgrimage*, 114 (previously cited in ch. 15, n. 88).
37. For example, Keld J. Reynolds, "Some Observations on Academic Freedom," *The Journal of True Education* 27:4 (1965): 16–19; and Earle Hilgert, "Academic Freedom," *The Journal of True Education* 29:3 (1967): 16–19.
38. EGW, *Ed.*, 17.
39. See Richard C. Osborn, "The Establishment of the Adventist Forum," *Spectrum* 10:4 (1980): 49; and Bull, "Medicalization of Adventism," 18–19 and 21, n. 3.
40. See Osborn, "Establishment of the Adventist Forum," 45–48; and the official statement in support of the organization in "Adventist Graduate Students Establish Organization," *Review*, 11 January 1968, 21.
41. Quoted in Osborn, "Establishment of the Adventist Forum," 48.
42. *Ibid.*, 51.
43. McAdams, "Shifting Views of Inspiration," 40 (first cited in ch. 1, n. 11).
44. See William G. Johnsson, "The Review in Your Future," *Review*, 9 December 1982, 9–10.
45. See, for example, the magazine's coverage of Glacier View, October 1980.
46. The statement was carried on the cover of each issue of the magazine.
47. John McLarty, "Ten Years of *Adventist Today*: A Retrospective," *Adventist Today*, March–April 2002, 2.
48. For example, Wilfred M. Hillock, "Need for Organizational Change in the Adventist Church," *Spectrum* 4:3 (1972): 24–32; Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Case for an Independent North American Division," *Spectrum* 13:1 (1982): 2–14.
49. See the issue "A Call for an Open Church," *Spectrum* 14:4 (1984).
50. See Neal Wilson, "Statement on Association of Adventist Forums and *Spectrum*," *Spectrum* 15:4 (1984): 26. For the AAF's response, see pp. 28–30 of the same issue.
51. In the special issue of *Spectrum* devoted to Numbers' book, it was noticeable that the Adventist reviewers Richard Schwarz and Fritz Guy were markedly critical, while the non-Adventist reviewers Fawn Brodie and Ernest Sandeen were much more

favorably disposed to Numbers' work. See the issue "Ellen White and Health," *Spectrum* 8:2 (1977).

52. Donald R. McAdams, "Free the College Boards: Toward a Pluralism of Excellence," *Spectrum* 16:4 (1985): 30.

53. See the open letter to the church president Neal Wilson signed by 39 Andrews University academics and the statement of church theologians in *Spectrum* 11:2 (1980): 61–62, 65.

54. See the reports on the two institutions in "Adventist Colleges Under Siege," *Spectrum* 13:2 (1982), 4–18.

55. Kenneth H. Wood, "Colleges in Trouble," *Review*, 21 February 1980, 3.

56. See, for example, the account of the sacking of the dissident Andrews University professor Smuts van Rooyen, in Lori Pappajohn, "Smuts van Rooyen Resigns Under Pressure," *Student Movement*, 27 May 1981, 1, 11, and 5.

57. For bibliographical details of Dick's dissertation, see ch. 2, n. 1; Schwarz's thesis (see intro., n. 58) was published as *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (Nashville: SPA, 1970); the debt to Carner was acknowledged in Gary Land, "From Apologetics to History: The Professionalization of Adventist Historians," *Spectrum* 10:4 (1980): 95; for Butler's essay, see ch. 8, n. 28; examples of Graybill's contributions can be found in ch. 9, n. 114; ch. 10, n. 28; ch. 12, nn. 26 and 67; and ch. 15, n. 48; McAdams and Numbers were discussed in ch. 1.

58. See Everett N. Dick, *William Miller and the Advent Crisis, 1831–1844*, with historiographical essay by Gary Land (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1994); and Gary Land, ed., *Adventism in America: A History* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986). The revised edition (full details in ch. 1, n. 47), referred to throughout this book, regretted the nonappearance of the second volume in the preface. For full details of Land's *Historical Dictionary*, see ch. 9, n. 74.

59. See discussion of Knight and Ellen White in ch. 1, and his *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (previously cited in intro., n. 6). Except for Knight, the only Adventist historian recently to have published a book on the church's history is Columbia Union College professor Douglas Morgan, with his *Adventism and the American Republic* (first cited in ch. 2, n. 77).

60. See Ronald W. Walker et al., *Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 60–112; or Stephen J. Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4:1 (2003): 10–16.

61. Information from *Spectrum's* circulation department.

62. The appointment of Hasel, which caused great controversy at the time, is best related in Ray Foody, "Seminary Dean Selection Questioned: Why Hasel?" *Student Movement*, 28 October 1981, 3, 7. (This report was incorrectly attributed to Hernan Visani.)

63. See "Constitution and ByLaws of the Adventist Theological Society" (n.d.), 1. See also an account of the origins of the organization in Richard M. Davidson, "The Story Behind ATS: A Personal Reflection," *Perspective Digest* 1:3 (1996): 12–15.

64. SDA Theological Seminary, *Bulletin*, 1981–82, 75–77. The figure for Princeton includes one doctorate then in progress.

65. Andrews University, *Bulletin*, 2003–2004, pp. 349–51. (Note that not all faculty hold doctoral degrees.)

66. See Bull and Lockhart, "Intellectual World of Adventist Theologians," 33–36. Quotation from the page "What We Believe and Teach" at www.fuller.edu.

67. See Jeffrey P. Moran, *The Scopes Trial: A Brief History With Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2002), 49, 153–55. See also Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists*:

The Evolution of Scientific Creationism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 72–101. Biographical information on Price can in addition be obtained from an older work, Harold W. Clark's *Crusader for Creation: The Life and Writings of George McCready Price* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1966).

68. See George McCready Price, *The New Geology* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1923), 278, 280, 627, 629, 298, 300, 164, 296.

69. Numbers, *Creationists*, 184–87.

70. See Henri Blocher, *In the Beginning: The Opening Chapters of Genesis*, trans. David G. Preston (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1984), 213–14, and Numbers, *Creationists*, 187–213, 283–90.

71. Clark, *Crusader for Creation*, 70.

72. Harold W. Clark, *The Battle over Genesis* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1977), 141.

73. George McCready Price, "Theories of Satanic Origin" (n.p., n.d.), 6, 9.

74. See IBC (1978 rev. ed.), 87, and compare Price's statement rejecting the orderly arrangement of the geological column on p. 75 of the original 1953 edition. For a useful review of the debate between Price and Clark, see W. W. Hughes, "Shifts in Adventist Creationism," *Spectrum* 16:2 (1985): 47–51. Numbers also covers the dispute in *Creationists*, 123–29.

75. See Richard Hammill on the early days of the GRI in "Fifty Years of Creationism: The Story of an Insider," *Spectrum* 15:2 (1984): 35–36.

76. Qualifications can be checked on the (non-Adventist) Intelligent Design and Evolution Awareness Center Web site at www.ideacenter.org/resources/articles.php, which provides a "List of Intellectual Doubters of Darwinism."

77. See the interview with P. E. Hare in Roy Benton, "Odyssey of an Adventist Creationist," *Spectrum* 15:2 (1984): 48; and Hammill, "Fifty Years of Creationism," 37.

78. Edward Lugenbeal, "The Conservative Restoration at Geoscience," *Spectrum* 15:2 (1984): 23, 28–29.

79. See Harold G. Coffin, *Creation—Accident or Design?* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1969).

80. See Richard Ritland, *A Search for Meaning in Nature: A New Look at Creation and Evolution* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1970), 157, 167, 168, 47.

81. Coffin, *Creation*, 6; Ritland, *Search for Meaning*, 8.

82. Lugenbeal, "Conservative Restoration," 30.

83. Numbers, *Creationists*, 246–47.

84. See Lugenbeal, "Conservative Restoration," 30. See also Ralph Blodgett, "Adventists Play Key Role in Creation Trial," *Review*, 18 February 1982, 4–7.

85. Unpublished 1980 survey conducted by Ervil D. Clark, late professor of biology, Pacific Union College. Quoted in Bill Hughes, "Darwin: 100 Years On," *Student Movement*, [3 November 1982], 9.

86. *Ibid.*

87. See Floyd Petersen, "Science Faculty Vary in Views on Creationism," *Adventist Today*, November–December 1994, 19. This poll did not ask the same questions as the 1980 survey, so comparisons can be made only very cautiously. The 21 percent figure implying belief in an old earth is based on the 18 percent of respondents who believed that "God created first life millions of years ago and guided its development" and the 3.3 percent that affirmed that "life shown by fossils evolved for billions of years by natural means."

88. See Lugenbeal, "Conservative Restoration," 29; and James L. Hayward, "The Many Faces of Adventist Creationism: '80–'95," *Spectrum* 25:3 (1996): 17–18.

89. For an overview, see Ronald L. Numbers, *Darwinism Comes to America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 15–20.

90. See L. James Gibson, "A Creationist Book for Public Schools," *Origins* 19:1

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9. Among the early ones was a comprehensive seven-volume set: *Adventism Vindicated* (Paradise: Historic Truth Publications, 1980); *Adventism Unveiled* (Rapidan: Historic Truth Publications, 1983); *Adventism Proclaimed* (Rapidan: Historic Truth Publications, 1984); *Adventism Jeopardized* (Rapidan: Historic Truth Publications, 1984); *Adventism Imperiled* (Rapidan: Historic Truth Publications, 1984); and *Adventism Challenged*, 2 vols. (Rapidan: Hartland Publications, 1990).

10. See the mission statement in any current issue of Hope's magazine, *Our Firm Foundation*.

11. *Issues*, 19 (previously cited in ch. 5, n. 77).

12. See Louis A. Hansen, *From So Small a Dream* (Nashville: SPA, 1968); see also William Cruzan Sandborn, "The History of Madison College" (Ed.D. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1953); and Ira Gish and Harry Christman, *Madison, God's Beautiful Farm: The E. A. Sutherland Story* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1979).

13. EGW, *An Appeal for the Madison School* (n.p., 1908), 4.

14. Gish and Christman, *Madison*, 126.

15. Vance Ferrell, *The Broken Blueprint* (Altamont: Harvestime Books, 2003), 112.

16. Robert H. Pierson, *Miracles Happen Every Day: A Story of Self-Supporting Workers* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1983), 16–35.

17. See *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:7, and the Harbert Web site at www.harberthills.org.

18. Pierson, *Miracles*, 1–15. See also the organization's Web site at www.wildwoodlsc.org, which puts their founding date in 1941.

19. See *SDA Encyclopedia*, 11:474–75.

20. See www.outpostcenters.org/restaurants/index.html.

21. Pierson, *Miracles*, 124–34. See also Patty Ann Schwab, "A Brief Look at Weimar Institute" (unpublished paper, Andrews University, 1981); and Suzanne Schuppel-Frey, "Inside the Weimar Institute," *Spectrum* 15:1 (1984): 24–28.

22. Raymond Moore, *Adventist Education at the Crossroads* (Mountain View: PPPA, 1976).

23. Weimar Institute, "Weimar Institute Is . . ." (pamphlet); quoted in Schwab, "A Brief Look at Weimar Institute," 7.

24. See E. A. Sutherland, *Living Fountains or Broken Cisterns: An Educational Problem for Protestants* (Battle Creek: RHPA, 1900).

25. See Gish and Christman, *Madison*, 82.

26. Sutherland, *Living Fountains*, 344.

27. Standish and Standish, *Adventism Imperiled*, 225.

28. *Ibid.*, 228.

29. On contemporary fundamentalist schooling, see Alan Peshkin, *God's Choice: The Total World of a Fundamentalist Christian School* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

30. EGW, *6T*, 179; Standish and Standish, *Adventism Imperiled*, 67.

31. Sutherland, *Living Fountains*, 29.

32. W. D. Frazee, *Another Ark to Build* (Harrisville: Mountain Missionary Press, 1979), 117.

33. See Schwarz, "Perils of Growth," in Land, *Adventism in America*, 87.

34. See *SDA Encyclopedia*, 10:21.

35. From attached schedule to 2002 IRS 990.

36. Stated on the organization's Web site at www.outpostcenters.org.

37. Information obtained from Weimar Academy and Weimar College in 2001.

38. See www.maranatha.org.

39. The Hart Research Center, located at www.hartresearch.org, specializes in

producing new evangelistic tools. It also acts as agent to the Adventist artist Nathan Greene and maintains Greene's Web site at www.hartclassics.com.

40. See the "About Us" and "History" pages at www.3abn.org, and Jim Stirling and Alan Dulles, "3ABN and GC Sign a Joint Resolution," *Adventist Today*, January–February 1998, 7.

41. For a statement of purpose, see *Watchman, What of the Night?* 1:1 (1968): 1.

42. See *The Layworker*, Fall 1973.

43. The Center for Adventist Research in the James White Library at Andrews University has holdings of the Hoehn publication. The Heritage Room at La Sierra University has some holdings of Ferrell's bulletin, which now goes by the name of *Waymarks*.

44. Quotations from the respective sites as indicated.

45. Colin D. Standish, *The Vision and God's Providences: The Story of the Hartland Institute*, unabridged ed. (Rapidan: Hartland Publications, 2003), 15, 23–24.

46. *Ibid.*, 12, 17.

47. Biographical details taken from North American Division Committee Minutes, June 17, 1954, p. 34; and General Conference Committee Minutes, Mar. 6, 1969, p. 1406; Dec. 23, 1971, p. 782; Mar. 23, 1972, p. 870; May 25, 1972, p. 979; Aug. 9, 1979, p. 194. See also Spear's own brief career overview in "To Fellow Believers," in "An Open Letter to the Members of the Washington Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," distributed by Hope International, June 1993, p. 11. Quotation taken from *Our Firm Foundation*, September 1988, 3.

48. See Standish, *Vision and God's Providences*, 114–16.

49. *Ibid.*, 110, 109.

50. Information from the respective 1998 IRS 990 forms. The other amounts were \$48,016 for the Layman Foundation, \$2,375,740 for OCI, and \$1,086,280 for the Hart Research Center.

51. Colin D. Standish and Russell R. Standish, *Tithes & Offerings: Trampling the Conscience* (Rapidan: Hartland Publications, 1997), 76.

52. See, for example, the statement at the bottom of p. 3 in any current issue of *Our Firm Foundation*.

53. See the minutes and letters of the two associations printed in *Issues*, 245–48. Standish's account is in *Vision and God's Providences*, 174–78.

54. Standish, *Vision and God's Providences*, 125–43.

55. See, for example, Colin Standish's two-part article on historic Adventism in the May and June 2003 issues of *Our Firm Foundation*, and Hope's catalog at www.hopeint.org, where Standish's books feature prominently.

56. See the statement in *Spectrum* 21:5 (1991): 59.

57. *Issues*, 12, 17–18.

58. See *Issues: Clarified: A Clarification of Issues and Report and Appeal of Hartland Institute* (both previously cited in ch. 5, n. 78).

59. Ron Spear, "An Appeal to the General Conference President" (circulated by the author, 1997), 4.

60. According to Standish, *Vision and God's Providences*, 188.

61. *Ibid.*, 189.

62. "Report on Hope International and Associated Groups," *Review*, [3] August 2000, 35, 37. The ministries' immediate, dismissive responses were contained in Ron Spear, *Issues at the End: A Response to the Report of the Examination of Hope International Committee Submitted to the General Conference ADCOM, April 2000* (Eatonville: Hope International, 2000); and *Response and Appeal to Seventh-day Adventists Worldwide* (Rapidan: Hartland Institute of Health and Education, 2000).

63. See the “About Hope International” statement in *Our Firm Foundation*, April 2004, 3; and compare the equivalent declaration in *Our Firm Foundation*, September 2001, 2.

64. Standish, *Vision and God’s Providences*, 198.

65. See Foster, “Had Prophecy Failed?” in Numbers and Butler, *The Disappointed*, 173–88, and Everett Webber, *Escape to Utopia: The Communal Movement in America* (New York: Hastings House, 1959), 299–317.

66. See ch. 15.

67. Pierson, *Miracles*, 62.

68. F. D. Nichol, quoted in Pierson, *Miracles*, 84.

69. See Standish, *Vision and God’s Providences*, 154.

70. Pierson, *Miracles*, 85.

71. See Wesley K. Willmer et al., *The Prospering Parachurch: Enlarging the Boundaries of God’s Kingdom* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998), 41, 42.

72. *Ibid.*, xi, xii.

73. *Ibid.*, 105, 171–74.

Conclusion

1. Wade Clark Roof and Christopher Kirk Hadaway, “Denominational Switching in the Seventies: Going Beyond Stark and Glock,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 18:4 (1979): 367.

2. See Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 183–203.

3. Both the GSS (c. *oth16*) and Roger Dudley and Desmond Cummings Jr., in *Adventures in Church Growth* (Washington, D.C.: RHPA, 1983), 52, give the overall percentage of converts as 54 percent.

4. The GSS (c. *oth16(77)*) suggests that the dropout rate among those who were Adventist at age 16 is 36 percent; Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church*, 35, found that 40–50 percent had effectively left by their mid-twenties, though some would return later.

5. In the survey of Pennsylvania converts, of those baptized two years previously, 28 percent had already stopped attending altogether, and only about half had established a “normal” attendance pattern.” See Sahlin and Richardson, *People Joining the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, ix, viii (first cited in ch. 8, n. 102).

6. This was true of the sample in Sahlin et al., *Reaching a New Generation*. It is important to bear this in mind when considering the demands made by the Adventist way of life. Because most members are either converts or future dropouts, very few Adventists actually keep the Sabbath or adhere to the church’s temperance principles for their entire lives (and given the minority status of the practice, the proportion of life-long vegetarians must be very low indeed). Most will have lived a secular lifestyle before their conversion; others will have taken a break from the rigorous demands of Adventism during their youth or will eventually abandon it altogether.

7. According to the GSS (c. *attend*), 61 percent of those who consider themselves Adventists attend church at least once a month, 43 percent once a week or more; Sahlin and Yergen in *Why Do Adventists Quit Coming to Church?*, 1 (previously cited in ch. 7, n. 56), indicate that only 50 percent of members are in church on any given Sabbath.

8. The proportion of SDAs married to nonmembers was over 40 percent in 1950 (supplement, *Seventh-day Adventist Youth at the Mid-Century*, 22), but has undoubtedly diminished since, though the 20 percent figure in *Demographic Profile*, 11, and the 24

percent figure in Barry A. Kosmin and Egon Mayer, *American Religious Identification Survey 2001* (New York: Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 2001), 30, are both probably a little low. In Tertian and Dudley, "Survey of Subscribers" (previously cited in ch. 8, n. 96) only 41 percent of the sample appeared to live in exclusively SDA households.

9. GSS 1972–2000, using, appropriately, *c. oth16(77)*. GSS data do not identify ex-members who were not Adventists at 16, i.e., converts who have left the denomination.

10. GSS 1972–2000, *cc. oth16(77), income*.

11. *Ibid.*, *cc. oth16(77), finrela*.

12. *Ibid.*, *cc. oth16(77), class*. Figures are 55 percent converts working class, 35 percent middle class; 56 percent lifelong members working class, 38 percent middle class; 42 percent ex-members working class, 53 percent middle class.

13. *Ibid.*, *cc. oth16(77), attend, finrela*.

14. Netteburg et al., "North American Division Marketing Program," 35, 49 (first cited in ch. 7, n. 58); Ramírez-Johnson and Hernández, *AVANCE*, 20–21.

15. Ramírez-Johnson and Hernández, *AVANCE*, 233.

16. Calculated from data given in Tertian and Dudley, "Survey of Subscribers."

17. Sahlin et al., *Reaching a New Generation*, table 41.

18. From data in Tertian and Dudley, "Survey of Subscribers"; and Roger L. Dudley and Des Cummings Jr., "A Comparison of the Christian Attitudes and Behaviours Between those Adventist Church Members Who regularly Read Ellen White Books and Those Who Do Not" (Berrien Springs: Institute of Church Ministry, Andrews University, 1982).

19. Sahlin et al., *Reaching a New Generation*, tables 4, 32, 14, 6.

20. In Michigan in 1869, 78 percent of subscribers to the *Review* were farmers, compared with 38 percent of the population as whole; see Ronald Graybill, "Millenarians and Money: Adventist Wealth and Adventist Beliefs," *Spectrum* 10:2 (1979): 31–41. On the proportions of technical and clerical workers, see Walter R. Goldschmidt, "Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches," *American Journal of Sociology* 49:4 (1944): 348–55.

21. Supplement, *Seventh-day Adventist Youth at the Mid-Century*, 27.

22. *Ibid.*, 19.

23. Ramírez-Johnson and Hernández, *AVANCE*, 112. On the other hand, as Dudley, *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church*, 160, underlines, young Adventists who abandon the denomination tend to be those with the least amount of church education.

24. See table 1, ch. 7.

25. Since 1949 internal surveys routinely put the proportion of church employees at 10–15 percent of the total. This is unquestionably an overestimate when it comes to the membership as a whole, see discussion in ch. 8.

26. Lee, *Seeking the Lost Sheep*, 25 (previously cited in ch. 6, n. 6).

27. Estimated from data in Tertian and Dudley, "Survey of Subscribers."

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *ASR* 1926, 13; comparative information from G. T. Kurian, *Datapedia of the United States, 1790–2000: America Year by Year* (Lanham: Berman Press, 1994), 144.

31. There is a wide range in the data on this point. The GSS (*c. degree*), which reflects an earlier period when many fewer people went to college, suggests that 11 percent of SDAs are college graduates; in 1990, the NSRI gave the figure as 18 percent (Kosmin and Lachman, *One Nation Under God*, 258). In contrast, internal surveys indicate a much higher proportion: the supplement to *Seventh-day Adventist Youth at the Mid-Century*,

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ed. (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1998); and Richard W. Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, rev. ed. (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2000). Earlier, less scholarly works include A. W. Spalding's *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1961-1962); M. Ellsworth Olsen's *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1925); and J. N. Loughborough's *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1905).

The Millerite movement has been extensively investigated. Francis D. Nichol's *The Midnight Cry* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1944) is openly apologetic, but a remarkable piece of amateur historical scholarship. A little more detached are Everett N. Dick's *William Miller and the Advent Crisis, 1831-1844*, with historiographical essay by Gary Land (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1994); and George R. Knight's *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1993). The standard works by non-Adventists are David L. Rowe's *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985); and David T. Arthur's "'Come Out of Babylon' A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1970). Ruth Alden Doan's *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987) relates Millerism to contemporary religious and social movements, as do the essays in Gaustad's *The Rise of Adventism*, and in Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds., *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). Jerome Clark's *1844*, 3 vols. (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1968), has similar aims but is heavily reliant on Whitney Cross's classic *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950).

The most valuable contribution to the study of the denomination's formative period is still Jonathan M. Butler's landmark essay, "Adventism and the American Experience," in *The Rise of Adventism*, ed. Gaustad. The early years of Adventism are also discussed in P. Gerard Damsteegt's reliable *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1977); Ingemar Linden's idiosyncratic *The Last Trump: A Historico-Genetical Study of Some Important Chapters in the Making and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang, 1978); and Paul A. Gordon's more popular review, *The Sanctuary, 1844, and the Pioneers* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1983). William A. Spicer's *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement With Notes on Pioneer Workers and Early Experiences* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1941) is still a helpful guide to who was who in the early years of the denomination.

The official Ellen White biography is Arthur L. White's *Ellen G. White*, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1981-1986). Sharper analysis is to be found in Ronald L. Numbers' *Prophetess of Health: Ellen G. White and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventist Health Reform*, with an introduction by Jonathan M. Butler, rev. ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); and Ronald Graybill's "The Power of Prophecy: Ellen G. White and the Women Religious Founders of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1983). D. M. Canright's *Life of Mrs. White* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Standard Publishing Company, 1919) is an early critique; Herbert E. Douglass's *Messenger of the Lord: The Prophetic Ministry*

of *Ellen G. White* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1998) is a recent defense—both are well argued. Less accomplished, but with incontrovertible evidence of the prophetess's literary borrowings, is Walter Rea's *The White Lie* (Turlock, Calif.: M & R Publications, 1982). Roy E. Graham's *Ellen G. White: Co-founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (New York: Peter Lang, 1985), and George R. Knight's *Ellen White Series*, 4 vols. (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1996–1999), do not engage in this debate. Rene Noorbergen's *Prophet of Destiny* (New Canaan, Conn.: Keats Publishing Company, 1972) is straight hagiography.

There are biographies of several other Adventist pioneers, including one of James White: Gerald Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2003); two of Bates: Godfrey T. Anderson, *Outrider of the Apocalypse: The Life and Times of Joseph Bates* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1972), and George R. Knight, *Joseph Bates: The Real Founder of Seventh-day Adventism* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2004); one of Andrews: Harry Leonard, ed., *J. N. Andrews: The Man and His Mission* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1985); and one of Smith: Eugene F. Durand, *Yours in the Blessed Hope, Uriah Smith* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1980).

Among the biographies of leaders who bridged the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are Gilbert M. Valentine's *The Shaping of Adventism: The Case of W. W. Prescott* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1992); George R. Knight's *From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1987); Calvin W. Edwards and Gary Land's *Seeker After Light: A. F. Ballenger, Adventism, and American Christianity* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 2000); John J. Robertson's *A. G. Daniells: The Making of a General Conference President, 1901* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1977); and Richard W. Schwarz's careful but fascinating "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1964). This forms the basis of the same author's popular biography, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1970), reprinted by Andrews University Press in 1981.

Twentieth-century Adventism has otherwise been little explored. Developments at the turn of the century are chronicled in A. V. Olson's *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888–1901: From the Minneapolis Meeting to the Reorganization of the General Conference* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1966). LeRoy Edwin Froom's *Movement of Destiny* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1971) takes the history of Adventists up to the 1960s but focuses almost exclusively on the church's alignment with evangelicalism. Richard L. Hammill's *Pilgrimage: Memoirs of an Adventist Administrator* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1994) gives an inside account of events between the 1950s and 1980s. At the other end of the denomination, Andy Nash's *Growing Up Adventist* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1997) provides a rare and witty view of grassroots Adventism in the 1970s.

The development of Adventist theology has received some attention. The most comprehensive survey is Rolf J. Pöhler's highly accomplished *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching: A Case Study in Doctrinal Development* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: P. Lang, 2000). More succinct is George R. Knight's judicious *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2000). The evolution of specific doctrines is discussed in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. Kenneth A. Strand (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982); Roy Adams, *The Sanctuary*

Doctrine: Three Approaches in the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1981); Woodrow Whidden et al., *The Trinity: Understanding God's Love, His Plan of Salvation, and Christian Relationships* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2002); Geoffrey J. Paxton, *The Shaking of Adventism: A Documented Account of the Crisis Among Adventists Over the Doctrine of Justification by Faith* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1977); Eric C. Webster, *Crosscurrents in Adventist Christology*, repr. ed. (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1992); Ralph Larson, *The Word Was Made Flesh: One Hundred Years of Seventh-day Adventist Christology 1852–1952* (Cherry Valley, Calif.: Cherrystone Press, 1986); and J. R. Zurcher, *Touched With Our Feelings: A Historical Survey of Adventist Thought on the Human Nature of Christ*, trans. Edward E. White (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1999).

The latter two were late responses to the church's most controversial theological publication, *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine: An Explanation of Certain Major Aspects of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1957), reprinted with introduction and commentary by George R. Knight (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 2003). Apart from *Questions on Doctrine*, which led to Adventism being regarded as an evangelical church, very few theological works by Adventists have had an impact outside the denomination. A notable exception is Edwin R. Thiele's *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings: A Reconstruction of the Chronology of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1951), which brought Adventist perspectives on the Old Testament to a wider audience. Another is Richard Rice's *The Openness of God: The Relationship of Divine Foreknowledge and Human Free Will* (Nashville, Tenn.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1980), which communicated the Adventist idea of a circumscribed God to many evangelicals.

Generally, Adventists have preferred to focus their efforts on locating their theology within the Protestant tradition. Representative of such attempts are LeRoy Edwin Froom's astonishing *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946–1954), and *The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers: The Conflict of the Ages over the Nature and Destiny of Man* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1965–1966). Froom's research is impressive but sometimes lacks an adequate historical framework. Narrower in scope are B. W. Ball's *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1981), which takes a somewhat anachronistic view of Adventist theology, and a more popular work, W. L. Emmerson's *The Reformation and the Advent Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1983).

The range of contemporary Adventist theology can be gauged from Fritz Guy's relatively liberal *Thinking Theologically: Adventist Christianity and the Interpretation of Faith* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1999); and Norman R. Gulley's more conservative *Systematic Theology: Prolegomena* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 2003), the first of an ambitious, multivolume work. Alden Thompson is fairly open to historical-critical methods in *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1991); Samuel Koranteng-Pipim in *Receiving the Word: How New Approaches to the Bible Impact Our Biblical Faith and Lifestyle* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Berean Books, 1996) is not. Steering a middle course is Richard Rice's college-level textbook, *The Reign of God: An Introduction to Christian Theology from a Seventh-day Adventist Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1997).

Of the various studies of Adventism's dissident movements, the only general guide is Lowell Tarling's invaluable *The Edges of Seventh-day Adventism: A Study of Separatist Groups Emerging from the Seventh-day Adventist Church (1844-1980)* (Barragga Bay, Australia: Galilee, 1981). The Cranmer, Snook, and Brinkerhoff defections are described in Robert Coulter, *The Story of the Church of God (Seventh Day)* (Denver, Colo.: Bible Advocate Press, 1983), available from the group's headquarters in Denver, Colorado. A. Balbach, in *The History of the Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement* (Roanoke, Va.: Reformation Herald Publishing Association, 1999), recalls the early twentieth-century rebellion of pacifist German adherents, as does Helmut H. Kramer, as a Seventh-day Adventist convert from it, in *The Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Biblical Research Institute, 1988).

The definitive account of the Davidian schism, from Victor Houteff to David Koresh, is Kenneth G. C. Newport's *The Branch Davidians of Waco: The History and Beliefs of an Apocalyptic Sect* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). Dick J. Reavis's *The Ashes of Waco: An Investigation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995) is another astute study of the Branch Davidians, though the lack of footnoting may hamper the researcher. Jayne Seminare Docherty offers revealing analyses of the negotiations between Koresh and the authorities in *Learning Lessons from Waco: When the Parties Bring Their Gods to the Table* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001). The essayists in *Armageddon in Waco: Critical Perspectives on the Branch Davidian Conflict*, ed. Stuart A. Wright (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), tend to hold the government responsible for the calamity, as do James D. Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher in *Why Waco?: Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Denominational attempts to distance the church from the Branch Davidians are contained in Cari Hoyt Haus and Madlyn Lewis Hamblin's *In the Wake of Waco: Why Were Adventists Among the Victims?* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1993).

Other aspects of Adventism are covered in George R. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil: The Development of Adventist Church Structure* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2001); Daniel A. Ochs and Grace Lillian Ochs, *The Past and the Presidents: Biographies of the General Conference Presidents* (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1974); Borge Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought: A Contemporary Appraisal" (Ph.D. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983); Howard B. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1969); Jon L. Dybdahl, ed., *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century: The Joys and Challenges of Presenting Jesus to a Diverse World* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1999); Steven G. Daily, *Adventism for a New Generation*, 3rd ed. (Portland, Ore.: Better Living Publishers, 1994); George W. Reid, *The Sound of Trumpets: Americans, Adventists and Health Reform* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982); Gary E. Fraser, *Diet, Life Expectancy and Chronic Disease: Studies of Seventh-day Adventists and Other Vegetarians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Willie Oliver with Patricia L. Humphrey, *We Are the Pathfinders Strong: The First Fifty Years* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2000); Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001); Eric B. Syme, *A History of SDA Church-State Relations* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1976); Robert C. Kistler, *Adventists and Labor Unions in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1984); and Roger L. Dudley and Edwin I. Hernández, *Citizens of Two Worlds: Religion and*

Politics Among American Seventh-day Adventists (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1992).

Adventist ethical enquiries are headed by Michael Pearson's authoritative *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas: Seventh-day Adventism and Contemporary Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Less impressive is Zdravko Plantak's sometimes rather derivative *The Silent Church: Human Rights and Adventist Social Ethics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998). James W. Walters discusses at what point human life should be medically protected or extended in *What is a Person? An Ethical Exploration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997). Charles W. Teel et al. offer ethical interpretations of the church's relationship to America in *Remnant & Republic: Adventist Themes for Personal and Social Ethics* (Loma Linda, Calif.: Loma Linda University Center for Christian Bioethics, 1995). *Abortion: Ethical Issues & Options*, ed. David Larson (Loma Linda, Calif.: Loma Linda University Center for Christian Bioethics, 1992), gives a variety of Adventist perspectives on this perennially controversial issue.

There is little by way of gender interpretations of the church. Laura L. Vance's *Seventh-day Adventism in Crisis: Gender and Sectarian Change in an Emerging Religion* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999) is an isolated attempt and breaks some new ground. Works in this field tend to focus on the female contribution to the denomination such as John G. Beach's *Notable Women of Spirit: The Historical Role of Women in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1976), or Josephine Benton's more specific *Called By God: Stories of Seventh-day Adventist Women Ministers* (Smithsburg, Md.: Blackberry Hill Publishers, 1990). On the ordination of women issue, *Women in Ministry: Biblical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Nancy Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1998) takes a supportive line; while *Prove All Things: A Response to Women in Ministry*, ed. Mercedes H. Dyer (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Adventists Affirm, 2000) adopts a dismissive one. None of the above publications is particularly interested in the femininity of Adventism, and only Vance has the scope to discuss masculinity in the church.

The literature on race is a richer area. Louis Martin Halswick's *Mission Fields at Home* (Brookfield, Ill.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, [1944]), is a good account of the church's early success among the different races and immigrant groups in the United States. Roy Branson underlines the remarkable ethnic diversity in the denomination in "Adventism's Rainbow Coalition," in *Make Us One: Celebrating Spiritual Unity in the Midst of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Delbert W. Baker (Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1995). Lewis Harrison Christian, *Sons of the North, and Their Share in the Advent Movement* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1942) describes the Scandinavian contribution to the development of the church; and Robert K. Dupuy, *Nothing to Fear: The Story of Seventh-day Adventism in the Dakotas* (n.p., 1983) recounts the evangelization of German Americans in these states. Louis B. Reynolds's *We Have Tomorrow: The Story of American Seventh-day Adventists With an African Heritage* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1984) is the standard work on black Adventism. Charles E. Dudley's *Thou Who Hast Brought Us Thus Far On Our Way: The Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination Among African Americans*, 3 vols. (Brushton, N.Y.: Teach Services, 1997) includes fascinating original material, though details sometimes need to be checked against other sources. Manuel Vásquez's *The Untold Story: One Hundred Years of Hispanic Adventism, 1899–1999* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2000) is an informative history, tied to institutions and conferences. Johnny Ramírez-Johnson and Edwin I. Hernández's *AVANCE, A Vision of a New Mañana* (Loma Linda, Calif.: Loma Linda University Press, 2003) is an indispensable sociological study of Latino Adventists; and in

Perspectives: Black Seventh-day Adventists Face the Twenty-first Century, ed. Calvin B. Rock (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1996) leading African-Americans pronounce on issues of importance to their constituency.

As far as Adventist creative writing is concerned, no extensive overviews have yet been published. But forming the basis of any such study would be Merikay McLeod's short story *NOW!* (Orlando, Fla.: Worldwide Bible Lectures, [1964]), which established the style of the apocalyptic novel in Adventism; June Strong's *Project Sunlight*, repr. ed. (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1999), which exemplifies the angelology that pervades the church's fiction; and Wilma Ross Westphal's Adventist rites-of-passage novel *Jeanie* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1960), which is also a good place to go to find out about the culture of the denomination in the middle years of the twentieth century. On Adventist art, the principal narratives are David Morgan's *Protestants & Pictures: Religion, Visual Culture, and the Age of American Mass Reproduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), which sets the church's early chart imagery in the context of a wider discussion of nineteenth-century religious art; and Raymond H. Woolsey and Ruth Anderson's *Harry Anderson: The Man Behind the Paintings* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1976). Formative hymnody is presented in James R. Nix's interesting *Early Advent Singing: A Collection of 52 Early Adventist Hymns With Illustrating Stories*, 2nd ed. (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1994). Important musical biographies include *Del Delker: Her Story as Told to Ken Wade* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2002); and Marilyn Thomsen's *Wedgwood: Their Music, Their Journey* (Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1996), in which the trio tell of their rise, fall, break-up, and inevitable reunion.

Some idea of the rhetorical style of nineteenth-century Adventists is given by James R. Nix's *Advent Preaching: A Collection of Twelve Early Adventist Sermons* (Silver Spring, Md.: North American Division Office of Education, 1989). A fuller picture of the Adventist ministry in the middle of the twentieth century is presented by Orley Berg in *The Work of the Pastor* (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1966); and at the end of the century by the official *Seventh-day Adventist Minister's Manual* (Silver Spring, Md.: Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992). Though researched in Australia, *Leaving the Adventist Ministry: A Study in the Process of Exiting* by Peter H. Ballis (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999) well describes the problems that can arise in the profession.

The early philosophy of Adventist medicine is set out in Richard J. B. Willis's *The Kellogg Imperative: John Harvey Kellogg's Unique Contribution to Healthful Living* (Grantham, U.K.: The Stanborough Press, 2003). The principles of present-day Adventist practice are described in *Spirituality, Health, and Wholeness: An Introductory Guide for Health Care Professionals*, ed. Siroj Sorajjakool and Henry H. Lamberton (New York: The Haworth Press, 2004). Richard A. Schaefer concentrates on the medical achievements of Loma Linda University in *Legacy: Daring to Care, the Heritage of Loma Linda* (Loma Linda, Calif.: Legacy Publishing Association, 1990). The history of the institution itself is related in Richard H. Utt, *From Vision to Reality, 1905-1980: Loma Linda University* (Loma Linda, Calif.: Loma Linda University, 1980).

The history of Andrews University is narrated in Meredith Jones-Gray's *As We Set Forth*, 2 vols. (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University, 2002). More general discussion of the people behind Adventism's impressive school system occurs in George R. Knight, ed., *Early Adventist Educators* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1983). Although numerous intellectual fashions have subsequently developed within the denomination's educational system, only anti-evolutionism has attracted

significant interest. Ronald L. Numbers places Adventist creationism in its proper historical context in *The Creationists: The Evolution of Scientific Creationism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). The Adventist biologist Harold W. Clark profiles the denomination's chief creationist in *Crusader for Creation: The Life and Writings of George McCready Price* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1966), and also provides an account of his break with Price over the geological column in *The Battle over Genesis* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1977). The major works of Price and Clark are reprinted in Numbers' comprehensive *Creationism in Twentieth-Century America: A Ten-Volume Anthology of Documents, 1903–1961* (New York: Garland Publications, 1995).

As with education, there are few extended analyses of the Self-Supporting Movement. Robert H. Pierson takes a celebratory approach in *Miracles Happen Every Day: A Story of Self-Supporting Workers* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1983); and Colin D. Standish and Russell R. Standish offer a somewhat disjointed one in *Swarming Independents* (Rapidan, Va.: Hartland Publications, 1996). More satisfactory are the histories of individual institutions, such as Ira Gish and Harry Christman's *Madison, God's Beautiful Farm: The E. A. Sutherland Story* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979); the Weimar Institute's *10 Years in God's Hand* (New York: Teach Services, [1988]); Colin D. Standish's readable *The Vision and God's Providences: The Story of the Hartland Institute*, unabridged ed. (Rapidan, Va.: Hartland Publications, 2003); and Kay Kuzma's *Mending Broken People: The Vision, the Lives, the Blessings: The Miracle Stories of 3ABN* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2005).

The sociology of the church has been investigated from several standpoints. Early analyses were provided by non-Adventists James T. Borhek in "Social Bases of Participation in the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (M.A. thesis, University of California, 1960); Gary Schwartz in *Sect Ideologies and Social Status* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); and Robin Theobald in "The Seventh-day Adventist Movement: A Sociological Study with Particular Reference to Great Britain" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1979). Since then, social investigations of Adventism have been largely undertaken by the church. Roger L. Dudley and V. Bailey Gillespie collaborated in the youth survey, *Valuegenesis: Faith in the Balance* (Riverside, Calif.: La Sierra University Press, 1992), which spawned several subsidiary reports published by Search Institute in Minneapolis and a sequel produced by Gillespie, *Valuegenesis: Ten Years Later: A Study of Two Generations* (Riverside, Calif.: Hancock Center Publication, 2004). Monte Sahlin published a decade of research in *Trends, Attitudes, and Opinions: The Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America* (Lincoln, Neb.: Center for Creative Ministry, 1998).

Demographic studies are represented by the still-helpful population sampling supplement to *Seventh-day Adventist Youth at the Mid-Century* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1951), and *Demographic Profile: The Adventist Community in North America* (Silver Spring, Md.: Report 1, Office of Information and Research, North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1990). Surveys of local churches have been analyzed by Monte Sahlin in *Adventist Congregations Today* (Lincoln, Neb.: Center for Creative Ministry, 2002); and those of Adventist homes, by Charles C. Crider and Robert C. Kistler in *The Seventh-day Adventist Family: An Empirical Study* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1979), and Monte Sahlin and Norma Sahlin in *A New Generation of Adventist Families: What it Means to You and Your Church* (Lincoln, Neb.: Center for Creative Ministry, 1997). The key dropout investigations are Roger L. Dudley's *Why Our Teenagers Leave the Church: Personal Stories From a 10-year Study* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association,

2000); and Jerry W. Lee's more localized *Seeking the Lost Sheep: A Study of Membership Loss in the Southeastern California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists* (Riverside, Calif.: Southeastern Californian Conference [1980]).

In addition, the independent Adventist sociologist Ronald Lawson published numerous articles about the church in the late 1990s. They explore three distinct topics, within each of which there is often some overlap between individual publications. His most important contributions in each area are: (1) Adventist relations with government, the military, and the law: "Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-day Adventists and the Issue of Military Service," *Review of Religious Research* 37:3 (1996): 97-122; "Church and State at Home and Abroad: The Evolution of Seventh-day Adventist Relations with Governments," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64:2 (1996): 279-311; "Seventh-day Adventists and the U.S. Courts: Road Signs Along the Route of a Denominationalizing Sect," *Journal of Church and State* 40:3 (1998): 553-88; (2) the significance of Waco: "Seventh-day Adventist Responses to Branch Davidian Notoriety: Patterns of Diversity within a Sect Reducing Tension With Society," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34:3 (1995): 323-41; and (3) the impact of immigrants in New York: "From American Church to Immigrant Church: The Changing Face of Seventh-day Adventism in Metropolitan New York," *Sociology of Religion* 59:4 (1998): 329-51. Lawson always tries to accommodate his data to church-sect theory, but his publications nevertheless represent a very significant body of work.

WEB GUIDE

The official Seventh-day Adventist Web site is located at <http://www.adventist.org>, from where the pages of most denominational organizations, institutions, departments, and agencies can be accessed. The world divisions, ADRA, Global Mission, the Biblical Research Institute, and the Geoscience Research Institute, all provide information for the general public. The media enquiries page gives a list of worldwide telephone and email contacts for journalists. There are also links to the church's media services, including the Adventist Television Network, Adventist World Radio, Adventist News Network, where news bulletins are archived, and to the *Review*, where issues can be read or downloaded.

Of additional assistance to researchers are the *Online Document Archives* located at <http://www.adventistarchives.org>. This has PDF and DJVU files of *Present Truth*, the *Review*, *Ministry* magazine, *Message*, and *Signs of the Times*. The availability, however, is variable. Files of *Ministry* are complete, whereas those of *Signs of the Times* are currently limited. More extensive are the *Annual Statistical Reports* that go back to 1899; the *General Conference Committee Minutes* that date from 1888; *General Conference Session Minutes* held from 1863; and *North American Division Administration Committee Minutes* that are currently retrievable from 1913 to 1985. At this location there is also a useful section containing research papers on topics that range from the use of tithe to the role of women.

The official Ellen White Web site is at <http://www.whiteestate.org>, where efficient search engines give access to all her published writings. The online catalog at <http://www.andrews.edu/library> has a record of virtually everything else that has been written or published by Adventists. This address also serves as a gateway to other helpful Adventist databases, including the online version of the *SDA Periodicals Index*, and the equally useful *SDA Obituaries Index*. Similar search facilities are available at the Loma Linda University gateway located at <http://www.llu.edu/llu/library/heritage>, which in addition has links to a digital library. Current Adventist publications may be purchased from the church bookseller at <http://www.adventistbookcenter.com>. The privately operated *Lost-N-Found Books* at <http://www.lnfbooks.com> specializes in new and out-of-print Adventist publications. Searchable photographic archives can be found at Loma Linda at <http://search.llu.edu/heritage/PhotoFileSearch.asp>, or at Walla Walla College at <http://www.wwc.edu/photos>.

Several large Web sites promote the interests of the church across the Internet. Of these, the most prominent are the North American Division-sponsored Adventist *Plus-Line* at <http://www.plusline.org>, a so-called "help-desk" for division entities; the privately run, *Three Angels Global Networking*, located at <http://www.tagnet.org>; and the more independent *SDAnet* at <http://www.sdanet.org>. The latter oversees an online scholarly magazine, *At Issue*, which posts articles, papers, opinion pieces, and often the text of en-

tire books; and a valuable archived chatroom, host to some of the widest-ranging Adventist discussion on the net. Other chatter is available at the *Unofficial Worldwide Adventist Forums* based at <http://www.clubadventist.com>, and at the more radical *Adventist for Tomorrow*, whose message boards are activated from <http://www.atomorrow.com>.

There are also many online Adventist communities, including one for women at <http://www.sdawomen.org>; a site for African Americans at <http://www.sdablack.com>; some for gays, including those who go to <http://www.glow.cc>; several for the unattached with addresses like <http://www.adventistsingles.org> or <http://www.adventistmatch.com>; and a fellowship for ex-members, which meets at <http://www.formeradventist.com>. The latter is typical of sites hostile to the church and its prophetess, many of which are maintained by former ministers or their apostatizing offspring. At <http://www.lukeford.net>, the son of Desmond Ford gives a very negative account of growing up in the church in his posted autobiography. The writings of past defectors like Canright are available on <http://www.ex-sda.com>. *Truth or Fables* is dedicated to exposing the "myths" of Ellen White at <http://www.truthorfables.com>; the *Ellen White Research Project* goes about the same business in the domain of <http://www.ellenwhite.org>; *Life Assurance Ministries* focuses on the church's "unbiblical doctrines" at <http://www.ratzlaf.com>; and *7th day Adventism: What You Should Know* seeks to draw people out of the denomination at <http://www.sdaoutreach.org>. Against these are the apologetic <http://www.earlysda.com>, which is not particularly easy to navigate, and <http://www.ellen-white.com>, set up specifically to combat the anti-Ellen White presence on the Web.

A number of Adventist sites promote particular causes. The argumentative <http://www.greatcontroversy.org> takes on liberal Adventism at every opportunity, while *New Perspectives on Seventh-day Adventism* at <http://www.fountain.btinternet.co.uk.sda/index.html> promotes what it terms a "neo-orthodox" approach to Adventist theology. The *Adventist Music Gateway* at <http://www.adventistmusic.com> is a mine of information on popular church musicians, as is *The International Adventist Musicians Association* at <http://www.iamonline.com> on classical performers. The *Center for Law and Public Policy* gathers together those interested in the judicial and political process at <http://www.sdalaw.org>. It is one of the more progressive Adventist sites on the Internet, which is not surprising, given that Roy Branson, former editor of *Spectrum*, is one of the movers behind it. The *Adventist Association for Online Evangelism* is interested in recruiting members from the cyber community at <http://www.aaoc.org>. The *Adventist Peace Fellowship* at <http://www.adventistpeace.org>, is set up to reclaim "Adventism's historic vision to personal and social peace," which in its view includes commitment to "nonviolence, economic justice, care for creation, and freedom of conscience." The *Women's Resource Center* at <http://www.adventistwomenscenter.org> pursues gender equality in the church, while *Members for Church Accountability* lobby for greater financial transparency and a more democratic election system at <http://www.advmca.org>.

Proliferating numbers of denominational bloggers are also adding to the quantity of sources on the Adventist experience. *Bloggng the Future of Adventism* located at <http://blogthefuture.blogspot.com> consists of anonymous church employees discussing current issues in the denomination, particularly as they pertain to one middle-American union conference. At <http://daniel.ashtonfam.org/weblog>, a member from Maryland records his reaction to everything from spending another happy Sabbath to watching a prophecy program on the 3ABN network. Two of the best blogs are by *Kendra*, a minister's wife, located at <http://veggiegrl.blogspot.com>, and by *Write Lightning*, also known as Deb Thompson, posted at <http://www.writelightning.com>. Like *Kendra*, her daily musings are not confined to Adventist subjects. As one of her non-Adventist fans on the Internet comments, she "writes from California about everything in the world . . . and does it exceedingly well."

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