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WOMEN'S ORDINATION, GENDER IDENTITY, AND THE SABBATH

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Introduction

Scripture lacks a clear theology of ordination. This fact has led scholars of nearly all Christian denominations to use the ecclesial background in the OT and NT for the study of ordination and women's ordination. Opponents to women's ordination usually favor the male headship and female subordination concept that they relate to the church. They understand this concept as established in creation and applied in the male-exclusive priesthood of the OT, in Jesus' appointment of the twelve male disciples, and adopted by the NT church. Proponents to women's ordination argue from texts on the ideal "kingdom of priests" of all believers. They trace this ideal from male-female equality in creation and see it fulfilled in the Holy Spirit's gifting of church members without regard to gender as well as in female top leaders of the OT and NT church.

Both positions provide biblical evidence with regard to questions on gender such as on the ontological being and role or function of men and women. However, when the gender function issue is connected to the church and its ministries, there is no conclusive and satisfying answer to the question of women's ordination. The outcome is that the studies have reached an impasse without a unifying conclusion.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church, while in the process of studying the topic of ordination on a large scale, has adopted a similar approach. Numerous Adventist studies on ordination use the model of the church, the OT *qahal* and the NT *ekklesia*, as a foundation upon which an argument is built, either in favor of or against women's ordination.[1] To be ordained as a leader of God's church—a deacon, elder, or pastor—means to receive ordination on the ground rules of the church and then minister for the church within the assigned role.

In this paper, I propose a different, more comprehensive and in-depth approach to the study of ordination, and women's ordination in particular, with the use of the creation Sabbath as an overarching, dominant biblical concept that directly relates to gender questions and at the same time exceeds the dimensions and dynamics of the church. This new approach to the study of women and ordination clarifies with regard to human identity, gender distinction, and the purpose and function of men and women in their relation

[1]At least I am not aware of a biblical study that relates women's ordination to a concept other than the church or the community of believers.

to God. Second, this new approach takes into account the biblical evidence about the human being and gender distinction in the pre-Fall world, in the fallen world, and in the world after sin and death and thus provides a fresh understanding of women and ordination in a mission-oriented church in the fallen world.

The creation Sabbath's human-focused rationale, gender-related implications, and enduring significance, seems best qualified to shed light on the gender-related questions of woman's ordination. Among the studies that have been done on the topic of ordination, an investigation of the correlation between the Sabbath and ordination with specific regard to matters of gender is lacking. Thus, this study attempts a Sabbath-informed contribution and will provide, first, reasons for the Sabbath as a hermeneutical key to the discussion on ordination and then analyze Sabbath texts and Sabbath language related to gender identity and the function of human beings in order to shed light on the topic of women's ordination.

Sabbath as a Hermeneutical Key to Gender Issues

Sabbath is the great inclusionist. Scripture shows that unlike any other concept and day, the Sabbath implicates all human beings by core gender categories of male and female and regards them as equals before God. The creation Sabbath places the human being, male and female—the image of God, into God's immediate presence (Gen 1:26–2:3). Subsequent Sabbath texts continue the principle of gender equality and inclusion and show that, even in a world where society is stratified by power, religious authority, economic status, and honor, the Sabbath takes its stand with strong enduring opposition. Furthermore, the Sabbath goes beyond identifying people groups in general terms of kinship and societal class to differentiate them by gender categories. Thus, for example, Sabbath texts do not generally address children according to their relationship to their parent or slaves in relationship to their master, but differentiates them according to gender—son, daughter, male slave, female slave (Exod 20:8-11; Deut 5:12-15), the female slave's son (Exod 23:12), and the eunuch (Isa 56:4-5). All are identified by the all-inclusive language and message of the Sabbath in their gender-related being.

Based on scriptural evidence, I will list five reasons why the Sabbath, and not the concept of the church, should be chosen as a hermeneutical key for understanding the gender-related issue of ordination:

1. *Scripture shows that God created the pre-Fall world with the intent of a divine-human relationship*. Sabbath is the culminating event of that perfect world, promoting God's presence in creation and his sanctifying relationship with humans, male and female—the image of God (Gen 1:1–2:3).

2. *Scripture establishes the pre-Fall world as the divine model to be followed in the corrupt world of sin and death*. The pre-Fall world is not intended to be an

abstract theoretical concept for the fallen world nor a rough sketch drawn for a world to come; neither is there a different or modified standard for the fallen world. The model of the pre-Fall world is to be followed by the believer in the here and now, based upon the initiative and redemptive power of God. The Sabbath builds the bridge between the pre-Fall perfect world and the corrupt world and translates the message of God's presence and his desire for a relationship with human beings, male and female, into the language of the fallen world (Exod 20:8-12; cf. 16:1-36).

3. *The Sabbath's message of God's presence in the fallen world places the human being, male and female, into the center of God's attention.* Unlike any other biblical concept, the Sabbath offers insights on (a) the ontological question of what it means to be a created human being, male and female, before God (Gen 1:26–2:3); (b) the aspect of relationship between God and the human being (Exod 20:8-11; 31:12-17; Deut 5:12-15); and (c) the function of the human being as male and female before God and others including the church (Exod 20:8-11; 23:12; Deut 5:12-15; Joel 2:28-29; Acts 2:17-18). Jesus summarizes the human-focused rationale and scope of the Sabbath with the words, "Because of the human being the Sabbath was made and not the human being because of the Sabbath" (Mark 2:27, my translation). Jesus' words show that the pre-Fall Sabbath has not lost or altered its significance and meaning in the fallen world.

4. *Adventists understand that the Sabbath's description as a covenantal sign between God and the Sabbath observer* (Exod 31:12-17; Ezek 20:20) *and as the seal of God* (Exod 20:8-11; Ezek 9:4, 6; Rev 7:3; 14:1) *has a distinct eschatological character.* This character is to promote God's mission to the fallen world by including male and female of all people groups as both the carriers and the target body of the good news of salvation (Rev 14:6-7; cf. Exod 20:8-11; Acts 2:17-18).

5. *Scripture shows that the Sabbath will continue to have a prominent position in the post-Fall world.* Its all-embracing nature and message calls all humans—sons, daughters, eunuchs, and foreigners—to enjoy the benefits of the Sabbath in the world to come (Isa 56:3-8; 66:23).[2]

With regard to the church, Scripture shows that its existence, purpose, and mission are to proclaim the message of salvation to the fallen world with the Sabbath as an everlasting sign of God's love to human beings (Exod 31:12-17; Rev 14:6-7). The organizational structures and ministries of the

[2]Gerhard Hasel notes: "In the realm of the new creation beyond history there will be total restoration of the break brought about by sin. 'All flesh' in the sense of all mankind, the redeemed remnant of all times will worship before the Lord Sabbath after Sabbath. . . . The Sabbath will thus be the only institution designed by the Creator that will link the first heaven and earth with the new heaven and earth" ("The Sabbath in the Prophetic and Historical Literature of the Old Testament," in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. Kenneth A. Strand [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982], 49).

church exist precisely for the sake of the mission. Furthermore, the Holy Spirit, in acting on the missional purpose of the church, does not assign "roles to play" to church members; neither does the Holy Spirit impart gifts on the basis of gender. Rather, the Holy Spirit calls members into ministries of the church on the basis of his divine will and gifts them accordingly.[3] In addition, the gifting of church members, male and female, does not function according to a hierarchical ranking system: the gifts of wisdom, knowledge, and faith are not superior or inferior to the gift of prophecy or healing. Likewise, the appointment to the ministry of an apostle or prophet is not superior to the ministry of a teacher, evangelist, or pastor (1 Cor 12:1-31; Eph 4:7-16). All ministries are given so that "you, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people of His own, may proclaim the wonderful deeds of Him who called you out of darkness into His marvelous light" (1 Pet 2:9).

Sabbath and Gender in Creation Times

This section analyzes the creation text in Genesis 1 and 2 in view of the connection between the creation Sabbath and the creation of the human being as male and female. The intent is to set the ground for the understanding of the essence and function of the human being as male and female in their relationship to God, who is present and involved in the created world by means of the Sabbath.

Genesis 1:26–2:3

The account of the sixth day of creation reports God's most exceptional speech of the week, "Let us make *adam* as our image, according to our likeness" (Gen 1:26).[4] The entire theology of *imago Dei*[5] rests upon this divine

[3]Raoul Dederen, "A Theology of Ordination" in *Symposium on the Role of Women in the Church* (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute Committee of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1984), 146-155.

[4]On the two Hebrew terms צלם ("image") and דמות ("likeness") see the ninth-century B.C. Assyrian-Aramaic bilingual inscription from Tell Fakhariyah that describes the statue of King Haddayit'i' as an image and likeness of the god Hadad, using Aramaic equivalents of these two words interchangeably in lines 1 and 15. See Edward Lipinski, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, OLA (Leuven: Peeters, 1994], 48-49). Some note that the two nouns seem to possess overlapping meanings, emphasizing respectively the concrete and abstract aspects of the human being in relation to God (see, e.g., David M. Carr, *The Erotic Word: Sexuality, Spirituality, and the Bible* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2003], 17-26; Richard Davidson, *Flame of Yahweh: Sexuality in the Old Testament* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007], 36); Ilona Rashkow, *Taboo or Not Taboo* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000], 61).

[5]On the subject of the *imago Dei,* see David J. A. Clines, "The Image of God in Man," *TynBul* 19 (1968): 53-103; Charles L. Feinberg, "The Image of God," *BSac* 129 (1972): 235-245; Anthony A. Hoekema*, Created in God's Image* (Grand Rapids:

speech dealing with matters of resemblance and similarity between God and the human being as well as differences.[6] In Christian theology, *imago Dei* has been defined as substantive, relational, and functional: (1) substantive, in that God makes himself manifest in humans, male and female, and actualizes his purposes while respecting the free will of the human being; (2) relational, in that God establishes and maintains a relationship with humans, and in that humans are able to have complex and intricate relationships with each other (e.g., the marriage relationship between male and female culminates in a loving physical and spiritual union; (3) functional, in that humans, both male and female, are to have dominion and rule over the earth, reflecting God's benevolent rule over the entire universe.

The differences between God and the human being are best seen in the Genesis text, "God created man as His own image, in the image of God created He him, male and female created He them" (Gen 1:27, my translation).[7] The first part of the verse emphasizes the creation of the human being as God's image that is distinct from God: *adam* is not God, but God's mirror image.[8] Claus Westermann captures this distinct aspect of *adam* with the words that the human being was created as "Gottes Gegenüber,"[9] God's counterpart, one who faces God. The second part of the text identifies the human being as differentiated in gender: male and female. In simple words, female is not the same as male; yet, male as well as female is God's image.[10]

Eerdmans, 1986); Gunnlaugur A. Jónsson, *The Image of God: Genesis 1:26-28 in a Century of Old Testament Research* (Lund: Almquist & Wiksell, 1988); and Claus Westermann, *Genesis* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974), 203-214.

[6]With regard to the preposition ב in בצלמנו and בצלמו grammarians hold that this is a *beth essentiae*, and so the two phrases in Gen 1:26-27 should be translated "as our image" and "as his image" instead of "in our image" and "in his image." See Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome: Editrice Pontifico Istituto Biblicao, 2005), 487. Cf. Eugene H. Merrill, "Image of God," *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch*, IVP International Dictionary, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2003), 443.

[7]Robert Oberforcher holds that the clause בצלמו בצלן אלהין ברא אתו, "in his image, as God's image he created him," in Gen 1:27 and its immediate context give the impression of a distancing or distinctiveness ("Biblische Lesarten zur Anthropologie des Ebenbildmotivs," in *Horizonte Biblischer Texte: Festschrift für Josef M. Oesch zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Andreas Vonach and Georg Fischer [Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003], 139).

[8]Henri Blocher, *In the Beginning* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1984), 82; Leon R. Kass, *The Beginning of Wisdom: Reading Genesis* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 37, 53.

[9]Claus Westermann, *Creation* (London: SCM Press, 1974), 56.

[10]An interesting aspect in Genesis 1 is that only *adam* is differentiated into male and female, but other living beings are not. Plants, trees, fish, birds, and land animals are created "after their kind" (vv. 11, 12, 21, 24, 25). Fish and birds are blessed to be

Genesis 1 provides further insights into aspects of similarity and distinction between God and the human being in creation times:

1. *Initial distinction between two contrasting elements generates completeness and unity.* Genesis 1 highlights four divine acts in which contrasting elements produce a unit of complete wholeness: (a) separation between light and darkness starts the weekly rhythm of time (Gen 1:5); (b) separation between earth and sea sets up the environment for life on planet Earth (Gen 1:10); (c) the distinction between God and the human being initiates the divine-human relationship (Gen 1:27); and (d) the distinction between male and female ascertains the bond of unity between husband and wife (Gen 1:27; cf. Gen 2:22-24).[11] Each of the four units shows how God established wholeness as a fundamental cosmic principle, which then has its climax in the event of the seventh day (Gen 2:2-3): On Sabbath, (a) time is blessed and sanctified, (b) earth is filled with life lived in the presence of God, (c) the human being shares in God's rest, and (c) the marriage bond experiences the blessing of what is called "one flesh" (Gen 2:24).[12]

2. *Gender distinction is the basis for essential and functional equality between men and women.* Note how God envisioned *adam*, the human being, and not Adam the man, as a plural unit with leadership function over the created world: "Let us make *adam* (singular noun) in our image, according to our likeness, and *let them rule* (plural verb)" (Gen 1:26). Note how *adam* is then distinguished by gender in the following verse: "God created *adam* as His own image, in the image of God He created *him* (singular), male and female He created *them* (plural)" (Gen 1:27). The reading shows that essential equality of male and female (v. 27) is directly tied to the equal task of rulership in God's world (v. 26, 28).

The creation text shows that by reason of their essential equality male and female are equally appointed to their task of ruling and having dominion over the earth. There is no hint of any leadership roles assigned to the male over the female, neither in their essential being nor in their functions in the world. God's identification of male and female as his image establishes

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fruitful, multiply, and fill the water and the air, similar to the human being (v. 22).

[11]Genesis 1 contains four perfect verbs, two perfects of קרא ("he called") (vv. 5, 10), and two perfects of ברא ("he created") (v. 27), that highlight distinctiveness as well as completeness (light/darkness, earth/sea, God/*adam*, male/female).

[12]Jacques B. Doukhan, *The Genesis Creation Story: Its Literary Structure* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1978), 35-80. Doukhan has demonstrated that the first creation account is built in precise literary parallelism with the second creation account by seven structural units. The account of the seventh day parallels the first marriage in Eden and suggests unity and sacredness of marriage similar to the sacredness of the seventh day. Cf. Davidson, 53: "The first man and woman, created on the sixth day, united in holy wedlock as the first Sabbath draws near, are clearly intended to unite Sabbath holiness with the holy intimacy of married love."

fundamental cosmic equality between men and women and stands as God's plan for all future task-related structures in the world.

3. *Gender distinction is the basis for nonhierarchical relationships among men and women.* A nonhierarchical creation order among men and women is promoted in God's personal relationship with both male and female. In his speech on the gift of food, God is highly personal as well as inclusive, stating: "I have given to you" (plural, Gen 1:29).[13] With the intimate *I–thou* (to adapt KJV language), God sets the principle for a nondiscriminating order within the divine-human relationship, in which male and female are equally related to God; they are equally blessed (Gen 1:28), and they equally receive the gift of food out of their Creator's hand (Gen 1:29).

4. *The Sabbath carries God's cosmic principle of wholeness and equality into the future.* The nonhierarchical creation order of the sixth day anticipates the sanctification of the seventh day. God completed his work, ceased from it, and blessed and sanctified the seventh day. The work from which God ceased included the human being, male and female, the crowning of his creation. In establishing the Sabbath as the final day of creation, Scripture shows that God's relationship with the human being and the relationship between male and female is not considered complete on the sixth day. There is the divine desire and commitment for a sealing conclusion, a cessation, a *Shabbat*. Moreover, God's ceasing from work is not an end in itself, but has a greater purpose. God's ceasing causes the sanctification of the seventh day,[14] which is relational in essence and includes men and women equally in their core beings and functions in the world.[15]

[13]Ellen van Wolde points out that in speaking the words "I have given to you" God defines the human being in relation to himself (*Stories of the Beginning* [London: SCM Press, 1996], 25).

[14]For details, see my analysis of the causal relationship between the verbs "he ceased" and "he sanctified" and the causal particle כי, "because, for" in Mathilde Frey, "The Sabbath in the Pentateuch: An Exegetical and Theological Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 2011), 36-38, 46-52, 66-69.

[15]Jacob Milgrom's insight on the relational aspect of holiness applies in a special way to the sanctification of the Sabbath in relation to the human being: "Holiness means not only 'separation from' but 'separation to.' It is a positive concept, an inspiration and a goal associated with God's nature and his desire for man" (*Leviticus 1–16*, AB [New York: Doubleday, 1991], 731). Claus Westermann notes: "The meaning is that mankind is created so that something can happen between God and man: mankind is created to stand face to face with God" (*Creation*, 56). The German text in *Schöpfung* (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1971), 82, reads: "Von der Menschheit wird gesagt, dass sie geschaffen ist, damit etwas geschehe zwischen Gott und Mensch: die Menschheit ist zu Gottes Gegenüber geschaffen." Fernando Canale understands Sabbath sanctification in terms of the relational character of God who makes room for the "other" (*Basic Elements of Christian Theology* [Berrien Springs: Andrews University Lithotech, 2005], 201-202).

In summary, the cosmic principles that God set up during the six days of the creation week are reinforced by the sanctification of the seventh day. Their binding quality in the world of human beings is guaranteed by the weekly recurrence of the Sabbath. By the sanctification of this day, God becomes part of the world and assures life on earth in terms of his principles and relationships with the human being, male and female—the image of God.

The wholeness principle of the creation Sabbath conveys the following:

1. *Sabbath involves the human being as a whole*. The essence of the human being is not separated from its maleness or femaleness, neither in the relational aspect to God or to the other, nor in the functional calling into a ministry in the world. In other words, the message of the sixth and seventh days of the creation week affirms the wholistic understanding of the human being as the image of God: Equality in essence implies equality in function.

2. *The Sabbath resolves the question of human identity*. The male who perceives himself in the presence of God and in the presence of the female as being different from God and different from the female comes to realize, "I know who I am." The female, respectively, recognizes herself in the presence of God and in the presence of the male.[16] Or, in Davidson's terms, "The sexual distinction between male and female is fundamental to what it means to be human."[17]

3. *The Sabbath promotes the bond of a male-female union and equal relationship with all its beauty and genuine intimacy*. Yet, even within this divinely blessed bond each is an individual with equal value in being and function before God.[18]

Genesis 2:4-25

The wholeness principle of the Sabbath continues in the Garden of Eden story with its details on the creation of man and woman and their marriage relationship. This section will analyze Gen 2:4-25 in light of the creation Sabbath and present six implications to the understanding of man and woman in the Garden of Eden.[19] In so doing, I will work intertextually and

[16]In this regard, the meaning of the creation Sabbath has strong implications against the legitimacy of same-sex relationships.

[17]Davidson, 19.

[18]Ellen White states: "When God created Eve, He designed her that she should possess neither inferiority nor superiority to the man, but that in all things she should be his equal. The holy pair were to have no interest independent of each other; and yet each had an individuality in thinking and acting" (*Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols. [Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948], 3:484.

[19]The pivotal position of the Sabbath links the account of the creation week with the Eden narrative. See Doukhan's, 35-80, paralleling structure of Gen 1:1–2:4a and 2:4a-25. Other studies that analyze the links between Genesis 1 and 2 are William H. Shea, "The Unity of the Creation Account," *Origins* 5 (1978): 9-38; idem, "Literary

point out specific language and concepts that show the unity of Genesis 1–3, specifically the links with the Fall in Genesis 3, in which a world of coercive relationships has its beginning, yet it is also the place in which God upholds his principles for men and women on earth.[20]

1. *The miracle of the man and the woman.* The life of the man and the life of the woman are equally gracious acts of God. Genesis 2 makes a point in telling that God formed man "from the dust of the ground" (Gen 2:7) and not, as the animals and birds, from the ground only (Gen 2:19). The significance of the dust lies in an enormous paradox that Scripture foretells: on one hand, Gen 3:19 and several other references relate dust to mortality (cf. Ps 103:14; Eccl 3:20). The dust of the ground is specifically identified as the place where the dead sleep (Isa 26:19; Dan 12:2).[21] On the other hand, God will work miraculously in the lives of Abraham and his descendants so that they will be as abundant "as the dust of the earth" (Gen 13:16; 28:14; Num 23:10; 2 Chron 1:9). The patriarchal stories testify to God's miraculous deeds when children were born to infertile fathers and barren mothers and became numerous in spite of cruel oppression and infant killings (Exodos 1–5).

With regard to the creation of the woman, the narrative makes an even stronger point in telling that she came to life while the man was put into an unconscious condition: "God caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept" (Gen 2:21). Adam was immobilized and powerless; he was put into a lifeless state, corresponding to the dust of the ground from which he was taken. Elsewhere, Scripture relates sleep with death (Ps 13:3; Jer 51:39; Dan

Structural Parallels Between Genesis 1 and 2," *Origins* 16 (1989): 49-68; H. P. Santmire, "The Genesis Creation Narratives Revisited: Themes for a Global Age," *Int* 45 (1991): 366-379. While critical scholars divide the texts into two separate narratives, Gen 1:1–2:4b and Gen 2:4b-25, they have noted that Gen 2:4 contains an elaborate chiasm, which creates literary unity between the two texts. See Yehuda Kiel, *Sefer Biresit*, Genesis, Da'at Miqra (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1997), 43; C. John Collins, "The *wayyiqtol* as 'pluperfect': When and Why," *TynBul* 46/1 (1995): 117-140; Terje Stordalen, "Genesis 2, 4: Restudying a *locus classicus*," *ZAW* 104/2 (1992): 169-175; Alviero Nicacci, ed., *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, Library of Hebrew Bible/ Old Testament Studies, 86 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 200, n. 26; Gordon Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, WBC (Waco: Word, 1987), 46, 53; Umberto Cassuto, *Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961), 98-99; Jack Collins, "Discourse Analysis and the Interpretation of Gen 2:4-7," *WTJ* 61 (1999): 271.

[20]See the studies on the literary unity and internal coherence between Genesis 2 and 3. Zdravko Stefanovic, "The Great Reversal: Thematic Links Between Genesis 2 and 3," *AUSS* 32 (1994): 47-56; Roberto Ouro, "The Garden of Eden Account: The Chiastic Structure of Genesis 2–3," *AUSS* 40/2 (2002): 219-243. Ouro also points out the parallels between Genesis 1 and 3 in "Linguistic and Thematic Parallels Between Genesis 1 and 3," *JATS* 13/1 (2002): 44-54.

[21]Cf. Gen 3:19; Ps 22:15 [16]; 30:9 [10]; 104:29; Job 17:16; Eccl 3:20; 12:7.

12:2; John 11:11-13; 1 Cor 15:51). However, there is also the very opposite association to the deep sleep caused by God—a rather miraculous and amazing event: when God brought the woman to the man, Adam exploded into a poetic blast of admiration for the one that he recognized as his same self:

> She, at last, is bone of my bones,
> and flesh of my flesh;
>
> She shall be called Woman (*ishsha*),
> for from Man (*ish*) she is taken.

Scripture tells of several occasions when God caused a deep sleep to fall on men and then they had visions or dreams from God (Gen 15:12; Isa 29:10; Job 4:13; Dan 2:1; 8:18; Matt 1:20). Genesis 2:23 may allude to such an extraordinary, vision-like experience of Adam at the sight of his woman.

The man made from the dust of the ground and the woman from the sleeping man does not make a statement about a hierarchical arrangement in the Garden of Eden; rather, the narrative shows an intricate parallelism on the meaning of dust and sleep. Both are associated with death (1 Kgs 2:10; 11:43; Ps 13:3 [4]; John 11:13; 1 Cor 15:51). Man and woman alike relate in all their aspects (physical, mental, spiritual, relational) to sleep and death; they are equally destined to sleep the sleep of death in the event of the Fall (Gen 2:17; 3:3, 19). On the other hand, dust and sleep convey the wonder of an abundance of life in spite of death. Adam recognized the magnitude of the miracle of life in the very moment when he heard his death sentence, "dust you are and to dust you shall return;" he looked at his wife and called her "Eve, because she was the mother of all living" (Gen 3:19-20).

To read Adam's naming of his wife as an act of male authority over the woman would mean to deny the messianic overtones that this act included in the decisive event about the continuation of life on planet Earth. Adam foretells an abundance of living beings coming from his wife even though Eve's pregnancies are still in the future (Gen 4:1-2), and God has just affirmed his death sentence. Adam identifies his wife as "mother of all living" solely on the grounds of the promise of her "Seed," even with the prospect that the "Seed" himself will be in danger of his life (Gen 3:15).

2. *The purpose of the man and the woman*. The life of the man and the life of the woman have equally divinely intended purposes. The different materials that God used for the creation of man and woman convey the purpose for their lives. When God created the man he formed him from the dust of the ground as a potter forms the clay into a perfect vessel (Gen 2:7).[22] When God created the woman from man's side, he designed her like an architect who

[22]The text uses the verb יצר ("shape, form, make pottery"). The participial form of "potter" is used of God in Isa 64:7, in which mankind is the work of his hand. See Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1:428-429; and the article by B. Otzen in *TDOT*, 6:257-265.

creates an aesthetically intricate structure (Gen 2:21-22).[23] Woman's creation out of man's side has nothing at all to do with the idea of female subordination to man. On the contrary, the side (Hebrew *tsela*), mostly translated as rib (KJV, NASB, NIV, RSV), is an architectural term that denotes a side part of a building. However, in the biblical text *tsela* does not refer to just any building, but to God's dwelling place—the wilderness sanctuary, Solomon's temple, and the temple in Ezekiel's vision.[24]

The sanctuary connotation of *tsela* has deep implications for the divinely ordained purpose of men and women who are to represent God by their "image and likeness" in a world that rejects his presence. Jesus Christ, the quintessential human, conveyed his "image and likeness" with the Father all throughout his earthly life. When Philip, still confused, requested, "show us the Father," Jesus made it plain, "He who has seen Me has seen the Father" (John 14:8-9, NASB). A few hours later, Jesus was sentenced to death because he had pointed to his "image and likeness" authority over the house of the Father, the venerated edifice in Jerusalem: "Destroy this temple" (John 2:19; cf. Matt 26:61; 27:40) and "in three days I will rebuild another made without hands" (Mark 14:58). Because of Christ, the Crucified and Resurrected, his followers, men and women, are "a temple of God" through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, equally displaying the Father's love in an oppressive world (1 Cor 3:16; 2 Cor 6:16; John 17).

3. *The need of the man and the woman.* The life of the man and the life of the woman are equally dependent upon the Creator God. If Genesis 2 would promote material origin in terms of hierarchy, the rank of the man who is derived from the dust of the ground, a euphemism for death, would carry a truly depressing notion. Instead, the dust-origin of the man creates a deep awareness of his complete dependence upon the Creator, who forms and breathes his life-breath into a dust-body (Gen 2:7) and then will bring back to life "those who sleep in the dust of the ground" (Dan 12:3). Likewise, the side/rib-origin of the woman shows her vital need for the God of life who builds not just the woman, but also her "house," her family (cf. Ruth 4:11). Moreover, God guarantees the future of the human family by the woman's "Seed"; he will overcome the dust-eating serpent (Gen 3:14-15).

4. *The partnership of the man and the woman.* The loneliness of the man results in equal partnership with the woman and not in male headship over the female. Genesis 2:18 describes man's loneliness with an expression that

[23]The text uses the verb בנה ("build, develop a building") in the sense of a royal architect who designs and builds a building. See *HALOT*, 1:139 and the article by Siegfried Wagner in *TDOT*, 2:166-181.

[24]The word *tsela* refers to the sides of the wilderness sanctuary or items related to the sanctuary (Exod 25:12, 14; 26:20, 26, 27, 35; 27:7; 30:4; 36:25, 31, 32; 37:3, 5, 27; 38:7), the temple build by Solomon (1 Kgs 6:5, 8, 15-16, 34; 7:3), and the temple in Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 41:5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 26).

perceives him as being apart from another or as missing a part (*labad*). Man is not whole. Interestingly, it is after God removes a part of man's body that he will no longer be incomplete. Man's loneliness in the Garden of Eden underscores the concept of Genesis 1 in which God saw the need for two contrasting parts in order to form a whole; specifically, when male and female were distinguished from each other by gender-identity in order to build a union (Gen 1:26).

In God's words, for the human being to exist as one part is "not good." Therefore, he will make a counterpart, a part that is perfectly able to face the existing one without being the same, inferior, or superior; in God's own terms, "a helper alongside him" (*'ezer kenegdo*).[25] Scripture never uses the word "helper" (*'ezer*) for one with an auxiliary function or one in subordination, as the English implies. To the contrary, the word "helper" is most often used for God as the ultimate sustainer and savior of humans.[26] God's name is Eben-Ezer ("stone of help," 1 Sam 7:12). In addition, the eighty-two references on the verb "help" (*'azar*) are overwhelmingly about a rescue operation in military situations.[27] Never is "help" used in a subservient sense or for a wife aiding or assisting her husband. All biblical occurrences of the noun "helper" and the verb "help" connote the meaning of "active intervention on behalf of someone"[28]—a helper is a "lifesaver"[29] in life-threatening situations.

In the unique expression of Gen 2:18, the word *kenegdo* ("alongside him, opposite him, a counterpart to him") attached to "helper" places the woman as a beneficial counterpart to the man. The reciprocity included in the word *kenegdo* speaks of the woman as the "helper" to the man, and the man as the "helper" to the woman.[30] The least one can say about the expression *'ezer kenegdo* in the context of Genesis 2 is that it denotes reciprocal support

[25]See the explanation of Hebrew scholar Robert Alter on the expression *'ezer kenegdo* in *Genesis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 9.

[26]Gen 49:25; Exod 18:4; Deut 33:7, 26; 1 Sam 7:12; Pss 30:11 [10]; 33:20; 37:40; 46:5; 54:6 [4]; 70:4; 72:12; 79:9; 86:17; 109:26; 118:7, 13; 119: 86, 173, 175; 146:5; Isa 41:10, 13-14; 44:2; 49:8; 50:7; Hos 13:9; 1 Chron 15:26; 2 Chron 14:10 [11]; 18:31; 25:8; 26:7; 32:8.

[27]Cf. Josh 1:14; 10:4, 6, 33; 2 Sam 8:5; 18:3; 21:17; 1 Kgs 1:7; 20:16; 2 Kgs 14:26; Isa 30:7; 31:3; Jer 47:4; Ezek 30:8; 32:21; Dan 10:13; 11:45; Ezra 8:22; 10:15; 1 Chron 5:20; 12:1, 18 [17], 19 [18], 20 [19], 22 [23], 23 [22]; 18:5; 22:17; 2 Chron 19:2; 20:23; 26:13, 15; 28:16, 23.

[28]Alter, 9.

[29]John Eldredge, *Wild at Heart: Discovering the Secret of a Man's Soul* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 51.

[30]See Ellen G. White, *Patriarchs and Prophets* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2005), 46; cf. idem, *Testimonies*, 3:484.

between Adam and his wife, which according to v. 20 was not possible with an animal; "for the man was not found a helper as his counterpart."

In view of Genesis 3 and the rest of the Hebrew Bible, *'ezer kenegdo* is particularly telling: the unique quality of the woman as a *'ezer* ("helper") to the man points to the divine promise of Gen 3:15-16 about the woman whose *zera* ("Seed")[31] will come to the rescue of humanity and guarantee continuation of life in the face of death. The interpretation of *'ezer kenegdo* in support of male headship fails to recognize the biblical concept of the woman who, by giving birth to children, is directly tied to the birth of the Messiah, the ultimate "helper" of mankind.

5. *The sequence of the man and the woman.* The idea of status, with the man created first and then the woman implying male headship over the woman, is ignorant of God's creation principle of combining two different but equal parts in order to bring about completeness and wholeness. The creation arrangement of male-female in Genesis 2 follows the arrangement in Genesis 1 in an exact manner. According to Gen 1:1–2:3, God instituted the six days of the seven-day week without assigning to them leading roles over the seventh day. On the contrary, the six days are not complete without the seventh day, even though God's deeds of creation came to an end on the sixth day and were considered "very good."[32] The seventh day stands as the climactic closure to the week, and is not an appendix to creation.[33] In the same vein, the Garden of Eden narrative in Genesis 2 shows that the creation of the woman is not a needed accessory to the man, but the epitome of the creation of *adam*, the human being, the image of God (Gen 1:26-28).[34]

6. *The nakedness of the man and the woman.* The final note on the relationship between the man and the woman in the Garden of Eden is unambiguously reciprocal: both are "naked" (*arum*) and both are "not ashamed" (*lo yithoshashu;*

[31]John H. Sailhamer points out that the Hebrew text creates a connection between the words *'ezer* ("helper") and *zera* ("seed") in Gen 2:18, 20 and 3:15 (*Genesis*, Expositor's Bible Commentary, ed. Fank E. Gaebelein [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990], 2:46).

[32]See my detailed analysis in my Ph.D. dissertation "The Sabbath in the Pentateuch," 33-38.

[33]Walter Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1961), 1:270-271; Philip P. Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World*, JSOTSup 106 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 192-197; Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 104-106; Werner H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961), 154-159; Baruch J. Schwartz, "Israel's Holiness: The Torah Traditions," in *Purity and Holiness*, ed. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 47-59; Odil H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 178-199.

[34]Davidson, 53.

hitpolel of *bosh*) before one another (Gen 2:25). The Hebrew word *arum* has no sexual connotations to it; rather, nakedness in its ancient Near Eastern context and in the Hebrew Bible signifies complete absence of status, authority, power, control, and possession.[35] Neither Adam nor his wife had any kind of status, reputation, or power to exercise or to lose before the other; therefore, each was free of shame before the other.[36] The implication of equal nakedness for the idea of male headship is that the Garden of Eden marriage was devoid of any headship status of the husband over his wife. It is only when the serpent, the most power-driven or "crafty" (*arum*) of the field animals (Gen 3:1), succeeded with its power scheme—"you will be like God" (v. 5)—that the divinely ordained nakedness turned into offensive bareness. Adam's self-imposed position of superiority stands in the face of God when he placed the blame upon his wife (Gen 3:12). Yet, God, after revealing the consequences for humanity's future in a dying world, acted as High Priest in covering the man and the woman by equally "clothing" (*labash,* hif'il) them "with garments (*kuttonet*) of skin" (Gen 3:21).[37] The Pentateuch uses the combination of these exact two words only when priests were initiated

[35]Ps 35:26 places shame on those who assume power over others. On the other hand, the OT depicts the powerless condition of a person as the nakedness of a newborn baby or a dead individual (Job 1:21; Eccl 5:15 [14]). Note that in ancient Israel, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Canaan prisoners of war were stripped of their clothes and presented naked to the public to show that their status and power had been removed (cf. Jer 46:24; 48:1, 13, 20, 39; 50:2; 51:51; Ezek 32:30; Hos 10:6). See H. Niehr, "עָרוֹם," in *TDOT*, 11:349-354. See also J. Magonet, "The Themes of Genesis 2–3," in *A Walk in the Garden*, ed. P. Morris and D. Sawyer, JSOTSup 136 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 43; Richard M. Davidson, "The Theology of Sexuality in the Beginning: Genesis 3," *AUSS* 26 (1998): 122-123; J. A. Bailey, "Initiation and the Primal Woman in Gilgamesh and Genesis 2–3," *JBL* 89 (1970): 144-150; Ouro, 235.

[36]The degree of shame in an honor-shame culture is dependent upon rank. One without any rank and honor will not be ashamed. See M. A. Klopfenstein, *Scham und Schande nach dem Alten Testament* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972); Lyn M. Bechtel, "The Perception of Shame within the Divine-Human Relationship in Biblical Israel," in *Uncovering Ancient Stones: Essays in Memory of H. Niel Richardson*, ed. Lewis M. Hopfe (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 79-92; Johanna Stiebert, *The Construction of Shame in the Hebrew Bible: The Prophetic Contribution* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

[37]Jacques B. Doukhan, "Women Priests in Israel: A Case for their Absence," in *Women in Ministry: Biblical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Nancy Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 36-37; Davidson, *Flame of Yahweh*, 58. Note also Davidson's study about the work in Eden assigned to man that was to "till" (*'abad*, literally "serve") and "keep" (*shamar*) the garden. He points out that "it seems more than coincidence that these are the very terms used to describe the work of the Levites in the Sanctuary (Num 3:7-8, etc.)" ("Cosmic Metanarrative for the Coming Millennium," *JATS* 11/1-2 [2000]: 110).

into their sanctuary ministry.[38] The reason for their clothing is "to cover their nakedness (*'erwa*) . . . so that they do not carry guilt and die" (Exod 28:42-43).[39] The crucial importance of God's high priestly act lies, first, in the fact that he equally initiated Adam and Eve as priests and, second, in the circumstance of their initiation, namely, at the conclusion of the divine judgment with the gospel at its heart (Gen 3:15). God's intent for the human family, male and female, destined to live in a corrupt world, was and still is "You shall be to Me, a kingdom of priests" (Exod 19:5; 1 Pet 2:9).

EXCURSUS: The institution of the Aaronite male priests from the tribe of Levi as opposed to God's ideal of all Israel, male and female, as a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod 19:5) is rooted in the people's fear and refusal to directly communicate with God (Exod 20:18-21).[40] The result was that Moses and the priests became mediators between God and the people and a type for Christ in their sanctuary ministries. Under the priesthood of Christ, the ideal becomes reality when all "draw near with fearless confidence to the throne of grace" (Heb 4:14-16) and become a "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, so that you may proclaim the excellencies of Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvelous light" (1 Pet 2:9).

Israel's sin with the golden calf and its impact on the covenantal relationship between God and Israel serves as another insight into the type-oriented and less-than-ideal institution of the levitical priesthood (Exod 32-34). During the difficult time of Israel's rebellion with the golden calf, Moses and the Levites were instrumental in reestablishing the covenantal relationship with God. Yet, the reestablished covenant was bound up with the hierarchical order of the priesthood within the limits of God's earthly dwelling place.[41] When Korah and his consorts attempted to be part of the leading priests, the narrative portrays this rebellion as a follow-up of the paradigmatic sin with the golden calf and underscores the weakness of the Aaronite priesthood (Numbers 16–18; Heb 7:11-22).

Even in the time before the priesthood of Jesus Christ, Scripture makes a point about the ineptness of the restricted levitical priesthood: David, a non-Levite, assumed priestly rights when he and his soldiers ate the Bread of the Presence that was reserved for the priests only (1 Sam 26:1-6; cf. Lev

[38]Exod 29:4, 39, 41; 29:5, 8; 40:14; Lev 8:7, 13; Num 20:28.

[39]Frank Gaebelein, ed., *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 2:58.

[40]John Sailhamer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative: A Biblical-Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 51-59; Davidson, *Flame of Yahweh*, 251.

[41]Felix Ponyatovsky, "Analysis of the Golden Calf Incident (Exodus 32:1-10) and Its Impact on the Sinai Covenant in the Pentateuchal Text" (Ph.D. dissertation, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 2012).

24:5-9). Jesus, a non-Levite, acknowledged David's and his soldiers' act as priestly in the context of plucking and eating the grain of the fields on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23-28). This link between the priestly regulations and the Sabbath is highly interesting, and brings about two paramount statements of Jesus about the Sabbath: (a) the human-focused rationale of the Sabbath (v. 27), and (b) Jesus' lordship over the Sabbath (v. 29). Jesus not only links the OT priesthood to the Sabbath, but in showing the weakness of the restricted priestly ministry in David's time, Jesus placed the levitical priesthood into sharp contrast with the all-embracing message of the Sabbath. It is then by reason of the Sabbath's nature of inclusion that God's original intent for a nonrestricted "kingdom of priests" has become reality under the lordship of Christ, the High Priest.

Scripture provides an additional insight into God's intent for the ideal "kingdom of priests" with the provision of the Nazarite law, which called both men and women to dedicate themselves to God for special ministries (Num 6:1-21).[42] The law calls for procedures that are priestly in essence, and that even exceed the priestly rituals.[43] The significance of such a law within a community ordered under an exclusively male Aaronite priesthood is unsurpassed in the Hebrew Bible. It carries overtones of an eschatological cosmic community of believers in which men and women of all Israel are dedicated as priests with direct access to God.

In conclusion to the creation of man and woman in Genesis 2 and its intertextual links and implications, the study confirms the Sabbath principle of wholeness and equality of God's ideal world in the Garden of Eden. Equality is divinely instituted and pertains to human ontology of both genders and of the functions of men and women. When sin enters the world, male-female equality remains God's ideal even when the husband will rule over his wife (Gen 3:16). More importantly, all references to the creation of man and woman in the Garden of Eden contain messianic overtones and point to the gospel promise of Gen 3:14-19 that speaks of God's lifesaving provisions for humankind.

Gender Identity and Equality in Sabbaths and Feasts

This section of the study will show how instrumental the Sabbath is in destabilizing a world of patriarchal dominance in Israel's society. The Sabbath commandments in Exod 20:8-11; 23:12; and Deut 5:12-15 have much to say about God's relationship to the human being in terms of gender and social equality in the ancient world of patriarchy. God is revealed as a personal and relational being who is involved in the affairs of individuals regardless of their

[42]Davidson, *Flame of Yahweh*, 255.

[43]Prohibition of alcohol and all fruit of the vine, no touching of a dead body, and refraining from cutting the hair.

social status and gender; animals, too, are part of God's concern. In addition, the Feast of Weeks, the Feast of Booths (Deut 16:9-15), and Jubilee (Levitcus 25–27) include Sabbath language of gender and social equality.

Exodus 20:8-11

At the foot of Mount Sinai, the Israelites are a nation rescued from slavery with individuals who are standing in the presence of God, and who are in the process of gaining a new identity (Exod 19:3-25). At the center of God's Ten Words is the Sabbath commandment with its ever-present pre-Fall message. The life principle of wholeness and equality resounds with divine passion and finds its echo in the minds and hearts of a people that know of hierarchical structures, coercive oppression, and a world ruled by power and dominance. Note specifically the gender differentiation at the heart of the Sabbath commandment: "the seventh day is a Sabbath of the Lord your God; in it you shall not do any work, you or your son or your daughter, your male servant or your female servant or your cattle or your sojourner who stays with you" (Exod 20:9-10). The purpose of detailing family members by gender and class in the Sabbath commandment is to change every notion of a self-centered, power-controlled, hierarchically dominated thinking and to level out the Israelite household.

Karl Barth has captured the essence of the Sabbath commandment: "This commandment is total. It discovers and claims man in his depths and from his utmost bounds."[44] The Sabbath identifies human beings, male and female, in their God-intended essence, with gender as their foundational identification.

In differentiating the household members by gender and social class, God draws a straight line through the Israelite household, placing each member on the same level. This gender and class leveling is highly significant because it is given to a people who exist in a millennia-old world of hierarchical male dominance.[45] Seven members are mentioned in the commandment to make the household complete, with five categorized by their gender. With regard to the first, the "you," a second masculine singular, some have wondered why the wife is not part of the list. A contextual reading of Exodus 20, however, shows that the Ten Commandments address each individual of the Israelite nation, including women and children, with a masculine singular "you." Otherwise, it would mean that only men would have to obey the commandments. Klingbeil argues for the inclusion of the wife with the principle of embeddedness in Israelite society that is based on the creation order of husband and wife

[44]Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1961), 3:4, 57.

[45]See the excellent discussion on hierarchical male dominance in the ancient Near East and the OT by Jean Sheldon, "Images of Power, the Image of God, and a Kingdom of Priests" (paper presentation, ASRS, Chicago, 16 November 2012).

as "one flesh" (Gen 2:24).[46] Note also that, "in biblical Hebrew, masculine grammatical form does not specify social gender unless it is used to refer to a definite, particular person."[47]

The second and third gender-defined members in the Sabbath commandment are the son and the daughter. It is truly revolutionary that the commandment identifies the children by gender, "your son and your daughter," and then goes on to identify even the slaves as "your male servant and your female servant." In speaking to a community that was shaped by a paradigm of hierarchical and patriarchal power, the Sabbath opens the mind of the Israelite man and woman, son and daughter, male and female servant to a diametrically opposed model—the Creator's prototype. For the Sabbath is the Lord's, and when male and female keep this day they equally impersonate the "image and likeness" model established during the creation week (Exod 20:11).

The Sabbath tells the Israelite man and woman that each is set free from the bonds of any kind of slavery. He and she exists as a human being in direct relation to God, and each individual is placed into relational bonds with others with the same privileges, rights, status, and opportunities. More importantly, each individual, male and female, receives with the words of the Sabbath commandment his and her new ID: "you are God's image," or, in the words of the apostle, "There is neither . . . male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:28).

Exodus 23:12

The Sabbath of Exod 23:12 is unique in that it omits the male servant and female servant, but introduces a new member of the house, "the son of your female slave," who will be reinvigorated by Sabbath rest.[48] With this

[46]For the reason why the wife is not included in that list, see considerations on family creation order and the expression, "and they will be one flesh" (Gen 2:24), as well as the principle of embeddedness in Israelite society by Gerald A. Klingbeil, "'Not so Happily Ever After' . . . : Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Time of Ezra-Nehemiah," *Maarav* 14 (2007): 74; cf. K. C. Hanson, "Sin, Purification, and Group Process," in *Problems in Biblical Theology: Essays in Honor of Rolf Knierim*, ed. Henry T. C. Sun et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 171.

[47]Tamara Cohn Eskenazi, ed., *The Torah: A Women's Commentary* (New York: Women of Reform Judaism, 2008), 416.

[48]The Samaritan Pentateuch replaced the anomalous reading "son of your female servant" with "your male servant and your female servant." Calum Carmichael attempts to identify the meaning of בֶּן־אֲמָתֶךָ, in light of comparative ancient Near Eastern studies. He assumes that the female servant's son must be "the perpetual slave issuing from the union of a slave and the wife given him by his master," even though the children born in slavery are defined by the biblical text as sons and daughters of the male servant and not of the female servant (Exod 21:4). According to Carmichael's

expression, the Sabbath connects to the story of the patriarch Abraham in which the female slave Hagar, "the stranger" (*hager*), and her child were sent out of the house, and Ishmael is called "son of your female slave" (Gen 21:10, 13).[49] The link between the Sabbath and the old patriarchal story becomes highly relevant to Israelite Sabbath keepers because it reminds them of their time of slavery in Egypt when they were strangers and suffered afflictions similar to Hagar and Ishmael. They cried to God and he heard their cry (Exod 22:21-23, 27), just as he heard "the voice of the lad" in the wilderness of Beersheba (Gen 21:17).

In a household where the stranger slave girl with a child was faced with utter disgust, the Sabbath disrupted the patriarchal mindset of Abraham's world and called for equality among the members. The Sabbath urges the redeemed Israelite to distance himself from the power structure of the patriarchal society and receive the stranger and the outcast as his own kin. In so doing, the Sabbath keeper identifies with the slave woman Hagar, the archetypal "stranger" (*hager*), and will do far more than include the marginalized of society. The Sabbath keeper will bring good news to the afflicted mother, bind up her broken heart, and provide time and space for regeneration to her and the dying child (Isa 61:1; Luke 4:18).

Deuteronomy 5:12-15

The Sabbath's significance on gender and class distinction for the sake of equality is even more emphasized by the Sabbath commandment reiterated by Moses after the establishment of the levitical all-male priesthood shortly before the Israelite nation entered the Promised Land. The Sabbath commandment in Deut 5:12-15 contains a more detailed list than Exod 20:8-11 in that it distinguishes nine individuals ("you, your son, your daughter, your male servant, your female servant, your ox, your donkey, all your cattle, and your stranger") and emphasizes by repeating the clause "your male servant and your female servant may rest as well as you." The importance of this list lies in the act of remembering that Israel is a nation saved from slavery. The bonds of a world of dominance and hierarchical power are broken, and Israel is called to witness to this event by its weekly Sabbath celebrations with the message of equality and inclusion of all human beings and animals living in the surroundings of the Sabbath keeper.

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approach, the expected reading in Exod 23:12 would be "the son of the male servant" (*The Laws of Deuteronomy* [London: Cornell University Press, 1974], 87).

[49]See my articles, "I Have Heard Their Cry," *Shabbat Shalom* 51/3 (2006): 24-26; "The Sabbath Commandment in the Book of the Covenant: Ethics on Behalf of the Outcast," *Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary* 9/1 (2006): 3-11; and my dissertation, "The Sabbath in the Pentateuch," 170-183.

The institution of the levitical all-male priesthood with its time-restricted and male-exclusive *typos* character did not alter the Sabbath's enduring message of male-female and social equality. Over the course of millennia of slavery, hierarchical authority, and discrimination, the Sabbath has always carried its message forward and has remained God's standard for all cultures in all circumstances. The priesthood of Aaron, on the other hand, has been taken over by Christ's Melchizedek-like priesthood (Heb 5:11; 6:20; 7:1-3) and not by male apostles or elders of the church. Male headship in the church has no justification under Christ's priesthood, not least by reason of the enduring Sabbath message of male-female equality.

Deuteronomy 12:8-19 and 14:28-29

Sabbath inclusion and equality of gender and social classes is to radically transform the lives of the Israelites when they live in the Promised Land. Moses implores the congregation at the borders of Canaan to "not do at all what we are doing here today" (Deut 12:8), but to implement a regular all-embracing worship practice at the sanctuary, where tithe is to be used to provide food for "you and your son and daughter, and your male and female servants, and the Levite who is within your gates; and you shall rejoice before the Lord your God in all your undertakings" (Deut 12:12, 18).

A highly significant insight about inclusion and equality is with regard to tithe for the Levites and the powerless in Israel. Deuteronomy 14:28-29 and 26:12-13 provide regulations about a triennial tithe from the produce of the land and assigns it to the Levites because they have no inheritance in the land, as well as to the widows, orphans, and foreigners. The OT often lists the triad of widow, orphan, and foreigner as the ones who represent the poor, oppressed, and disempowered of the patriarchal society.[50] They are most easily marginalized and have no safety net but God who cares for their needs. Tithe provided equally to the Levites, who represented the highest human authority in Israel's society, and to the "disempowered triad"[51] is extremely telling about God's equality principle and his understanding of justice.

Deuteronomy 16:9-15

Sabbath inclusion receives high emphasis at two yearly festivals: the Feast of Weeks, celebrated seven weeks after Passover (Deut 16:9-12), and the Feast of Booths (Deut 16:13-15). At both feasts, "you and your son and your daughter and your male and female servants and the Levite who is in your town, and the stranger and the orphan and the widow who are in your midst" (Deut 16:11,

[50]Deut 10:18; 16:11, 14; 24:17, 19-21; 27:19; Jer 7:6; 22:3; Ezek 22:7; Zech 7:10; Mal 3:5; Pss 94:6; 146:9.

[51]Randy S. Woodly, *Shalom and the Community of Creation: An Indigenous Vision* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 16.

14) are to celebrate and rejoice before the Lord. While all Israelite feasts have their links to the weekly Sabbath (Lev 23:1-44), it is the Feast of Weeks that has a special connection to it by its counting of seven times seven days after Passover and Unleavened Bread. In addition, among the seven yearly feasts, only the Feast of Weeks and the Feast of Booths show a highly inclusionist universal quality by inviting all people groups to celebrate, while Passover, Unleavened Bread, Firstfruits, Trumpets, and Yom Kippur have a rather collective character in that they do not differentiate, but relate to the Israelite congregation with the plural "you" (Lev 16:29-34; 23:1-44; Num 28:1-29:40).

Leviticus 25:1-55

The Sabbath Year and the Jubilee are directly bound to the weekly Sabbath. This link is embedded in their meaning and concept of release and freedom and in the counting of years based on the number seven. Yet the equality principle is highly expressive when one looks at the detailed list of addressees identified by gender and social class: "All of you shall have the Sabbath products of the land for food; yourself, and your male and female slaves, and your hired man and your foreign resident, those who live as aliens with you. Even your cattle and the animals that are in your land shall have all its crops to eat" (Lev 25:6).

Close observation of the deuteronomic lists of addressees shows that there is a growing tendency from the weekly Sabbath to the yearly Feasts of Weeks and Booths to the Sabbath Year and Jubilee. The lists become more detailed and longer, with the Sabbath Year and the Jubilee conveying full inclusion and equality, likely because of the universal and cosmic significance of these Sabbath years.

Sabbath and Gender in the Eschatological Community

The universal and cosmic quality of the Sabbath is at the center of God's missional ministry in the fallen world. In the prophetic books of Scripture, the Sabbath becomes a catalyst of hope for the new heaven and earth and carries high significance in apocalyptic eschatology.

Isaiah 56:2-8 and 66:23

"The gospel prophet Isaiah has an exceptionally rich Sabbath teaching."[52] In his prophecy of God's community, Isaiah envisions a Sabbath in which every human being is welcome and equal, the foreigner who usually does not belong, the eunuch who is a genderless slave considered nonhuman, and the multitudes who were expelled and discarded (Isa 56:2-8). All are gathered in God's house, which is called "a house of prayer for all people." Then the

[52]Hasel, 46.

vision overwhelms the human mind, for its horizon is far too limited to grasp the cosmic magnitude of the prophetic revelation: There will be an abundance of Sabbath after Sabbath—Jubilees of Sabbaths—when "all flesh (*kol basar*) will come to worship before Me," says the Lord (Isa 66:23).

Joel 2:28-29 [3:1-2]

The prophet Joel, in elaborating on the Day of the Lord, reveals that God will pour out his Spirit on "all flesh (*kol basar*)" (Joel 2:29 [3:1]). Joel then uses language borrowed from the Sabbath commandments (Exod 20:8-11; Deut 5:12-15) to identify the ones who prophesy as sons and daughters and male servants and female servants. At the center of the prophetic word are the old and the young,[53] for they have dreams and visions. They appear in multitudes. There is no boundary to the Spirit: gender, social class, age—the Spirit acts without limits, "distributing to each one individually just as He wills" (1 Cor 12:11).

Acts 2:17-18

It happened seven weeks after Passover at the Feast of Weeks[54] that the one hundred and twenty men and women gathered in the Upper Room in Jerusalem fulfilled Joel's prophecy. They all were united in prayer when the Spirit manifested himself without discrimination. They preached the good news, the crowds listened with amazement, and Peter cited Joel's prophecy to the mockers (Acts 2:17-18, NASB):

> And it shall be in the last days, God says, that I will pour forth My Spirit on all flesh,
>
> and your sons and daughters shall prophesy,
>
> and your young shall see visions,
> and your old shall dream dreams;
>
> even on my bondslaves, both men and women.
>
> I will in those days pour forth of My Spirit and they shall prophesy.

From this day on, the eschatological community of believers has arrived. It is a universal community, rooted in the gender-inclusive equality-based message of the Sabbath.[55] The church in the book of Acts testifies that a

[53]The inclusive language of Joel suggests reading the Hebrew זָקֵן and בָּחוּר **as** referring to both men and women (cf. Eccl 11:9; 12:1).

[54]See Edward Chumney, *The Seven Festivals of the Messiah* (Shippensburg: Destiny Image, 1994), 230. He states: "This is called the counting of the omer. On the fiftieth day following the Feast of First Fruits (*Bikkurim*) is the Feast of Weeks (*Shavuot*) or Pentecost (Leviticus [*Vayikra*] 23:15-21)."

[55]I am indebted to Dr. James Park, Professor of Missions at AIIAS, for this

Spirit-governed community of believers knows of no boundaries: Peter, though confused about the vision urging him to eat unclean animals, visited Cornelius, the Roman centurion, one who the Jewish Law considered unclean (Acts 10:28). After preaching Jesus to the gentile and baptizing his entire household, Peter acknowledged his first lesson of Sabbath inclusion: "God does not show favoritism in dealing with people" (Acts 10:34). Philip was carried away by the Spirit to preach Jesus to the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26-40), one whom the Law explicitly excluded from the Lord's community (Deut 23:1), but who is welcomed with great empathy by the inclusive message of the Sabbath (Isa 56:3-5).[56] Paul acted against the Law on his Sabbath mission in Philippi when he, a Jewish man and rabbi, conversed with a group of women, then baptized the entire household of Lydia, the gentile businesswoman, and even resided in her house (Acts 16:13-15).[57]

It is truly significant that the birthing of the Christian church occurred at the Festival of Weeks, the Shavuot or Pentecost, the day that according to the Talmud commemorates the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai (Shabbat 86b). It is then not without reason that the Law became the main topic in the discussions and writings of the first Christian church. How does a follower of Jesus respond to the Law in light of Joel's fulfilled prophecy?

The Gospel writers vividly remember Jesus' conflicts with the teachers of the Law about the Sabbath[58] and about the status of women, sinners, and gentiles before God: note how Jesus bypassed the argument of what is lawful to do on Sabbath, but elaborated on the human-focused inclusive nature of the Sabbath that exists precisely because of his authority over the Sabbath as opposed to a restricted priestly order (Matt 12:1-8; Mark 2:23-28; Luke 6:1-5). In another argument, note how Jesus explained the Law of circumcision versus the wholeness principle of the Sabbath: while the rabbis accepted circumcision on Sabbath as lawful even though a man was only partially brought into Israel's covenant community (John 7:21-24), they condemned healing on Sabbath, even though the whole being of a man was made well and he was restored into the covenant with God (cf. John 5:1-47).

On numerous occasions, Jesus stepped in to defend women in front of the twelve male disciples and the most respected men of the time, the rabbis and teachers of the Law. Note how he encouraged the bleeding woman who had touched him in the middle of a crowd instead of turning away from

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connection.

[56]F. Scott Spencer, "The Ethiopian Eunuch and His Bible: A Social Science Analysis," *BTB* 22 (1993): 155-165.

[57]Richard S. Ascough, *Lydia: Paul's Cosmopolitan Hostess* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009), 7, 32.

[58]Matt 12:1-12; Mark 1:21-28; 2:23-28; 3:1-6; 6:1-6; Luke 4:16-30; 6:1-5, 6-11; 13:10-17; 14:1-24; John 5:1-47; 7:14-36; 9:1-41.

her (Matt 9:20-22; Mark 5:25-34; Luke 8:43-48). He defended the woman sinner who anointed his body and he prophesied that wherever the gospel will be preached her deed will be remembered (Matt 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-9; Luke 7:36-50). He made a gentile woman an example of faith when his disciples urged him to send her away (Matt 15:21-28; Mark 7:24-30). He noticed the little bent-over woman in the Temple and healed her (Luke 13:10-17). He released the woman whom the men had accused of adultery (John 8:1-11). He discussed highly theological matters with the Samaritan woman, a despised one who lived a sinful life, yet who became the first evangelist to the men of her town (John 4:7-42). Born of a woman who had no relations with a man, preached by a woman while his male disciples' only concern was about food, anointed by a woman for his burial while his male disciples argued over money, cared for by women while his male disciples fled the cross, and proclaimed by women on the resurrection morning while his male disciples fearfully hid—Jesus surely does not place women under men's authority, but includes them in his circle of followers.

Paul, in his letters to the churches in Asia, follows Jesus' example regarding women in two noticeable ways: he is active in lifting the status of women in the family and the church by insisting that they be educated and use their gift of teaching; and he assigns to men an equal status with women by calling husbands and wives to submit to each other and both, men and women, to submit to Christ. A reading of 1 Tim 2:12-15 in view of male supremacy in the family and church isolates Paul's statements on women in this passage from his reasoning in the first two chapters of First Timothy and from his other writings. A contextual reading shows that in 1 Timothy 1 and 2, Paul's main theme is the good news of the sinners' salvation through Christ the Savior of all, which some church members do not recognize because of their fruitless discussions about the Law. Paul then points out that salvation needs to be transparent in the lives of the faithful, especially among husbands and wives, so that they will live in peaceful harmony. Paul founds his argument about the good news of salvation in the event when transgression of the Law occurred in the first place with Adam and Eve, but God promised the birth of the Savior (Gen 3:15).[59]

[59]Note the fivefold use of the word "first" (*protos*) and its link to the *Leitmotif* in 1 Timothy 1 and 2, which is, Jesus Christ came to save all sinners. Paul, "first" (*proton*) a blasphemer and persecutor (1:13), considers himself as "first" (*protos*) among the saved sinners (1:15-16), so that in him as the "first" (*proto*), Christ might demonstrate his patience as an example for all sinners' salvation. Paul explains to Timothy that some of the believers have lost their faith in the Savior and now teach strange doctrines and myths. They carry fruitless discussions about the Law and do not recognize that the Law is good, and its scope is for the lawless ones (1:3-11, 20). With regard to the faithful, Paul says that their "first" (*proton*) duty is to pray and intercede on behalf of all authorities in the world so that God's faithful children may live a peaceful life (2:1-2). Furthermore, the prayer life of the faithful is to be transparent no matter

Revelation

Hierarchical power and dominance is nowhere else more excessive than in the book of Revelation, a book that is saturated with the concept of the Sabbath[60] outlining the cosmic war about ultimate sovereignty. Two diametrically opposed systems, the dragon's voracious hunger for power versus the Lamb's self-denial and sacrifice, are juxtaposed in the imagery of two women: the wife, a vulnerably exposed mother, using all her life power to push the Child into the world, then she flees and becomes utterly dependent upon the earth for her survival (Revelation 12); and the shamelessly adorned harlot, sitting on top of a beast full of names, heads, and horns, exercising deadly power and authority over the kings and nations of the earth (Revelation 17). Against all human reason, it is the powerless woman who will overcome, the church without a desire for top-down hierarchy. The prophet stands amazed at the

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where they are: in the case of husbands, dedicated prayer should be visible by their sanctified deeds, and in the case of wives, by their dignified appearance. In so doing, there will be no anger and opinionated discussions among husbands and wives (2:8-10). A wife, Paul says, will learn in peacefulness and self-dedication. She is neither to lecture nor domineer the husband; rather, they both will live in peacefulness (2:11-12). Paul affirms that transgression of the Law came into existence with Adam, "first" (*protos*) formed and joined by Eve; he was not deceived, but his wife was the deceived one (2:13-14). Yet, a wife, abiding together with her husband in faith, love, and sanctity with dignity, will be saved because of the birth of the Messiah (2:15; cf. Gen 3:15).

For the most comprehensive study on 1 Tim 2:12-15, see Gordon P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Timothy 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 (1992): 341-360; cf. Sharon Hodgin Gritz, *Paul, Women Teachers, and the Mother Goddess at Ephesus: A Study of 1 Timothy 2:9-15 in Light of the Religious and Cultural Milieu of the First Century* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), 125, 130-135; Richard M. Davidson, "Headship, Submission and Equality in Scripture," in *Women in Ministry*, ed. Nancy Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 260-264; idem, "The Bible and the Ordination of Women Pastors" (paper presentation, Andrews University, February 2013, paper published at http://ordination.lakeunion.org/assets/95168); Ed Christian, "Women, Teaching, Authority, Silence: 1 Timothy 2:8-15 Explained by 1 Peter 3:1-6," *JATS* 10 (1999): 285-229.

[60]The Sabbath theme in Revelation surfaces in many ways: in the "day of the Lord" when John received the visions, in the seven scenes of the book that revolve around the seven OT festivals of the year, in the chiastic structure of the book with the language of the Sabbath commandment at the center (Rev 14:6-12), in the many usages of the number seven, and in the themes of creation, covenant, judgment, and rest (Mathilde Frey, "The Theological Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of Revelation, in *For You Have Strengthened Me: Biblical and Theological Studies in Honor of Gerhard Pfandl in Celebration of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Martin Pröbstle, Gerald A. Klingbeil, and Martin G. Klingbeil [St. Peter am Hart, Austria: Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen, 2007], 223-239; idem, "Sabbath Theology in the Book of Revelation," in *Toward a Theology of the Remnant: An Adventist Ecclesiological Perspective*, ed. Angel Manuel Rodriguez [Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 2009], 127-137).

innumerable myriads "from every nation and tribes and peoples and tongues . . . clothed in white robes" (Rev 7:9), "a kingdom and priests to our God" (Rev 5:10) surrounding the Lamb, slain but standing (Rev 5:6).

Victory in the apocalyptic church is not by power, but by service and self-giving (Mark 10:45). What else is the silence of the Lamb (Isa 53:7) than to echo the fateful words "It is finished!" from that sealed tomb during Sabbath rest? Powerless, intrinsically human, utter sin (2 Cor 5:21), he lay lifeless over Sabbath, the day first made to guarantee life on earth. In the tomb, it has its ultimate reason. After his death, what else is the justification to keep Sabbath than for men and women to give up the pursuit of power over one another, to lay down their lives for each other, and to accept God's gift of life?

Revelation's hierarchical church has no use for a powerless Lamb. And so it abandoned the day that keeps testifying to the One who "emptied Himself and became truly a servant made in the likeness of humans" (Phil 2:7). However, the church that proclaims the message of the angel with the Sabbath's everlasting gospel of the Creator who became the Redeemer (Rev 14:6-7) will only be credible among the nations of the world when it surrenders all authority and headship to Christ, the bridegroom and only head. All others, male and female together, join the marriage banquet as a bride clothed in fine linen (Rev 19:7-8). Otherwise, the call of the Sabbath's everlasting gospel will be unimpressive in a power-structured world, and the church will be in danger of joining the seat on that beast with many heads. The Sabbath's sacred anti-imperial mission, set up in creation and fulfilled in the death of the Lamb,[61] stands as the divine emblem that except for Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, no human being has authority over another human being.

Conclusion

The Sabbath speaks directly to human beings, male and female, and defines the essence and function of both as equals before God. The Sabbath responds to gender questions of woman's ordination with its inclusive nonhierarchical message. Instituted in creation, the Sabbath comes into our world with its coercive systems, into our churches with their male-dominated hierarchical power structures, and transplants men and women into God's world. When that happens, men and women alike will reflect God's image; they will decide against all structures of dominance, lay down their lives, and seek justice for the marginalized. In the Spirit-empowered world of the Sabbath, there is no room for male-exclusive orders; it violates the Sabbath.

Proposals for the church to consider include:

1. The Sabbath principle of wholeness with regard to equality in essence and equality in the function of men and women should be part of the holistic

[61]Sigve K. Tonstad, *The Lost Meaning of the Seventh Day* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2009), 452-457.

understanding that Adventists have about the "physical, mental, emotional, sexual, social and spiritual dimensions" of the human being.[62]

2. Adventists should include the Sabbath concept in the study of women's ordination as the biblical context and basis for ontological and functional equality of men and women in the home and church. The benefit of such a study will challenge Adventist theology to understand the connections and the meaning between the Sabbath and other theological concepts such as creation, anthropology, soteriology, and ecclesiology in a church that places high emphasis upon the enduring validity of the Sabbath by its very name. In this way, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has a solid theological basis to resolve the issue of women's ordination in a comprehensive and unifying manner.

[62]See the "Consensus Statement" of the Third International Bible Conference, Jerusalem, Israel, 20 June 2012 on the topic of biblical anthropology.

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SETTING APART FOR THE MINISTRY: THEORY AND PRACTICE IN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM (1850-1920)[1]

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Introduction

Sabbatarian Adventism[2] emerged in a milieu that was strongly antagonistic toward established religious bodies and any organizational form going beyond local church structures.[3] Their antiorganizational attitude was based on the belief that elaborate organizational structures were markers of apostate churches. Since this attitude was common to all groups stemming from the

[1]This article was originally commissioned by the Biblical Research Committee of the Inter-European Division of Seventh-day Adventists in 2012 and accepted by the Committee on 26 March 2013.

[2]The term "Sabbatarian Adventism" refers to Seventh-day Adventism before the formal organization of the church in 1863. Although the name "Seventh-day Adventists" had been used already since 1853, it was not applied unanimously to the body of believers until 1861. See S. T. Cranson to James White, 20 March 1853, printed as "From Bro. Cranson," *Review and Herald*, 14 April 1853, 191. That is why in this paper the first term is used for Seventh-day Adventists before 1863 and the second term is employed for the church after 1863.

[3]This antagonism grew out of the events in 1843, when the Millerites shifted their focus to the time aspect of the prophecies, which resulted in tensions with the denominational leadership and subsequent expulsions of church members and dismissals of ministers. Charles Fitch interpreted these measures as a rejection of the Advent truth, indicating the transformation of the religious bodies into the apocalyptic Babylon. Thereupon, George Storrs started a vigorous antiorganizational campaign. Cf. Ellen G. White, "Dear Brethren of the General Conference," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 29 January 1893, 22; David Tallmadge Arthur, "Come out of Babylon: A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1970); Clyde E. Hewitt, *Midnight and Morning: An Account of the Adventist Awakening and the Founding of the Advent Christian Denomination, 1831-1860* (Charlotte, NC: Venture Books, 1983), 264-287; Andrew G. Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization: Historical Development, 1844-1881*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, 12 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987), 114, 118; Don Neufeld, ed., *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, M-Z*, 2d rev. ed., Commentary Reference Series, 11 (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1996), 254; George R. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," in *Women for God: Historical, Biblical, and Theological Resources for Decision-making*, ed. Nancy Jean Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 100; George R. Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2010), 132, 234-235.

Millerite movement,[4] it comes as a surprise that James and Ellen White as early as 1850 began calling believers to adhere to "gospel order," a principle illustrated in the order in heaven, among Christ's disciples, and in the early NT church.[5] Although it took some time for other members of the movement to warm to this recommendation, by the early 1860s the antiorganizational attitude among members of the movement as a whole had dissipated enough for Sabbatarian Adventism to formally establish itself as a church. Over the years, the ecclesiastical structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church underwent various changes and developments, as may be seen in the establishment of publishing, health, and educational institutions, as well as in the creation of unions and divisions and in the integration of numerous associations and societies into the church structure as departments.[6] These changes from rudimentary local structures to highly complex global structures were paralleled by changes in the distribution of work, responsibilities, and authority within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

As the ecclesiastical organization of the movement grew and developed, so too did the movement's understanding and implementation of the act

[4]Ellen G. White, "Dear Brethren of the General Conference," 22; J. N. Loughborough, *The Church: Its Organization, Order and Discipline* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1907), 89-90.

[5]James White, "The State of the Cause," *Present Truth*, May 1850, 80; idem, "Our Visit to Vermont," *Review and Herald*, February 1851, 45; idem, "Publications," *Review and Herald*, March 1851, 54; idem, "Oswego Conference," *Review and Herald*, 16 September 1851, 32; idem, "On Our Tour East," *Review and Herald*, 25 November 1851, 52; idem, "[Note]," *Review and Herald*, 17 February 1852, 96; idem, "[Note on Pultney Meeting]," *Review and Herald*, 19 August 1852, 64; idem, "[Note on Pultney Meeting]," *Review and Herald*, 2 September 1852, 72; idem, "[Reply to S. W. Rhodes' Communication]," *Review and Herald*, 14 October 1852, 93; idem, "Western Tour," *Review and Herald*, 7 July 1853, 28; idem, "Eastern Tour," *Review and Herald*, 18 October 1853, 117; idem, "Eastern Tour," *Review and Herald*, 8 November 1853, 140; Horace W. Lawrence, "From Bro. Lawrence," *Review and Herald*, 8 November 1853, 142; James White, "Gospel Order," *Review and Herald*, 6 December 1853, 173; idem, "Gospel Order," *Review and Herald*, 13 December 1853, 180; idem, "Gospel Order," *Review and Herald*, 20 December 1853, 188-190; idem, "Gospel Order," *Review and Herald*, 27 December 1853, 196-198; H. S. Gurney, "From Bro. Gurney," *Review and Herald*, 27 December 1853, 199; Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White* (Rochester, NY: James White, 1854), 12, 15; Joseph Bates, "Church Order," *Review and Herald*, 29 August 1854, 22-23; J. B. Frisbie, "Church Order," *Review and Herald*, 9 January 1855, 154; R. F. Cottrell, "What are the Duties of Church Officers?" *Review and Herald*, 2 October 1856, 173. Articles and communications on the topic continued to appear until the formal organization of the church in 1863.

[6]See, e.g., Mustard, 143-278; Barry David Oliver, *SDA Organizational Structure: Past, Present and Future*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, 15 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1989), 40-322; George R. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil: The Development of Adventist Church Structure*, Adventist Heritage Series (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2001), 48-151.

of ordination. In the beginning, when Sabbatarian Adventists first united themselves around the beliefs of "present truth"[7] in the late 1840s, there was no formal process of ordination. The majority of the leading persons were ministers who had been previously ordained in their former denominations,[8] and they undertook the responsibility of sharing their beliefs with other former Millerites and drawing new members for the Sabbatarian Adventist movement through a traveling ministry. A problem soon developed, however: other travelling preachers who had not embraced the Sabbatarian Adventist message followed the same procedure, frequently promoting erroneous and heretical views, and it became difficult to distinguish between authentic Sabbatarian Adventist leaders and other travelling ministers who represented alternative doctrines. Problems arose not only from outside but also from within, as several self-appointed and self-confident preachers inside the Sabbatarian Adventist movement began to generate "confusion and disunion." Thus, Ellen and James White suggested that such persons were "not called by God," lacked judgment and wisdom, were "unqualified to preach the present truth," and had not been "acknowledged by the church or [the] brethren generally."[9]

For this reason, Sabbatarian Adventists began to see the need to apply the principle of "gospel order" and develop some way of certifying acknowledged

[7]Initially, the term "present truth" referred to recently discovered theological truths such as the extended atonement ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, the seventh-day Sabbath, the third angel's message, and the sealing message. It was later enlarged as Adventists made new discoveries.

[8]Thus, James White and Joseph Bates had been ordained to the gospel ministry in the Christian Connection. Frederick Wheeler and John Byington had been set apart to the ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and A. S. Hutchins as a minister in the Freewill Baptist Church. See James White, *Life Incidents: Connection With the Great Advent Movement, as Illustrated by the Three Angels of Revelation XIV* (Battle Creek: Steam Press, 1868), 1:104; idem, *Life Sketches: Ancestry, Early Life, Christian Experience, and Extensive Labors, of Elder James White, and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White* (Battle Creek: Steam Press, 1880), 79; License to preach for John Byington, issued by the Methodist Episcopal Church, West Potsdam, 25 May 1840, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich. [hereafter referred to as CAR]; S. B. Whitney, "Life Sketch of Elder Frederick Wheeler," *Review and Herald*, 24 November 1910, 24; Arthur W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1961), 1:295. Cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 103; Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*, 2d ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 290; Gary Land, *The A to Z of the Seventh-day Adventists*, The A to Z Guide Series, 43 (Lanham: Scarecrow, 2009), 218.

[9]Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, 15-18; James White, "Church Order," *Review and Herald*, 23 January 1855, 164; cf. Lewis H. Christian, *The Fruitage of Spiritual Gifts: The Influence and Guidance of Ellen G. White in the Advent Movement* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1947), 118.

leaders of the group in order to protect the believers from "false brethren."[10] This objective was accomplished through the establishment of a procedure for the ordination, or "setting apart," of individuals for the ministry. The present paper builds upon previous historical studies to discuss various elements and developments of this process of ordination in the Sabbatarian Adventist movement and in the Seventh-day Adventist Church from the early 1850s to the early 1920s.[11]

The Rationale for and Objectives of the Practice of Ordination

The first step toward a process of certification was made when those who were well known among Sabbatarian Adventists began to issue recommendation cards to trustworthy ministers. Thus, in January 1853, James White and Joseph Bates signed a card and handed it over to J. N. Loughborough.[12] A second step was taken in the late fall of that year when the leaders of the Sabbatarian

[10]Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil*, 34-35, 37-38; Land, 218. In 1853, the first offshoot, the Messenger party, caused Sabbatarian Adventists considerable trouble. See Theodore N. Levterov, "The Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Understanding of Ellen G. White's Prophetic Gift, 1844-1889" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 2011), 81-83.

[11]H. Eugene Miller, "The Development of the Ordination of Ministers in the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1964); Bob Hunter, "A Study of the Qualifications for Ordination to the Gospel Ministry During the Years 1853-1861 and 1902-1903" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1972); Carlos E. Garbutt, "Rite and Recognition, Rite or Recognition: The Early Development of the Theology of Ordination of the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1991); Gerald T. du Preez, "A Survey of Selected Aspects of the Practice of Ecclesiastical Appointment in the New Testament, Early Christian, and Seventh-day Adventist Church" (M.Div. thesis, Andrews University, 1994); Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 99-113; Denis Fortin, "The Concept of Ordination in the Writings of Ellen G. White," in *Women for God: Historical, Biblical, and Theological Resources for Decision-making*, ed. Nancy Jean Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 114-132; Jerry Moon, "A Power That Exceeds That of Men: Ellen G. White on Women in Ministry," in *Women in Ministry: Biblical & Historical Perspective*, ed. Nancy Jean Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 187-209; William Fagal, "Ellen G. White and Women in Ministry," in *Prove All Things: A Response to Women in Ministry*, ed. Mercedes H. Dyer (Berrien Springs: Adventists Affirm, 2000), 273-286; Levterov; David J. B. Trim, "Ordination in Seventh-day Adventist History" (Unpublished manuscript, Silver Spring, MD, [2013]).

[12]Loughborough, 101; Everett N. Dick, *Founders of the Message* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1938), 183; Mustard, 124; du Preez, 55-59; Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 105; idem, *Organizing to Beat the Devil*, 37.

Adventist movement began "setting [men] apart to the ministry."[13] From the beginning, they used this phrase interchangeably with the terms "ordain" and "ordination."[14] Although a first ordination had admittedly occurred already in July 1851, it was not until 1853 that the leaders of the movement instituted a proper and intentional practice of ordaining men for the ministry.[15]

A Biblical Rationale for the Practice

In the 1850s, Sabbatarian Adventist literature did not indicate the use of any sources "beyond the Bible" in justifying "the developing position on ordination."[16] During that time, it was consistently emphasized that ministers had to be ordained according to the NT pattern, for they considered the practice an application of the principle of "gospel order."[17]

James White saw the precedence for ordination in Jesus' commissioning the twelve disciples to preach, teach, and baptize believers in his name (Matt 28:19-20). Then, he referred to such biblical texts as Mark 3:14; 1 Tim 4:11-16; 2 Tim 1:6; Titus 1:5, 7; and 1 Pet 2:25, suggesting that those "who are

[13]James White, "Eastern Tour," *Review and Herald*, 20 September 1853, 83; idem, "Eastern Tour," *Review and Herald*, 15 November 1853, 148.

[14]See, e.g., ibid., 148; N. Fuller, "The Cause in Southern N.Y., & PA," *Review and Herald*, 17 September 1861, 126.

[15]Washington Morse had been encouraged by James White "to engage in public labor in preaching the message." See G. W. Morse and Lizzie J. Morse, "A Pioneer Gone to Rest," *Review and Herald*, 23 December 1909, 17. Thus, in July 1851, G. W. Holt discretely set him apart "by the laying on of hands, to the administration of the ordinances of God's house." See F. M. Shimper, "From Sister Shimper," *Review and Herald*, 19 August 1851, 15. While the report itself remains ambiguous as to whether he was ordained to the ministry or as an elder, a later account suggests that it was in 1851 that he began working as a minister. See Washington Morse, "From Bro. Morse," *Review and Herald*, 4 October 1853, 103; cf. Neufeld, 254; Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil*, 35-36. The 1888 recollection that dates his ordination to the summer of 1853 is most likely a slip of memory because the contemporary sources point to 1851 and the 1888 report also contains other dating problems. See Washington Morse, "Items of Advent Experience During the Past Fifty Years, No. 4," *Review and Herald*, 16 October 1888, 643; Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 104. Loughborough later claimed that his ordination was the first of its kind; yet, there is no contemporary evidence. He joined the church in 1852 and was not ordained until 1854. See J. N. Loughborough, *Miracles in My Life*, comp. Adriel Chilson (Payson, AZ: Leaves-of-Autumn Books, 1987), 39; Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 104.

[16]Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination," 102.

[17]James White, "Gospel Order," *Review and Herald*, 20 December 1853, 188, 189; Frisbie, "Church Order," 9 January 1855, 153-155; James White, "Re-Ordination," *Review and Herald*, 6 August 1867, 120; J. H. Waggoner, *The Church: Its Organization, Ordinances, and Discipline* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1886), 15-16; Loughborough, 66-71; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 102.

called of God to teach and baptize, should be ordained, or set apart to the work of the ministry by the laying on of hands." Further, he argued that Eph 4:11-16 showed the continuance of the offices of preaching and evangelism in the church until the end of time.[18] Ellen White described the situation of the NT church even more. As the church was assailed by false teachers, the practice of setting apart ministers by the laying on of hands was God's solution to that problem.[19] Shortly afterward J. B. Frisbie pointed to three NT examples: the choosing of an apostle to replace Judas Iscariot (Acts 1:20-26); the setting apart of Paul and Barnabas for the ministry (Acts 13:1-4); and the subsequent ordaining of other men for the cause of Christ by Paul and other early Christian leaders.[20] Since the Holy Spirit was the causative power in all three examples, he argued that "the power and authority to ordain elders or bishops in the church came" not by human invention, but "from the Holy Spirit of God" (Acts 13:2).[21]

In later years, Ellen White made several further-reaching remarks about ordination in her writings about biblical themes and events, indicating her belief in the biblical origin of the basic practice. The earliest example she provides for an ordination is found in God calling, commissioning, and ordaining Moses "to his great work." She emphasized Moses' "deep sense" of his "own weakness and unworthiness" when God called him.[22] Ellen White saw the next example in Jesus' ordination of his disciples, yet the example she cited was not the giving of the gospel commission in Matthew 28, to which James White had referred, but an ordination that came earlier in Jesus' ministry, after his initial calling of the disciples and his early instruction to them about the duties and responsibilities of their mission. It was during this time that Judas Iscariot pressed self-confidently into the group of disciples, exemplifying an attitude very different from that of Moses and the disciples. Then, Jesus gathered them around him, bowed in their midst, laid "his hands on their heads, offered a prayer, dedicating them to this sacred work. Thus," she stated, "were the Lord's disciples ordained to the gospel ministry."[23]

[18]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189; idem, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 102-103.

[19]Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, 19.

[20]J. B. Frisbie, "Gospel Order," *Review and Herald*, 19 June 1855, 62-63; idem, "Church Order," *Review and Herald*, 26 June 1856, 70-71; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 102.

[21]Frisbie, "Church Order," 26 June 1856, 70.

[22]Ellen G. White, "The Call of Moses," *Signs of the Times*, 26 February 1880, 85.

[23]Ellen G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy: The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan. Life, Teachings, and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Battle Creek: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Assn., 1877), 2:203; idem, *The Desire of Ages* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1898), 293-294, 296, 298; idem, *Education* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1903), 93; idem to E. S. Ballenger and E. R. Palmer, Sanitarium, CA, 2 February 1905 (Letter 53, 1905), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD [hereafter referred to

Later, she termed the initial calling of the disciples "ordination" and an "appointment to the work of the gospel ministry," thus suggesting an initial ordination at the calling and a formal ordination after their instruction.[24] A third reference to a biblical precedent for ordination is found in her description of the "ordination of Paul and Barnabas," covering an entire chapter in *The Spirit of Prophecy*, volume 3, in 1878.[25] Ellen White remarked that the leaders of the church in Jerusalem and Antioch ordained Paul and Barnabas only after they had been "made thoroughly acquainted" with the details of their divine calling and the mission given to them by the Holy Spirit. Thus, the ordination of Paul and Barnabas was an "open recognition" that the two had been truly chosen by the Holy Spirit for this special mission. When the elders of Antioch laid their hands on them, they asked God to bless them in the work assigned to them by the Spirit. Ellen White spotted the original pattern for the practice of the laying on of hands in the OT—a father laying his hands on his children to bless them and a priest laying his hands on the head of a sacrificial animal. In the NT, it became an "acknowledged form of designation to an appointed office."[26]

Interestingly, in all three references she emphasized that it was God who had called and set apart, explicitly equating the terms "commission" and "ordination."[27] In the context of the ordination of the disciples and that of Paul and Barnabas, she suggested that the "ordination from above precedes [a formal] ordination by the church."[28] She described Paul's ordination by human hands as a "formal ordination."[29] Like Ellen, James White also denied the idea that the church had the power to call people into the ministry or that its act of ordination made them ministers of Christ. Rather, the church was to ordain those who had already been called into the ministry by God.[30] This

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as EGWE]; idem, "The Selection of the First Ministers of Apostolic Times," *Review and Herald*, 11 January 1912, 19.

[24]Ellen G. White to Ballenger and Palmer, 2 February 1905; idem, "The Regions Beyond," *Pacific Union Recorder*, 4 December 1902, 1.

[25]Ellen G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy: The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan. The Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Battle Creek: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Assn., 1878), vol. 3, chap. 27; idem, *Sketches from the Life of Paul* (Battle Creek: Review and Herald, 1883), chap. 4.

[26]Ellen G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy*, 3:348-349; idem, *Sketches from the Life of Paul*, 43-44; cf. idem, *Acts of the Apostles in the Proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911), 160-161; idem, "Separated Unto the Gospel," *Review and Herald*, 11 May 1911, 4; idem, "Lessons from Paul's Ministry," 27 July 1903 (MS 74, 1903), EGWE; idem, "Proclaiming the Truth Under Difficulties," *Review and Herald*, 18 May 1911, 5.

[27]Ellen G. White, "The Call of Moses," 85.

[28]Fortin, 116.

[29]Ellen G. White, "Separated Unto the Gospel," 4.

[30]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189.

aspect is significant when we begin to discuss the authority and power of ordained ministers.

The Benefits and Objectives of the Practice

If God was ultimately the one who called and set apart, this raised the question of why a formal ordination by the church was necessary at all. Responding to this question, James White pointed to three objectives of the practice: (a) the candidate receives confirmation of the approval and sympathy of both his colleagues and the church; (b) by the laying on of hands, the church shows its united agreement with the ordination of the respective individual, thereby producing and securing union in the church; (c) ordination solved the urgent need for some kind of authentication. This third objective received the bulk of James's attention, and he explained at length how ordination would prevent the influence of false teachers who brought reproach on the present truth and the cause of God.[31] Similarly, Ellen White remarked that the application of this NT practice would signify "the approving voice of the church" and "secure the peace, harmony, and union of the flock."[32] Interestingly, even those who opposed the establishment of any formal church structure, such as R. F. Cottrell, affirmed the practical need for and biblical foundation of the ordination of ministers.[33] Bates added that the NT depicted ordination as a means of choosing or appointing a person to an office, an aspect that was basically also supported by Ellen White.[34]

The Qualifications of the Candidate

The above biblical considerations served as the theoretical basis for developing practical criteria for the qualification of a candidate for the ordination to the ministry. These criteria were developed further over the years as practical circumstances called for additional refinements and clarifications.

A Calling of God

When Sabbatarian Adventists began setting men apart for the ministry, they emphasized that a divine calling to preach was one of the most important prerequisites for ordination. This idea was derived from the biblical examples shown above and supported with texts such as Luke 6:13; Mark 3:14; Matt 10:16; 28:16-20; Gal 1:11-12; 1 Cor 10:2; and Eph 4:11-16. James White

[31]Ibid.; idem, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 102-103.

[32]Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, 19.

[33]Cottrell, 173; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 102.

[34]Bates, 22. Bates supported this conclusion with John 15:16; Luke 6:13; Mark 3:13-14; Acts 1:20-24; 2 Cor 8:19; Acts 6:3-6; 14:23; 2 Tim 2:3-4; Titus 1:5. Cf. Ellen G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy*, 3:348-349; idem, *Sketches from the Life of Paul*, 43-44.

suggested that these texts were still applicable in the present time because "the church has never arrived at the state of unity and perfection" predicted in these passages.[35] The need for a divine calling was repeatedly emphasized in subsequent years.[36] James White asked churches to recognize the responsibility that God had laid upon one of their members and to urge that person into the field of labor.[37] After these individuals had proven to have "received their commission of God," the church was, said Ellen White, to acknowledge the divine calling by setting them apart.[38] Almost four decades later the General Conference stated that candidates had to be sure about their call of God to the work of the ministry.[39]

Evangelistic/Ministerial Experience

The most feasible way to prove one's calling was by entering new fields where the present truth was still unknown, and thus a period of "labor[ing] publicly in the cause of God"[40] became a second prerequisite for ordination. This period of labor, sometimes called a time of "improving," was usually marked by missionary activities in untrodden fields, often lasting one or two years, so that the church could recognize the candidate's calling and ordain him.[41] Ellen White compared this time of "improving" to the Waldensian practice

[35]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 188-189.

[36]See, e.g., James White, "Re-Ordination," 120; Uriah Smith, "To Correspondents," *Review and Herald*, 27 June 1878, 4; G. I. Butler, "Ordination," *Review and Herald*, 13 February 1879, 50-51; J. H. Waggoner, 19; Uriah Smith, "In the Question Chair," *Review and Herald*, 20 October 1891, 648; F. M. Wilcox, "Ordination to the Gospel Ministry," *Review and Herald*, 9 July 1925, 10.

[37]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189.

[38]Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, 19.

[39]"General Conference Proceedings: Eighteenth Meeting," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 6 March 1893, 483.

[40]James White, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 149.

[41]James White, "The Ministry, No. 3," *Review and Herald*, 1 August 1865, 68; Smith, "To Correspondents," 4; W. H. Littlejohn, "The Church Manual," *Review and Herald*, 11 September 1883, 586; F. M. Wilcox to W. C. White, Battle Creek, Mich., 10 January 1895, EGWE; cf. W. W. Prescott, "The Calling and Work of the Ministry," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 24 March 1891, 221-222, 226; Wilcox, "Ordination to the Gospel Ministry," 10. Yet, in the mission field there occurred exceptions to this guideline as, e.g., G. H. Baber's ordination of a newly baptized former Methodist preacher out of sheer necessity because other people would "soon require baptism, and the distance" was "too great" for Baber "to be made often." See G. H. Baber, "Progress of the Cause: Chile," *Review and Herald*, 9 February 1897, 89. Similarly, Louis C. Sheafe's ordination in 1899 was an exception to the rule since the former successful African-American Baptist minister had just recently converted to the Adventist faith. See "Another Glorious Day," *General Conference Bulletin*, 5 March 1899, 145.

of holding off on "ordination to the sacred office" until the candidates had completed a three-year missionary experience in the outside world. The rationale was that being accompanied, trained, and mentored by an experienced minister taught candidates how to deny themselves, sacrifice, preserve the truth in its purity, and let their light shine in darkness.[42]

After the official organization of the General Conference, it was decided that individuals who wanted to engage in evangelistic work and prove their divine calling should receive licenses which would certify their status as Adventist "messengers or preachers."[43] Later, in 1886, it was recommended to the General Conference Committee that the Committee prepare and publish standards of "attainment to be required of those who receive a license," as well as establish "a course of study to be pursued by licentiates before [their] ordination," and "a course of study in our schools, not to exceed two years, especially adapted to ministers and workers."[44] This indicates that the licentiate could be considered an apprentice who tried to improve his knowledge, skills, and faculties to prove worthy to be given a position of trust within the church.[45] Yet, prior to their ordination licentiates were not authorized "to celebrate the ordinances, to administer baptism, or to organize a church."[46]

Beliefs and Actions in Harmony with the Main Body

A third prerequisite for ordination emphasized by a variety of early Adventist leaders was that candidates adhere to sound biblical doctrine. For example, James White suggested that "gospel order" required teachers of the Bible to be "in union in sentiment and in their course of action" to avoid divisions and confusion among church members.[47] Shortly afterward, Frisbie emphasized

[42]Ellen G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy: The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the End of the Controversy* (Battle Creek: Steam Press, 1883), 4:76; idem, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan During the Christian Dispensation* (Battle Creek: Review and Herald, 1888), 70-71; idem, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911), 70-71.

[43]John Byington and Uriah Smith, "Report of General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," *Review and Herald*, 26 May 1863, 205.

[44]G. I. Butler and Uriah Smith, "Twenty-Fifth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists: Fourteenth Meeting, December 6, 1886," Battle Creek, GCA.

[45]Cf. Trim, 19-20. That was probably the reason why James White suggested to give them a license that they may "improve their gift" by laboring for the salvation of souls. See James White, "The Ministry, No. 4," *Review and Herald*, 8 August 1865, 76.

[46]G. I. Butler and Uriah Smith, "Twenty-Fourth General Conference Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists: Fourteenth Meeting, December 2, 1885, 9:30 a.m.," Battle Creek, GCA.

[47]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 188.

that the NT provided the basis for the "theoretical and doctrinal qualification" of a candidate for the ministry.[48] James Sawyer promoted a similar view when he referred to 1 Tim 4:12, 15 and stressed the need for ministry candidates to be an example in word, in spirit, and in faith.[49] In 1878, church leaders resolved to grant licenses to those who want "to preach the third angel's message" only after they were examined as to "their doctrinal and educational qualifications."[50] In the mid-1880s, the General Conference saw the need to respond to the problem of several ordained ministers leaving the ministry by recommending to ordain only those persons that were both willing and able to devote their time to the work of the ministry and "sound in faith and practice upon all Bible doctrines as held by Seventh-day Adventists."[51] This was of considerable importance because ordained ministers filled "offices of trust in God's work."[52] In the early 1890s, the General Conference resolved that the committee would require satisfactory evidence for the candidate's standing on "various points of present truth, especially in regard to Spiritual gifts, tithing, health reform, or any other distinctive feature of our faith or of our work."[53] The repeated emphasis of this aspect may be indicative of a specific need among Adventist ministers.

Intellectual and Spiritual Fitness

Closely related to the emphasis on sound biblical doctrine was the stress laid on intellectual and spiritual fitness as a prerequisite for ordination, based on the criteria laid down for church leaders in the NT. James White adopted the NT criteria for "elders" and "bishops" and applied them as qualifications for modern ministers.[54] Ellen White similarly sought to apply these NT criteria, thus urging leaders to see if the candidates were able to rule well their own family and preserve its order, and if they "could enlighten those who were in darkness."[55] She stated further that those whose judgment and intellect had

[48]Frisbie, "Gospel Order," 19 June 1855, 62-63.

[49]James Sawyer, "Counsel from Paul," *Review and Herald*, 26 July 1864, 66.

[50]James White and Uriah Smith, "Seventeenth Annual Session of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists: Seventh Meeting, October 11, 1878, 8:30 a.m.," Battle Creek, GCA.

[51]G. I. Butler and Uriah Smith, "Twenty-Fourth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists: Seventh Meeting, November 23, 1885, 9:30 a.m.," Battle Creek, GCA; cf. James White, *Life Sketches*, 406-407.

[52]Butler and Smith, "Twenty-Fourth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists"; cf. James White, *Life Sketches*, 406-407.

[53]"General Conference Proceedings," 6 March 1893, 483.

[54]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189-190. He referred to such texts as 1 Tim 3:1-7; Heb 13:17; Matt 5:10, 11; 1 Pet 4:14-15; 3:14-16; 2:12, 19-20; Titus 1:7-9.

[55]Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, 19.

been weakened through their involvement in such errors as perfectionism and spiritualism were unfit for the ministry because they were unable to bear opposition, to avoid getting excited, and to remove objections with calmness and meekness.[56] She added that the church should examine the lives, qualifications, and the general course of the ministerial candidates to see if God had truly called them to the ministry.[57] In 1881, the General Conference resolved to examine all candidates for license and ordination "with reference to their intellectual and spiritual fitness" for the successful performance of their duties.[58]

A Sense of One's Own Weakness and Incompetence

In 1853, James White mentioned yet another criterion for ordination, though this criterion reappeared only seldom in later years. He suggested that the candidate should feel his own frailty and incompetence for the work,[59] an aspect that reminds of Ellen White's later remarks about Moses' deep sense of his own weakness and frailty that stood in stark contrast to Judas Iscariot's self-confidence and pride.[60]

A Special Circumstance: The Question of Women in Ministry and Ordination for Women

Although the criteria enumerated above established some basic prerequisites for ordination, a major question remained: Were women eligible for ordination to gospel ministry? The church's handling of this subject was somewhat complex: ordination to gospel ministry was reserved for men, yet women were still invited to participate in preaching and evangelism. Indeed, when James White announced the establishment of the "Minister's Lecture Association" in 1871, he invited both men and women to become members of the association and to enroll in a four-week term of lectures.[61] With the establishment of Battle Creek College in 1874, both young men and young women began receiving educational and professional training to be able to work for the church in various lines.

Although the church allowed both men and women[62] as "licentiates," they did not practice the ordination of the latter. However, there was at least some

[56]Ibid., 20.

[57]Ibid., 18-19; cf. idem, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1923), 171-172; idem, *Pastoral Ministry* (Silver Spring, MD: Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1995), 42.

[58]Haskell and Smith, "General Conference," 20 December 1881, 392; cf. O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, Battle Creek, 21 September 1891, EGWE.

[59]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189.

[60]Ellen G. White, "The Call of Moses," 85; idem, *The Spirit of Prophecy*, 2:203.

[61]James White, "Minister's Lecture Association," *Review and Herald*, 10 January 1871, 32.

[62]The first female that received a ministerial license was Sarah A. Lindsey in 1869.

support for the idea of setting apart females for the ministry, as shown by the resolution at the 1881 General Conference session "that females possessing the necessary qualifications to fill that position, may with perfectly propriety, be set aside by ordination to the work of the Christian ministry."[63] The proposal was referred to the General Conference executive committee, but obviously no further actions were taken in this regard.[64] The initial move may have been

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See E. B. Saunders, "Report of the N.Y. and P.A. Conference," *Review and Herald*, 12 October 1869, 126. In 1861, Uriah Smith commended a letter on female preaching and teaching that appeared originally in a newspaper. See J. A. Mowatt, "Women as Preachers and Lecturers," *Review and Herald*, 30 July 1861, 65-66. For lists of females holding ministerial and missionary licenses, see "Women Licenses as Ministers, 1878-1975," *Spectrum*, August 1985, 60; "Exhibits Relating to the Ordination of Women: From the Lifetime and Experience of Ellen G. White," Ellen G. White Estate Shelf Document, Washington, D, 1990, 4; Josephine Benton, *Called by God: Stories of Seventh-day Adventist Women Ministers* (Smithsburg, MD: Blackberry Hill Publishers, 1990), 154-165, 229-233; Patricia A. Habada and Rebecca Frost Brillhart, eds., *The Welcome Table: Setting a Place for Ordained Women* (Langley Park, MD: TEAM, 1995), 359-363; Michael Bernoi, "Nineteenth-Century Women in Adventist Ministry Against the Backdrop of Their Times," in *Women in Ministry: Biblical & Historical Perspective*, ed. Nancy Jean Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 225-229; Fagal, 279-280; Ginger Hanks Harwood and Beverly Beem, "A Work for All to Do: Nineteenth-Century Adventism and Women in Ministry" (Paper presented at the meeting of the Adventist Society for Religious Studies at Chicago, IL, 16 November 2012), [25], [40]. Sometimes they were even referred to or listed among the "ministers." See N. Battin, "Minnesota: Oronoco, Sept. 16," *Review and Herald*, 25 September 1879, 110. Regarding Minnie Sype, Lulu Wightman, and Ellen Lane, Fagal, 279, stated that they "functioned effectively as public evangelists." Regarding female preaching during the Millerite movement, see Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845*, Gender & American Culture (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 307-335.

[63]S. N. Haskell and Uriah Smith, "General Conference," *Review and Herald*, 20 December 1881, 392.

[64]Roger W. Coon, "Ellen G. White's View of the Role of Women in the SDA Church" (Ellen G. White Estate Shelf Document, Washington, DC, 1986), 8; Emmett K. VandeVere, "Years of Expansion, 1865-1885," in *Adventism in America: A History*, ed. Gary Land, rev. ed. (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 54; Bull and Lockhart, 270. The explanations as to why the resolution was referred to the General Conference Committee are highly diverse. See Bernoi, 224; Randal R. Wisbey, "SDA Women in Ministry, 1970-1998," in *Women in Ministry: Biblical & Historical Perspective*, ed. Nancy Jean Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 235; Samuel Koranteng-Pipim, "Are Those Things So?—Part II: A Summary and Evaluation of Key Historical and Theological Arguments of Women in Ministry," in *Prove All Things: A Response to Women in Ministry*, ed. Mercedes H. Dyer (Berrien Springs: Adventists Affirm, 2000), 293-294. While other resolutions at this session were "adopted," this one was apparently not. Yet, the report of the business proceedings in the *Signs of the Times* creates some ambiguity for it suggests that the resolution was "adopted" without any

a response to Ellen White's call in early 1879 for meek and humble women to engage in instructing church members in matters of personal piety and home religion, to make up for the deficiency left by the debating-style method of the itinerant Adventist ministry.[65] She had argued that Mary Magdalene was

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further discussion and revision. Strangely enough, the *Signs* did not print a correction regarding this resolution in subsequent issues. See "General Conference," *Signs of the Times*, 5 January 1882, 8. Referring matters to the General Conference Committee usually had the purpose of delegating the decision about the implementation and application of a resolution to that committee. See S. N. Haskell and Maria L. Huntley, "Fourth General Session of the General Tract and Missionary Society," *Review and Herald*, 11 December 1879, 185; James White and Uriah Smith, "General Conference," *Review and Herald*, 11 December 1879, 190; James White and Uriah Smith, "General Conference of S. D. Adventists: Business Proceedings," *Review and Herald*, 21 October 1880, 268; G. I. Butler and A. B. Oyen, "General Conference Proceedings: Twenty-Second Annual Session," *Review and Herald*, 20 November 1883., 733; G. I. Butler, "Changes in the Field of Labor," *Review and Herald*, 27 November 1883, 752. If the delegates were not satisfied with a resolution or desired a reformulation of a specific resolution, it was customary to refer it back to the Committee on Resolutions. See D. M. Canright and Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of the Fourth Special Session of the General Conference of S. D. Adventists," *Review and Herald*, 24 April 1879, 132; Haskell and Smith, "General Conference," 392; G. I. Butler and Uriah Smith, "General Conference Proceedings: Twenty-Fourth Annual Session," *Review and Herald*, 24 November 1885, 729. This could indicate that the resolution was referred to the General Conference Committee to develop some ways of implementing or applying the resolution. If that was indeed the case is, however, uncertain. David Trim drew a different conclusion and argued instead that the *Signs of the Times* report was wrong and that the referral of a resolution to the General Conference Committee was "a tactful way of rejecting them" ("The Ordination of Women in Seventh-day Adventist Policy and Practice, Up to 1972" [Paper submitted to the Theology of Ordination Study Committee, Silver Spring, MD, 2013, rev. and enl. ed.], 16).

[65]Ellen G. White, "Address and Appeal, Setting Forth the Importance of Missionary Work," *Review and Herald*, 2 January 1879, 1; idem to S. N. Haskell, Denison, TX, 27 January 1879 (Letter 1, 1879), EGWE; cf. idem, "Women as Christian Laborers," *Signs of the Times*, 16 September 1886, 561-562; idem, "Work for the Church," *Review and Herald*, 15 May 1888, 305-306. Interestingly, it was during that time that several Adventist writers discussed the involvement of women in public labor. See, e.g., James White, "Women in the Church," *Review and Herald*, 29 May 1879, 172; "Women in the Bible," *Signs of the Times*, 30 October 1879, 324; S. N. Haskell, "Mrs. Wesley Outside of Her Family," *Signs of the Times*, 25 November 1880, 524; W. M. Healey, "Women as Teachers," *Signs of the Times*, 10 February 1881, 67; W. M. Glenn, "Woman's Position in the Church," *Signs of the Times*, 24 February 1881, 91; N. J. Bowers, "May Women Publicly Labor in the Cause of Christ," *Review and Herald*, 14 June 1881, 372-373. Cf. Beverly G. Beem and Ginger Hanks Harwood, "Your Daughters Shall Prophesy: James White, Uriah Smith, and the 'Triumphant Vindication of the Right of the Sisters' to Preach," *AUSS* 43 (2005): 41-58; Ginger Hanks Harwood and Beverly G. Beem, "It was Mary that First Preached a Risen Jesus:

the "first" that "preached a risen Jesus," adding, "If there were twenty women where now there is one, who would make this holy mission their cherished work, we should see many more converted to the truth."[66] In the 1880s and 1890s, Adventist periodicals sometimes reported about other denominations ordaining women as ministers, often without providing an evaluation or opinion.[67] Some Adventist writers explicitly expressed their disapproval of these procedures in other denominations, suggesting that it was one of the infidel goals of the women's rights movement.[68]

Early Seventh-day Adventist Answers to Objections to Women as Public Spiritual Leaders," *AUSS* 45 (2007): 221-245.

[66]Ellen G. White, "Address and Appeal, Setting Forth the Importance of Missionary Work," 1.

[67]"News and Notes: Religious," *Signs of the Times*, 11 September 1884, 558; "News of the Week: Religious," *Review and Herald*, 28 February 1893, 143.

[68]E. J. Waggoner, "Back Page," *Signs of the Times*, 8 June 1888, 358; idem, "How Readest Thou?" *Signs of the Times*, 29 December 1890, 602-603. Although Waggoner supported the commitment of females in "exercises purely religious," he stressed that they "cannot occupy the position of a pastor or a ruling elder." Thus, while females could engage in "the work of the gospel," exhort, comfort, prophesy, pray in public, they were not to conduct "the duties of business meetings, . . . ruling elders, and pastors." If females would engage in these duties, it "would be looked upon as usurping authority over the man," which is prohibited in 1 Tim 2:12 and Eph 5:23 ("Woman's Place in the Gospel," *Signs of the Times*, 19 December 1878, 380). Similarly, his answer to the question if a sister could act as presiding officer in the business meeting of a certain church in case that church did not have an elder was revealing. He argued it would probably be better to choose a male member "to preside *for the time*, as moderator of that meeting," since it may otherwise raise questions "which would be liable to lead to unpleasant results" (idem, *The Church*, 124-125, emphasis original). When invited to join the women's suffrage movement, which sought to legalize the right of women to vote and to become political office holders, Ellen White declined because she believed that all of the church's resources were to be employed for "the promotion of the kingdom of God and the hastening of Christ's second coming" (Coon, 12). Cf. Ellen White to James White, Battle Creek, 10 July 1874 (Letter 40a, 1874), EGWE. In the early and mid-1860s, Ellen White suggested that spiritualists had associated themselves closely with the American costume and the women's rights movement. Adopting that dress would have destroyed all influence for good because the public would then link Adventists to spiritualists (*Testimony for the Church*, no. 10 [Battle Creek: Steam Press, 1864], 30; idem, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols. [Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948], 1:421). For the influence of spiritualism within the nineteenth-century women's rights movement, see Laurel Ann Nelson, "Attending Spirits" (Research paper, Andrews University, 1975); Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1989); Barbara Goldsmith, *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998); Laurel Damsteegt, "Spiritualism and Women: Then and Now," in *Prove All Things: A Response to Women in Ministry*, ed. Mercedes H. Dyer (Berrien Springs: Adventists Affirm, 2000), 251-271.

Although women in the Seventh-day Adventist Church were generally excluded from ministerial ordination, the cases of Ellen White and Lulu Wightman may be mentioned at this point, since both constitute partial exceptions to that rule. Although neither was ever set apart by the laying on of hands, both nevertheless received ministerial credentials. Indeed, the Michigan Conference granted Ellen White the credential of ordained minister in 1871.[69] In subsequent years, she was listed among the conference's ordained ministers and later on also received ministerial credentials from the General Conference.[70] After the death of her husband in 1881, she received the salary of an ordained minister until she passed away in 1915.[71] The church obviously had confidence in her work and recognized her divine commission and ordination.[72] She herself stated that "the Lord ordained" her "as his messenger" in late 1844,[73] and it was he who had put her "into the ministry,"

[69]Uriah Smith and Isaac D. van Horn, "Michigan Conference of S. D. Adventists: Eleventh Annual Meeting," *Review and Herald*, 14 February 1871, 69. Cf. D. E. Robinson to LeRoy Edwin Froom, 17 November 1935, EGWE; Arthur L. White to H. T. Elliot, n.d. [c. 1936-1937], EGWE; idem to C. A. Lashley, 1 October 1936, EGWE; idem to Herman Bauman, 13 December 1956, EGWE; idem to Edwin R. Thiele, 18 December 1956, EGWE.

[70]See, e.g., Uriah Smith and J. R. Trembley, "Michigan Conference of S. D. Adventists: Twelfth Annual Session," *Review and Herald*, 10 September 1872, 102; Ministerial credentials of Ellen G. White, issued by the Michigan Conference, Battle Creek, 1 October 1883, EGWE; G. I. Butler and A. B. Oyen, "Twenty-Second Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists: Twelfth and Thirteenth Meetings, November 19, 1883," Battle Creek, 1883, GCA; Ministerial credentials of Ellen G. White, issued by the General Conference, Battle Creek, 6 December 1885, EGWE; Ministerial credentials of Ellen G. White, issued by the General Conference, Battle Creek, 27 December 1887, EGWE; Ministerial credentials of Ellen G. White, issued by the General Conference, Battle Creek, 7 March 1889, EGWE; L. T. Nicola, "Nineteenth Meeting of the Conference," *General Conference Bulletin*, January-March 1897, no. 1, 65; Ministerial credentials of Ellen G. White, issued by the General Conference, 14 June 1909, EGWE; Ministerial credentials of Ellen G. White, issued by the General Conference, 12 June 1913, EGWE.

[71]D. A. Delafield to Kit Watts, Washington, DC, 25 August 1971, EGWE; Coon, 7.

[72]Arthur L. White suggested that denominational leaders considered her ordination to be of a higher character and that it would have appeared anticlimactic for them to ordain her for the Lord's service although God himself had already proven beyond any doubt that he had called her and set her apart for his service (Arthur L. White to Lashley, 1 October 1936; idem to Bauman, 13 December 1956; idem to Thiele, 18 December 1956; cf. *A Critique of the Book Prophetess of Health* [Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Estate, 1976], 93); Fagal, 279.

[73]Ellen G. White, "Brethren and Sisters/An Appeal," St. Helena, CA, 19 October 1909 (Letter 138, 1909), EGWE; idem, "An Appeal to Our Churches Throughout the United States," *Review and Herald*, 18 May 1911, 3; cf. Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White: The Early Years, 1827-1862* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1985), 1:234; idem,

quoting the words of 1 Tim 1:12.[74] However, while she sometimes gave the prayer at ordination services, it does not seem that she ever performed other functions of ordained ministers.[75]

The other exception to the rule was Mrs. Lulu Wightman, who was reportedly the most successful minister in the New York Conference. In 1901, R. A. Underwood, president of the Atlantic Union Conference, stated his opinion in favor of her ordination. Yet, it was decided to refrain from ordaining Wightman because A. G. Daniells, then president of the General Conference, expressed his doubts about whether a woman could "properly be ordained, just now at least." The conference nevertheless voted to pay her the salary of an ordained minister because they considered her work as "that of an ordained minister unquestionably."[76]

Lateral Entry of Ministers Previously Ordained in Other Denominations

In the early years, Adventists took no issue with admitting people to the ministry who had been previously ordained in their former denominations. While Sabbatarian Adventist ministers considered the denominations they had left in the mid-1840s part of Babylon, they did not renounce the ecclesiastical authority of these churches by seeking reordination, as the early Puritan ministers (who had previously been ordained by the Church of England) had done after their arrival in New England.[77] Thus, for several years, ministers of other denominations transferred into the Adventist ministry without having to be reordained. By 1862, however, the Michigan Conference no longer recognized

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Ellen G. White: The Later Elmshaven Years, 1905-1915 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982), 6:211.

[74]Ellen G. White, "A Messenger," *Review and Herald*, 26 July 1906, 9.

[75]Ellen G. White to W. C. White, Mary K. White, and S. N. Haskell, Buffalo, NY, 16 September 1880 (Letter 41, 1880), EGWE; Arthur L. White to Elliot, n.d.; idem to Lashley, 1 October 1936; idem to Bauman, 13 December 1956; idem to Thiele, 18 December 1956; Coon, 7.

[76]G. B. Thompson to John Wightman, 13 August 1901, GCA; John S. Wightman to S. H. Lane, Avon, NY, 2 September 1904, GCA. Cf. Bert Haloviak, "The Adventist Heritage Calls for Ordination of Women," *Spectrum*, August 1985, 52-60; Coon, 3; Interview of Roger W. Coon with Armina L. Glascock [age 93], St. Helena, CA, 4 June 1986; Benton 219-222; Bert Haloviak, "A Place at the Table: Women and the Early Years," in *The Welcome Table: Setting a Place for Ordained Women*, ed. Patricia A. Habada and Rebecca Frost Brillhart (Langley Park, MD: TEAM, 1995), 28, 30-31.

[77]See Nathaniel Morton, *New England's Memorial*, 6th ed. (Boston, MA: Congregational Board of Publication, 1855), 96-99, 419; du Preez, 58, n. 2. In this context, it appears odd when J. N. Andrews remarked that the Protestant Reformers were unfortunately satisfied with their former "ordination as Catholic priests" and saw no need to be "set apart to the holy ministry by converted men" (*The Three Messages of Revelation 14:6-12: Particularly the Third Angel's Message, and Two-Horned Beast* (Battle Creek: Review and Herald, 1892), 69-70.

these ordinations and began requiring reordination for ministers who wanted to join the Seventh-day Adventist Church and to continue working as ministers. It was recommended that other conferences follow the same procedure, and by 1863 reordination became General Conference policy.[78] In 1867, James White argued that the ordination was invalid if not performed by the proper person. Referring to the Jewish priesthood in NT times, he suggested that even priests who, like Paul, might convert to the Christian faith were ordained again by the apostles for the new work, even though they were only taking a step "from light to greater light." Yet, some ministers, James White argued, turned "from error to truth" when they joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which is why it was necessary for them to cast away the errors and "be set apart anew to the sacred work of the closing message." He also stated that an ordination was no longer considered valid after a minister apostatized.[79]

The Ordination Ceremony

The early ceremonies in which candidates were set apart for the gospel ministry were simple and stark, but these initial rites gradually developed into more elaborate and formal ceremonies. Initially, ordinations were often accompanied by manifestations of the Holy Spirit, though this changed over time. There were also gradual changes over time in regard to who was permitted to participate in the ordination ceremony and how the action of the laying on of hands was understood.

Elements of the Ordination Ceremony

Initially, the action of setting an individual apart for the ministry usually involved a prayer and the laying on of hands.[80] Later, the ordination ceremony

[78]James White, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Review and Herald*, 29 May 1856, 43; Joseph Bates and Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of the Michigan State Conference," *Review and Herald*, 14 October 1862, 157; Joseph Bates and Uriah Smith, "Michigan Annual Conference," *Review and Herald*, 24 October 1862, 157; "Remarks on: To The Brethren in Ohio," *Review and Herald*, 30 December 1862, 37; Byington and Smith, "Report of General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," 205; James White, "Re-Ordination," 120; idem, "Report from Bro. White," *Review and Herald*, 13 August 1867, 136; Smith and Trembley, "Michigan Conference of S. D. Adventists," 102; cf. S. N. Haskell to Ellen G. White, Boston, MA, 30 March 1887, EGWE; Francis D. Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1951), 559. Thus, it is interesting to see that, in 1863, Frederick Wheeler was recommended for ordination and reception into the New York conference although he had been ordained previously in the Methodist Episcopal Church and worked among Sabbatarian Adventists since 1850. See A. Lanpear and J. M. Aldrich, "New York Conference Report," *Review and Herald*, 1 December 1863, 3.

[79]James White, "Re-Ordination," 120.

[80]On prayer, see Shimper, 15; James White, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148; A. S. Hutchins, "Report of Meetings," *Review and Herald*, 25 June 1861, 40; James

grew more elaborate and came to involve an ordination sermon, the laying on of hands, a prayer, a charge, a "holy kiss," and extension of the right hand of fellowship.[81] However, even the later, more elaborate version of the ordination rite was still understood to be a "simple but impressive New Testament ceremony."[82] It certainly contained some elements—sermon, prayer, laying on of hands, and charge—that were also present in the ordination ceremonies of the mid-nineteenth-century Methodist Episcopal Church, yet it did not reflect the high-church elements found in the strongly liturgical Methodist rite.[83]

White, "Re-Ordination," 120; Uriah Smith, "Editorial Correspondence, No. 3," *Review and Herald*, 8 October 1867, 264; "Ordination," *Review and Herald*, 1 October 1872, 128; Uriah Smith, "Ordination and Baptism," *Review and Herald*, 4 May 1876, 144; idem, "The Conference," *Review and Herald*, 17 October 1878, 124; E. J. Waggoner, "General Meeting in Oakland," *Signs of the Times*, 8 May 1884, 281; "Ordination," *Review and Herald*, 12 November 1889, 720; J. N. Loughborough, "Ordination Service," *Review and Herald*, 24 October 1893, 676; J. H. Durland, "Ordination Service," *Review and Herald*, 5 December 1893, 772; Ellen G. White, "The Brighton Camp Meeting," Middle Brighton, Victoria, Australia, 21 January 1894 (MS 3, 1894), EGWE; "Another Glorious Day," 145; cf. Roger W. Coon, *The Great Visions of Ellen G. White* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1992), 66. For a later example of an ordination prayer, see "Missionary Farewell Service," *General Conference Bulletin*, 25 April 1901, extra no. 20, 472.

On the laying on of hands, see Shimper, 15; James White, "Eastern Tour," 20 September 1853, 85; idem, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148; Hutchins, 40; James White, "Re-Ordination," 120; Smith, "Editorial Correspondence, No. 3," 264; "Ordination," 1 October 1872, 128; Smith, "The Conference," 17 October 1878, 124; E. J. Waggoner, "General Meeting in Oakland," 281; A. T. Jones, "The Camp Meeting: The New Lecture Course," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 16 May 1889, 3; "Ordination," 12 November 1889, 720; Loughborough, "Ordination Service," 676; Durland, 772; cf. Coon, *The Great Visions of Ellen G. White*, 66.

[81]James White, "The Conference," *Review and Herald*, 24 May 1864, 204; Uriah Smith, "Editorial Correspondence, no. 2," *Review and Herald*, 1 October 1867, 248; idem, "Editorial Correspondence, no. 3," *Review and Herald*, 8 October 1867, 264; D. T. Bourdeau, "The Vermont Conference," *Review and Herald*, 2 November 1869, 150; "Ordination," 1 October 1872, 128; Smith, "Ordination and Baptism," 144; Ellen G. White to W. C. White and Mary K. White, to Rome, NY, 15 August 1876 (Letter 37, 1876), EGWE; Smith, "The Conference," 124; W. H. Littlejohn, "The Church Manual," *Review and Herald*, 17 July 1883, 458; A. T. Jones, "The Kansas Camp-Meeting," *Signs of the Times*, 9 June 1887, 344; idem, "North Pacific Camp-Meeting," *Signs of the Times*, 29 June 1888, 392; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, Battle Creek, 21 September 1891, EGWE; idem, "Edwards, W. H.: General Conference Proceedings, Twentieth Meeting," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 7 March 1893, 493; Durland, 772; Ellen G. White, "The Brighton Camp Meeting," 21 January 1894; J. H. Durland and F. M. Wilcox, *Records of the Foreign Mission Board from July 27, 1892 to November 2, 1896*, vol. 2 (Battle Creek, n.d), 191; "Another Glorious Day," 145; "Missionary Farewell Service," 471-472.

[82]"Ordination," 12 November 1889, 720.

[83]Cf. Matthew Simpson, ed., *Cyclopedia of Methodism: Embracing Sketches of Its*

Manifestations of the Holy Spirit

Initially, ordination ceremonies were accompanied by highly emotional manifestations of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Thus, it was frequently stated that "the blessing of the Lord rested upon us,"[84] "a very tender, precious influence affected the hearts of all,"[85] and "the Holy Spirit fell sweetly and powerfully upon us."[86] Visible signs of the Spirit's moving were the gift of tongues, weeping, encouragement and rejoicing, and mutual testifying of the participants' love for the truth.[87] These signs and results were regarded as a distinct divine approval "of the solemn and important step," as a "signet" placed by the Lord upon the work, and as a blessing upon the candidate.[88] However, such manifestations vanished in later years.

Participants in the Ceremony

An important aspect of the ordination was the question of who was authorized to set a person apart for the ministry. Ellen White briefly and succinctly summarized the principles guiding the action as follows:

> Brethren of experience, and of a sound mind, should assemble, and follow the word of God, and with fervent prayer, and by the sanction of the Spirit of God, should lay hands upon those who have given full proof that they have received their commission of God, and set them apart to devote themselves entirely to the work.[89]

Rise, Progress, and Present Condition, with Biographical Notes and Numerous Illustrations (Philadelphia: Everts & Stewart, 1878), 682.

[84]S. H. Lane, "Indiana," *Review and Herald*, 4 March 1875, 78; cf. James White, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148; C. Kelsey and F. W. Morse, "Report of Conference at Ashland, Minn.," *Review and Herald*, 15 October 1861, 160; "Ordination," 1 October 1872, 128; E. J. Waggoner, "General Meeting in Oakland," 281; Durland, 772; Wm. Covert, "An Ordination," *Review and Herald*, 6 November 1900, 718.

[85]G. I. Butler, "The Nebraska-Camp Meeting," *Review and Herald*, 11 October 1881, 239; cf. idem to James White and Ellen G. White, Lincoln, NE, 28 September 1880, EGWE; James White, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148.

[86]Hutchins, 40; cf. Ellen G. White to W. C. White and Mary K. White, Malvern, KS, 28 May 1876 (Letter 30, 1876), EGWE; Butler to James White and Ellen G. White, 28 September 1880; S. N. Haskell to Ellen G. White, Christiana, Norway, 17 June 1894, EGWE; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 106.

[87]Shimper, 15; James White, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148; G. I. Butler to *Signs of the Times*, Newton, Iowa, 5 June 1874, EGWE; Lane, "Indiana," 78; Butler, "The Nebraska-Camp Meeting," 239; Haskell to Ellen G. White, 17 June 1894.

[88]Hutchins, 40; Fuller, 126; Lane, "Indiana," 78; Ellen G. White, "Indiana Camp-Meeting," *Review and Herald*, 23 August 1877, 69; Butler, "The Nebraska-Camp Meeting," 239.

[89]Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, 19.

Frisbie suggested that it was the presbytery (Luke 23:66; Acts 22:5; 1 Tim 4:4, 14) that had the authority to ordain elders or bishops. He added that this group of elders had been ordained or appointed by the church through a "vote taken by the lifting up of hands, according to the direction of the Lord."[90] Initially, those that were both known to most church members and ordained in their previous churches were responsible for ordaining new ministers, but later ordinations were often performed by officers of the conferences or the General Conference.[91] While in the early years ordination usually occurred in local churches with the members being present at this occasion,[92] later ordination ceremonies were often integrated as a part of the annual sessions and camp meetings of the state conferences and the General Conference.[93] Thus, all ministers present at the meeting frequently joined in the laying on of hands.[94]

It was customary to lay hands only on the minister that was to be ordained. Yet, in 1867, James White remarked that he had included the wife of a minister into the ordination "to the sacred office of the holy ministry by prayer and the laying on of hands" because he thought that "the minister's

[90]Frisbie, "Church Order," 26 June 1856, 70; cf. A. T. Jones, "Church Officers," *Signs of the Times*, 24 August 1888, 519.

[91]James White, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148; "Ordination," *Review and Herald*, 6 June 1865, 8; G. I. Butler to James White, Battle Creek, MI, 15 October 1872, EGWE; "Ordination," *Review and Herald*, 20 January 1876, 23; Smith, "The Conference," 17 October 1878, 124; "Another Glorious Day," 145; "Missionary Farewell Service," 471; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 106.

[92]See, e.g., James White, "Eastern Tour," 20 September 1853, 85; C. W. Sperry, "From Bro. Sperry," *Review and Herald*, 19 March 1857, 158; Isaac Sanborn, "Interesting Meeting in Illinois," *Review and Herald*, 29 March 1864, 142.

[93]A. S. Hutchins, "Our Visit to Canada," *Review and Herald*, 13 November 1860, 205; N. Fuller and R. F. Cottrell, "Fifth Annual Session of the N. Y. and P.A. Conference," *Review and Herald*, 16 October 1866, 158; James White, "Western Tour," *Review and Herald*, 4 July 1871, 20; C. W. Stone, "The Wisconsin Camp-Meeting," *Signs of the Times*, 3 October 1878, 293; Jones, "The Kansas Camp-Meeting," 344; E. J. Waggoner, "General Meeting in Oakland," 281; idem, "Back Page," *Signs of the Times*, 11 May 1888, 288; Jones, "North Pacific Camp-Meeting," 392; O. A. Olsen, "Report of the General Conference Districts, Nos. 1 and 4," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 24 February 1893, 384; idem, "Edwards, W. H.," 493; Loughborough, "Ordination Service," 676; Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen and Wife, c. October 1896 (Letter 80, 1896), EGWE; Covert, "An Ordination," 718; A. T. Jones, "The Upper Columbia Conference Camp-Meeting," *Review and Herald*, 18 June 1901, 399; idem, "The North Pacific Camp-Meeting," *Review and Herald*, 2 July 1901, 429; idem, "The California Camp-Meeting," *Pacific Union Recorder*, 23 October 1902, 4-5.

[94]Bourdeau, 150; Durland, "Ordination Service," 772; cf. G. W. Holt and J. Clarke, "Report of Business Meeting at Gilboa Conference," *Review and Herald*, 13 November 1860, 206 [ordination of a deacon].

wife stands in so close a relation to the work of God, a relation which so affects him for better or worse, that she should, in the ordination prayer, be set apart as his helper."[95] It does not seem, however, that this procedure became a general practice in the church.

Symbolic Action vs. Sacerdotal Rite

Apparently almost from the beginning, there existed two very different views as to the nature and meaning of the laying on of hands. All understood that ordination meant assigning a mission to the candidate or appointing the individual to an office, but there arose the question of whether the laying on of hands was merely a symbolic action or whether the act itself might actually impart a sort of mystical grace or power to the candidate. In the mid-1850s, Frisbie took the latter view and defined the laying on of hands as "the separating act by which the grace of God was imparted."[96] In the late 1860s, G. I. Butler similarly expressed the idea that a person may be qualified and changed through the act of ordination.[97] In 1879, the General Conference suggested that the act of ordination confers "spiritual blessings which God must impart to properly qualify him [the candidate] for that position."[98] Representing a similar view, former General Conference president O. A. Olsen referred to cases in which leaders of companies had administered baptism and the Lord's Supper, even though they had not been "consecrated to such service by prayer and the laying on of hands." He remarked, "That is wrong." For in his opinion, "it brings the most sacred service of God and the most sacred ordinances to the level of the common affairs of life," which Olsen compared to Nadab and Abihu offering strange fire in the tabernacle (Lev 10:1-3).[99] It should be noted that the wrongdoing Olsen pinpointed was not improper or irreverent administration of the ordinances, but rather the fact that someone who had not been ordained unduly claimed authority to baptize people or administer the Lord's Supper. This reveals a view that attributes sacred qualities to both the ordination and the ordinances.

Beginning in the late 1870s, however, Ellen White began making statements that seemed to reject the above ideas. Thus, she wrote that in postapostolic times the ordination act was "greatly abused" by attaching "unwarrantable importance" to the laying on of hands, as if the act would transmit special power, virtue, and qualification. She emphasized rather that

[95]James White, "Report from Bro. White," 136.

[96]Frisbie, "Church Order," 26 June 1856, 70.

[97]G. I. Butler to James White and Ellen G. White, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, 15 March 1869, EGWE.

[98]G. I. Butler, "Eighteenth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists: Twelfth Meeting, November 24, 1879, 7 p.m.," Battle Creek, MI, GCA.

[99]O. A. Olsen, "Qualifications, Duties, and Responsibilities of Elders and Deacons of the Local Church—No. 6," *Church Officer's Gazette*, October 1914, 1.

the act "added no new grace or virtual qualification."[100] In the same vein, Uriah Smith emphasized in the early 1890s that if a minister has no divine call, "he has no authority to preach the gospel, no matter how many hands have been laid upon him, nor how pompous the ceremony of ordination performed over him." Hence, the laying on of hands does not bring along a certain power, grace, or authority *ex opera operatum*. Rather, the authority of the minister to preach "rests upon a divine call to the work."[101] Similarly, Ellen White argued that "one may receive ordination for the ministry . . . but this does not give him the oil of grace whereby he may feed his lamp that it shall send forth clear rays of light."[102]

Authority and Responsibilities of Ordained Ministers

Once the Sabbatarian Adventists had developed a system for identifying qualified candidates and setting them apart for gospel ministry, questions arose as to the responsibilities and duties of an ordained minister. Among the questions were these: Which duties and responsibilities should be reserved for ordained ministers alone, and which positions and responsibilities were open to individuals who were not ordained? In what area was an ordained minister licensed to work? And finally, was ordination the sole door of entrance into leadership positions? In each case, the answers morphed over time, demonstrating that the Seventh-day Adventist understanding of the nature and responsibility of ecclesiastical and administrational office was not static, but rather developed in response to changing circumstances.

Basic Responsibilities of Ordained Ministers

From early on it was suggested that those whom Christ called to teach had specific responsibilities and tasks (Matt 28:18).[103] Among the tasks and responsibilities of an ordained minister were (1) administering "the ordinances of God's house," referring to the Lord's Supper and the baptism

[100]Ellen G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy*, 3:348-349; idem, *Sketches from the Life of Paul*, 43-44; cf. idem, *Acts of the Apostles*, 160-161; idem, "Separated Unto the Gospel," 4; idem, "Lessons from Paul's Ministry," EGWE; idem, "Proclaiming the Truth Under Difficulties," 5. Talking about Christianity in the second century, E. J. Waggoner stated that the church introduced "mysterious forms of ordination," connected them "with the Old Testament priesthood," and attached to them "external tokens of peculiar sanctity" ("The Church—True and False," *Present Truth*, 14 December 1893, 582).

[101]Smith, "In the Question Chair," 648.

[102]Ellen G. White to Byron Belden, Wellington, New Zealand, 23 April 1893 (Letter 6a, 1893), EGWE.

[103]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189.

of those who repent and believe;[104] (2) keeping members from backsliding;[105] (3) preaching the Word of God, evangelizing, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting with all long-suffering and doctrine;[106] (4) giving himself wholly and entirely to the work;[107] and (5) establishing churches and ordaining local church officers (elders and deacons).[108] These functions of the minister were considered an implementation of "gospel order."[109]

Refinements Required by the Developing Organization and Growing Mission Work

When the churches in Michigan organized themselves as the Michigan Conference in 1861, they took the opportunity to more clearly define the duties and authority of ordained ministers. In particular, it was decided that (1) those holding lower offices could not perform tasks of a higher office unless they were ordained to that office, yet those holding higher offices could perform all tasks of the lower offices (minister, local elder, deacon); and (2) travelling ministers had to receive letters of recommendation from their local congregations to prevent "false brethren" and "strangers" from troubling the churches, which suggests that churches were still being disturbed by strange traveling preachers. It was also decided to issue to ministers "certificates of ordination and credentials to be signed by the officers of the conference," which were "to be renewed annually."[110] Later, church entities

[104]Shimper, 15; James White, "Eastern Tour," 20 September 1853, 85; idem, "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148; idem, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189; Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, 19; Frisbie, "Gospel Order," 19 June 1855, 62; Uriah Smith, "Business Items [to D. W. Emerson]," *Review and Herald*, 8 July 1858, 64; Hutchins, "Our Visit to Canada," 205; Baber, "Progress of the Cause," 89.

[105]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189.

[106]James White, "Eastern Tour," 20 September 1853, 85; idem, "Gospel Order,"20 December 1853, 190. He referred to 2 Tim 4:1-5; Titus 2:6-8; Acts 20:28; Heb 13:7, 17; 1 Pet 5:1-4. Cf. Frisbie, "Gospel Order," 19 June 1855, 62; "Selections: The Sporting Clergy," *Review and Herald*, 9 January 1855, 160; Frisbie, "Church Order," 26 June 1856, 70-71; E. S. Lane, "Church Trials," *Review and Herald*, 1 March 1860, 119; Hutchins, "Our Visit to Canada," 205.

[107]Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, 19; "Selections," 9 January 1855, 160.

[108]Frisbie, "Church Order," 26 June 1856, 70; Cottrell, "What are the Duties of Church Officers?" 173.

[109]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189.

[110]Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 108. See J. N. Loughborough, Moses Hull, and M. E. Cornell, "Conference Address," *Review and Herald*, 15 October 1861, 156-157; Joseph Bates and Uriah Smith, "Michigan General Conference," *Review and Herald*, 8 October 1861, 148-149; James White, "Organization," *Review and Herald*, 30 September 1862, 140; J. T. Mitchell and M. B.

turned from issuing these ministerial credentials annually to issuing them only quadrennially.[111] In 1862, the Michigan Conference resolved to assign specific fields to every minister, changing the previous custom of ministers going wherever they thought they might be needed, which had resulted in some churches being continually neglected and other churches having more ministers than needed. Now, the conference also required ministers to provide work reports enumerating their activities of the past year at the annual meeting.[112] The policies and procedures of the Michigan Conference were subsequently adopted by other state conferences.[113] Yet, it seems that, by the early 1880s, the wants of the churches were still not met systematically, which is why it was again recommended to allocate a certain area to each "ordained minister" for a specific period so that he could assist church members in their spiritual growth before he would again enter new fields.[114]

Authority to Administer Ordinances

In late 1853, James White insisted that only those called to teach God's Word "should administer this ordinance," supporting this principle by referring to Matt 28:18; Acts 2:28, 41; 8:12, 26-40; 9; 16:13-15.[115] Similarly, Uriah Smith suggested in 1858 that "it is contrary to both the practice and views of the church, that any one should administer the ordinance of baptism who has not been regularly set apart to the work by the laying on of hands."[116] Yet, it seems that, until the late 1870s, there still existed some diversity among the conferences as to "who is authorized to baptize and administer the other ordinances." To secure unity of action among the conferences and ministers, the 1879 General Conference resolved that "none but those who are Scripturally [*sic*] ordained are properly qualified to administer baptism and

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Smith, "Doings of the Iowa State Conference," *Review and Herald*, 17 February 1863, 91; J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1905), 353; cf. H. C. Whitney and R. S. Patterson, "Southern Iowa Conference," *Review and Herald*, 1 April 1862, 142.

[111]See, e.g., Ministerial Credentials of John N. Loughborough, issued by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1 June 1922, CAR.

[112]Bates and Smith, "Business Proceedings of the Michigan State Conference," 157; Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 109.

[113]John Byington and Uriah Smith, "Report of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," *Review and Herald*, 26 May 1863, 204-206; Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 109.

[114]S. N. Haskell and Uriah Smith, "Twentieth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists: Eighth Meeting, December 9, 1881, 2 p.m.," Battle Creek, MI, GCA.

[115]James White, "Gospel Order," 20 December 1853, 189.

[116]Smith, "Business Items [to D. W. Emerson]," 64; cf. Bates and Smith, "Michigan Annual Conference," 157.

other ordinances."[117] In 1896, Ellen White made a statement in the context of foreign missions that was seemingly contrary to that resolution from the late 1870s.

> Another thing I want to tell you that I know from the light as given me: it has been a great mistake that men go out, knowing they are children of God, like Brother Tay, [who] went to Pitcairn as a missionary to do work, [but] that man did not feel at liberty to baptize because he had not been ordained. That is not any of God's arrangements; it is man's fixing. When men go out with the burden of the work and to bring souls into the truth, those men are ordained of God, [even] if [they] never have a touch of ceremony of ordination. To say [they] shall not baptize when there is nobody else, [is wrong]. If there is a minister in reach, all right, then they should seek for the ordained minister to do the baptizing, but when the Lord works with a man to bring out a soul here and there, and they know not when the opportunity will come that these precious souls can be baptized, why he should not question about the matter, he should baptize these souls.[118]

Then, she added that "Philip was not an ordained minister," but he opened the Bible to the eunuch and did not see any hindrance to baptize him, again implying that ordination was not a prerequisite to conduct a baptism.[119] Ellen White obviously considered it a legitimate human application of the divine principle of "gospel order" to limit certain tasks to the ordained ministry for the purpose of ensuring order and unity; yet, in the above remarks, she also emphasized that it would be wrong to conclude that these human applications constitute a divine imperative and that no person other than an ordained minister was allowed to perform the ordinances.

Positions of Leadership and Administration

Initially, ordination was not a prerequisite for holding positions of leadership in areas such as publishing, education, and church administration since individuals in these areas were not understood to be directly engaged in gospel ministry. Somewhat paradoxically, however, those who served in positions of leadership and administration and thereby demonstrated their fitness for that work were often subsequently ordained as a way of recognizing their calling from God to work in that particular position, and eventually ordination became a prerequisite for holding positions of leadership and administration in the higher levels of the church organization.

As has been shown above, Ellen White is a prime example of one who received ministerial credentials without having been formally ordained. Up until the late 1870s, she was probably the only individual to be credentialed without ordination, but a certain piece of advice that the General Conference gave to its conferences in 1879 may be indicative of the existence of

[117]Butler, "Eighteenth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists."

[118]Ellen G. White, "Remarks Concerning the Foreign Mission Work," n.p., 12 November [1896] (MS 75, 1896), EGWE, emphasis supplied.

[119]Ibid.

additional cases by that date. Namely, the General Conference suggested to its constituent conferences that they refrain from granting "credentials to individuals to occupy official positions among our people, who have never been ordained or set apart by our people," which suggests that such credentialing of unordained individuals was indeed occurring up to that point.[120] Six years later, the discussion resurfaced when the committee on resolutions suggested that credentials be given only to those who were willing and able to devote all of their time to the work of the gospel ministry. The resolution was revised and it was eventually decided that "exceptions to this rule" were possible, but should be made "very carefully."[121] So then, it appears that credentials were usually given only in conjunction with ordination, which was, in turn, a setting apart for the ministry or, in other words, an acknowledgement of a calling to the "work of the gospel ministry";[122] yet, there were apparently occasions on which credentials were given apart from ordination and the work in the gospel ministry.

To explain why this was so, it is worth remembering, as others have pointed out previously, that Ellen White employed the general words "minister" and "ministry" in three ways: sometimes to refer to a work that all believers should engage in; sometimes to refer to diverse ministries that augment the ministry of the Word; and sometimes to refer specifically to the gospel ministry of the Word commonly reserved for ordained ministers.[123]

[120]Butler, "Eighteenth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists."

[121]Butler and Smith, "Twenty-Fourth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," 23 November 1885; G. I. Butler and Uriah Smith, "Twenty-Fourth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists: Eighth Meeting, November 24, 1885, 9:30 a.m.," Battle Creek, GCA.

[122]See, e.g., James White, "The Age to Come," *Review and Herald*, 24 July 1856, 96; "Ordination," 1 October 1872, 128; "Ordination," 20 January 1872, 23; E. J. Waggoner, "General Meeting in Oakland," 281; Jones, "The Kansas Camp-Meeting," 344; E. J. Waggoner, "Back Page," 288; Jones, "North Pacific Camp-Meeting," 29 June 1888, 392; Olsen, "Report of the General Conference Districts, Nos. 1 and 4," 384; Loughborough, "Ordination Service," 676; Durland, 772; A. J. Breed, "General Conference District No. 6," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 2 March 1897, 217; idem, "District 6," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 17 February 1899, 19; idem, "The Wisconsin Camp-Meeting," *Review and Herald*, 11 July 1899, 448; Jones, "The Upper Columbia Conference Camp-Meeting," 399; idem, "The North Pacific Camp-Meeting," 2 July 1901, 429; idem, "The California Camp-Meeting," 5; cf. Dick, *Founders of the Message*, 273; Coon, *The Great Visions of Ellen G. White*, 66.

[123]See Moon, 188-189. As a result of his study, Moon concluded that Ellen White used the term "ministry" to designate the work of women in all three categories. See, e.g., Ellen G. White, "The Reward of Faithful Toil," *Bible Echo*, 2 December 1901, 776; idem to Teachers in Emmanuel Missionary College, St. Helena, CA, 21 September 1903 (Letter 210, 1903), EGWE; idem, "The Laborer Is Worthy of His Hire," 22 March 1898 (MS 43a, 1898), EGWE. Thus, she stated, e.g., that "Sister Robinson [is] doing the work of ministering, fully as valuable as any ordained minister," which did

The distinction between ministers of the gospel and ministers of other ministries that merely augmented this primary ministry explains why those who had never worked in ministerial lines, but who served in publishing, administrational, medical, or educational lines, were usually not ordained—they were not regarded as ministers in the "work of the gospel ministry," and therefore ordination was not needed.

A few examples may suffice to illustrate this fact. To begin with, prior to his ordination in 1874,[124] Uriah Smith served many years as editor of the *Review* (1855-1861, 1864-1869, 1870-1873, 1874) and for several periods as secretary of the General Conference (1863-1874). Since he had never worked as an itinerant minister, church leaders considered it unnecessary to ordain him for a number of years. There was a recommendation on at least three occasions that he "be set apart for the work of the ministry," but it was not executed.[125] Instead, in 1868, Smith was "granted a license to improve" his "gift in preaching."[126]

A second example of a church administrator serving without being ordained is G. I. Butler, who in 1865 began serving as president of the Iowa Conference, even though he had "no experience as a preacher." It was not until 6 June 1867 that he received a ministerial license, and it was not until September 28 of that year that he received ordination.[127] Interestingly, even after he had been elected conference president, the church saw no need to hurry his ordination, as they apparently did not see it as necessary prior to his beginning his service as president.

Besides these examples, it may be mentioned that a number of women served in various administrational, educational, and medical positions on

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not mean that she was performing the exact same functions, but that her work of ministry ("visiting and giving Bible readings") was as valuable as his. See idem, Diary entry for 21 May 1898 (MS 182, 1898), Sunnyside Cooranbong, Australia, EGWE.

[124]Uriah Smith, "Camp-Meeting Notings," *Review and Herald*, 18 August 1874, 68.

[125]Uriah Smith and E. S. Walker, "Fourth Annual Meeting of the Michigan State Conference," *Review and Herald*, 31 May 1864, 2; J. N. Loughborough and Isaac D. van Horn, "The Michigan State Conference: Its Eighth Annual Session," *Review and Herald*, 26 May 1868, 357; Smith and van Horn, "Michigan Conference of S. D. Adventists," 69.

[126]Ibid., 69.

[127]G. I. Butler and H. E. Carver, "Business Proceedings of the Iowa State Conference Held at Pilot Grove, Iowa, July 3, 1865," *Review and Herald*, 1 August 1865, 70; G. I. Butler and A. A. Fairfield, "The Iowa Conference: Fifth Annual Meeting," *Review and Herald*, 25 June 1867, 21; Smith, "Editorial Correspondence, No. 3," 264; "Conference Proceedings: Twenty-Sixth Meeting," *General Conference Bulletin*, 2 June 1913, 230. Cf. Emmett K. VandeVere, *Rugged Heart: The Story of George I. Butler* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assn., 1979), 19; Mustard, 166; James R. Nix, *Early Advent Singing*, 2d ed. (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 79; Gerald Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer*, Adventist Pioneer Series (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2003), 161; Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil*, 68; Land, 50.

the conference, union, and General Conference levels without having been ordained or holding ministerial credentials. Some served as secretaries and/or treasurers of these entities or associated societies (later departments).[128]

Although ordination was not a prerequisite for service in leadership and administration positions, somewhat ironically individuals who demonstrated capable service in such positions were often ordained, even if they had no prior experience in the gospel ministry of the Word and were not preparing for such ministry. An illustration of this point is Butler, who, as mentioned just above, had not been ordained at the time he was elected conference president, but was subsequently ordained two years later when his calling and fitness for the work became clear. Likewise, in 1889, the General Conference ordained W. W. Prescott, then president of Battle Creek College and education secretary of the General Conference, even though he had never served in ministerial lines. Witnessing the fruits of his educational work and his powerful preaching abilities, church leaders were more than convinced of his divine calling. "If he could serve the cause of God any better in receiving ordination and credentials," Ellen White surmised, "it would be best" for him to be ordained.[129]

Despite the fact that ordination was not initially a prerequisite for leadership positions in ministries not directly related to the ministry of the Word, the situation gradually changed, and soon ordination became a requirement for such positions. In the 1920s, for example, church leaders began to insist that leadership positions of the home missionary and missionary volunteer departments be filled "preferably" with ordained ministers and that

[128]Various books and articles have been published dealing with this question. Just a few individuals may be mentioned at this point. Allie Guthrie was the secretary and treasurer of the North Missouri Conference as well as for the Tract Society of said conference (1910-1912). See *1910 Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1910), 35; H. E. Rogers, ed., *1911 Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1911), 26; idem, ed., *1912 Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1912), 26. Mrs. A. F. Harrison was the secretary and treasurer of the Sabbath School Association in the Southern District No. 2 in 1897. See L. A. Hoopes, "Mission Fields," *General Conference Bulletin*, July-September 1897, no. 3, 110. L. Flora Plummer became the "organizing secretary" of the General Conference Sabbath School Department at its establishment in 1901 and was the secretary/director of that department from 1913 to 1936. See Coon, "Ellen G. White's View of the Role of Women in the SDA Church," 3. Adelia P. Patten-Van Horn and Minerva Jane Loughborough-Chapman served as treasurers of the General Conference. See ibid., 2.

[129]Ellen G. White, "Diary entry," 3 November 1889; "Ordination," 12 November 1889, 720; cf. *Seventh-day Adventist Year Book of Statistics for 1889* (Battle Creek: Review and Herald, 1889), 25, 31, 42, 62; *The Seventh-day Adventist Year Book* (Battle Creek: Review and Herald, 1887), 113; Gilbert M. Valentine, *W. W. Prescott: Forgotten Giant of Adventism's Second Generation*, rev. ed., Adventist Pioneer Series (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2005), 47-67, 80-81.

educational departments be filled with those who had "practical experience in teaching and in soul-winning work." The rationale behind this decision was to counter the increasing local church pastorates and to foster the idea that all departments are "soul winning agencies." At the same time, the document, *The Work of the Minister*, was approved, which recommended to "every minister, whether resident pastor or a departmental secretary, [to] make it his objective to engage in aggressive effort to win new members to the faith."[130] Since all ministries, even those not previously understood to be directly engaged in the ministry of the Word, were now encouraged to view themselves as active evangelists engaged in the ministry of the Word, ordination was increasingly thought appropriate even for leaders working in areas such as publishing, education, and administration. One significant result was that women, who were not eligible for ordination as gospel ministers, were therefore no longer able to fill such leadership positions. While women were still eligible to be church missionary secretaries on the local church level, they gradually disappeared from such positions at the conference, union, division, and General Conference levels as ordination became an entrance requirement for these positions.[131]

In sum, the early practice of the Seventh-day Adventist Church was to allow unordained individuals, both male and female, to serve in leadership positions in publishing industries, church administration, and education. However, as such leaders demonstrated their calling and fitness for their work, their call was often recognized and confirmed by ordination, even if they had never served in pastoral ministry. Since ordination was not initially required for service in these nonministerial leadership positions, women initially often filled these roles, but this practice changed over time and such positions became restricted solely to those who had been previously ordained as ministers.

Diversity of Ministries

Early Sabbatarian Adventists understood ordination to be particularly significant for the setting apart of preachers and evangelists; yet, they also saw that preachers and evangelists were not the only individuals in the NT who were ordained by laying on of hands. Indeed, the apostles also began ordaining

[130]"General Conference Committee Meetings for 1923: One Hundred Eighty-Fifth Meeting, Milwaukee, WI, Oct. 10, 1923, 8:00 a.m.," Milwaukee, WI., 447, GCA; cf. Bert Haloviak, "Adventism's Lost Generations: The Decline of Leadership Positions for SDA Women" (Unpublished manuscript, Silver Spring, MD, 1990, 2; Kit Watts, "Moving Away from the Table: A Survey of Historical Factors Affecting Women Leaders," in *The Welcome Table: Setting a Place for Ordained Women*, eds. Patricia A. Habada and Rebecca Frost Brillhart [Langley Park, MD: TEAM, 1995], 54; Bull and Lockhart, 270). In 1927, LeRoy Edwin Froom complained, "The Home Missionary Department was originally founded to lead the laity into service, but it has so far been absorbed by the financial endeavors of the movement that it has become really an adjunct to the treasury. We must emphasize anew the call of God upon consecrated men and women to witness for Him" (quoted in Haloviak, "Adventism's Lost Generations," 5).

[131]Ibid., 2; Watts, "Moving Away from the Table," 54; Bull and Lockhart, 270.

individuals to serve as elders and deacons in order to address specific needs that arose in their first-century communities. As the Sabbatarian Adventists perceived similar needs arising in their own communities, they followed the NT model and likewise began ordaining elders and deacons. Later on, as the growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church necessitated the creation of new offices and the further expansion of organizational structures, the church's understanding of which offices merited ordination likewise adapted. By the 1890s, for example, Ellen White suggested a broadened view of ordination that would allow for the setting apart and ordaining of individuals for a variety of lines of ministry, not just for the ministry of preaching. Thus, ordination came to be understood as an act that was not limited solely to the setting apart of clergy, but an act which could also be used to set apart individuals in other ministries as well, including those serving in the roles of deaconess, missionary, or medical physician.

Deacons and Deaconesses

In late December 1853, H. S. Gurney reported that churches had begun to set apart deacons "as denominated in the Bible" because ministers had been "called to travel" with no one left in the churches to fully maintain "gospel order."[132] Six months later, Joseph Bates suggested the setting apart of individuals as deacons "by prayer and the laying on of hands," a practice that was founded on texts such as Acts 6:1-6; Titus 1:5-6; and 1 Tim 3:8-13.[133] He later emphasized that the apostles set apart deacons in answer to a real and practical need.[134] In early 1855, John Byington wrote to James White asking how the distraction and discouragement of the churches could be solved; he wondered if "every church" should appoint deacons and elders, and, if so, who should perform the setting apart. In response, James White stressed that the scriptural testimony was to be the foundation for any decision on this "subject of such vast importance." The problems would be solved if the churches would adopt "the all-powerful and perfect system of order, set forth in the New Testament." Thus, those who had been called by God and approved by the church to preach the Word and to set things in order in the churches should be the ones to set apart church officers. The qualifications of deacons were laid down in passages such as Acts 14:21-23 and Titus 1:5-

[132]Gurney, 199. Cf. Neufeld, 254; Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil*, 37; Land, 218. It should be noted too that it was not until the 1920s that Adventist ministry changed from an itinerant-type ministry to a local church pastor pattern. See S. N. Haskell, "Present Duty in Reference to Our Periodicals," *True Missionary*, January 1874, 5; idem, "Our Periodicals," *Signs of the Times*, 22 April 1880, 188; A. G. Daniells (1912), quoted in Russell Burrill, *Revolution in the Church* (Fallbrook, CA: Hart Research Center, 1993), 41; Harwood and Beem, "A Work for All to Do," [18]; Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 106.

[133]Joseph Bates, "Communication from Bro. Bates," *Review and Herald*, 30 May 1854, 148.

[134]Bates, "Church Order," 22.

16.[135] At the same time, Frisbie, in outlining the offices of the NT church, pointed out that deacons were to take care of the "temporal affairs of the church [that were] essential to its prosperity."[136] One and a half years later, he added, quoting from Adam Clarke's commentary, that the early church also had deaconesses that "were ordained to their office by the imposition of the hands of the bishop."[137] Yet, the church did not accept his argumentation and avoided the setting apart of deaconesses.

In 1874, Butler found the biblical basis for deacons in 1 Tim 3:8-10 and Acts 6, indicating that they were responsible for the care of the church's "temporal matters."[138] A decade later, W. H. Littlejohn remarked that some Seventh-day Adventist churches elected "one or more women to fill a position similar to that which it is supposed that Phebe and others occupied in her day"; yet, he admitted that it was not the general "custom with us to ordain such women." He underlined, however, that it was "highly probable" that the apostolic church had deaconesses.[139] Ellen White, meanwhile, encouraged the installation of deaconesses, suggesting while in Australia that "women who are willing to consecrate some of their time to the service of the Lord should be appointed to visit the sick, look after the young, and minister to the necessities of the poor. They should be set apart to this work by prayer and laying on of hands." She suggested that this would be "another means of strengthening and building up the church," emphasizing that the church needs "to branch out more" in its "methods of labor," indicative of her idea of a diversity of ministries.[140] Subsequently, a number of women were set apart in Australia and New Zealand in response to this advice.[141] Yet, this

[135]James White, "Church Order," 23 January 1855, 164.

[136]Frisbie, "Church Order," 9 January 1855, 155.

[137]J. B. Frisbie, "Deacons," *Review and Herald*, 31 July 1856, 101-102; cf. Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments* (Cincinnati: Applegate, 1856), 4:167; Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 107.

[138]G. I. Butler, "Thoughts on Church Government—No. 5 [b]," *Review and Herald*, 8 September 1874, 92.

[139]W. H. Littlejohn, "The Church Manual," *Review and Herald*, 3 July 1883, 426; idem, "The Duties of Local Church Officers," *Review and Herald*, 22 November 1887, 730.

[140]Ellen G. White, "The Duty of the Minister and the People," *Review and Herald*, 9 July 1895, 434, emphasis supplied; Coon, 8; Clarence C. Crisler to Mrs. L. E. Cox, Sanitarium, CA, 22 March 1916, EGWE; cf. Fortin, 126-127.

[141]About a month later, J. O. Corliss and Bro. McCullagh "set apart . . . deaconesses by prayer and the laying on of hands" (Report of nominating committee, Ashfield Seventh-day Adventist Church, 10 August 1895, quoted in Arthur N. Patrick, "The Ordination of Deaconesses," *Adventist Review*, 16 January 1986, 18); cf. Coon, 8. In 1896, Bertha Larwood was ordained deaconess by J. O. Corliss to her duties in the church at Perth, Western Australia. See W. C. White to Members of the [Australasian] Union Conference Committee, Cooranbong, NSW, Australia, 15 July 1896, CAR. Three and half years later, on 6 January 1900, W. C. White ordained

phenomenon did not become an established practice within the Adventist Church, instead disappearing after a few years.

Later, Ellen White pointed out that the ordination of the seven deacons in the NT church was a "step in the perfecting of gospel order in the church" in that it developed a "plan for the better organization of all the working forces of the church." While she suggested that the church in Jerusalem served as a model church, she added that in the later history of the early church "the organization of the church was further perfected" to maintain "order and harmonious action," implying that additions or modifications to the NT leadership structure were both appropriate and necessary.[142] She also spoke of the further perfecting of gospel order and organization in her current context.[143] Other Adventist writers had expressed the idea of perfecting the organization already since the 1860s;[144] likewise, James White moved from his early insistence on an organizational structure that did not go beyond the NT

Mrs. Brannyrane and Patchin as deaconesses at the Ashfield Seventh-day Adventist Church (Ashfield Seventh-day Adventist Church Minutes, entry for 7 January 1900, and W. C. White, Diary entry for 6 January 1900, both published in Patrick, "The Ordination of Deaconesses," 18-19); cf Coon, 8. For an example on the ordination of deaconesses in North America, see Douglas Morgan, *Lewis C. Sheafe: Apostle to Black America*, Adventist Pioneer Series (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2010), 276. Cf. Haloviak, "A Place at the Table," 35.

[142]Ellen G. White, *Acts of the Apostles*, 88-89, 91-92; cf. idem to the Leading Ministers in California, St. Helena, Calif., 6 December 1909 (Letter 178, 1909), EGWE.

[143]Ellen G. White, *Christian Education* (Battle Creek: International Tract Society, 1893), 135; quoted in "Council Meeting, No. 2: Organization," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 29 January 1893, 21; Loughborough, *The Church*, 91; idem, *Heavenly Visions*, compiled Leah Schmitke (Mentone, CA: Compiler, 1984), 13.

[144]H. J. Bonifield, "From Bro. Bonifield," *Review and Herald*, 11 March 1862, 119; J. H. Waggoner, "Report from Bro. Waggoner," *Review and Herald*, 24 June 1862, 28; Uriah Smith, "The Conference," *Review and Herald*, 26 May 1863, 204; *Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists: With Reports of the European Missionary Councils of 1883, 1884, and 1885, and a Narrative by Mrs. E. G. White of Her Visit and Labors in These Missions* (Basel: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1886), 110; "The Council Meeting," *General Conference Bulletin*, extra, no. 6, 17 February 1895, 185; G. A. Irwin and L. A. Hoopes, "Statement Concerning Auditor's Report," *General Conference Bulletin*, extra, no. 6, 9 April 1901, 139; O. A. Olsen and L. A. Hoopes, "General Conference Proceedings: Ninth Meeting, April 9, 10:30 a.m.," *General Conference Bulletin*, extra, no. 7, 10 April 1901, 169-170; "Summary of Proceedings of General Conference: On Organization," *General Conference Bulletin*, no. 2, April-June 1901, 501; M. E. Kern, "Report of the Young People's Missionary Volunteer Department," *General Conference Bulletin*, no. 2, 6 June 1909, 327. The official establishment of the Seventh-day Adventist Church had "the purpose of securing unity and efficiency in labor, and promoting the general interests of the cause of present truth, and of *perfecting the organization* of the Seventh-day Adventists" (Byington and Smith, "Report of General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," 204-205).

model[145] toward recommending a developing organizational system "which is not opposed by the Bible, and is approved by sound sense."[146] It seems that the structure and the offices of the church could be developed, expanded, and adapted to ensure order, unity, harmony, and efficiency as the church labored for the fulfillment of its mission, the proclamation of the message of salvation.

Elders

In 1855, about a year after some local churches began setting apart deacons, Frisbie expressed his opinion on the overlapping nature of the NT roles of bishops (*episkopoi*) and elders (*presbyteroi*). In his understanding, both were more or less elders, but he perceived "two classes of preaching elders" in the NT, namely, "evangelical or travelling elders or bishops" and "local elders." The first class of elders functioned as supervisors over several churches, whereas the second class "had the pastoral care and oversight of one church." Distinguishing the local elders from the deacon, Frisbie stated that the local elders had "the oversight of the spiritual," while deacons took care of the temporal affairs.[147] Frisbie argued that specific people were called by God and afterward "chosen by the church and set apart by the laying on of hands of . . . elders and bishops."[148] He added that the "churches chose, ordained or appointed by holding up their hands in voting their choice who should be messengers of the churches."[149] The primary biblical passages used in support for these arguments were Acts 13:1-4; 14:23; 20:28; 1 Cor 12:28; 2 Cor 8:19; and Eph 5:11.[150] Sabbatarian Adventists saw the need to set apart elders because some churches had not celebrated the Lord's Supper for numerous weeks or even years due to the lack of visiting ministers.[151] By 1856, the setting apart of elders seems to have become a regular practice.[152] In early October of that year, Cottrell added that elders had to perform all the

[145]James White, "Church Order," 23 January 1855, 164.

[146]James White, "Yearly Meetings," *Review and Herald*, 21 July 1859, 68, also reprinted in idem, "Yearly Meetings," *Review and Herald*, 5 May 1863, 180; cf. Mustard, 131, 134, 171-172, 221-222, 231-232; Fortin, 120-121.

[147]Frisbie, "Church Order," 9 January 1855, 155; idem, "Church Order," 26 June 1856, 70; Cottrell, "What are the Duties of Church Officers?," 173; cf. Jones, "Church Officers," 518-519; E. J. Waggoner, "The Office of Bishop," *Present Truth*, 1 June 1893, 165.

[148]Frisbie, "Church Order," 26 June 1856, 70.

[149]Ibid.

[150]Ibid.

[151]Cf. S. N. Haskell to Ellen G. White, South Lancaster, Mass., 27 January 1887, EGWE.

[152]J. N. Loughborough, "Oswego Conference," *Review and Herald*, 27 December 1855, 101; S. N. Haskell to Ellen G. White, South Lancaster, MA, 20 March 1887, EGWE; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 107, 112.

duties of the ordained minister ("travelling elder or evangelist") in the latter's absence, including duties such as administering the Lord's Supper, baptizing new converts, receiving them into membership, building up the church, and preaching the truth.[153] Ellen White basically agreed with Frisbie's distinction of local and traveling elders; yet, like Cottrell, she added that it was the duty of the local elders "to administer baptism . . . [and] to attend to the ordinances of the Lord's house" if it were necessary and if the minister were absent. Both had been "appointed by the church and by the Lord" to oversee the spiritual concerns of the church. It seems that, in 1861, the Michigan Conference officially adopted Ellen White's position of the overlapping duties of these two offices.[154] Interestingly, elders and deacons were frequently set apart by the laying on of hands at the same service, especially during the establishment of new churches.[155]

In the mid-1870s, Butler added that a candidate for elder should be selected by a committee consisting of an ordained minister and two persons chosen by him, with the church accepting or rejecting this nomination. The elder was supposed to be set apart by an ordained minister, which allowed him to baptize, administer the ordinances, and perform all duties to be done "by those in offices lower than" himself in the church. It was his task to feed the church spiritually so that "the graces of the Spirit" (Phil 4:8) might become visible in them.[156] Accordingly, he had "a measure of authority superior to that of the private members of the church."[157]

At the 1885 General Conference session, delegates discussed whether an elder had to be reordained in the new church after moving from one place to another one. The matter was eventually referred to another committee.[158] The committee saw the value of confining the ordination of an elder to the church which elected him, but also saw the value of permitting the elder to act "as unrestricted as a minister." The dilemma of what course to take led them to propose a sort of compromise between the two alternatives.

[153]Cottrell, "What are the Duties of Church Officers?" 173.

[154]Ellen G. White to Lewis Bean, n.p., c. September 1859 (Letter 20, 1859), EGWE; idem to Bro and Sr. Scott, Battle Creek, MI, 6 July 1863 (Letter 5, 1863), EGWE; Loughborough, Hull, and Cornell, "Conference Address," 157; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 107-108.

[155]See, e.g., R. F. Cottrell, "A Short Tour Among the Saints," *Review and Herald*, 25 November 1858, 4; Wm. S. Ingraham, "From Bro. Ingraham," *Review and Herald*, 27 October 1859, 184; John Bostwick, "Conference in Lynxville, Wis.," *Review and Herald*, 19 June 1860, 37; James White, "Western Tour," *Review and Herald*, 6 November 1860, 196; cf. Knight, "Early Seventh-day Adventists and Ordination, 1844-1863," 108.

[156]G. I. Butler, "Thoughts on Church Government—No. 5," *Review and Herald*, 1 September 1874, 85.

[157]Ibid., 92.

[158]G. I. Butler and Uriah Smith, "Twenty-Fourth Annual Session, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists: Fifth Meeting, November 20, 1885, 9:30 a.m.," Battle Creek, MI, GCA.

The committee stated: "All agree that it is to be regarded as purely a matter of church discipline, and we believe there is truth in both positions which may be combined into one consistent system." It then gave the following recommendations to the conferences: (a) the authority of an elder is confined to the church "which elected him as elder," except if the conference committee "under special circumstances" thought it advisable to send him to other churches; (b) an elder should not be reordained if he is properly elected or reelected in another church; (c) an elder should be considered a normal member upon his removal to another church or conference, and his qualifications should be evaluated just as if he had never been an elder before; (d) a ministerial license does not enlarge the sphere of an elder beyond his local church; (e) although the ordination of an elder is valid "for all time, except in case of apostasy," he cannot act as an elder beyond his allotted time, "unless he is reelected, or elected by another church." It was argued that the conferences' failure to conform to these recommendations "will open the way to disorder and confusion in our churches."[159]

Missionaries to Foreign Countries

In the 1890s, the General Conference began setting apart individuals by the laying on of hands when the delegates decided to call these persons to a foreign mission field. The wives of these missionaries then received missionary licenses. Even if the missionary was to serve primarily in educational, publishing, or medical lines, he was still ordained on the grounds that it was quite possible that he might need to engage at times in ministerial activities, especially in the mission field.[160] Three examples may suffice to illustrate this procedure. First, the General Conference decided to send A. B. Oyen as a missionary to Norway to "labor in connection with the publishing work there and to obtain all the help possible in translating the important works . . . into the Danish language."

[159]Butler and Smith, "Twenty-Fourth General Conference Session."

[160]Butler, "Changes in the Field of Labor," 752; O. A. Olsen and L. T. Nicola, "Minutes of the General Conference Committee, Spring Session, 1893: Tenth Meeting, March 16, 1893, 10 a.m.," 19; Loughborough, "Ordination Service," 676; Durland, 772; L. A. Hoopes, "Proceedings of the Foreign Mission Board," *General Conference Bulletin*, July-September 1897, no. 3, 96; Z. G. Baharian, "Progress of the Cause: Turkey," *Review and Herald*, 18 April 1899, 252; A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer, "One Hundred and Thirty-First Meeting General Conference Committee: October 11, 1906, 2 p.m.," 216; A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer, "Two Hundred and Twenty-Fourth Meeting General Conference Committee: December 12, 1907," 392; A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer, "Three Hundred and Forty-Second Meeting General Conference Committee: February 23, 1909," 595; A. G. Daniells and H. R. Salisbury, "One Hundred and Thirty-Sixth Meeting General Conference Committee: Loma Linda, Calif., May 10, 1910," Loma Linda, CA, 238; A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer, "Fifty-Sixth Meeting General Conference Committee: September 14 [1911]," 83; A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer, "One Hundred Twenty-Seventh Meeting General Conference Committee: July 31, 1912," 234; Cf. Trim, 22-23.

At the same occasion, he was "ordained."[161] Another example is the ordination of Percy T. Magan. Although the General Conference committee initially decided to ordain Magan, "it was deemed expedient to leave the matter for the time being" "when he was connected with the school work." After he had worked as head of the Bible and History department at Battle Creek College for about six years (1891-1897), the General Conference Committee decided again to ordain him in case he "be accepted by the Foreign Mission Board as its secretary."[162] Since Magan never assumed that position, it was decided not to follow through with the decision. Two years later, in 1899, he was ordained anyway, even though he was still not engaged in missionary work.[163] A third example is the ordination of Walter K. Ising in 1908. For three years, Ising had been the secretary of the German Union Conference, which included Russia, Austria, Hungary, and the Balkan countries. He was also editor of the German paper *Zionswächter* and other papers in Hungary, Russia, and Estonia. He was still regarded as "rather young and inexperienced in evangelical work." But he believed that God had called him into that work and he was willing to commit himself entirely to "the work of the gospel [as] a missionary in Syria." Thus, the leading brethren acknowledged his divine calling and ordained him on 4 March 1908.[164] These examples reveal that church leaders did not consider it necessary for workers in administrational and educational positions to be ordained. It was only when these workers wanted to enter foreign missionary work that the church deemed it important to set them apart for the gospel ministry.

Medical Missionaries

In 1893, Ellen White used the Holy Spirit's call to set apart Paul and Barnabas for their specific mission as the biblical precedent for ordaining both men and women as medical missionaries.

[161]Butler, "Changes in the Field of Labor," 752.

[162]G. A. Irwin and L. A. Hoopes, "Minutes General Conference Committee: Battle Creek, Mich., June 17, 1897," Battle Creek, MI, 4; cf. Trim, 23.

[163]E. A. Sutherland, "[Obituary] Dr. Percy Tilson Magan," *Review and Herald*, 29 January 1948, 20. Although some writers have claimed that Magan "was ordained to the gospel ministry" by either E. A. Sutherland or W. C. White on 27 July 1897, it may be questioned why then Sutherland himself suggested that Magan was, in fact, ordained by G. A. Irwin in 1899. See Merlin N. Neff, *For God and C. M. E.: A Biography of Percy Tilson Magan Upon the Historical Background of the Educational and Medical Work of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1964), 64; Ira Gish and Harry Christman, *Madison, God's Beautiful Farm: The E. A. Sutherland Story* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1979), 64.

[164]"[Obituary] Walter Konrad Wilhelm Ising," *Review and Herald*, 26 October 1950, 20; L. R. Conradi and Guy Dail, "Two Hundred and Forty-First Meeting General Conference Committee in Europe: Hamburg, March 4, 1908, A.M.," Hamburg, Germany, 419-420; L. R. Conradi and Guy Dail, "Two Hundred and Forty-Second Meeting General Conference Committee in Europe: Hamburg, March 4, 1908, P.M.," Hamburg, Germany, 423; cf. Trim, 23.

> May the voice from the living oracles of God, the startling movings of providence, speak in clear language to the church, "separate unto me Paul and Barnabas." Holy and devout men are wanted now to cultivate their mental and physical powers and their piety to the uttermost, and to be ordained to go forth as medical missionaries, both men and women. Every effort should be made to send forth intelligent workers. The same grace that came from Jesus Christ to Paul and Apollos that distinguished them for spiritual excellencies can be reproduced and brought into working order in many devoted missionaries.[165]

Interestingly, she used the same text and argumentation commonly employed to support the ordination of ministers, namely, the ordination of Paul and Barnabas. Similarly, Ellen White made an interesting statement in regard to the ordination of "missionary physicians" in 1908, when the medical work at the three sanitariums in California was still in its infancy:

> The work of the true medical missionary is largely a spiritual work. It includes prayer and the laying on of hands; he therefore should be as sacredly set apart for his work as is the minister of the gospel. Those who are selected to act the part of missionary physicians, are to be set apart as such. This will strengthen them against the temptation to withdraw from the sanitarium work to engage in private practice.[166]

Obviously, she had a broader understanding of ordination that allowed a specific setting apart with prayer and the laying on of hands for diverse ministries and not merely for the gospel ministry. While the ordination of a missionary physician for his work was comparable to the ordination of a minister for the gospel ministry, it did not make the physician a minister. Also, the setting apart of medical workers as missionary physicians was a tool to keep them spiritually and missionary minded in their work. In talking about the commission given by Christ to the first disciples, Ellen White suggested that both "men and women," if they yield to the consecrating influence of the Holy Spirit, are "ordained of God to bring salvation to human hearts and minds," confirming her view that ordination sets apart the ordained individual for a spiritual purpose, which apparently applied even to those primarily engaged in medical work.[167]

Every Believer a "Minister"

With the growing missionary perspective of Seventh-day Adventists came also an understanding of the necessary involvement of every believer in the missionary work. Similar to Ellen White's threefold view of "ministry," A. T

[165]Ellen G. White to J. H. Kellogg and Wife, 19 February 1893 (Letter 35, 1893), EGWE, printed in idem, *Manuscript Releases* (Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990), 6:226, emphasis supplied.

[166]Ellen G. White, "True Medical Missionary Work," n.p., 23 February 1908 (MS 5, 1908), EGWE, published in idem, *Evangelism* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1946), 546, emphasis supplied; cf. Ron Graybill to Robert H. Pierson, Washington, DC, 7 February 1973, EGWE; Fagal, 274-275.

[167]Ellen G. White, "Notes of Travel," *Review and Herald*, 11 March 1909, 8.

Jones remarked that the word "ministry" in 2 Cor 6:3 does not merely refer to the "ordained ministry of the pulpit," but to everyone who received God's grace. Based on 1 Pet 4:10, he suggested that it was the task of every believer to participate in this ministry of grace.[168] Later, he seemed to emphasize that "ordained and licensed workers" mutually engage in missionary work, but when these workers leave an established church to enter a new field, it is up to the remaining, unordained church members, men and women, to engage in various lines of ministry in order to continue what the paid workers started in their community.[169] In 1894, S. N. Haskell wrote about an ordained minister from Russia who was frequently ordered to leave the country after making new converts in a certain area. Then, his wife would return to the place because the authorities were not used to women missionaries and did not act against them as they did against men. After she took the place of her husband, Haskell stated, she made "more converts than he [did]."[170]

Although Ellen White suggested that ordained ministers should act as representatives of God on earth, she also emphasized that every believer is Christ's representative.[171] It should also be noted that Ellen White employed the term "pastor" not as an equivalent for ordained ministers, but rather to refer to a person who does the personal, spiritual work and care that is often neglected by the ministers. In her view, women were especially suited to the role of pastor.[172] She pointed out that many are "laborers together with God" that are not discerned by leaders and members because they have never been formally ordained for the work; yet, they carry Christ's yoke and exert a saving influence.[173] Also, she repeatedly encouraged people to actively engage in the

[168]A. T. Jones, "The Third Angel's Message, no. 3," *General Conference Bulletin*, 8 February 1895, 50-51; idem, "Receive Not the Grace of God in Vain," *Review and Herald*, 22 September 1896, 605; idem, "Receive Not the Grace of God in Vain," *Present Truth*, 12 November 1896, 726.

[169]A. T. Jones, "To the People of the California S. D. A. Conference," *Pacific Union Recorder*, 13 March 1902, 4; idem, "The California Conference," *Pacific Union Recorder*, 27 March 1902, 12; idem, "Self-Government Means Self-Support," *Review and Herald*, 3 June 1902, 10.

[170]S. N. Haskell to W. C. White, Kopenhagen, Denmark, 5 June 1894, EGWE.

[171]Ellen G. White, *Acts of the Apostles*, 359-371; idem, "A Preparation for the Coming of the Lord," *Review and Herald*, 24 November 1904, 7; cf. Fortin, 115, 128-129.

[172]Ellen G. White, "The Work of the Church," Adelaide, South Australia, 11 October 1892 (MS 7, 1892), EGWE; idem, *Testimonies for the Church*, 5:723; idem, *Gospel Workers: Instruction for All Who Are "Laborers Together with God"* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1915), 337; cf. Fagal, 276-277.

[173]Ellen G. White, "Testimony to the Battle Creek Church," 3 August 1894 (MS 33, 1894), published in idem, *Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers*, Series A, no. 3 (n.p., 1895), 12-13; idem, "The Need of Home Religion," *Review and Herald*, 29 June 1905, 8; idem, *Acts of the Apostles*, 355; idem, *Daughters of God: Messages Especially for Women* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1998), 75.

cause and mission of the church and stressed that "ordination" was not a prerequisite for such work.[174] If willing individuals asked God in faith, trusted in Christ's merits, and depended upon Christ in a consecrated, self-denying, and self-sacrificing spirit, God would fit them for that work and give them the Holy Spirit.[175] Many souls would be saved "as a result of men looking to Jesus for their ordination and orders."[176]

She suggested that a minister's wife who "devotes her time and strength to visiting" families, "opening the Scriptures to them, although the hands of ordination have not been laid upon her," could accomplish a work in the line of ministry. Accordingly, she should be paid a salary proportionate to the time spent. Ellen White argued that God regarded it an injustice for such a woman to be treated as another minister's wife who did not engage in the work at all.[177] While the church used tithe money only for the support of the ministers,[178] she recommended that wives who actively supported their minister-husbands and women who engaged in missionary work should also receive a wage from the tithe.[179] It seems that her concept as described above is in harmony with the Protestant idea of the priesthood of all believers.[180] Thus, it seems reasonable when she says, "All who are ordained unto the

[174]Ellen G. White, "Our Obligation to Improve Our Talents," *Signs of the Times*, 23 January 1893, 183; idem to J. H. Kellogg, 14 January 1899 (Letter 10, 1899), EGWE; idem, "Faithfulness in Service," *Youth's Instructor*, 6 February 1902, 43; idem, "A Preparation for the Coming of the Lord," *Review and Herald*, 24 November 1904, 7; idem, "The Great Commission, a Call to Service," *Review and Herald*, 24 March 1910, 3; idem, "Work in the South," *Field Tidings*, 8 June 1910, 1; idem, "Work for the Master," *Bible Training School*, 1 March 1912, 194.

[175]Ellen G. White to Kellogg, 14 January 1899; idem, "Faithfulness in Service," 43; idem, *Acts of the Apostles*, 40; idem, "Work for the Master," 194.

[176]Ellen G. White, "Consumers, But Not Producers," 25 April 1901 (MS 35, 1901), EGWE.

[177]Ellen G. White, "The Laborer Is Worthy of His Hire," published in idem, *Manuscript Releases* (Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990), 5:29-30, 323-324; idem, *Daughters of God*, 110-111; cf. idem, "A Collection of Manuscripts on Auditing," n.p., c. 1903 (MS 142, 1903), EGWE; idem, *Gospel Workers*, 452-453.

[178]See, e.g., Breed, "General Conference District No. 6," 217; idem, "District 6," 19.

[179]Ellen G. White to G. A. Irwin, I. H. Evans, U. Smith, and A. T. Jones, Stanmore, Australia, 21 April 1898 (Letter 137, 1898), EGWE; idem, "I was instructed in America," Cooranbong, Australia, 24 October 1899 (MS 149, 1899), EGWE; Cf. Fagal, 282.

[180]This was pointed out in Fortin, 115-116. Cf. Ellen G. White to Bro. and Sr. Maxson, Adelaide, South Australia, 12 October 1896 (Letter 73, 1896); idem, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers*, 212-213, 441; idem, *Testimonies for the Church*, 2:169 [1868]; 6:123, 274 [1900]. She repeatedly quoted and alluded to 1 Pet 2:9 and John 15:16.

life of Christ are ordained to work for the salvation of their fellow-men."[181] The gospel commission is therefore not only addressed to the twelve initial disciples, but to all believers, even though they may not have been set apart with human hands.[182] They may nevertheless look "to Jesus for their ordination and order," knowing that he "has laid his hands" upon them.[183]

Summary

When Sabbatarian Adventists began setting apart people for the gospel ministry in the early 1850s, they supported that practice primarily from the NT. They saw the need to apply NT passages regarding ordination or the laying on of hands in order to create order, unity, and harmony among the believers and to prevent the influence of false teachers. While early on they did not want to go beyond the pattern outlined in the NT, they later modified this position and began to allow for adaptation of NT patterns in order to accommodate changing circumstances, insisting merely that all new developments be in harmony with the Bible even if they were not an exact reflection of biblical precedents. Practical necessities, the growing mission of the church, and its increasing organizational structures led them to create new offices, positions, and ministries. Often new regulations were not supported by any biblical passages, but they were justified on the grounds that the new regulations and refinements were not so much biblical prescriptions, but valid human applications of the principle of gospel order to ensure unity, order, and harmony in the church. Reflecting this openness to development, the ordination ceremony itself, which was initially very simple, gradually became more elaborate and came to reflect some basic elements present in the Methodist Episcopal ordination rite.

Though some individuals suggested that baptism was a sacred ordinance that could be conducted only by an ordained minister, Ellen White argued against this. Although she agreed that church members should, for the sake of order, allow the minister to perform the baptism, it was not wrong for them to do it in case of his absence.

While Seventh-day Adventists generally followed the practice of ordaining only those individuals for the ministry that had proven their divine call in evangelistic or ministerial field work, they sometimes also ordained individuals that did not have any experience in these lines of the work. When these individuals had proven their abilities and skills in other lines of

[181]Ellen G. White, "Our Work," *Signs of the Times*, 25 August 1898, 2. In this quotation, different shades of meaning of the word "ordain" become visible. While she used the term in referring to the appointment of someone to an office/mission or the practice of laying on of hands, she also used it to mean "to command or decree" and "to order or organize." See Fortin, 117-118.

[182]Ellen G. White, *Acts of the Apostles*, 110; idem, "A Preparation for the Coming of the Lord," 7.

[183]Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 6:444 [1900]; idem, "Words to Our Workers," *Review and Herald*, 21 April 1903, 7.

the work (e.g., education, administration), the church frequently decided to set them apart too. Interestingly, although ordination eventually became a requirement for serving in administrative or educational leadership positions, ordination was not initially a prerequisite for these positions because these were distinguished from the gospel ministry. Seventh-day Adventists were generally open to the engagement of women in various lines of ministry; yet, it was not their practice to ordain them for the gospel ministry. In earlier years, they practiced only the ordination of ministers, elders, and deacons; yet, by the 1890s, Ellen White recommended the ordination of people, both male and female, for various lines of ministry. Thus, she emphasized that ordination was not an act linked solely to the clergy, but she envisioned ordination as a practice that set apart and committed people to various specific lines of ministry such as deaconesses, missionaries, and medical physicians. Setting people apart for a specific ministry did not automatically turn that person into an ordained minister. Although the church began to implement some of these recommendations, it seems that it never really effectuated them entirely.

In summary, the general Seventh-day Adventist practice of ordination was specifically based on NT passages; yet, the practice and its implications developed over time and were influenced by external necessities and the growth of the church structure and the mission of the church.

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FLYING BISHOPS, WOMEN CLERGY, AND THE PROCESSES OF CHANGE IN THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

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Introduction

The Anglican Church has grappled with the role of women in ministry in an intensive and focused way since the early twentieth century. The processes of change began with a focus on women as deacons in the United Kingdom, followed by a local case of ordaining a woman in Hong Kong under wartime exigencies. Petitions for wider experiments with the ordination of women were, at first, rejected. The issue of women's ordination led to pastoral and theological studies, resulting in a conclusion in 1968 by the Lambeth Conference that the evidence from Scripture and tradition was inconclusive on the matter. Further study was urged at regional and national levels, with feedback to the Consultative Council of the church. In 1971, Hong Kong and other Southeast Asian churches were advised that the ordination of women could be countenanced at the provincial level if there was full support from the dioceses within the province. The practice was soon introduced by other provinces of the church, including the United States, New Zealand, and Canada. Resistance and controversy ignited extended discussion and debate, but the practice of ordaining women to ministry continued to spread widely. In 1988, the Lambeth Conference resolved that every province should be free to ordain women to all orders of the ordained ministry. Recognition for the appointment of women as bishops has followed a similar trajectory. In 1992, at a general synod in London, legislation was eventually approved for the Church of England to move legally in the same direction as the rest of the communion. The change was radical and required careful pastoral management, of which one partial solution was the appointment of itinerate bishops, known as flying bishops, who would minister to those clergy, laity, and parishes opposed to women clergy.

This article briefly reviews Anglican church polity and theology on the issue of women's ordination to ministry and then explores how the processes of conflict and change were and are being managed within the church. To accomplish this task, this article explores four questions: (1) How does the Anglican Communion organize itself? (2) What changes took place in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century perspectives on the role of women in society that laid the foundation for the ordination of women ministers in the church? (3) What are the significant stages of development, particularly in the

Church of England, that brought women into priestly and leadership roles? (4) What are some of the intentional conflict-management strategies adopted by Anglican church leadership?

Background to the Problem of Women's Ordination

Anglicans consider themselves to be a part of the one holy, catholic, and apostolic church, celebrating the Eucharist, and continuing the ministry of the historic episcopal succession. So even though the English church removed itself from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome during the Reformation period, it nevertheless continues to understand itself as part of a continuing catholic community, closely linked in ritual and core sacramental theology with the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox traditions. As fellow sojourners on this religious pathway, Anglicans trace their history back to early Christian military families from Rome who settled near London at the end of the first century and later to the work of Augustine and others. As Dame Mary Tanner points out, this historical context is fundamental for understanding the process leading to the ordination of women to the priesthood in the Church of England and in the worldwide Anglican Communion.[1] On one side of this core tradition is a high-church strand that is close to Roman Catholicism in practice, while on the other side is a low-church strand with a strongly evangelical emphasis—both extremes advocate the maintenance of male headship. But through the pain and in spite of the threats of possible irreparable damage to its valued links with its ancient ecumenical brethren, the Anglican Communion nevertheless has slowly embraced the ordination of women to the priesthood and their consecration to the episcopate even as Rome has continued to argue that the Christian church has no authority to adopt such practices.[2]

The Anglican Communion early recognized that the issue of women's ordination would be fraught with difficulty. Leadership knew that both sides had strongly held convictions and that the question had the potential for catastrophic schism. Therefore, the journey was not undertaken lightly. A long list of analyses, studies, and reports by impressive commissions began to accumulate over the years, clearly at considerable expense, as the issue was debated throughout the church. For example, in 1986, as a consensus in the

[1]Mary Tanner, "The Episcopal Ministry Act of Synod in Context," in *Seeking the Truth of Change in the Church: Reception, Communion and the Ordination of Women*, ed. Paul Avis (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), 58. Tanner is from the Anglo-Catholic tradition and currently serves as President of the World Council of Churches. She notes that the Vatican has, in fact, hardened its stand on the issue in recent years.

[2]Sara Butler, "The Ordination of Women: A New Obstacle to the Recognition of Anglican Orders," AThR 78 (Winter 1996): 96-113.

Church of England was building in favor of women's ordination, a specially appointed task force was asked to undertake a "what-if scenario"—what if the church's two home provinces decided to split as a result of a decisive vote one way or the other? The task force compiled a range of five possible outcomes, ranking them from the most to the least favorable, thereby enabling church leaders to stare into the abyss.[3] The detailed analysis of what might result in the worst possible outcome was sobering: a possible scenario pointed to a complete separation of resources, with two separate churches emerging, differentiated only by the single issue of women in ministry. The report was so stark, realistic, and sufficiently dire that church leaders resolved that it was an option too horrible to contemplate. Instead, the community determined that every possible effort must be called upon to insure continuity of as full a communion as possible.[4]

Reality has been much kinder than the task force's most feared outcome. While there has been much disruption and pain, with small groups splintering off in some of the national church provinces, to a remarkable degree the worldwide Anglican Communion has remained largely intact. As Paul Avis notes, the ordination of women in the Church of England has been welcomed in the vast majority of parishes, where it causes barely a ripple of dissent.[5] That is also true of the wider Anglican Communion. While the journey is ongoing for different parts of the communion, the process is recognized as a significant success. What factors have helped achieve this?

In order to answer this question, it is important to understand how the change from an all-male priesthood to one that includes women occurred, how the associated conflicts that have emerged from this change have been managed, and what might be learned from them. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the historical background that led first to the ordination of women ministers and then to the continuing work of commissioning them to the episcopate. Together these two issues represent one of the most radical challenges the Church of England has faced since Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1538.

In order for the discussion to be meaningful, it will be helpful to begin by briefly surveying Anglican church polity.

[3]*The McClean Report*, General Synod, (738), 1986.

[4]Tanner, 64.

[5]Paul Avis, ed., *Seeking the Truth of Change in the Church: Reception, Communion and the Ordination of Women* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), ix. Avis is Director of the Centre for the Study of the Christian Church and Editor in Chief of the journal *Ecclesiology*. The more recent problem of how to relate to the issue of sexual orientation in the ministry is proving to be more sharply divisive with a much more visible rent in the fabric of the community.

Governance Structures of the Anglican Communion

The Church of England has an acute sense of its history, tracing its origins back to early Christian settlements in England about 200 A.D. The Anglican Communion, expanding from its roots in England to the wider world, has a long history of relating to evolving political and social frameworks. At times these have required complex arrangements such as the Elizabethan settlement in England that involved the resolution of complex communal issues, which, in turn, helped to develop an appreciation for the art of compromise on nonessentials, the importance of the *via media*, and a concern for respecting minority points of view.[6]

The worldwide "Anglican Communion" is a recent development. The term was first used in its modern sense in 1847. However, structural expression of the concept was not achieved until twenty years later with the holding of the first Lambeth Conference in 1867. At this conference, bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, together with those of the American and Scottish Episcopal Churches, were invited to confer together. The term now refers to a worldwide communion of churches that (1) is united through a common pattern of liturgical life rooted in the tradition of the Book of Common Prayer, (2) has been shaped by an emphasis on the continual public reading of Scripture, and (3) is linked in history with the archbishop of Canterbury. Provinces in the communion mutually recognize one another in the full communion of faith through the offices of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The four instruments of unity are the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Anglican Consultative Council; Meetings of the Primates, that is, heads of national churches; and the Lambeth Conference. The Lambeth Conference, which is the most important of the four instruments of unity, convenes once every ten years for the purpose of doctrinal study.[7] As Colin Podmore notes, the very identity of the Anglican Communion is "inextricably linked with the Lambeth Conferences."[8] Thus, Lambeth is the most visible "coming together" of the whole communion. During the latter half of the twentieth century, it played a key role in facilitating the embracing of women in ministry.

[6]Paul A. Welsby provides a brief but helpful overview of how the history of the Church of England has shaped its ethos and its polity in *How the Church of England Works* (London: Church House Publishing, 1985).

[7]The Anglican Consultative Council is a three-yearly meeting of church leaders and lay officials who convene between sessions of the Lambeth Conference. Primates also meet on a three-yearly basis, but do not include laity. Colin Podmore, *The Governance of the Church of England and the Anglican Communion*, General Synod Report (910) (London: Church House, 2009), 11.

[8]Ibid.

The Anglican Communion is comprised of more than 85 million members worldwide. Two million people in the United States and 40 percent of the population of the United Kingdom identify with the church.[9] Having no central government, it is organized as a community comprised of 38 provinces and six extraprovincial church areas. Provinces may be national, multinational, or regional, and are autonomous, legally separate entities administered by an archbishop. A twofold feature of governance, instituted in 1922, is that provinces respect geographical boundaries and are not to interfere in each other's territories. The two home provinces in the United Kingdom are York and Canterbury.

Provinces are comprised of three layers of organizational structure (see **Appendix 1**), with all provinces following similar patterns. Parish churches are cared for by a member of the clergy (e.g., vicar, parish priest, rector), with administrative matters addressed by a parish council. A cluster of parish churches in a localized geographical area form a deanery synod, chaired by a senior clergyperson of the area. Meetings of this synod are usually held annually, but can be convened as necessary to deal with local issues. Membership is comprised of clergy and lay representatives from the parishes, while voting is segregated in designated "houses," as in the House of Clergy or the House of Laity. Majorities are needed in both to secure passage of a resolution.

Several deanery synods in a geographical area comprise a diocese, administered by a bishop. Diocesan representatives meet together in a diocesan synod twice a year to deal with issues of mission and church life. When voting is required, it is done within houses. Synods do not function as executive bodies for administrative or commercial matters. These concerns are delegated to boards of finance and administration, which are appointed by the synod and delegated with statutory authority.

In Anglican ecclesiology, the diocese is regarded as the core organizational unit of the church and is led by a bishop, who, according to canon law, is regarded as the chief pastor. Conceptually, a diocese represents a part of the whole people of God gathered around the pastor, but it is separated into numerous parish churches that are cared for by local clergy. The bishop is vested with significant governing powers and is advised by a synod. Although the synod does not have executive authority, its decisions are, in most cases, implemented by the bishop.[10]

[9]<www.churchofengland.org/about-us/facts-stats.aspx>. Approximately one million attend Anglican services each week in England and up to three million at Christmas and Easter.

[10]In the Episcopalian Church in North America and in some other national churches more democratic and egalitarian traditions qualify the authority of the bishop (Podmore, 11).

Within the boundaries of a province, representatives from the synods meet together on an agreed-upon basis (usually twice annually) as a provincial general synod or, as it is known in the United States, a conference. This synodical form of governance in the Anglican Communion, begun in 1970, is a recent development and is intended to secure wider lay involvement in church governance.[11] At both diocesan- and general-synod levels, membership is structured on a tricameral basis, that is, it is comprised of three "houses": bishops, clergy, and laity. This allows for a significant voice for laity in the governance process. Most issues are decided on a majority vote of 50 percent, which must be achieved in each of the houses. More serious issues of doctrinal or canon law, such as the matter of the ordination of women, are resolved by a two-thirds majority vote across all three houses. For example, on 11 November 1992, when the Church of England's general synod approved the ordination of women to the priesthood, there were 553 votes of which 45 percent (or 249 members) were laity, but as a House of Laity, the votes comprised only one third of the voting power.[12]

Another distinctive feature of synodical governance structure, at least for the Church of England, is that lay representation on both the diocesan and the general synods is elected by the local laity, who themselves were elected as members of local deanery synods (see **Appendix I**). This electoral mechanism gives Anglican laity a stronger voice in church affairs at the grass-roots level.[13] Lay participation in the decision-making process is also insured by provisions that require any issues of doctrinal or canon law proposed by the general synod be considered first by all deanery synods, which then consult with local parish councils, and before being approved by a majority of diocesan synods. Only then can an issue be voted on by a general synod and become general church policy. This is a lengthy and cumbersome process,

[11]Ibid., 5.

[12]C. Raymond Holmes, in his 1987 review of the ordination of women in the Anglican Communion, critiqued the role of laity, complaining that the decision on women's ordination did "not speak very highly of the Biblical literacy among Anglican laity" ("The Ordination of Women and the Anglican-Episcopal Experience: The Road to Schism" [unpublished case study prepared for the Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1987], 14).

[13]The present structure for the participation of laity in Anglican governance is not without its problems. Because it is based on parish participation through the deanery synod, it tends to give a larger voice to the smaller parishes at the expense of larger urban parishes. In rural areas, it is also subject to the problem that participation may be based simply on whoever is available and willing to participate. In 2012, observers noted with regard to the general synod voting on the appointment of women as bishops in the Church of England that the election of lay delegates from small parishes had also become rather politicized (David Trim to G. M. Valentine, email November, 2012).

but as a conflict-and-change management strategy it insures that the church's entities move forward together and that an internal educational process is involved. In the case of the change to canon law and the framing of legislation for the ordination of women to the priesthood in 1992, a majority of 38 of 44 diocesan synods gave their approval by majority votes in both the diocesan Houses of Clergy and Laity.

Social and Historical Background

The historical and social background of the advancement of women to the priesthood and the episcopate in the Anglican Communion is, of course, related to far-reaching changes in the general role of women in society that have occurred in the past 200 or more years.

As Sean Gill notes, the understanding of women and their roles slowly began to change toward the end of the seventeenth century. The dominant seventeenth-century societal image of women compared them to the biblical Eve, imagining them to be seductive, wayward temptresses who were both dangerous and intellectually inferior to men. By the eighteenth-century, however, this view metamorphosed to a view of women as paragons and models of virtue, best suited for training and nurturing moral values in the home.[14] From there, the reasoning went, if women were indeed the best placed and best equipped for the moral training of their own children, then surely other children could also benefit. Thus, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, women began to play a more public role in both charity and Sunday schools and in other charitable and philanthropic organizations. The effect was to enhance what Gill calls the "socially regenerative power of female religiosity," which led to calls for the further education of women, particularly for teaching the Bible and catechism in Sunday school. Teaching became the doorway to a wider ministry in the church and in society. It was believed that there was not a great deal of difference between teaching and managing a school, visiting children and their parents, and doing actual pastoral visitation.[15]

The emergence of the Methodist movement in the late eighteenth century, with its emphasis on Bible-study classes, became a significant challenge to Anglicanism. In these meetings, women were encouraged to speak and many became teachers and leaders. In this respect, Methodist Bible-study classes were a recovery of the house-church model of the earliest

[14]Sean Gill, *Women and the Church of England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (London: SPCK, 1994), 26-27.

[15]Gill has a helpful discussion of these developments. Though the Charity Schools in England operated on a small scale compared to Sunday Schools, their influence was extensive (ibid., 26-27, 39, 51; see also Ian Jones, *Women and Priesthood in the Church of England: Ten Years On* [London: Church House Publishing, 2004], 18).

period of the Christian church. As early as 1787, John Wesley authorized a woman to preach.[16]

While Methodism certainly influenced the role of women in the Anglican Church, it was, however, the expansion of Anglican missionary societies and overseas missions during the Victorian era that began to make real room for women within its ranks. As Gill notes, to a large extent the overseas mission program depended on the contribution made by pastoral wives, which necessitated accepting a more public role for women in ministry. It also created an expanded role for single women. For example, in 1830, the Church Missionary Society had only a few sisters in mission-field appointments, but by 1909 the society supported 438 single women in overseas mission work as deaconesses or sisters. This was more than the 414 male clergy employed as overseas missionaries that year. Other missionary societies experienced the same pattern. It is important to note that it was the call to mission that drove this expansion of women in ministry, not a grudging response to any feminist movement.[17]

The extensive involvement of women in religious life and mission was further nurtured by the development of the Tractarian or Oxford movement with its emphasis on catholic spirituality and the devotional life in the mid-nineteenth century. This movement, in an attempt to recover catholic traditions, focused the attention of the church on providing room for women within its own Anglican structures.[18] There was resistance at first to the rising influence of Anglo-Catholicism and the renewal of religious communities (religious orders had not existed since the dissolution of the monasteries in the period of 1536-1541). Gradually, however, following the establishment of the first order of Anglican sisterhoods in 1845, others began to appear, thereby providing a way for women to be involved in full-time religious life and in social-welfare causes under the umbrella of the Church of England.

[16]Women played a prominent part in first-century house churches. See, e.g., Karen Torjeson, "The Early Controversies over Female Leadership" *Christian History* 17 (1988): 20-24; see also idem, *When Women were Priests* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), 33.

[17]Gill, 174-175. A debate occurred in the 1870s and 1880s about the suitability of calling women into mission service. It was argued by proponents, women were needed as missionaries to reach Hindu and Muslim women in their homes, where male clergy were unable to go and thus they were singularly ineffective.

[18]Jones, 17-18. See also Gill, 159-160, who argues that the sisterhoods were significant out of all proportion to their numbers. The Anglican form of sisterhood did not allow for irreversible vows of celibacy, but they still upheld the ideal of voluntary celibacy and the highest ideals linked with charitable endeavor. The sisterhood drew recruits largely from the upper classes.

By 1861, there were 86 sisters. By 1900, the number had increased to between 2,000 and 3,000.[19]

The increased scope of women's public role both at home and abroad was accompanied by an ethos of expanding social and legislative emancipation, embracing freedoms such as the right to choose one's own husband, to own property in one's own name, and to write one's own will, even though married. This was followed by the right to sue for divorce and the right to the protection of the law in a difficult marriage. Further rights and freedoms followed as the nineteenth century wore on, with women gaining the right to participate in higher education and in the professions of teaching, medicine, law, pharmacy, and dentistry.[20] This involvement in public life was expanded further with the success of the women's suffragist movement in many countries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[21]

The suffragist movement created tensions in the Church of England, particularly over its approach to campaigning. Evangelical churchmen opposed the movement on the basis of Scripture, which they understood to teach male headship and the subordination of women in civic affairs. The church found itself unable to respond with an internal ratification of the vote on universal suffrage until a full year after parliamentary approval. The so-called headship passages of Scripture were used repeatedly to argue against the expansion of rights to women across the whole range of developments.[22]

The Church of England found itself needing to adjust to the changing roles of women by modifying some of its practices as defined by canon law on marriage and divorce. The church was also under pressure to change due to a greater participation of women in church services—there were two females to every male in attendance at weekly worship services. Participation in church affairs also began to increase. In 1920, only 6 percent of the 646

[19]There has been much debate about whether the rise of the sisterhoods was an early form of feminism and the emancipation of women because in their own way they involved discipline and subordination. But the movement undoubtedly contributed strongly to an emerging new feminine spirituality and gave it space to grow.

[20]In 1870, the University of Michigan became the first state university in the United States to admit a woman into the study of medicine. It was not until 1884 that Oxford University voted to admit women to examinations, but they could not be granted a degree. The Church of England opposed the move. Strong bishops argued the Aristotelian view that women's brains were not made for learning; women were intellectually inferior and their place was the home (Gill 19-20, 116-117).

[21]Success was achieved in New Zealand in 1893, South Australia in 1894, Finland in 1907, Denmark in 1915, Russia and Canada in 1917, Germany, Hungary and England in 1918, and the United States in 1920.

[22]Gill, 78-80, 94-95, 208-209. Gill observes that the Anglo-Catholic wing of the church responded to the issues by articulating their vision of chastity, devotion, and advocating the muted asceticism and misogyny of the early church fathers.

members of the Anglican National Assembly (forerunner of the general synod) were women. By 1975, however, 32 percent of the delegates to the general synod were women. There were also larger numbers of women employed on a full-time basis in the church. For example, in 1966, there were 3,500 full-time working women, including deaconesses, Church Army Sisters, and church social workers. Of these, 2,688 were participating in sisterhoods. The increasing involvement of women in the life of the church and in its governance assisted in the democratization of the church and their voices would eventually help bring a more favorable response to women in the priesthood.[23] Such pressures gave rise to questions about whether the church was simply responding and accommodating itself to secular culture.

The Anglican Church, along with other religious groups, resisted changes in women's roles on the basis of male headship, which was derived from the Genesis 3 narrative and certain Pauline texts. In this resistance, there is a paradox. The Christian gospel, with its seminal truths of the equal value of every human being, the unique giftedness of each individual, and the seeking of restoration and recovery of the original Edenic ideal in the life of the church, has had profound effects on society. The seeding of the ideology of equality in the soil of society slowly germinated and flowered into a broadening emancipation for all those who were oppressed. Yet, the same Scriptures that taught the gospel have been used to slow and impede the flowering process, seeing it as a threat to traditional order. As Gill observes, an incarnational paradigm for the relationship of church to society helps explain how the church both informs society and is informed by society. It also explains how the Anglican Communion responded to the changes in the role of women in society by both resisting and embracing them.[24]

Stages in Development

Women began to be more involved in charitable and philanthropic organizations in the nineteenth century as the social and physical needs of impoverished Industrial Revolution-era communities grew ever more desperate in Europe and America. In England, these pressures led to the establishment of deaconess communities, the first being the Community of St. Andrew founded in 1860 in Notting Hill, London. This soon led to the re-creation of the order of deaconess in Anglicanism. Elizabeth Ferard, the first to be appointed a deaconess, was set apart by Archbishop Tait in 1861. Soon thereafter an independent college for the training of deaconesses was established at Mildmay Park in London. The school, which placed a strong emphasis on education, home nursing, and social care, was modeled on the Lutheran deaconess training college in Kaiserwerth, Germany. Other

[23]Ibid, 209, 216.

[24]Ibid.

institutions soon followed in one diocese after another until by 1875 there were 18 sisterhoods working in 95 centers. By 1884, Mildmay had 200 deaconesses in training and there were 1,500 associate deaconesses in the churches.[25]

Deacon or Deaconess?

Under the threefold order of ministry, the deacon was regarded as a member of the clergy, leading to an initial confusion over how to regard the role of deaconess. Women accepted into the order wore a distinctive style of clerical dress, but were they really clergy? Appointment involved the laying on of hands and the role provided formal avenues for social outreach and pastoral visitation in a parish or a diocese, mostly under the supervision of a parish priest. Whether the office was clerical or just how far it was clerical was not at all clear, even to those who had reintroduced the order. The role of deaconess had been added without any formal description of the authority or scope of the office. But the role clearly filled a need.

The role of deacon, on the other hand, was clearly defined in canon law. Men ordained as full-time deacons were full members of the clergy. Although they could assist with the celebration of the Eucharist, they were not permitted to preside, to absolve sins, or to bless people. Nevertheless, they were on a track to be ordained as priests after two or three years in the office of deacon unless they chose to remain as permanent "vocational" deacons.[26]

In the 1880s and 1890s, the office of deaconess with its lack of clarity was also adopted in the Episcopal Church in America and canon law was modified accordingly. Various training programs were initiated, but confusion continued to reign about the enigmatic role. The issue came to a head in the United States in 1919 when the Episcopal Pension Fund refused to pay deaconesses a pension because they were technically not clergy. The following year the Archbishop of Canterbury, in an effort to clarify matters, concluded the Lambeth Conference of fellow archbishops by ordaining a deaconess and conferring Holy Orders upon her. He declared that she could preach and lead prayers in worship, but noted that "the office was in no way comparable

[25]Margaret Webster, *A New Strength, A New Song: The Journey to Women's Priesthood* (London: Mowbray, 1994), 12. Webster's account is a vibrant telling of the story from the perspective of one who was closely involved as the Executive Secretary of the largest women's advocacy group, Movement for the Ordination of Women. She was involved in coordinating the campaign that was instrumental in changing the minds of the Church of England over the issue of women priests.

[26]Canon law regarding the office of deacon also provided for the option of men to be appointed to the role while continuing in their private employment or vocation and assuming the duties of deacon on a voluntary basis.

to that of the all male diaconate."[27] Two years later, in 1922, the permission to lead prayers was withdrawn by the archbishop. Then, in 1930, an even more restrictive view of the status of the role was imposed, although now the deaconess was allowed to baptize infants and to "church" women coming into the faith.

In the meantime, as a result of the confusion surrounding the enigmatic office of deaconess, the Lambeth Conferences were beginning to wrestle more seriously with how to understand the overall role of women in ministry. In 1917, as many more women had become involved in work outside the home in response to wartime exigencies, the Lambeth Conference was asked why there were still sanctions and restrictions on the role of women in the church. The archbishop established a commission to report on the question. In 1919, the study group reported that while there were no strong arguments that would prevent women from becoming priests, neither were there any strong theological justifications to depart from the present male-only tradition. This was the first time the idea of women as priests appears in any official Anglican church report or discussion paper.

In 1930, Lambeth was asked again about why it was impossible to ordain women as priests, but this time it was found that there were theological principles which would constitute an insuperable difficulty. This conference rescinded the former permission for deaconesses to lead prayers in worship. The question resurfaced in 1935. This time the response took a more neutral stance, finding that while there is no overwhelming theological support either to ordain or not to ordain women, the all-male ministry seemed to be what Scripture mandated "for the church today." This commission was comprised of five bishops, the dean of St Paul's, three senior clergy, one layman, three laywomen, and the head deaconess. The panel, meeting for 24 days in the form of a parliamentary commission, heard a great number of witnesses including many deaconesses and women from the religious orders and considered a large number of submissions. The report of the group was substantial and settled many employment-related issues,[28] indicating that the Church of England was becoming more seriously concerned over the issue of women in ministry. The report confirmed that the status of deaconess did indeed have the "permanence of holy orders." Although it did not parallel the other three orders of ministry for males, nevertheless a deaconess did rank among the clergy. Deaconesses could not only now preach and baptize, but they could lead in prayers and have a liturgical function in worship, even in some instances assisting the priest in administering the chalice. But the panel also concluded that progress to the priesthood was not an option. The order

[27]Gill, 219.

[28]*The Ministry of Women: Report of the Archbishop's Commission* (London: Church House, 1935).

of deaconess "was the one Holy Order at present open to women in the Church." The fear of upsetting other catholic faith traditions was too strong. Thus, a foundation was laid for a largely negative view of the prospects for the ordination of women that persisted in the Church of England for the next forty years.[29]

The 1935 report, despite its negativity, nevertheless achieved an important precedent in that it also included a strong theological defense for women's admission to the priesthood. W. R. Mathews, the highly respected dean of St Paul's in London, refused to endorse the part of the report that dealt with the priesthood issue. Instead, he wrote a dissenting note strongly supporting the ordination of women to ministry, although he did not feel that it was expedient to do so at the present.[30] According to Margaret Webster, executive secretary of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, the report set a pattern of prevarication and delay that lasted for several decades. Even requests to allow laywomen to be readers in worship services were repeatedly shelved during the ensuing decades. But the issue would not go away and, as Webster notes, history soon intervened and irregularities began to appear. The sad episode of the ordination of the deaconess Florence Li Tim-Oi of China to the priesthood just a few years later in 1944 eventually became a *cause célèbre*. It lit a slow-burning fuse that would later flare into a bright flame that could not be extinguished.[31]

The First Woman Anglican Priest

History intervened in China in 1943. Following the occupation of Hong Kong and South China by Japanese forces during the Second World War, Anglican communicants in the interior of South China became isolated and were not able to be served by regular clergy. Ronald O. Hall, the bishop of Hong Kong and South China, faced a dilemma. Although he came from the Anglo-Catholic side of the community, he considered it more "irregular" for communion to be celebrated by someone who did not have priestly orders than for him to ordain a woman to do it, although that was also "irregular." Hall was deeply concerned that the sacraments be regularly administered. Florence Li had been to theological college and received the same training as her male colleagues. She had been in charge of a church for four years and had been a successful pastor, functioning fully as a priest in all but name. Furthermore, her local Chinese supervisor, Bishop Mok, had, under the challenge of war-time circumstances, authorized her to celebrate communion, a practice Hall wanted to regularize. He notified his brother bishops in the region and resolved that if he could possibly meet with Li he would do

[29]Ibid. See also Webster, 19.

[30]Webster, 20.

[31]Ibid., 24.

so. And he did. In January 1944, under difficult circumstances involving a dangerous week's journey across mountains on foot by Li and a risky five-day journey by foot and boat for Hall from his temporary base in Chungking, the two met in Xing-Xing. After two days of examination and praying together, Hall ordained Li in a small Anglican church. As Hall related to two clergy friends in England shortly thereafter, he was sure that Li "had amply proved (like Cornelius) that she had the pastoral charisma."[32] He did not feel he was challenging the church. He was dealing with an urgent pastoral need.

Li functioned fully as a priest for eighteen months before word trickled out to the outside world and pressure was then put on Archbishop Temple by the Anglo-Catholic *Church Times* editor, who asked publicly what the archbishop was going to do about this highly irregular act.[33] The editor argued that such an action could shatter the Anglican Communion and endanger the ecumenical movement—"the Orthodox would not stand for it." Temple, who personally could not see "any shadow of theological ground for the non-ordination of women," found himself having to discipline Hall in his official capacity, although it seems that he did not sign the official letter of reprimand that others apparently wrote for him just before his death.[34] Hall was pressured to rescind Li's ordination or resign as bishop, both of which he refused to do. In the end, Li, herself under pressure and not wishing to have her bishop's position threatened, quit functioning as a priest, although she never resigned her orders. The Chinese House of Bishops, comprised mostly of Westerners, squeezed a meager majority to "admonish" Hall. The Synod of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau, however, later issued a strongly worded statement that they "found the attitude of the Church in the West impossible to understand." For them, Li's ordination was "natural and inevitable," and they believed that God was using "China's age-long respect for women, and traditional confidence in women's gifts for administration and counsel, to open a new chapter in the history of the church." The synod believed that the discrimination against Li was unjust and unscriptural.[35]

The hierarchy of the Anglican Communion eventually agreed that Hong Kong was correct on both matters, but it took two decades for them to make this admission. In the meantime, the diocese petitioned the General Assembly

[32]Letter, R. O. Hall to William Greer and Tissington Tatlow, 27 January 1944, cited in Webster, 68. At the same time, Hall informed William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, of his actions.

[33]The news first appeared as an inspirational story on the children's page of a New Zealand missionary magazine, *The Gleaner* (Webster, 69).

[34]Edward Carpenter gives an account of the censuring of Bishop Hall in *Archbishop Fisher, His Life and Times* (London: Canterbury Press, 1991), 134-138.

[35]Cited in David Paton, *'R. O.': The Life and Times of Bishop Hall of Hong Kong* (Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau, 1985), 132; see also Webster, 70.

in London for consideration of the ordination of women—the first official formal motion on record for such a request. No action was taken, but the 1948 Lambeth Conference had been asked to consider it and the request was part of the official record. The Lambeth response to the proposal, even as an experiment, was negative.[36]

In the decade following the 1948 request, pressure continued to build in the church as more women were confronted with "a fantastic explosion in the opportunities" of the secular world. The church, however, still equivocated on women's ministerial contributions. Leadership, aware of positive developments in the wider society, began to study the question again and to review continuing problems within the deaconess order. The *Gender and Ministry* report prepared for the Church's general assembly that year noted the difficulties encountered in deploying parish workers and deaconesses and urged a wider and more imaginative use of their services.[37] This report was followed in 1966 with *Women in Holy Orders*, which had been commissioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury three years earlier. Debated in the general assembly in 1967, this report stated that it could find "no conclusive reasoning against ordaining women," but that all sorts of other pragmatic reasons seemed to be given for not advancing the issue. The general assembly did not know what to do with the report, leaving it for further consideration. Later in 1967, the report was brought back for discussion and again the church dithered. However, it was at the 1967 sessions that a formal motion was first put to the assembly that women should be ordained to ministry on exactly the same terms as men.[38] The resolution was debated with "wit, passion, erudition and sometimes a curious illogic," according journalist Patricia de Joux, but it did not pass.[39]

Finally, in 1968, as they continued to wrestle unsuccessfully with the issue of women in ministry, the assembly was compelled by forceful arguments from a respected lay divinity teacher, Christian Howard, to recognize that the whole idea of "women's ministry could not be resolved until the Church of England made a decision with the larger issue of the ordination of women to 'holy orders.'"[40] Three years later, in 1971, after further dithering and uncertainty, Howard, with her long experience of church governance and of women's ministry, was asked by the general synod to prepare "a survey of the present state of opinion about the ordination of women." The report she prepared and published in 1972 was magisterial in its scope, providing

[36]Webster, 67-71.

[37]*Gender and Ministry: Report from the Central Advisory Council for the Ministry* (CIO, 1962); see also Webster, 27.

[38]Jones, 19; see also Webster, 26-27.

[39]*The Times*, 20 June 1967.

[40]*Women and Holy Orders: Report of the Archbishop's Commission* (CIO, 1966).

the contextual background and foundation for preparing the general synod to request authorization for the admission of women to the priesthood.[41] This report was followed later by two others in 1978 and 1984 that were also prepared by Howard.[42] While the Church of England inched forward, dragging its feet, the Anglican Communion elsewhere moved steadily forward.

From Hong Kong to the Wider Anglican Communion

Following its 1948 request, Hong Kong again raised the issue of women's ordination with the Lambeth Conference in 1960. In 1965, the Episcopal Church in America's House of Bishops commissioned a report on women's ordination, which was submitted to the conference the following year. It noted that the matter was being discussed not only throughout the worldwide Anglican Communion, but also by others, including Presbyterians, Methodists, and Lutherans. The report affirmed the ordination of women and urged the bishops to be aware that the matter was gathering some urgency. The House of Bishops responded to the report by requesting the 1968 Lambeth Conference to consider the question of women's ordination.[43]

The reason requests for women's ordination were made to the Lambeth Conference was because provinces were autonomous on such matters; however, questions about ministry had never been seen as a matter for any one individual province to decide. There might be legal freedom to do so, but neither Hong Kong nor the other provinces wished to act unilaterally if they could avoid it. Nor did they want to wait forever for some response. Hong Kong had already been waiting a long time. It was crucial for the Anglican provinces to remain in communion with other provinces and with the mother church. Unilateral action had been talked of, but there was a willingness to wait for the synodical process. As the Bishop of Stafford, Christopher Hill, observed, however, "in a divided church there is sometimes no way of change other than unilaterally," noting that church history is littered with examples of individual churches making changes in advance of others on matters of faith

[41]Christian Howard, *The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood: Consultative Document for the General Synod* (GS104) (CIO, 1972). Webster, 27, notes that this comprehensive report dealing with biblical evidence, tradition, theological questions, social considerations, and ecumenical implications found its way throughout the church and into the hands of men and women serving on parish councils, boards, and committees throughout the church.

[42]*The Independent*, 26 April 1999.

[43]*The Proper Place of Women in the Ministry of the Church House of Bishops* (ECUSA, 1966). The report can be found in Emily C. Hewitt and Suzanne R. Hiatt, *Women Priests: Yes or No?* (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), 109-104.

and order and not being expelled from the communion. The same view was held by provincial archbishops.[44]

The 1968 Lambeth Conference marked a historic shift. After extensive debate, it concluded by a large majority that "there was no valid theological objection to the ordination of women." The conference also defined the meaning of the diaconate and agreed that deaconesses were fully within its order. This promptly raised the question of why the office of deaconess was maintained as a separate order and whether it should be continued thus. Because Lambeth had no juridical authority to implement its newly achieved consensus, it requested the national and regional churches to study the question of ordination and report back to the newly established Anglican Consultative Council, which had been commissioned as a standing committee to address unresolved Lambeth Conference issues between sessions. The first meeting of the committee was scheduled to meet in Limuru, Kenya, in February 1971. One of its first deliberations required urgency. Gilbert Baker, the Bishop of Hong Kong, and his synod had already reached a studied conclusion on the issue of women's ordination and had approved in principal the ordination of women to the priesthood. He had two deaconesses ready to ordain as priests.

The urgency of the situation and the need to maintain harmony was reinforced on the Anglican Consultative Council by an awareness of the rapidly changing tide of opinion in the church. Also mindful of the earlier 1968 Lambeth Conference consensus that the arguments against ordination were inconclusive, the February 1971 Anglican Consultative Council first determined that all churches of the Anglican Communion must give consideration to the ordination question by 1973. The Anglican Consultative Council approved a landmark resolution that proved to be of immense strategic value in keeping the communion together. The landmark sentence read:

> ACC advises the Bishop of Hong Kong, acting with the approval of his Synod, and any other Bishop of the Anglican Communion acting with the approval of the Province, that if he decides to ordain women to the priesthood, his action will be acceptable to this Council.[45]

Eight months later, Baker ordained Jane Hwang and Joyce Bennett in Hong Kong and took the special initiative of recognizing Li's orders, even though she was absent. Li's church had been closed by the communists and she was serving time in hard labor under the Cultural Revolution. Three months later, in January 1972, the Burmese Synod, following Hong Kong, also approved women for ordination. It was a significant breakthrough. The Hong Kong event was

[44]Christopher Hill, "Reception and the Act of Synod," in *Seeking the Truth of Change in the Church*, ed. Paul Avis (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), 114; see also Tanner, 59.

[45]Gill, 250. *The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood: A Consultative Document Presented by the Advisory Council for the Church's Ministry* (London: Church Information Office, 1972), 3, 55-56.

celebrated in London with a service of thanksgiving conducted by the Bishop of Ely, Ted Roberts, in the Chapel of Church House at the Anglican Church headquarters in Central London. Roberts, who had served as the chairman of the Anglican Group for the Ordination of Women, proposed that "the example of Hong Kong should give the Anglican Church new impetus." He hoped that Hong Kong "would continue to jolt us out of our complacency."[46]

Other provinces soon followed the lead of the Hong Kong diocese. Most controversial and conflicted were the steps taken by the Episcopal Church in America when the general convention of 1973 rejected a proposal for the ordination of women. The strategy of voting a simple approval/nonapproval clause as an approach to resolving the issue did not work well. Rather it prompted threats of division and left unconvinced members feeling isolated and disenfranchised. Thus, the outcome of this vote caused significant widespread distress and led to irregular ordinations on the part of dissenting bishops in 1974 with the ordination of the "Philadelphia eleven." The irregularities also led to ecclesiastical charges laid against bishops, lawsuits, resignations, and general confusion and division. Not until September 1976 was some semblance of harmony restored when the General Convention again debated the issue and finally approved the step. But by 1977 the unresolved tensions experienced by the unconvinced minority who opposed the ordination of women were further complicated by the adoption of a new Book of Common Prayer, which led to the formation of a breakaway church, the Anglican Catholic Church, which, in turn, soon disintegrated into yet smaller groupings.[47]

At its 1975 general synod, the Church of England also voted to approve the ordination of women, seeing no theological foundation for not doing so. But the same synod failed to pass a resolution dealing with the need to prepare legislation to enact and make legal any ordinations. There was a clear sense that the church needed to develop a broader consensus and to develop a more nuanced and pastoral approach for implementing actions to insure that the minority did not suddenly feel unchurched. There were some members who clearly were not ready to embrace women's ordination and the Church of England certainly did not want to fall into the kind of upheaval and turbulence that the American church was then experiencing.

In other provinces, the radical change went more smoothly. In 1976, Canada approved the change after having moved through the involved synodical consultation process with little disruptive controversy. The lack

[46]Webster, 29.

[47]http://www.anglicancatholic.org. There has been further splintering of the group that broke away, numbering approximately 100,000 in 900 congregations. The breakaway groups affiliate together as the Continuing Anglican Movement, but in recent years they have been more active in reuniting with Roman Catholicism (http://www.acahome.org/about_aca).

of controversy was attributed to the strong pastoral role of a long-serving, highly respected archbishop and to a long national tradition of women who played an important part in pioneering the Western prairies. No parishes left the church and only seven priests resigned in protest.[48]

New Zealand followed a year later without controversy. Kenya made the step in 1983 and Uganda in 1984, with both countries first granting unofficial ordinations, followed later by general synod approvals. Australia took the step in 1986 with some anguish though no schism. By 1988, general synods in Brazil, Rwanda, Zaire, Spain, and the Sudan all decided to move in the same direction, with Ireland welcoming women into the priesthood in 1990. Clearly, the wider communion was moving faster and with more ease on the issue than the two home provinces of Canterbury and York in England.

The 1978 Lambeth Conference was seen as a "minor watershed." First, the diversity of practice allowed within the Anglican Communion by the 1968 Lambeth Conference's decision was reaffirmed in 1978 in the conference's Resolution 21, which declared its acceptance of member churches that decided to ordain women; the resolution urged respect for churches that had not. Second, the conference was the first in which women bishops were in attendance from the four ordaining and consecrating provinces—Hong Kong, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States. This fact alone seemed to convey a sense of confirmation.[49] Worldwide communion would be maintained through what some called a "Co-Existence Project," even though the correctness of the decision to ordain women was not yet settled beyond any shadow of doubt until the practice had been received by the whole church. Those provinces adopting the practice were understood to be asking the other provinces for a process of wider discernment, reception, and reflection. This attitude of openness by the four provinces became a fundamentally important change-management concept. By the time of the 1988 Lambeth Conference, the discussion had moved from the ordination of women priests to the consecration of women bishops. Again, the ideas of coexistence in communion and of accepting the process of open reception were seen as ways to maintain the highest degree of communion possible, while allowing the various branches of the church to move at different rates of development according to readiness and need.

From the Wider Communion to the Church of England

For the Church of England, the process was much more difficult and complex because the church for important historical reasons was an established or state church. Its approval processes did not just mean the amending of canon law. which with due process, its councils were able to authorize. But in England

[48]Webster, 57.

[49]Ibid., 82.

a major change to the order of ministry such as the ordination of women also required the preparing of legislation for approval of parliament and the endorsement of the sovereign. Layers of complexity were also added to the process by the requirements that at each stage of approval the specific consent of a two-thirds majority of each of the 44 dioceses and also the lower-level deanery synods had to be obtained by recorded vote in each of the houses involved in the tripartite voting system. It was a slow measured process. But, on the other hand, it also insured an extensive education process, thorough debate, and the development of a clear and informed consensus.

Because of the Church of England's unique relationship with the state, additional tensions and dilemmas were experienced, arising from the diversity developing in the wider communion. Women clergy ordained abroad under the approval of Lambeth could preach and participate in the liturgy when invited to visit England, but they could not celebrate the Eucharist, at least not in any church or university chapel that had been consecrated or dedicated and recorded as such under the law. That applied to almost all places of worship. Opponents of women's ordination, particularly from the more strident strand of the Anglo-Catholic wing, insisted on the scrupulous observance of this requirement and many of them saw it as a way of preventing the change. Women clergy from abroad who were invited to minister in England could celebrate communion in private chapels, at homes, and in parking lots adjacent to registered church buildings—all of which they sometimes did, with the press particularly invited to the parking lot occasions. The restriction, however, increased tensions in the church and was viewed as an insult to women, further highlighting the issue of discrimination.

It took seven years for the Church of England to implement the process of study requested by Lambeth in 1968. The general synod of 1972 formally voted that the diocesan synods should be consulted and that part of the process took three years. In July 1975, the study and consultation had been completed, with 33 of the synods reporting that they agreed with the change. Responding to this mandate, the general synod of 1975 agreed, with a two-thirds majority in all three houses voting for the historic decision of approving the ordination of women to the priesthood in the Church of England.

But this voted approval was not so simple to carry out. On that same day, the same general synod found it was unable to take the next necessary step of approving the resolution that would begin removing legal barriers for the change to be implemented. This "not yet" stance represented a consensus that the church needed more time to feel comfortable with the change. Only fifteen of the 44 diocesan synods agreed on the second step of implementing the needed action. There was not yet a majority in favor of ordaining women priests and there was, therefore, a need to wait.

Three years later, in 1978, the proposal to initiate the second step of amending legislation was defeated again in the general synod. This time the

failure to secure enough numbers occurred only in the House of Clergy. There was deep frustration for many, particularly the waiting deaconesses, for whom the vote was a bitter defeat, encapsulated in the spontaneous anguished cry from one in the observer's gallery at the conclusion of the debate: "We asked for bread, and you gave us a stone." The gallery crier was Una Kroll, a longtime and highly respected voice in the church. Her anguish and frustration reverberated throughout the press and around England. The continuing resistance energized those who felt that movement on the issue would happen only if there was wider debate and discussion in the church. But who would help to educate the church on this issue?

The failure of 1978 gave rise a year later to the formation of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, a powerful activist group comprised of respected professional church- and laywomen and supported by well-known bishops and clergy. Other smaller activist groups, some more radical than others, also became more vocal at this time, as did opposition groups such as the Church Union and the Cost of Conscience group representing Anglo-Catholic opinion. The rise of such groups helped to create an increased polarization. But, for the most part, the disagreements were respectful and civil. Church leaders actively fostered a culture of openness, insisting not only that the conversation be respectful, but modeled it themselves thereby enabling the church members to cope with such disagreements even when holding strong convictions.

The wider debate of the issues pertaining to women's ordination in the church and in the community served a helpful educational purpose. Eventually when the proposal was reintroduced in the general synod in 1984, permission was finally granted for the ordination of women. But again, to the frustration of the waiting deaconesses, it would take another eight long years for the general synod to agree on the legislation to be approved. Nevertheless, hope for the long journey toward women's ordination was stirred the following year when the general synod agreed that the order of deaconesses was indeed an anomalous and enigmatic order and that deaconesses should be admitted to the diaconate on the same basis as men and regarded as clergy in the same way. This action, too, needed parliamentary approval. But it was a historic moment for women. Webster observes that the Movement for the Ordination of Women saw the final passage of the Deacons' Measure in parliament the following year as "one of the most crucial votes in a decade of debate." The order of deaconess was closed the following year, 125 years after its institution. These developments suggested to women and their advocates that the progress to priesthood might also become a reality.[50]

The preparation of the proposals for voting involved a complicated and time-consuming sequence of actions. First, the general synod needed

[50]Ibid., 121.

to approve the broad scope of the legislation, which passed in 1986. Then a work group prepared drafts of the legislation, which was completed in 1987. The drafts were received, debated, and sent back for revision in 1988. Approval of the drafts, together with an accompanying code of practice for the implementation process and protection provisions, came in 1989. Church and lay legal experts, as well as the Anglo-Catholic activist groups such as Cost of Conscience and the Movement for the Ordination of Women were consulted extensively in the drafting and revision process. However, the documents were still only drafts. Under synod regulations, the completed draft legislation then had to be referred to the diocesan synods in 1990, which were obliged to consult with the local-level deanery synods. It was a long and arduous process.

It was not until 1992 that word came back from the diocesan synods that 38 out of 44 had given assent. Even then, however, it was not certain whether there would be enough of a consensus in all three houses of the general synod for the proposed measures to pass. Tensions ran high. There were hundreds of women deacons now, many of whom had been in ministry and parish leadership for decades and whose future would be affected by the decision.[51] The portentous decision day at Church House in London was scheduled for Wednesday, 11 November 1992. The observation and press galleries were full with reporters from around the world who were taking a keen interest in the proceedings. The synod protocol called for a formal day-long debate with two opening speeches, one to propose and one to oppose, then open discussion followed by a formal opposing speech and a concluding supportive speech. A verbatim record was kept and the level of discourse was impressive, representing deep theological reflection and pastoral concern. When the vote was called for at about 5:00 p.m., the Ordination of Women measure was passed by a two-thirds majority in all three houses (Bishops, 75%; Clergy, 70.4%; and Laity, 67.3%) to the complete surprise of the opponents, who, according to observers, were to some degree in a state of denial. They simply did not think it could or would happen.[52]

For church leadership, the historic vote was both surprising and yet not surprising. No one really knew in advance how the numbers would fall or how effective the final day of debating might be in changing people's minds.[53]

[51]Jones, 21, reports on the range of options that women deacons were considering should the vote not go through. He suggests that the departure of women from ministry, either by resignation or by service overseas, could have been greater than the number of men who resigned over the issue or converted to Rome. Almost 2,000 women entered the priesthood in the decade following the vote.

[52]*The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood: The Synod Debate*, 11 November 1992 (London: Church House, 1993), 90. Webster, 156-188, gives a more detailed and moving personal account of these events from the perspective of an active participant.

[53]As it turned out, it seems that several general synod members of evangelical

But whether the vote succeeded or failed the bishops knew there would be significant upheaval. As Monica Furlong recalls, many bishops had prepared themselves to be available to counsel distraught, disappointed women on their staff. They were not, however, prepared for the deep anger of those who had believed the vote would not pass in favor of women's ordination. The level of hostility to the success of the vote, largely on the part of the Anglo-Catholic right wing, took church leaders by surprise.[54]

The Church of England's Enabling Legislation of 1992

The strength of hostility from the minority group took church leaders by surprise. The synod had, in fact, closely consulted with minority groups throughout the development of the draft legislation it sent to parliament for approval. From a change-and-conflict-management perspective, the bishops and other church leaders appeared to have prepared the ground well for a positive vote for women's ordination. They had gone to great lengths to insure that the legislation included adequate, appropriate, and agreed-upon safeguard clauses to protect the minority. Minority groups had been consulted closely in the shaping of the legislation.[55] Nevertheless, the positive vote in favor of women's ordination came as an uncomfortable shock to those who could not accept the change. In the lead-up to the vote, the bishops, as Ian Jones explains, "had become increasingly convinced that the diversity of opinion had to be embraced rather than ignored or eradicated." This could be achieved best by adopting an ecclesiastical model focused on communion rather than by creating separate structural entities that would institutionalize division. On a pragmatic level, however, they were greatly concerned to "avoid a repetition of the sharp divisions and legal wrangles" experienced in the Episcopal Church in America, where the issue of women priests had been dealt with by a single-clause measure.[56] Thus careful preparation and a wide consultative process had been involved in drafting the legislation, thereby ensuring that important safeguards and guarantees had been built in to the measures to protect the interests of the minority and to provide pastoral care for both individuals and parishes. This careful planning led to the framing of two legislative measures.

Provisions in the first measure permitted women to be ordained, but allowed for parish churches, by a formal resolution of the parish council, to

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persuasion were persuaded to change their stance by the strength of argument made on the floor.

[54]Monica Furlong, ed., *Act of Synod—Act of Folly?* (London, SCM Press, 1998), 2.

[55]The "Priests (Ordination of Women) Measure 1993," with its attached schedules is a ten-page document (http://www.legislation.gov.uk/all?title=Ordination%20of%20Women) (accessed 11/08/12).

[56]Jones, 22.

opt out of having a woman priest assigned to their congregation. Additionally, bishops who were in office at the time of the change could choose not to ordain women priests or to permit a woman in their diocese to be granted a license to function as a priest. The second legislative measure provided for financial compensation for those priests who felt they had to resign from their employment with the church because of the change. It was anticipated that up to 3,000 priests might do so and an amount of £30,000 per person was determined for such clergy. As it turned out, however, only 383 priests actually chose the compensation and left the church and 40 of these later returned.[57] But the careful provisions and safeguards so patiently agreed beforehand through consultation with groups such as Cost of Conscience did not seem to some to be enough after the vote. The groups of opponents soon united in a new organization known as Forward in Faith and began to lobby intensely for further concessions. The bishops, responding to the situation, focused their attention on this sizeable and loud minority to the chagrin of women clergy.

Faced with the threat of perhaps thousands of traditionalist clergy leaving the Church of England for Rome unless their requests for additional safeguards were met, the House of Bishops representing all of the dioceses met together two months later in January 1993 in Manchester to consider their next steps. The bishops were also faced with the possibility, even if remote, that the uproar would derail the passage of the legislation in parliament. There were those in parliament who saw it as their duty to insure that minorities were protected and rumors swirled that it could object to the church's majority vote. Parliament had the right to reject the legislation if it deemed that it was "not expedient."[58]

The bishops took time to outline the procedures to be adopted for discerning the vocations of women deacons being considered for priesthood, a necessary preparation needed for when the measures became law. But the meeting also gave consideration to its pastoral problem and as a result the meeting became much better known for its "Manchester Statement," a widely publicized announcement from the bishops on pastoral assurance. The statement noted that while the majority of bishops warmly welcomed the decision to ordain women, they wished to give every reassurance to those in the church who were opposed that they were still considered to be valued and loyal members and that differing views could "continue to be held with integrity." They concluded with a commitment to maintaining the overall

[57]Other observers suggest 487 left and 60 returned during the subsequent decade. Factors relating to how to account for illness or retirement underlie the difference. Leading campaigners for the Anglo-Catholic wing argue the number was nearer six hundred (Jones, 21).

[58]Furlong, 6.

unity of the church, noting that "we intend to insure that provision continues to be made by the diocesan bishop for the care and oversight of everyone in his diocese." The historic position of the church on the sacrosanct borders of a diocese would be maintained and bishops would retain full authority within their diocese. Other bishops could not intrude without invitation and approval by the bishop in authority. But the document also suggested that what was being envisaged by the House of Bishops was some form of "extended Episcopal care."[59]

Flying Bishops, Pastoral Care, and Keeping a Church Together

The proposals hinted at in January 1993 were published in more complete form in June in a document the bishops entitled "The Bonds of Peace," which was accompanied by a draft, "Act of Synod," and a theological paper, "Being in Communion." These documents were important statements about the change-and-conflict-management strategies needed to maintain unity within the church and explained how bishops of differing views would assist one another. Thus a diocesan bishop who did not favor the ordination of women could not prevent another bishop, who was invited to do so, from ordaining women to serve in his jurisdiction. Likewise, a bishop in favor of the ordination of women priests would care for the needs of those opposed to women's ordination by inviting an opposing bishop, known as a flying bishop, to minister to their needs. There was a deep concern, as Mary Tanner explains, to care for those who might be "fearful that the validity of the sacraments would be endangered by a change in the gender of the person ordained as well as those ordained by her."[60] This strategy would also insure that no diocese would become what was called a "no-go" area.

According to Tanner, the bishops' plan worked. After the passage of the legislation for women's ordination in parliament in March 1994, no bishop exercised his right to opt out using clause 2 of the safeguards. This was a notable achievement. But a substantial number of parish councils resolved that they did not want a woman priest and requested to be exempted under the safeguard clauses. In 2010, there were approximately 900 such congregations, representing 7 percent of the churches in England, but only 2.8 percent of these parishes had requested the services of a flying bishop.

The bishops had hoped that the arrangement for episcopal visitation by flying bishops, which had first been tentatively proposed by the College of Bishops in America, would be implemented not only at a local level, but also at a regional level. At the regional level, the House of Bishops would nominate suitable bishops from the region whose primary role would be to serve across

[59]House of Bishops, "Statement by the House following Its Meeting in Manchester, 1993," para 9.

[60]Tanner, 63.

the region and who would report to the diocesan bishop. As a support and a supplement to these parish and regional arrangements, the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed that at the provincial level he would appoint two additional suffragan bishops to be known as Provincial Episcopal Visitors to exercise episcopal care duties across the whole province in a way similar to that of the regional extended-care bishops. One such suffragan bishop would also be appointed as a Provincial Episcopal Visitor by the Archbishop of York. The task of Provincial Episcopal Visitors was to provide sacramental ministry and to serve as spokesmen and advisors for those clergy opposed to the 1992 decision to ordain women priests.[61]

These plans were voted with a significant majority in an Act of Synod in November 1993. The act had no binding legal authority for it was not framed as legislation for parliament, but nevertheless it carried the strongest moral authority because it had been passed by the general synod. Only 16 out of 424 (3.8%) attending the synod opposed it. According to Jones, there was a great sense of relief on the part of most bishops at this development. Soon after the November 1993 synod, the three Provincial Episcopal Visitors were appointed. Nicknamed "Flying Bishops" by the press, their role was ridiculed in some quarters because they came to be viewed popularly as ministering only to out-of-touch misogynists and sympathizers with Rome. But they provided a valuable ministry even for moderate Anglicans.

The Provincial Episcopal Visitor concept was not an ideal solution for it uncomfortably stretched the boundaries of the historic understandings of the role of the bishop within the diocese. Critics questioned whether it was even acceptable under canon law to create suffragan bishops to look after a minority constituency on this issue when no such step had ever been taken before on any other matter of dissent. Many advocates for women clergy felt that it was a huge step backward and an utter betrayal of what had been decided in 1992. What amazed women clergy and their advocates was that the bishops seemed to have an overwhelming sense of identification with the disaffected minority in the endeavor to relieve their distress, while there was a total inability to identify with women clergy whose position was increasingly demeaned by what were seen to be insulting concessions.[62]

What particularly troubled many women was that despite the bishops' statements to the contrary, the language and provisions of the "Act of Synod" seemed to condone the view that male bishops could be "tainted" by ordaining women. According to the *Church Times* of October 1993, some bishops had spoken openly of "taint." For Furlong and other women closely involved in the campaign for the ordination of women, the act was a disaster because it more deeply institutionalized the discrimination against women that was

[61]Ibid., 71.

[62]Furlong, 5.

already partially embedded in the terms of the 1992 legislation, which they had already accepted grudgingly as a compromise. This new act, introduced in panic and without adequate forethought, was a betrayal of the women about to be ordained. One woman likened it to "spiritual apartheid," and others argued that it was profoundly damaging to the unity of the church.[63] But what really made the women furious was that the language and side effects of the act made it virtually impossible for women to become bishops in the Church of England, even though such developments had already taken place elsewhere in the Anglican Communion, such as in Boston (1989) and in Dunedin, New Zealand (1990).[64] Most women and their advocates in favor of ordination, however, believed that the act was a statesman-like way of achieving the best that could be obtained from the situation at the time—it was pastoral in that the church had been "fair" to women and now it only seemed right to be "fair" to their opponents. Furthermore, as Jones reports, church members expressed a sense of exhaustion over the issue. Besides, they felt that the initiative would be successful in preventing a large damaging division in the church. Nevertheless, there were those such as Furlong and other highly articulate and well-informed individuals who were not at all persuaded of the act's value and their unhappiness resulted in the creation of a new monitoring organization Women and the Church (WATCH) as an effective and powerful successor to the Movement for Women's Ordination. This organization continues to campaign for rescinding the "Act of Synod" and for new legislation to permit the consecration of women as bishops in the Church of England.

Ten years on from the historic vote of 1992, the ordination of women and their full participation in the ministry alongside their male counterparts has become a reality in many parts of the Anglican Communion, even as it is still becoming a reality in the Church of England. In a major research study of opinions within the Church of England a decade after the 1992 vote and the first ordinations of women in 1994, Jones reports that attitudes throughout the Communion continue to move toward greater acceptance of the decision. Eighty-one percent of clergy in the randomly selected survey sample indicate support for the 1992 decision and only 11.5 percent still oppose it. In the 1992 general synod, the percentage of clergy in favor of the action was 68.9 percent.[65] While some regret was experienced over the division caused by the debate, the most common theme Jones found emerging from interviews was

[63]Helen Thorne, *Journey to Priesthood: An In-depth Study of the First Women Priests in the Church of England* (Bristol: Centre for Cooperative Studies in Religion and Gender, University of Bristol, 2000), 123.

[64]Furlong, 8. Furlong's book of essays by those opposed to the Act of Synod is a helpful discussion of the weaknesses of the Act and provides useful insights as to why the Act will end up being a temporary measure.

[65]*General Synod Debate*, 90.

gratitude for the additional gifts and insights that women had brought through their priestly ministry. Ten years after the decision the percentage of women employed as priests in the Church of England was approximately 19 percent, but with considerable variation across dioceses (e.g., 3.8% in Hereford to 7% in Chichester). Only one of the 44 dioceses, the Isle of Man, did not have any woman priest. As of 2002, 49 percent of students in training for the ordained priesthood were women and by July 2012 the percentage of ordained women in the priesthood had climbed to 31 percent, exceeding 3,500 in number.[66] The Church of England, it seems, had weathered this storm and become stronger in the process.

Jones points out that the terminology of "supporters" and "opponents" is, in fact, too simplistic and crude a framework for understanding the differences of opinion over the issue of the ordination of women and argues that a multipolarity of opinion is a reflection of the real church, as indicated in **Table 1**. The results of Jones's study, confirmed from both survey data and in-depth interviews, indicate that shifting evangelical opinion prior to 1992 was a major factor in enabling the legislation to achieve the necessary support for the ordination of women priests and that in the decade since the decision movement toward acceptance had increased among conservatives. The majority of this strand of church tradition were largely untroubled by women's ordination.

Table 1. Clerical Attitudes toward the Ordination of Women by Church Tradition[1]

Self-identified Theological Tradition	Percent Who Strongly Agree/Agree	Percent Who Disagree/Strongly Disagree
Anglo-Catholic	57.0	32.9
Charismatic Evangelical	75.0	20.8
Catholic-Evangelical	77.8	11.1
Conservative-Evangelical	81.4	7.4
Evangelical	83.8	4.4
Liberal-Catholic	84.4	12.6
Liberal	92.0	2.0
Liberal-Evangelical	92.0	0.0

[66]*The Tablet*, 3 July 2012 (http://www.thetablet.co.uk/latest-news/4306) (accessed 11/4/12).

Recent reports on patterns of support for the consecration of women as bishops as the church moved in November 2012 to take this step indicated that 41 of the 44 diocesan synods approved the initiative. Only 7 percent of parishes chose not to be served by a woman. As church leaders acknowledged that the preceding fifteen years produced much pain and frustration on both sides, nevertheless "the Church of England has managed to model the holding together within one Church of people who differ profoundly on a major theological issue."[67]

Lessons to Be Learned from Change-and-Conflict Management and the Ordination of Women

The Christian church, as well as being a community of faith, is at the same time an organization with structures and interpersonal dynamics and relationships. As an organization, it exhibits the characteristics of an organization, behaves like one, and can be studied as such through the lens of organizational behavior theory. Such a theoretical framework, with its models of conflict-and-change management, can offer useful perspectives. While a full analysis of the changes in the Anglican Communion as an organization from within the framework of change-management theory[68] is not attempted here. A reflection informed by insights from the study of organizational behavior may offer helpful insights to administrators in other church organizations facing the challenge of relating to, administering, and coping with change. What lessons can be learned from the way that the Anglican Communion and more particularly the Church of England related to and attempted to manage the process of change whereby women were eventually admitted to the priesthood?

The Acceptance of Diversity

Anglicans came to recognize that the accomplishment of the gospel commission in different cultural contexts, even in something as important as the restructuring of its ministry, requires accepting diversity. Leadership first stumbled over the need for diversity in seeking to relate to developments in China in the mid-1940s. Twenty years later the issue arose again and this time it was approached with a deeper awareness of the different cultural contexts found in Hong Kong, Southern China, and other parts of Southeast Asia. This helped the archbishops gathered at the Lambeth Conference in 1968 to see that they needed to be flexible in regard to national and regional situations. It is important to note that the issue of diversity was not that of

[67]Recent reports are available at http://search.churchofengland.org/results.aspx?k=Legislation%201992 (accessed 11/9/12).

[68]Such as the approach of John Kotter's eight-step process (*Leading Change* [Boston: Harvard Business School, 1996]).

the Western church needing to address and relate to societal changes in their own countries, such as those arising from the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries movement for the emancipation of women, in which critics argued that the church was succumbing to the pressures of secular society. Rather the question of women's ordination to the priesthood in Southeast Asia was an example of the church undertaking mission to a society and a culture that, as the diocese in Hong Kong pointed out in 1945, had for centuries valued the role and unique contribution of women. Allowing each province of the church to consider its own cultural context and mission needs and to proceed to the ordination of women to the priesthood with due caution and consultation but at its own pace was a major step in keeping the church together. The church heard Christian Howard's plea that changes needed to be made for the sake of the gospel, not resisted simply because it was a way to reject what seemed like a secular Western feminist campaign. The commitment to continuing mutual recognition of each other and the maintaining of communion was vital to this process.

Because the church came to recognize the importance of enabling itself to accomplish its mission in differing cultural contexts, it has gone on to allow for some variation in provincial church structures and for the creation of overlapping diocesan boundaries to respond to cultural differences such as in the province of Aoteraroa, New Zealand. The same is true in Polynesia, which in 1992 restructured its constitution, thereby allowing five Maori "Hui Amorangi," that is, administrative districts to overlay seven European dioceses and for their bishops to serve as partners in leadership even as they implement different cultural styles of decision-making.[69]

Recognition that Societies Change

Anglicans came to recognize that societies where the church has existed for long centuries change. As Gill illustrates in his thoughtful and well-documented history, *Women in the Church of England*, not all change is bad. Societal change is inevitable, though it may come in unexpected forms and in unexpected ways. Developing an approach to understanding the relationship between the church and society from the perspective of a theology of incarnation has helped Anglicans better understand how to relate to movements such as feminism, even if adjusting to the insights and developments has been fragmented and slow. The Anglican Communion has taken seriously the study of its church history and the way in which the church has interacted with and responded to an ever-changing society. And it has tried to benefit from this reflection.

[69]<www.anglican.org.nz/About/History>.

Relating Positively to Advocacy Groups

Anglican leadership has come to feel more at ease with and relate in less-threatened ways to organized advocacy groups and special-interest social-justice campaigns as it has worked through the issues surrounding the ordination of women. On the issue of women in ministry, numerous organized groups were established to argue the respective viewpoints, present evidence, and express opinions. The best known of these groups—the Movement for the Ordination of Women, the Church Union, and Cost of Conscience—were coalitions that intentionally tried to remain in the mainstream in order to have their voices heard.[70] They attracted important supporters from within church leadership and well-educated laity who were often prominent members of society. For example, the Movement for the Ordination of Women's founding chair was the Bishop of Birmingham and the group was, for some time, chaired by a bishop or senior member of the clergy. These groups attracted talented writers and thinkers who were able to articulate ideas clearly, cleverly and, at times, with humor. The mantra of the Movement for the Ordination of Women—"it will not go away"—was telling. Other activities involved major advertisements in newspapers with signatures of well-known supporters, prayer vigils at ordination services, the planning of celebration services when women were ordained overseas, and even the distribution of buttons. One of the more creative ideas launched following the consecration of women as bishops in the United States and New Zealand was the wide distribution of a purple commemorative tea towel with the words,

> A woman's place is in the House . . .
>
> . . . of Bishops.

Even less prominent groups were led by notable church figures and had respected thinkers among their ranks. For example, Forward in Faith, a loose alliance of Anglo-Catholic organizations including sisterhoods, religious orders, clergy, and bishops, and REFORM, a much smaller evangelical clergy group, which held to the "Divine Order of Male Headship" and which preferred a less monarchical version of the episcopate, also developed a range of initiatives to communicate their points of view. A high level of discussion and informed thought characterized the materials prepared by these groups and there was a studious avoidance of personal attack. Such an approach was simply "not Anglican" (see **Appendix 3** for a more complete list of organizations).

The church recognized that the advocacy groups, though at times uncomfortable and bothersome, were nevertheless important to the process

[70]Webster, 60, notes that it a strength of the Movement for Women's Ordination was that it also connected with the more radical groups because while it could, at times, distance itself from them and disagree with their approach; yet, it was also able to benefit from their energy and insights. Such groups could sometimes do things it was unwise or not possible for a mainstream group to do to draw attention to an issue.

of education, discussion, and debate and that they represented important perspectives in the conversation. There is no evidence to suggest that the church took action to sideline such groups or to discredit them, although at times due to legal reasons there were restrictions on their use of certain properties or meeting spaces for celebrating the Eucharist. Church leaders regarded such groups with respect and maintained an impressive level of cordiality in personal interactions with their leadership.

A further important element of the process was that input from these groups was invited and welcomed when commissions were appointed by the archbishop to study the issue of women's ordination. The organizations submitted memoranda, had their leaders appear in person as witnesses, and provided input in other ways. In the framing of position papers or draft statements or legislation, working task forces would consult with the various groups and revisions would be made to texts in accordance with suggestions from the groups. The church seems to have been willing to view these groups as a necessary part of the conversation. An important example of this conciliatory attitude by church leadership is the Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams's invitation to the leaders of Women and the Church (WATCH) to join him in 2011 in planning a "Transformation Conference" for women at Lambeth Palace as an "opportunity for honest reflection on the experience of 17 years of women's ministry." Another example occurred in 2012 when the same group submitted a petition to the general synod and secured a delay in the consideration of an action on the consecration of bishops until they could be sure that the language was satisfactory.[71] The continuity of such groups in monitoring and advisory roles was perceived as helpful. Margaret Webster notes that, as a result of the church's approach, the Movement for the Ordination of Women voluntarily disbanded too early after the 1992 vote, thinking that its task was over. Three years later, it was reactivated in order to insure that opponents to ordination did not succeed in turning the clock back.

Valuing Pastoral and Scholarly Reports and a Culture of Openness

Another vitally important part of the process that enabled the Anglican Communion to relate to the pressure for change with regard to the ordination of women was the undertaking of studies and the preparation of reports on leadership and advice on how to proceed. The quality and depth of these reports and studies is truly impressive, representing a full range of perspectives. They illustrate that the church was not taking the decision lightly. Beginning in 1917, reports were called for regularly by Lambeth, the meeting of Primates,

[71]<www.womenandthechurch.org/news-stream/newsflash/transformations-presentation-college-bishops>.

the House of Bishops, and by the general synod and were proven particularly helpful at critical junctions. Of particular note are Howard's 1972 consultative document, *The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood*, and the oft-cited reports from the Eames Commission and Monitoring Group chaired by Archbishop Robin Eames of Amargh, Ireland. The Eames Commission produced a series of five reports and the group served as a monitoring group, reporting to Lambeth Palace on developments in the communion, suggesting important strategic initiatives and directions to help guide leadership in keeping the communion together.

Another highly valuable report, produced by a working party chaired by Archbishop John Grindrod of Brisbane, Australia, helped guide the church through the turbulent period of the late 1980s and 1990s when the Church of England was concerned with the ordination of women and other parts of the communion were moving on to the consecration of women as bishops.[72] Grindrod's report not only set out valuable theological perspectives, but analyzed a range of possible reorganizational and structural options that might be considered as the Communion struggled to find ways of embracing and maintaining its communion in diversity. There were numerous other reports also prepared for the House of Bishops and for the general synod as the church moved toward 1992. Other reports included the Rochester Report, *Women Bishops in the Church of England*, and the Manchester report of the task force analyzing the range of options for possible draft legislation.[73] A striking feature of the Anglican Communion's approach to dealing with the issue of the ordination of women to the priesthood was and is, at least after the dry and prevaricating period following World War II, the openness of the process. The reports were widely published as an intentional strategy to keep clergy and laity informed and to allow a consensus to develop about the best way to resolve the issue. Transparency was valued highly. Though clearly there was considerable cost in order to make this a reality, there was a willingness to make the resources available to achieve it. It was considered a vital part of the responsibility to educate both laity and clergy.

Allowing Pastoral Care to take Priority over Policy

A willingness to provide pastoral care over long-held policy was an important approach the Church of England adopted to enable it to help church members adjust to changes arising from admission of women to the priesthood. When the provisions of the 1993 Act of Synod authorized the appointment of

[72]*Women and the Episcopate: The Grindrod Report* (Anglican Consultative Council, 1988).

[73]*Rochester Report* (http://www.churchofengland.org/media/38523/gs1557.pdf, 2004); *Manchester Report* (http://www.churchofengland.org/media/1254839/gs1685.pdf, 2008).

"flying bishops," the concept of the territorial diocesan administration was stretched. The conviction that the House of Bishops developed, and with which the general synod agreed, was that people were more important than policy and they were willing to bend canon laws on the appointment of suffragan bishops and their reporting relationships to their superiors. The consent to this innovative interpretation as a solution to the confinements of canon law was for some an uncomfortable compromise. Others saw it as a temporary necessity. In late 2010, three of the "flying bishops" resigned from the Church of England to join the Roman Catholic Church through the provision of an Ordinariate order by the Vatican, which has highlighted the temporary nature of this policy arrangement.[74] But pastorally the role of the Provincial Episcopal Visitors has enabled communicants from the edges of both the Anglo-Catholic and evangelical wings of the church to remain in communion, though the solution addressed different concerns for each of them.

In some parts of the Anglican Communion, the willingness to live with policy differences extended to allowing alternative structural arrangements in church governance such as in New Zealand and Ethiopia. These alternative structures involved geographically overlapping diocesan administration arrangements within a province. These arrangements are sensitive to important cultural differences in the patterns and processes of administration and decision-making throughout the communion. This pattern of governance, revolving around the administration of the Eucharist in the Church of England, creates a third province geographically overlapping the other two provinces and is based on theological differences over the role of women in the priesthood. Some might argue that these differences, too, are ultimately cultural rather than theological. The idea of a third province was seriously considered in 2007, but rejected for other less-radical options involving the transfer of some of a bishop's authority to a complimentary bishop as a way of providing sacramental ministry to opponents of women bishops. The Communion continues to study the fluidity that has resulted from the institution of flying bishops and has been willing to change and evolve in order to enable it to respond to the challenge of mission in changing societies.

What has developed in more recent years is the irregular extension of geographically overlapping patterns of diocesan supervision which had been approved on a limited basis within some provinces to situations outside the province. This has happened without approval in response to the blessing of same-sex marriages and accepting openly practicing gay bishops in some provinces. This innovation has prompted strong resistance from church leadership. The innovation involves the realignment of diocesan supervision in which a dissenting diocese unilaterally places itself under the care of a

[74]*The Guardian*, 8 November 2010.

more orthodox province. How far this realignment will be permitted to go is a current issue stretching the fabric of the communion much more that the issue of the ordination of women. These developments are clearly testing the limits of diversity. A commissioned task force, which studied the complex issues involved in these questions with their implications, has produced what is referred to as the "Windsor Report" setting out the need for restraint in these areas, but some dioceses have been unwilling to acknowledge these calls for restraint and, for the first time in recent Anglican history, called for measures of discipline against dissenting bodies.

Developing a Theology of Change

The Anglican Communion is willing to live with policy differences between provinces, if such differences serve the local mission of the church and are viewed by Lambeth as not touching core doctrine. Along with this willingness, the Communion also actively seeks to develop a theological way of understanding the unsettling changes that have swirled around the church in the past thirty years. Unsettling though they were, the changes themselves were, nevertheless, extensively studied and approved by majority votes after deep and extended theological reflection. Yet, there has still been dissent and change has not been universally accepted. In response, church leadership attempted to develop a theology of change to help communicants understand and cope with change that many were not sure about and were fearful represented a departure from the ancient faith. A theological framework was sought to enable the church to live with differences and to make a place for people who hold different viewpoints. This has enabled the church to remain united in spite of holding to two divergent integrities—it is right to ordain women to the priesthood and it is not right to ordain them—in spite of the fact that some disagree that the church can hold two integrities in this way.

In the Grindrod report, theologians began to refer to the ideas of "reception" and a "process of open discernment" as theological constructs to explain rates of uneven development and the acceptance of new insights and new practices across the provinces of the church. The report suggested that if a province "were persuaded by compelling doctrinal reasons, by the experience of women in ordained ministry, by the demands of mission in its region and if it had the overwhelming support of its dioceses, then such a step should be offered for reception in the Anglican Communion and in the universal Church." Reception, it was argued, was a "long and spiritual process involving both the official response by the synods and councils of the church 'at the highest level of authority.'" The Grindrod task force pointed out that if, in the course of time, "the Church as a whole receives a synodical decision, this would be an additional or final sign that it may be judged to be in accordance with God's will for the Church." A central element to this

theological approach was the recognition that "the people of God, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, have to be involved in forming the mind of the Church in matters affecting the faith of the Church." It was argued that within this process "the authority of those exercising leadership, individually and corporately, is not a formal or imposed one. It is an authority supported and accepted by the involvement of the whole fellowship."

Advocates of this theological perspective were at pains to point out that the process of reception could not be hurried. Patience and listening was called for by all sides of the discussion, as well as a spirit of generosity and an openness to the possibility of either acceptance or rejection by the Church. Crucially, it would also involve "a willingness to live with diversity throughout the 'reception' process." During the process, "the continuing communion of Christians with one another in faith and worship maintains the underlying unity of the church."[75]

Following the acceptance of the Grindrod report by the 1988 Lambeth Conference, the Eames Commission further developed the idea of discernment and reception in its series of reports and articulated more clearly how such an understanding was grounded in the experience of the early church of the NT, in which different patterns and definitions of the faith coexisted and flourished independently in isolated and scattered places and only over time were harmonized into "one congruous and universal" pattern even if the pattern was not entirely uniform.[76] In a fallen world and a divided Christian church, argued the Grindrod group, communion would always be, in some sense, "impaired" and yet still allow for there to be real communion. In a further theological development for Anglicans, the Eames report argued that communion should not just focus on the celebration of the Eucharist. More attention needed to be given to seeing communion also rooted in the rite of baptism and a common faith.

> Women and men in the Anglican Communion, across the boundaries of continents, across the divides of oceans, of different cultures and nations live in relation to one another, because of their common baptism and common faith and because they are bound within the particular ecclesial communion of the Anglican Communion. The experience of the past years suggests that we are learning a little of what it means to belong to one

[75]*Women and the Episcopate: The Grindrod Report* (Anglican Consultative Council, 1988). Christopher Hill has an excellent discussion of the theology of reception ("Reception and the Act of Synod" in *Seeking the Truth of Change in the Church*, ed. Paul Avis [London: T. & T. Clark, 2004], 101-122; see also Tanner, 71).

[76]Eames Commission, First Report, para. 44, in *Women in the Anglican Episcopate: Theology Guidelines and Practice, The Eames Commission and Monitoring Group Reports* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1998).

> another, forbearing one another in love, bearing the pain of difference, as on a journey together we struggle to discern Christ's will for the Church.[77]

A Commitment to Educate the Church

Another aspect of the Anglican approach to resolving the contentious issues related to women becoming involved in ministry was the church's deep commitment to education of the church membership. This educational endeavor in the Church of England, for example, was mandated by the regulations for the general synod in England, adopted in 1970, when the previous general assembly morphed into the general synod. The change involved more lay representation than previous configurations and required that any major change in policy or teaching necessitated consultation with the dioceses and the deanery synods. This meant that information materials and position papers flowed back and forth in the task of informing communicants so that voting was meaningful. The process of education also welcomed the supplementary input of interest groups. For example, materials from the Movement of Women's Ordination and the Church Union were made available at the parish level for those interested. This commitment to education and to open conversation over time helped the whole Anglican Communion shape its thinking and contributed in no small measure to the development of a consensus that enabled the church to move forward in resolving the issue of women's ordination and remain unified.

Valuing the Quality of Inclusiveness in Public Rhetoric

Among the most important of strategies among the leadership of the Anglican Communion was the warm tone of pastoral care and inclusiveness evident in both speech and in writing. To a significant degree, the bishops sensed strongly their pastoral responsibility to be pastors to all of their people. There is a clear intentionality in most cases to choose language of affirmation and pastoral inclusiveness when addressing the issues in written materials and in public addresses. Language of official documents was carefully nuanced to be inclusive, even as the documents struggled to find ways of implementing that inclusiveness in the difficult areas of practice, particularly in the celebration of the sacraments and forms of the liturgy.

Church officials communicated in their discourse that their authority was a moral authority and that provinces participated voluntarily in communion. This was a different ethos from that characteristic of other more hierarchical organizations, in which a kind of top-down coercion and the exertion of pressure to follow orders might be appropriate. The church was a different kind of organization. Note, for example, the following language of the Eames

[77]Ibid., para. 52.

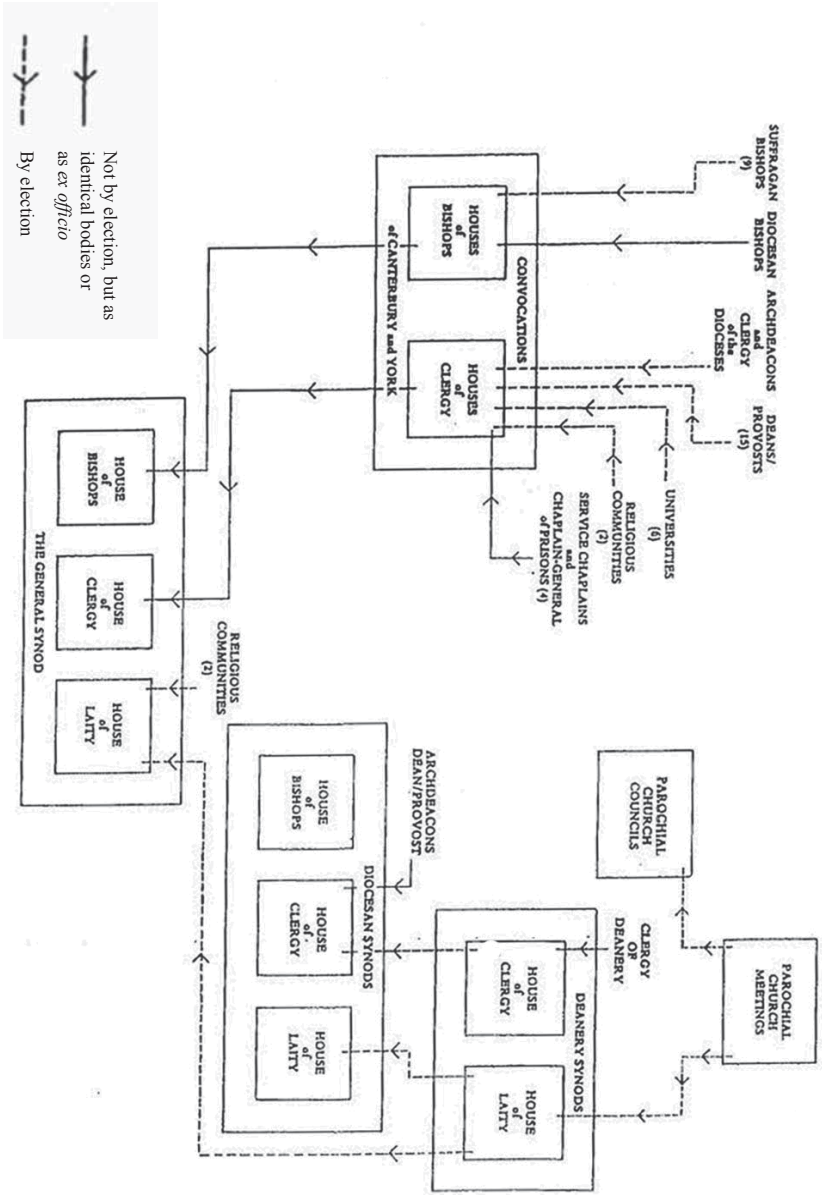
Commission in speaking of the interdependence of the provinces; it does so even as some provinces took initiatives in advance of others and not always with approval, however, not without consultation:

> In the story [of recent Anglicism] we can see a struggle between the concept of provincial autonomy on the one hand, and interdependence on the other. In the Anglican Communion, binding decisions may only be taken at the provincial level and yet, in wrestling with the issue of women's ordination, an issue that touches the unity of the Anglican Communion, no Province has in fact acted in such a way as to suggest that it is sufficient on its own, that it has no need of the others.[78]

There is a level of depth and informed theological reflection in public speeches and in the many reports. Listeners and readers could not mistake the point that the essence of communion also necessitated internal attitudes of heart and mind that celebrated what was held in common in spite of differences.

[78]Ibid

Appendix I
Decision-making Structure of the Church[79]



[79]From Welsby, Appendix 1.

Appendix II An Outline Chronology of the Ordination of Women in the Anglican World	
1855	Bishop of Maryland sets apart two deaconesses.
1862	Bishop of London "sets apart" Elizabeth Ferrard as the first Anglican deaconess by laying on hands. Establishment of Mildmay Deaconess Training College in London modeled on the Kaisewerth Deaconess institution in Germany.
1871	Deaconnesses are defined as "being set apart" for service within the church, but with no formal description of their role or authority.
1885	Deaconnesses set apart with laying on of hands in Alabama and New York.
1889	Deaconness canon adopted by the U.S. General Convention of Episcopalians.
1890	Deaconess training programs begin in New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco.
1917	Lambeth Conference requests study of deaconess role.
1919	General Convention (U.S.) recommends including deaconesses in Clergy Pension Fund, but Board of Fund says they are not "clergy." General Synod (U.K.) receives 1917 report.
1920	Lambeth Conference concludes its program with the "ordination" of a deaconess, conferring holy orders on her and enabling her to preach and lead liturgical prayers.
1922	Ability for deaconesses to lead liturgical prayers withdrawn by the Archbishop of Canterbury.
1925	Commission recommends licensing women lay readers, but "disclaims purpose or desire" to consider women's ordination; convention (U.S.) rejects lay-reader recommendation.
1930	Lambeth changes its mind, asserting that deaconesses are not in "holy orders," but, at the same time, authorizes them to baptize children and to "church" women.
1935	Church of England commission finds no reason for or against ordination of women, but affirms all-male priesthood "for the church today." The church is not persuaded that women should not ever be admitted to priesthood, but neither has a theological justification been given that is sufficient to warrant a change.
1944	Florence Li Tim-Oi is ordained a priest in South China by Bishop R. O. Hall of Hong Kong. Eighteen months later, to protect Hall from censure, she agrees not to function as a priest. Hall is rebuked by Archbishop of Canterbury.
1948	Lambeth Conference refuses Hong Kong's request for "experiment" with women's ordination, even with a twenty-year limit.

1950	Lambeth Conference allows deaconesses to take part in liturgical services other than communion.
1958	Episcopal Theological School (U.S.) admits women to BD degree program.
1960	Diocese of Hong Kong requests Lambeth Conference for permission to ordain women as priests.
1962	*Gender and Ministry* report submitted to Church of England Committee on Ministry.
1964	General Convention (U.S.) changes deaconess canon to read "ordered" rather than "appointed."
1965	Deaconess Phyllis Edwards recognized as a deacon by Bishop James Pike, San Francisco.
1966	House of Bishops (U.S.) receives report, "The Proper Place of Women in the Ministry of the Church," affirming ordaining women; asks Lambeth Conference to consider ordaining women to the priesthood.
1968	Lambeth agrees that deaconesses are within the diaconate and requests member churches to undertake a study of the question of the priestly ordination of women. Hong Kong, Kenya, Korea, and Canada begin ordaining women to diaconate.
1969	Special General Convention authorizes women lay readers and chalice bearers; appoints joint commission to study ordination of women.
1970	At General Convention, women admitted as lay deputies after fifty-year struggle; deaconess canon eliminated; women included in canon on deacons, are eligible for Clergy Pension Fund; authorization for ordination of women to priesthood approved by laity, but narrowly defeated by clerical deputies.
1971	The newly established Anglican Consultative Council meeting in Kenya, comprised of bishops, clergy, and lay representatives from member churches, declares it is "acceptable" to them for a bishop to ordain a woman if there is full synodical agreement in the diocese or province. Jane Hwang and Joyce Bennett are ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Gilbert Baker of Hong Kong in November. Florence Li Tim-Oi's orders are recognized *in absentia*, and as China emerges from the cultural revolution, she resumes priestly ministry in the nationalized Chinese church. Episcopal Women's Caucus founded. American House of Bishops refers women's ordination for further study. Episcopal women begin to be ordained alongside men.
1972	American House of Bishops vote 74-61 in favor of ordaining women priests.
1973	In October, the General Convention rejects the ordination of women to the priesthood; 56 bishops issue statement of distress. In December, women deacons presented alongside men for ordination to the priesthood in New York, but bishop refuses to act.

1974	In June, sermons preached in Cambridge, Philadelphia, and Syracuse call for ordination of women to the priesthood. On July 10, bishops, priests, women deacons, and lay people meet in Philadelphia to plan an ordination. On July 29, eleven women deacons ordained to priesthood by two retired and one resigned bishop in Philadelphia. On July 30, some women priests are inhibited by their bishops from priestly functions, some from deacon's service; others agree voluntarily to refrain from priestly ministry. On July 31, presiding bishop John Allin calls emergency meeting of House of Bishops. On August 15, bishops meeting in Chicago decry the four bishops' "violation of collegiality," refuse to talk with women, and assert the ordinations were not valid. Women reject bishops' actions; Charles Willie resigns in protest as Vice President of House of Deputies. In August, ecclesiastical charges are filed against the Philadelphia bishops. In October, the House of Bishops reaffirms endorsement of ordaining women, but votes almost unanimously not to act until General Convention approves.
1975	On June 18, the Anglican Church of Canada approves ordaining women. In July, Church of England Synod approves women's ordination "in principle." On September 7, four women deacons are ordained to priesthood in Washington D.C. by another retired bishop. On September 19, the House of Bishops censures all bishops who ordained women.
1976	In September, the General Convention approves the ordination of women to the priesthood and episcopate. On November 30, the Anglican Church of Canada begins ordaining women.
1977	In January, women ordained in Philadelphia and Washington D.C. begin to be "regularized" and regular ordinations of women to the priesthood begin with 100 ordained by year's end. In September, opponents to women's ordination form break-away church. In October, the presiding bishop Allin tells House of Bishops he "is unable to accept women in role of priests" and offers to resign. Bishops affirm Allin's leadership, adopt a statement of conscience, asserting that no one should be penalized for opposing or supporting women's ordination. Anglican Church in New Zealand begins ordaining women to priesthood.

1978	Lambeth accepts women's ordination, but recommends no province consecrate a woman bishop "without consultation with the Primates and overwhelming [local] support."
1981	Florence Li Tim-Oi emigrates to Toronto, resumes ministry in Anglican Church.
1982	Church of Brazil begins ordaining women deacons.
1983	Unofficial ordinations of women begin in Church of the Province of Kenya.
1984	Florence Li Tim-Oi celebrates fortieth ordination anniversary at Westminister Abbey in London; unofficial ordinations of women begin in Church of Province of Uganda; Burundi, Rwanda, and Zaire follow.
1985	American bishops vote not to withhold consent for woman bishop; Brazil begins ordaining women to priesthood.
1986	Anglican Church of Canada rescinds "conscience clause," prohibits discrimination against ordained women.
1987	Church of England eliminates separate deaconess canon and begins ordaining women deacons.
1988	In August, Lambeth rejects measure prohibiting women bishops and commits to unity despite differences on the subject. On September 24, the Rev. Barbara C. Harris of Philadelphia is elected Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts.
1989	On Feb 11, consecration of the Rt. Rev. Barbara C. Harris in Boston by Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning and sixty other bishops before a crowd of 8.500, with the Revs. Florence Li Tim-Oi and Carter Heyward as concelebrants. In June, the Church of Scotland approves allowing women ordained elsewhere to celebrate the Eucharist. In November, the Diocese of Dunedin, New Zealand, elects Penelope Jamieson diocesan bishop.
1990	The Rt. Rev. Penelope Jamieson consecrated Bishop of Dunedin, New Zealand. Ireland approves ordaining women to priesthood and episcopate;. Provincial Synod in Kenya approves ordaining women. Uganda House of Bishops approves ordaining women (Kenya and Uganda had been ordaining women unofficially for several years).
1991	Women ordained to priesthood in Quezon City, Philippines.
1992	In November, the Church of England Synod authorizes drawing legislation to permit ordination of women. Anglican Church in Australia approves ordaining women.
1993	In October, UK pparliament approves legislative measures for ordination of women priests. In December, Kenya ordains first women priest after approval.

1994	In February, the Church of England canons on ordination of women promulaged. On March 12, first women ordained to priesthood in England. In June, Episcopal Church in Scotland approves ordination of women to priesthood and episcopate.
1995	Province of West Indies begin ordaining women.
1996	Church in Barbados begins ordaining women priests; Church in Wales approves women's ordination.
1997	Church in Portugal begins ordaining women deacons.
1998	Eleven women join the more-than-700 male bishops at Lambeth Conference.
1999	First woman ordained priest in Nippon Sei Ko Kai (Japan).
Information for this abridged chronological outline is drawn from the following: Gill, *Women and the Church of England*; Webster, *A New Strength, A New Song*; and others.	

Appendix III Glossary	
Benefice	A reward (remuneration usually by stipend) received in exchange for services rendered to the parish. It will often include the right to occupy the parsonage associated with a parish.
Canon	A church rule adopted by a synod or council; these canons formed the foundation of canon law. From various languages including Greek *kanon*/κανών, Arabic *Qanon*/ناون‌اق, Hebrew *kaneh*/קנה, meaning "straight"; a rule, code, standard, or measure.
Chaplain	A member of the clergy who is employed to perform specialist duties outside of a parish; for instance, in schools, hospitals, and prisons. Some chaplains are paid by the church, others are paid by the organizations they are working for. Some individuals (the Queen and diocesan bishops) also have chaplains.
Curate	Also called assistant priest or minister, a curate is licensed by the bishop to assist an incumbent in a parish setting. A curacy is generally a junior or training position; however, some retired, experienced priests also undertake curate duties.
Deacon	The diaconate is the name given to the "probationary period" for priests, which lasts for one year after ordination. When women were ordained deacon in 1987, it was initially for an indefinite period. The deacon can undertake pastoral duties, preach, teach, administer holy communion, lead worship, officiate at baptisms and funerals, but cannot preside at communion, absolve sins, or bless There are currently 111 permanent deacons.
Deaconess	The Order of Deaconesses was created in 1861 as a formal accredited lay ministry for women. Women were ordained as deaconesses and could fulfill some elements of the ministerial role. The Order is now closed, but many women priests were originally deaconesses and some women have chosen to remain deaconesses.
Dean	A member of the clergy, appointed by the bishop, to have administrative authority over a particular geographical part of the diocese known as a deanery. Also the "first among equals" at a cathedral who is responsible for its government.
Deanery	A group of neighboring parishes within a diocese which are formed into a district and administered by a dean appointed by the bishop of the diocese. The synod for the deanery is convened by the rural dean (or area dean). It consists of all clergy licensed to a benefice within the deanery, plus elected lay members. It is a statutory body and acts as an intermediary between the parochial church councils of each parish in its deanery and the synod of the diocese as a whole.

Diocese	The district or "see" under the supervision of a bishop. It is divided into parishes. From the Greek term *διοίκησις*, meaning "administration." "See" from Latin, *episcopalis sedes* is, in the original sense, the official seat of a bishop also referred to as the bishop's cathedra, which is placed in the bishop's principal church, called a cathedral. The bishop's seat is the earliest symbol of bishop's authority, and the word "see" is thus often applied to the area over which the bishop exercises authority. This usually corresponds to a diocese.
FiF	Forward in Faith, a coalition of Anglo-Catholic opponents to women's ministry formed in 1992 who believe that the ordination of women was a failure to acknowledge that the Church of England was a part of one holy, catholic and apostolic church and that it had no authority to change. They have campaigned for a free, nongeographical province in the Church of England which excludes women priests and their supporters. The group lists parishes that have opted out from having a women priest.
General Synod	The deliberative and legislative body of the Church of England. The synod was instituted in 1970, replacing the Church Assembly, and is the culmination of a process of rediscovering self-government for the Church of England that had started in the 1850s. The synod is tricameral, consisting of the House of Bishops, the House of Clergy, and the House of Laity. There are currently 467 members in total.
GRAS	Founded in 2000 in London, the Group for the Rescinding of the Act of Synod and the promotion of women as bishops in the Church of England is an organization that believes that the Act of Synod, while pastoral in intent, nevertheless damages the church because it institutionalizes division.
Incumbent	Clergy who have the tenure of a benefice, which has been granted until the age of 70 and cannot be removed, except on the grounds of ill health, serious misconduct, or a serious breakdown in pastoral relationships.
Measure	Pieces or acts of legislation approved by the General Synod. They have the force of an act of parliament and are approved by parliament.
MOW	The Movement for the Ordination of Women was a single issue campaign group established in 1978 to campaign for women's priesthood. It was disbanded in 1994 after completing its objectives.
Provost	Like a dean, the provost exercises leadership in a cathedral However, this title is used in newer dioceses, where the cathedral is also a parish church. There are no women provosts at present. There is, however, one female vice provost.

Rector	The title "rector" is now interchangeable with that of "vicar" unless the individual is a team rector. A team rector is the senior member of a clergy team who manages one or more team vicars in a combined parish.
Suffragan	A suffragan bishop is appointed to assist the diocesan bishop to act on his behalf and with his authority. Unlike an assistant bishop, the suffragan has tenured status.
Synod	Historically, a synod is a council of a church, usually convened to decide an issue of doctrine, administration, or application. In modern usage, the word refers to the governing body of a particular church, whether its members are meeting or not. The word comes from the Greek *σύνοδος* (*synodos*) meaning "assembly" or "meeting," and it is synonymous with the Latin word *concilium* ("council").
The "Act of Synod"	The Act of Synod was passed by the general synod in 1993, one year after the measure to ordain women had been agreed. It made provision for parishes to opt for someone other than their diocesan bishop to carry out episcopal duties in the parish. Parishes are able to request for extended episcopal oversight, normally undertaken by a provincial episcopal visitor (or flying bishops).
The Church Union	Founded in 1859 as the English Church Union to recall the Church of England to its Catholic identity. In 1933 it merged with the Anglo-Catholic Congress under the new title of The Church Union and continues to work for the visible unity of the church and to oppose women in the priesthood.
WATCH	Women and the Church (WATCH) is the title of a group formed in 1996 to work for the inclusive ministry of women and men, lay and ordained, in the Church of England. It is campaigning for the end of discrimination against women and their supporters in the church and is seeking the appointment of women bishops.

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THE REMNANT CONCEPT IN EARLY ADVENTISM: FROM APOCALYPTIC ANTISECTARIANISM TO AN ESCHATOLOGICAL DENOMINATIONAL ECCLESIOLOGY

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Introduction

When a new denomination is formed, a viable ecclesiology is vital for its survival. The case of the Millerite movement and its Adventist heirs is particularly interesting because of the initial ecclesiological dimness associated with their apocalyptic expectation and revivalist antisectarianism. After the "Great Disappointment" of October 1844, Sabbatarian Adventists constructed a "remnant" self-understanding from the residue of Millerite convictions and reinterpreted their experience by means of an eschatological scheme that assigned them a crucial role in what they believed to be the short last phase of history. This article provides a detailed account and analysis of their developing view on this remnant motif, with its several distinct steps toward the ultimate establishment of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. Sabbath-keeping Adventists eventually came to apply the term to their ecclesiastical organization ("remnant church"), which reversed the initial transdenominational tenet of the motif, but codified a thoroughly eschatological ecclesiology.

Part I

The morning of 23 October 1844 marked the end of a movement. Its adherents, the Millerite Adventists, had invested all of their hope, thinking, and energy in the proclamation that the kingdom of God was at hand. Jesus Christ was to come back to earth in order to end history, so they believed, "in or around 1843," later to be corrected to 22 October 1844, the Day of Atonement date deemed to fulfill the prophecies of Dan 8:14. While this prediction failed visibly, the Millerite defeat was not the only thwarted eschatological expectation of the period. Other American eschatological models were not much more successful: the Latter-Day Saints, for instance, had lost their prophet Joseph Smith earlier the same year. Charles Finney had famously asserted in 1835 that "if the church will do all her duty, the millenium [*sic*] may come in this country in three years"[1]—but in the ensuing years, American millenarian optimism was slowly waning.

[1]Charles Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co.,

Of course, in comparison with the postmillennial and Mormon versions of God's eschatological kingdom, the Millerite premillennial interpretation was a much more precarious theory, for all depended on whether the event foretold would actually occur. It was not the Adventist eschatological mood that was foreign to the era; not even definiteness as such—it was their view on a definite *time* to be believed, to be proclaimed, and to be taken as a point of reference for the short period remaining until Jesus' *parousia*. One would think, therefore, that the utter failure of this time conviction should have dissolved the Adventist movement. And it almost did, had there not been another conviction, one that remained more hidden, but which was apparently as important to many Advent believers: that God himself was "in" the movement, that apocalyptic prophecy was fulfilled through it, that he was preparing an eschatological "remnant" by means of the Adventist proclamation.

Revival movements such as Millerism often radically question established religion, the churches, the lack of dedication among average believers, and the hardening of denominational boundaries. By announcing Jesus' imminent Second Coming, the followers of Miller did the same, but added an important component to the revivalist mix of antisectarianism, call to commitment, and critiquing of extant religious bodies, an antiecclesial impulse that rested on the premise that the churches, like the world at large, would soon no longer exist. At the same time, the logic that their message and activity was a fulfillment of Revelation 14 and other biblical "end-time" passages entailed an empirical and social dimension that created a nonexclusive but highly experientialist alternative to prevailing church concepts: a body of believers constituted wholly through participation in an apocalyptic-oriented movement.

Such a nonchurch identity shared the instability of a movement fixated on a particular year and, finally, a specific day. Thus, the tendency of Millerites to not reflect much on ecclesiology[2] implied that Adventists of the period after the "Great Disappointment" of October 1844 could not build on agreed-upon church concepts. The event (or rather nonevent) marking the expected end of church history, together with the end of general history, necessitated a reinvention of the church, and it was the "remnant" motif that

1835), Lecture 15, "Hindrances to Revivals," 282.

[2]From 1842, the Millerite view of "the churches" grew decidedly more negative. Cf. Charles Fitch's influential call to leave all churches: *Come Out of Her, My People: A Sermon* [Brochure] (Rochester: J.V. Himes, 1843). It should be noted, however, that there was a broad spectrum of attitudes to the existing denominations. Miller took a moderate stand and remained a member of his Baptist denomination until the end of 1844 (when he was excommunicated), while many others were increasingly radicalized in 1843 and 1844 (David T. Arthur, "'Come out of Babylon': A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865" [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1970], 12-83).

provided most continuity with Millerite thinking and created space for the development of a new ecclesiology.

Beyond the insight—not noticed so far in Adventist historiography—that this continuity is significant, the main argument of this article is that this remnant thinking went through a thorough reinterpretation in several steps. Starting as a broad and essentially antisectarian concept derived from the interpretation of apocalyptic texts, the meaning of the term was increasingly narrowed down to Millerites only. It was then linked to Sabbatarian Adventists and, finally, to the new Seventh-day Adventist denomination.

While the significant shift of this remnant interpretation and the irony of its change from antisectarianism to a denominationalist stance appear to have escaped early Adventists as well, it is also important to realize that the plausibility of these transformed understandings fully rested on the peculiar Millerite hermeneutic. This biblicist hermeneutic has been labeled "historicist" because of its tendency to search for fulfilled prophecy throughout the history of Christianity.[3] However, in view of the frequent and rather immediate application of biblical passages to the nineteenth-century world, it may be called more appropriately "historicist-experientialist." In the context of such a hermeneutical framework, many of the small but crucial steps away from the original Millerite vision to a more integrated but still fully eschatologically driven theology and ecclesiology were logical. Rather than viewing this process as a move from "boundlessness to consolidation,"[4] as an earlier analysis has done, this article suggests that it was a series of creative reapplications of the very Millerite interpretive paradigm, i.e., their strongly bounded historicist-experientialist thinking in a changed setting.[5]

It is this hermeneutical thinking that gave the initial impetus and rising importance to the use of the remnant motif and a particular focus on one biblical text in which it appears—Rev 12:17. Therefore, the following microanalysis of the early career of the remnant concept among Adventists is also a case study on how ecclesiologies of particular denominational traditions are born and developed. Like soteriologies, Christologies, pneumatologies,

[3]The most thorough discussion of the Millerite approach to the interpretation of apocalyptic prophecy is provided by Kai J. Arasola, "The End of Historicism: Millerite Hermeneutic of Time Prophecies in the Old Testament" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Uppsala, 1989).

[4]Jonathan Butler, "From Millerism to Seventh-Day Adventism: 'Boundlessness to Consolidation,'" *CH* 55/1 (1986): 50-64. Butler does not discuss ecclesiology and the remnant concept, but focuses on the period as a whole and the change from Millerism to Seventh-day Adventism as a "cultural transformation" (ibid., 51).

[5]For the connection between Millerite and Adventist approaches to the Bible, see Jeff Crocombe, "'A Feast of Reason': The Roots of William Miller's Biblical Interpretation and Its Influence on the Seventh-Day Adventist Church" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Queensland, 2011).

and other parts of doctrine, they commonly rely on a specific set of scriptural texts, biblical metaphors, motifs, or themes. It is the configuration of such elements, coupled with distinct interpretive approaches and an emphasis of some specific motifs—often at the expense of others—that make theological views of the church, and particularly of what constitutes the true church, so diverse.

Among Seventh-day Adventists, the remnant motif has been of central importance for ecclesiology in general and their self-understanding in particular.[6] Monographs and debates in the last decades[7] have demonstrated that the issues connected with this biblical term[8] and with the theology linked to it continue to stir interest and discussion. However, so far there has been no analysis of the historical origin and initial development[9] of Seventh-day Adventist concepts regarding the "remnant."[10] This article seeks to fill this

[6]The denomination's Fundamental Belief no. 13 is titled "The Remnant and Its Mission"; for an introductory exposition of the theme, see Hans K. LaRondelle, "The Remnant and the Three Angels' Messages," in *Handbook of Seventh-Day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen, Commentary Reference Series 12 (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 857-892.

[7]See, e.g., Ángel M. Rodríguez, ed., *Toward a Theology of the Remnant* (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2009); and a dissertation that discusses recent voices (Carmelo L. Martines, "El concepto de remanente in la Iglesia Adventista del Séptimo Día: Razones subyacentes en el debate contemporáneo [The Remnant Concept in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church: Reasons in the Background of the Contemporary Debate]" [Ph.D. dissertation, River Plate Adventist University, 2002]).

[8]For an OT study by a prominent Adventist theologian, see Gerhard F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1972).

[9]The following three Master's theses discuss remnant concepts in Adventist history; however, they do not analyze the earliest stages with a focus on the development of the Adventist remnant understanding: Stephan Paul Mitchell, "'We Are the Remnant': A Historical, Biblical, and Theological Analysis of Seventh-Day Adventist Ecclesiological Self-Understanding" (M.A. thesis, Loma Linda University, 1988); Passmore Hachalinga, "Seventh-Day Adventism and the Remnant Idea: A Critical and Analytical Study of the Seventh-Day Adventist Ecclesiological Self-Understanding" (M.Th. thesis, University of South Africa, 1998); and Gideon Duran Ondap, "Diversity in the Remnant Concept in the History of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (1841-1931)" (M.A. thesis, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 2003). Ondap's study has a systematic-theological perspective and essentially begins with the 1850s, referring to sources from the 1840s only in few instances.

[10]Martines, 65-91, discusses some aspects of Adventist remnant theology as understood by "the pioneers" of Seventh-day Adventism, but does not analyze the origin of the motif, its content in the Millerite movement, or the *development* of

research gap with the hope that it also sheds light on other aspects of early Adventism[11] and similar movements that have not yet been investigated in detail, notably the denomination's ecclesiology in general[12] and mechanisms in the emergence of ecclesial identities in revival movements.[13]

Antecedents

While the immediate origins of the Seventh-day Adventist Church are to be found in the Millerite Advent movement of the 1830s and 1840s, the remnant motif and ecclesiological thinking connected with it was by no means unique to Millerites. Both in earlier sabbatarian reasoning and in the apocalyptic interpretations of Millerite contemporaries, remnant ecclesiology played a role that needs to be examined in order to understand the Adventist use of the theme in a larger context.

Seventh-day advocates in seventeenth-century Britain influenced Adventists in an indirect way through a historical line leading to nineteenth-century Seventh Day Baptists, whose sabbatarianism prompted some Millerites

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the concept in the 1840s and 1850s. His method of describing various Adventist individuals' positions regarding remnant ecclesiology from the 1850s onward—which are almost identical—leads to a picture in which nineteenth-century remnant thinking appears static rather than as forming part of a larger theological and organizational development.

[11]The best historical study of the earliest Sabbatarian Adventists is Merlin D. Burt, "The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 2002). It focuses on dimensions other than ecclesiology, as does the systematic-theological dissertation by Alberto Timm, *The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages, 1844-1863: Integrating Factors in the Development of Seventh-Day Adventist Doctrines*, Adventist Theological Society Dissertation Series 5 (Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society, 1995).

[12]A comprehensive historical analysis of early Adventist ecclesiology does not yet exist. The extant studies focus on organizational issues and church leadership; see Andrew G. Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization: Historical Development, 1844-1881*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 12 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1988); Barry D. Oliver, *SDA Organizational Structure: Past, Present, and Future*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 15 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1989); and Ricardo A. González, "The Making of a Church: Ellen G. White's Views on Church Government, 1844-1888" (Ph.D. dissertation, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 2008).

[13]For an overview of the dynamics leading to a denominationalization of the Pentecostal movement, see Wolfgang Vondey, "The Denomination in Classical and Global Pentecostal Ecclesiology: A Historical and Theological Contribution," in *Denomination: Assessing an Ecclesiological Category*, ed. Paul M. Collins and Barry Ensign-George (London: T. & T. Clark, 2011), 100-116.

to begin Sabbath keeping. The ecclesiology of those sabbatarian antecedents, however, does not seem to have made an impact on their Adventist heirs, in spite of the fact that some notable parallels existed even in their understanding of the "remnant." The comprehensive study, *The Seventh-Day Men*,[14] which draws a detailed picture of British sabbatarianism, demonstrates that a combination of sabbatarian convictions and an eschatological interest produced a logic in which the remnant motif played an important role already two centuries before Adventism. One important leader, Thomas Tillam, was convinced in 1657 that the seventh day was "the last great contoversie [*sic*] between the Saints and the Man of sin."[15] He believed that prophecies in the book of Revelation were being fulfilled at his time and that "the voice of the seventh angel (now sounding) had produced a small remnant of the woman's seed in these Islands, waiting for the advance of the Law of God." This remnant was to have "wholly abandoned Babylon's customs and traditions" and to "keep the commandments of God . . . recovering the sanctified Sabbath."[16]

This kind of thinking was evidently shared by other Sabbath keepers of the period. For example, his contemporary Edward Stennett, one of the most respected seventh-day advocates in seventeenth-century England, addressed sabbatarians in Rhode Island as "that little remnant of the woman's seed that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus."[17] He explained, "It greatly concerns us to show ourselves the remnant of the woman's seed."[18] Evidently, the "Seventh-day Men," as they were called in the period, clearly linked the biblical remnant motif and particularly Rev 12:17 with their sabbatarian practice, believing themselves and their practices to be a fulfillment of prophecy. This interpretation apparently did not survive far beyond the seventeenth century; nevertheless, it demonstrates that such a connection was plausible when the Sabbath and the expectation of an imminent advent came together. At the same time, this self-understanding raises the question of how much the apocalyptical "remnant" was to be seen as being linked to particular periods of history—an issue arising again in the Adventist context.

[14]Bryan W. Ball, *The Seventh-Day Men: Sabbatarians and Sabbatarianism in England and Wales, 1600-1800*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Clarke, 2009).

[15]Thomas Tillam, *The Seventh-Day Sabbath Sought Out and Celebrated* (London: printed for the author, 1657), 2. Tillam, a prominent preacher, adopted a sabbatarian position in the 1650s and wrote this book after being imprisoned for his views.

[16]Ball, 272–273, quoting Thomas Tillam, *The Temple of Lively Stones* (London: printed for the author), 1660, 2-5.

[17]Ibid., 170, quoting a letter of Edward Stennett to Newport [congregation], 6 April 1670, Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society, Janesville, MS 194x.6, 56.

[18]Ibid., 15, quoting Edward Stennett, *The Insnared Taken in the Work of His Hands* (London: printed for the author, 1677), 159.

When discussing the remnant theme in the context of the nineteenth-century environment of Millerite Adventism, one must remember that this was a society in which interest in biblical apocalyptic writings existed to a considerable extent. Among the movements grappling with eschatology, two are outstanding in helping to understand the Millerite alternative: the Mormons and the postmillennialist Stone-Campbell (Restoration) movement. Even though the Stone-Campbell tradition did not develop the remnant theme into a doctrine, one can find some remnant language in its discourse. Most significant is the fact that both Thomas Campbell and Alexander Campbell, two of the main leaders, use the motif. The younger Alexander Campbell discusses the topic inherent in the term in what has been called his "Richmond Letter" (1835). He asserts: "For my part, although I have been reluctantly constrained to think that the remnant, according to the election of grace, in this age of apostacy [*sic*], is, indeed, small, yet I thank God that his promise has not failed—that even at this present time there is an election—a remnant—and that this remnant did not commence either in 1827, 1823, or in 1809."[19]

It is significant that this view of the true church—for this is what "remnant" meant to Campbell—includes earlier movements. In spite of his eschatological ideas, he, therefore, did not apply the motif to his own period at the expense of earlier epochs.

Even more important is a reference to the "faithful remnant" by Thomas Campbell, found in his famous *Declaration and Address*.[20] It immediately follows the last of his thirteen "propositions." The aim of the *Declaration and Address* was to "prepare the way for a permanent scriptural unity amongst christians [*sic*]."[21] Christians, "Church," and "remnant" were thus seen as being one and the same.

As is well known, the eschatological interest of the epoch was shared by the nascent Latter-Day Saints, whose millennial views led them to build their own Zion in the United States. It is no surprise, therefore, that the Book of Mormon, published initially in 1830, also uses remnant terminology: it has sixty instances where the term "remnant" is mentioned.[22] Although here the

[19]Alexander Campbell, *The Millennial Harbinger*, September 1835, 418-420. The year 1809 probably refers to the *Declaration and Address* mentioned in the following footnote. The Richmond Letter rejected rebaptism of those who had already been baptized as adults.

[20]Thomas Campbell, *Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington* (Washington, PA: Brown & Sample, 1809), 18.

[21]Ibid., 19.

[22]The term generally occurs in formulations such as "remnant of the house of Israel," "remnant of Jacob," or "remnant of the seed/house of Joseph/Jacob." In two more cases, the plural "remnants" is used; cf. the respective entries in George Reynolds, *Complete Concordance to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: [by the author], 1900), 587.

term is naturally linked to Mormon theology, this Latter-Day usage shows that not only general apocalyptic thinking, but also this particular motif and eschatological notions connected with it were common in the environment that gave birth to Adventism shortly after, even if such notions did not grow into a more definite ecclesiological thinking.[23]

The Millerite Antisectarian Use of the Remnant Motif

The Millerites spoke of the "remnant" in many instances. Although the term and the concepts behind it did not develop into a clear-cut ecclesiological teaching—after all, Advent believers did not aim at creating anything like a new organization—the frequency with which the word was used and the assumption of its self-evident meaning reveals how many Millerites connected remnant thinking with themselves as a movement. While the general development of Millerite ecclesiological terminology and the use of the term "remnant" in particular calls for an investigation,[24] the following few examples will suffice for the purpose of this study.

Significantly, Miller already included the term in his earliest booklet. On one hand, he viewed the "remnant" as "the last part of the church" or "the true children of God," who according to his interpretation of Rev 12:17, would experience anti-Christian persecution and divine deliverance at the very end of history.[25] On the other hand, he also used the motif in a more general way—as a synonym for the true church even in the earlier years.[26] In later publications, he applied the term to believers surviving to see Jesus' Second Coming,[27] to

[23]Even today, remnant language is vibrant among some Mormon groups: one denomination renamed itself "Remnant Church" in 2000 (cf. William D. Russell, "The Remnant Church: An RLDS Schismatic Group Finds a Prophet of Joseph's Seed," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 38/3 (2005): 75-106.

[24]In his dissertation, Arthur handles some relevant ecclesiological material, but with a focus on the relationship with the churches and on post-1844 developments among the nonsabbatarian groups.

[25]W[illia]m Miller, *Evidences from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ about the Year A.D. 1843, and of His Personal Reign of 1000 Years* (Brandon, VT: Vermont Telegraph Office, 1833, 53).

[26]Connecting events of the French revolution and Rev 11:13, Miller argued, "Well might the remnant, (or church of God) be affrighted, and give glory to the God of heaven" (ibid., 49).

[27]"The son of man is now discovered sitting on the throne of his glory, crowned with a pure crown of righteousness and truth; having all power to gather the remnant of his people, to reap the last harvest of the wheat, and tread the wine press of the wrath of God" (William Miller, "Miller's Lectures. No. 1: The Harvest of the World," *Signs of the Times*, 1 July 1840, 50). The *Signs of the Times* was the first and most important Millerite paper.

those brought to faith in the last years before that event,[28] to the persecuted early Christians,[29] and even to believers of all ages, including the OT epoch.[30]

Miller's application of remnant terminology to various figures of thought—the *ecclesia invisibilis*,[31] the true church, the persecuted end-time church, the final generation of converts, early Christians, faithful believers of all ages, and the "bride" meeting Jesus during his *parousia*—indicates that he did not use the term in a very technical manner. Depending on the context, he could stress one aspect or another without developing a definition beyond the "true church" with a strong eschatological slant. As a self-made exegete-turned-preacher, Miller's focus was neither general theology nor ecclesiology, but on warning the world.

Other writers of the Advent movement had a similar orientation. At times, the term was applied to "the true church"[32]—an interpretation which raised the question of Adventist relations to the denominations in an increasingly forceful way as 1843, the envisioned time of the *parousia*, came nearer. In 1844, when chronological adjustments had to be made and many Millerites were perceptibly isolated from other Christians, the term also gained a stronger numerical meaning. The *Midnight Cry*, one of the major Millerite papers, proposed: "Still, we are every where [*sic*] a minority, and we know that the truth on this subject will be despised by the multitude till Christ comes

[28]Miller speaks about the 45 years between 1798 and 1843 and efforts of "bringing the last remnant into Christ's fold." See a later version of his book, *Evidences from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ about the Year A.D. 1843: Exhibited in a Course Of Lectures* (Boston: Moses A. Dow, 1841), 111-112.

[29]Ibid., 136. Here Miller refers to Rev 12:17 and comments: "How exactly was this prophecy fulfilled in the days of Nero, Domitian, and other Roman emperors. . . !."

[30]William Miller, "A New Year's Address to Second Advent Believers for 1843," *Signs of the Times*, 25 January 1843, 150. He states: "This year, a glorious year!! The trump of Jubilee will be blown, the exiled children will return, the Pilgrims reach their home, from earth and heaven the scattered remnant come, and meet in middle air, the fathers before the flood, Noah and his sons, Abraham and his, the Jew and Gentile, all who have died in faith, of every nation, kindred tongue and people, will meet to part no more."

[31]Miller explained: "God has a people, a remnant, in the world, children of the kingdom, invisible perhaps to us, but known unto God from the creation, as all his works were" (quoted in Joshua V. Himes, *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, Selected from Manuscripts of William Miller with a Memoir of His Life* [Boston: Moses A. Dow, 1841], 64).

[32]Joel Spaulding comments: "'And there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people, (the true church,) which shall be left from Assyria. . . .' These two last verses very clearly teach us the experience of faithful Christians, even from the time they . . . commence seeking salvation, deliverance from their spiritual Egyptian bondage" ("Exposition of Isaiah xi," *Signs of the Times*, 1 June 1842, 66).

to their sudden consternation; but we gladly labor in the joyful hope that a remnant will be saved. May you, reader, be of that number."[33]

In the summer of 1844, the "Seventh Month Movement" produced a powerful but final stir in the ranks of the Millerites by advocating October 22 as the date for the *parousia*. In this context, the term also helped explain why the majority of Christians and society had rejected the Advent message: it was a divinely predicted sifting process. "How forcible then is the Savior's testimony, that straight is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth to life, and few there be that find it," argued Emily Clemons, a writer in another Millerite paper, the *Advent Herald*. She continued: "Those on the Lord's side are called a 'remnant'—as 'gleaning grapes' are they 'left,' 'as the shaking of an olive tree, two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost fruitful branches thereof, saith the Lord God of Israel.'—Isa. xvii. 6."[34]

Miller did not accept the reasoning of the Seventh Month movement until October 1844, but his remnant concept resembled the lines of the more radical preachers. Lamenting the "selfish pharisaical bigotry among the sects," he observed, "in every sect we find a few of their numbers whose faithful hearts and honest lives denote they have not bowed the knee to Baal." Through this reasoning, the remnant motif began to express the contrast to all church establishment. Miller deplored that the churches quite generally represented strife and "darkness." At the same time, he exclaimed, "thank the Lord, a remnant yet is left; the Bible yet is true, and these men are but the tares which soon will be gathered and burned. I do believe few men will be left."[35]

Miller's distaste of the "sect" spirit was typical of the Millerites.[36] This antisectarian aversion, which they shared with other restorationists, added a polemical dimension to their "remnant" understanding. Clemons argued that theirs was the time to be "delivered" from the "sectarian" churches, for

> the church . . . apostatized so much that there was only a remnant of her seed which kept the commandments of God, and had the testimony of Jesus Christ. Why? Because when the whole church was of one language, and of one speech, they said one to another, "Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven." . . . Unlike, however, the ancient builders of Babel, after the confusion of tongues—the many sects

[33]Quoted in "History and State of the Cause," *Signs of the Times*, 24 January 1844, 187.

[34]E[mily] C. C[lemons], "Who Is on the Lord's Side?" *Advent Herald*, 11 September 1844, 44.

[35]"Letter from Wm. Miller," *Advent Herald*, 25 September 1844, 58.

[36]Cf. Stefan Höschele, "On the Ecumenical and Separating Potential of Revivals: A Case Study of the Millerite Movement," in *Mission und Einheit: Gemeinsames Zeugnis getrennter Kirchen?* (*Mission and Unity: Common Witness of Separated Churches?*), ed. Peter de Mey, Andrew Pierce, and Oliver Schuegraf (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2012), 337-355.

> continue the tower building, and each is sanguine that his will be the only one that will reach to heaven.[37]

Naturally, the near advent made distinctions between the various churches and their traditions largely irrelevant. With a focus on God's kingdom at hand, the remnant concept became a nonestablishment counter-model, a kind of a nonchurch ecclesiology, in which existing Christianities were stripped of their ecclesiological and soteriological claims. Like their restorationist contemporaries the Millerites did not realize that their particular emphasis on the remnant motif carried the potential for a "sectarian" tendency as well. Although Adventists abhorred founding a new "sect," there was no other way after October 1844 and ironically the very antidenominational remnant concept could provide a basis for later ecclesiological reasoning and the establishment of a new church organization.

When the Millerite predictions had not come true and the Great Disappointment shattered both their immediate hope and their unity, the tendency of Adventists to view themselves as "the remnant" increased. Miller wrote in early 1845:

> A small remnant have recently left the churches, because they will have no fellowship with satanic kingdoms. And the political powers are angry and making war with this remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ. Rev. xii. 17. "For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." Rev. xix. 10. All others discard the prophecies, except those who keep the commandments of God, and those alone will receive persecution in the last age of the world. The signs, which our Savior gave his disciples, are now matters of history, and thus we know he is near, even at the door.[38]

It is such statements and reasoning that fuelled later sabbatarian-Adventist thinking on the remnant.

The self-understanding of "remnant" became so common in that period that the more radical Adventists soon began to use it in contradistinction to what they called "Laodicea," i.e., those Adventists who organized themselves in a quasi-denominational manner in 1845.[39] At the same time, references

[37]E[mily] C. C[lemons], "The Lord, He is God," *Advent Herald*, 25 September 1844, 63.

[38]William Miller, "Elijah the Prophet," *Advent Herald*, 5 February 1845, 203.

[39]Samuel S. Snow asserted: "The question has arisen among the waiting remnant of God's Israel as to what constitutes the Church of Laodicea. . . . We are fully aware that there are many of the sect of 'Adventists' who have drawn back to the 'original faith,' (i.e. the faith of mystic Babylon). . . . They are those who clamour for an open door after the Bridegroom has shut it. . . . They are fallen, apostate 'Adventists'" ("The Laodicean Church," *Jubilee Standard*, 12 June 1845, 108). This group, initially the largest among the former Millerites, developed into the Evangelical Adventist Church, which

to Rev 12:17 and to the remnant motif continued to occur among those postdisappointment Millerites with whom the later Sabbatarian Adventists shared an affinity. H. H. Gross, for instance, wrote in the *Jubilee Standard*:

> The dragon is indeed angry, and is going forth to make war with the remnant of the church, who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ, or believe and obey the light from the law, and have the spirit of the prophecies [*sic*]. Nearly all Adventists professed to keep all the law at the 10th,[40] but a mass have since cast away the faith they then had, and God calls them Laodiceans.[41]

Its frequent occurrence in some post-1844 Millerite journals, often in combination with expressions such as "little flock" or "the little remnant,"[42] indicates that the term continued to be part of Sabbatarian Adventists' repertoire of motifs and of what may be called their proto-ecclesiological discourse. Even though some details later sabbatarians applied to the term were obviously not in their minds, an essential framework for Seventh-day Adventist reasoning was already provided by connecting the term with the *parousia*, emphasizing the connotation of a small number, equating "remnant" with "true Christians" as opposed to the "sects," hinting at the impending persecution of the group, and referring to "the commandments of God" kept by its members.

From Millerite to Sabbatarian Remnant, 1844-1848

The nucleus of Sabbatarian Adventists and their general theology developed in several phases, which have been described and analyzed in detail elsewhere.[43]

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declined until it became defunct in the twentieth century.

[40]H. H. Gross here refers to the "tenth day of the seventh month" in the Jewish Calendar ("Food in Due Season—Concluded," *Jubilee Standard*, 10 July 1845, 143), which, according to Millerite calculations, fell on October 22 of the year 1844, and which Millerites considered to be the last year of world history.

[41]Ibid. The *Jubilee Standard* promoted the "Bridegroom view," an important step in the development of later sabbatarian Adventism that connected Dan 8:14 with heavenly atonement and implied that salvation was no longer available for those who had rejected the Millerites' message. The latter was also called the "shut door" theory, which even Miller accepted for a short period. For more details see Burt, esp. 77-91; 114-119; 273-274.

[42]The *Western Midnight Cry*, which changed its name to *Day-Star* in March 1845, yields thirteen instances of "remnant" in an automated search in the digitized issues of 1844 and 35 for 1845. This search, as others mentioned below, was done in the Online Document Archives of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research (http://www.adventistarchives.org/DocArchives.asp, accessed 11 March 2012).

[43]See Burt, passim.

The fact that the steps that led to their unique ecclesiology—which centers in the remnant concept—have not been examined so far is not surprising. The earliest Sabbatarian Adventists lived in constant expectation of Jesus' return and did not care much about ecclesiological matters. So soon was the Second Coming to take place that the faithful few waiting for the Savior were, in their own view, almost the opposite of all they termed "the churches." Thus for several years, they hardly called their assemblies "church," but referred to themselves as "saints," "God's people," a "company," "(advent) believers," "(true) Israel," "brethren," "(true) children of God," a "band," a "scattered/little flock," and, of course, "remnant."

Evidently, even such a diffused ecclesiology did imply a certain understanding of the group dimension of faith. While the term "remnant" did not feature prominently among these various expressions in the beginning, it gained increasing significance as other doctrines developed among the future Seventh-day Adventists. In fact, one can argue that it rose from a status of one somewhat vague biblical motif among others to a quasi-doctrine within just a few years. This remnant understanding added an ecclesiological roof to the eschatological basis bequeathed to them by the Millerites and the soteriological wall inherited from their radical wing. Paradoxically, it was only with this antisectarian roof that the emerging sabbatarian group could develop into a denomination.

The following discussion of the Sabbath-keeping Adventists' use of the term begins with Ellen G. White's writings due to the prominence she developed in this emerging group as a prophetic voice. The title of the earliest publication of the then Ellen Harmon, *To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad* (1846), uses the motif in a manner that indicates how common it was;[44] however, the text itself does not elaborate it in any way. What is ecclesiologically significant in it, though, is the tripartite scheme—"the Advent people, the church, and the world," indicating the view that the "Advent people" (i.e., the "remnant") were those few who would remain faithful until the end, as opposed to "the church" and "the world." The Millerite Adventists who continued in their faith were thus clearly identified with the term "remnant," which also indicates the experiential nature of Harmon's use of the motif.

At the time of this 1846 publication, the young prophet and her future husband James White were not yet Sabbath keepers. They began to propagate the Saturday-Sabbath doctrine in the autumn of 1846 after they had married in August. Her two 1847 publications, therefore, already fall into their

[44]Ellen Harmon, *To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad* [Broadside] (Portland, ME: n.p., 1846). Containing the text of two letters (dated 20 December 1845, and 15 February 1846) originally published in the *Day-Star*, 24 January 1846, and 14 March 1846, this broadside bore a title that combined several of the proto-ecclesiological motifs most common in the self-understanding of "Bridegroom Adventists": the eschatological remnant, numerical smallness, and a scattered state.

sabbatarian period. Interestingly, they did not mention the "remnant" motif, but they did develop the ecclesiological thinking of the sabbatarian group-to-be one step further. On one hand, Ellen White differentiated between "the true Israel of God," the Sabbath keepers among the "waiting saints," and "unbelievers." On the other hand, "the church" and "nominal Adventists" are contrasted with true believers. Nevertheless, she emphasized, "God had children who do not see and keep the Sabbath."[45] Thus, she developed the first aspects of a remnant ecclesiology in which a sabbatarian group identity was paramount. At the same time, she did not make sabbatarianism an entirely exclusive soteriological criterion. Later the same year, she mentioned "the scattered flock of God," which referred to Adventists in general, including the nonsabbatarians.[46] The fluid ecclesiological thinking of the period allowed Sabbatarian Adventists to use motifs in somewhat divergent ways even though all positive terms were applied only to those who had a connection with the Millerite movement and who continued to cling to their Advent revival experience of 1843-1844.

The two earliest sabbatarian publications of Joseph Bates (1846), the third of the three main founders of Seventh-day Adventism, contain no reference to the "remnant,"[47] only to the related term "little flock,"[48] which is not clearly defined but apparently denotes those Millerites who were ready to listen to his message. Similarly, Thomas M. Preble's 1845 Sabbath tract, which led to Bates's adoption of sabbatarianism, is directed to "the Saints Scattered Abroad," meaning the Millerites, but does not develop a sabbatarian ecclesiology of any kind.[49]

[45]Ellen G. White, *A Vision* [Broadside] (Topsham, ME: Joseph Bates, 1847). The original contains a comma after "children," which today would render the meaning incorrect.

[46]"To Bro. Eli Curtis," in *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* ed. James White (Brunswick, ME: [n.p.], 1847), 11.

[47]Joseph Bates, *The Opening Heavens* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1846, 1) only contains references to "the true-believer" and "God's people" (ibid., 37), as well as criticism of "all the nominal churches" (ibid., 35).

[48]Joseph Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1846), 1. Bates, 41, also mentions "honest souls seeking after truth" another term indicating that ecclesiological thinking at that stage was in flux and included terms to describe the changing Millerite scene.

[49]Thomas M. Preble, *A Tract, Showing that the Seventh Day Should be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day* (Nashua, NH: Murry & Kimball, 1845), 3. Preble, 2, also calls the Millerites "the true children of God" and the "true 'Israel'" (ibid., 3). J. B. Cook, an "open-door" Adventist who taught the Sabbath, likewise did not derive the ecclesiological consequences of his position in his magazine *The Advent Testimony*, which was apparently published only in 1846.

Bates's second edition of *The Seventh Day Sabbath* in 1847, however, adds reflections of great significance for the developing remnant concept among Sabbatarian Adventists. Already in the preface, he contrasts God's "honest, confiding children" who keep the Sabbath with the "Christian world" in general.[50] Most importantly, he mentions the "remnant" three times, defining it as "remnant (the last end) of God's children" and connecting it with Sabbath keeping in the context of Rev 12:17.[51] Thus, Bates develops a more focused view of the eschatological remnant, which challenged the assumption common among Millerites that their movement—or what remained of it—was identical with the remnant referred to in the book of Revelation. In effect, the 1847 version of *The Seventh Day Sabbath* narrowed down the "remnant" to a remnant of the remnant by counting only sabbatarian Millerites among this group.[52]

Only a few months later, Bates published a historical-theological evaluation of the Millerite movement and its aftermath titled *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*.[53] Beyond reflections on the Advent believers' experience, it contains the first systematic attempt at ecclesiological reasoning by a Sabbatarian Adventist. Therefore, this is a document of great importance for comprehending the self-understanding of the nucleus of later Seventh-day Adventists. While a full discussion and evaluation of the booklet's explanation of what constitutes a "church" go beyond the scope of this article, a few observations will help to analyze the way Bates uses the term "remnant" in this context.

The background of Bates's ecclesiological views is clearly his (and James White's) original restorationist and nondenominational Christian Connection position, which considered "sects," i.e., denominational entities, as unscriptural.[54] Unsurprisingly, *Second Advent Way Marks* presents the same

[50]Joseph Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 2d rev. and enl. ed. (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847), iii-iv.

[51]Ibid., 52. On p. 59, he repeats "remnant (which of course means the last end) and stresses, "this remnant are actually *practising* what they believe" (emphasis original). On the same page, Bates explains this practice of commandment keeping as consisting of "selling what they have, giving alms, laying up their treasure in heaven, . . . 'washing one another's feet,'" and explains that remnant believers "'greet all the brethren with an holy kiss" and "practice keeping the Sabbath holy."

[52]When Bates emphasizes that at the end of history there are "only . . . two companies"—i.e., the true believers and those having "the mark of the beast"—he clearly excludes nonsabbatarian Millerites from the "remnant" (ibid., 59).

[53]Joseph Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps, or, A Connected View of the Fulfilment of Prophecy, by God's Peculiar People from the Year 1840 to 1847* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847).

[54]On Bates's Connectionist background, see George Knight, *Joseph Bates: The Real Founder of Seventh-Day Adventism* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2004), 38-41. On the Christian Connection, a distinct stream of the larger restorationist movement,

Connectionist sentiments merged with the radical Millerite thinking of Charles Fitch's kind[55] and repeatedly links "the organized churches"—i.e., the existing denominations—with apocalyptic Babylon.[56] While rejecting those "nominal churches," Bates also devotes a whole section to the question, "What is a Church?"[57] Starting from the premise that "[a] Christian Church is an assembly or congregation of faithful men,"[58] he concludes that an "anti-Christian" church is such a body that (1) disregards "humanity" (e.g., by tolerating slavery),[59] (2) becomes "carnally minded and covetous," (3) does not do the work of the church, and/or (4) disregards "any of the fundamental truths of the Bible."

With these criteria, Bates arrives at the conclusion that the true church is equal to the "remnant."[60] To identify who qualifies as "remnant," he

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see Thomas H. Olbricht, "Christian Connection," in *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement*, ed. Douglas A. Foster, Paul M. Blowers, Anthony L. Dunnavant, and D. Newell Williams (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 190-191. James White had been ordained by the Christian Connection; Joshua Himes, the main organizer and second in importance to Miller among the Millerites, was also a Christian Connection minister.

[55]Cf. Fitch. Even though Bates stopped short of the position of another famous Millerite, George Storrs, who propagated that a church "becomes Babylon the moment it is organized" ("Come out of Her My People," *Midnight Cry*, 15 February 1844, 238), Bates's ecclesiological views were as clearly influenced by the radical Millerite wing as other central aspects of his thinking. On Storrs, see also George Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 192-199.

[56]Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks*, 19, 21-24, 26, 34; cf. the anti-"sect" polemics on pp. 23, 28, and 34. Bates also criticizes the Albany Conference Adventists (i.e., the majority of Millerites who would later form the Evangelical Adventist Church) and assigns to them the "Laodicean state of the church" since they "commenced a new organization" (see ibid., 35).

[57]Ibid., 25.

[58]The formulation "congregation of faithful men" is borrowed from the Anglican "Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion" (1563), article XIX, probably mediated through the Methodist "Articles of Religion" (1784), article XIII. Interestingly, Bates does not quote the rest of the article, which also refers to "the Sacraments" to be "duly administered."

[59]Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks*, 28. According to Bates, the slavery issue or any issue of "humanity" is of greater importance than the following criteria; see also his point on p. 25 that doctrinal problems lead to "the mildest form of an anti-Christian Church." Bates and many other Millerites had been active in antislavery organizations and various social-reform movements (see Ronald Graybill, "The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection," in *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler [Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993], 139-152).

[60]Bates actually adds physical separation from other churches as a criterion for

understands Rev 14:12 to mean that the "saints" mentioned here are "a remnant (the last end, after all the rest had been cut off from them)," who keep all the commandments, including the observation of the seventh day. He continues: "This is the remnant that is to be saved out of all the great company that published the good news and glad tidings of a coming Savior." In other words, Bates had further developed the distinct view of Sabbath keepers as the only true heirs of the Millerite movement. While this position—based on a view of different stages in salvation history coinciding with "way marks" or phases of the Millerite movement—appears like a dispensational model of relatively quickly changing ecclesiologies in the 1840s, its strength was undoubtedly to give the emerging sabbatarian group a sense of identity beyond mere exegetical or doctrinal overlap of positions held by individuals. Such a sabbatarian proto-ecclesiology was the basis for developments soon to occur among Sabbath-keeping Adventists: the modification and final abandonment of the "shut door" theory,[61] the growth of a missionary vision extending beyond the Millerites, and the ultimate establishment of a denomination.

The other two publications by Bates and the Whites in the years 1847 and 1848 slightly diversified remnant thinking. The fact that they published *A Word to the "Little Flock"* together in 1847 indicates that they had become the leaders in an emerging group of believers, thus creating provisional ecclesial realities even in the absence of a well-crafted ecclesiology. While the 1847 booklet does not mention the term "remnant," other ecclesiological motifs are utilized in the title and in a few other instances, which implies that remnant motif had not acquired a decisive importance yet.[62] Bates's *Vindication of the Seventh-Day Sabbath* of 1848 contains another interesting expression in the

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the true church sometime after his four-point list of criteria: "[T]he Daughter of Zion is the true Church, the remnant that have literally gone out of the City (the Church) into the fields and into the woods, and there held their meetings" (ibid., 26).

[61]For an explanation of the "shut door," see n. 41. Much scholarly discussion has been devoted to the ideas surrounding this concept. See, e.g., Ingemar Lindén, *1844 and the Shut Door Problem*, Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia 35 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982), and the important yet-unpublished comprehensive study to which Lindén's book responds, Rolf Pöhler, "'… and the Door was Shut': Seventh-Day Adventists and the Shut-Door Doctrine in the Decade After the Great Disappointment," TMs, 1978, Center of Adventist Research, Andrews University.

[62]Part of the text was Ellen White's earliest visions, "republished . . . for the benefit of the little flock" (*A Word to the "Little Flock,"* 13). Bates draws attention to the fact that these visions were given "to comfort and strengthen his 'scattered,' 'torn,' and 'pealed people'" (ibid., 21). As the words in the title, these quasi-ecclesiological terms—such as "the true Israel of God," "the saints," and "God's people" (ibid., 3, 10)—were not clearly defined; this somewhat fuzzy use probably referred to all shut-door believers who were at least sympathetic with the sabbatarian cause.

subtitle, "God's peculiar people,"[63] also indicating that "remnant" was still one among other terms. However, the book also adds two new dimensions to the use of the remnant theme: a tendency toward soteriological legalism[64] and a missiological notion attached to the term.[65] While Bates did not bolster this latter notion with scriptural arguments, the general embeddedness of remnant thinking in Revelation 14 presumably strengthened such reasoning in the further development of a missionary component in Adventist ecclesiology.[66]

Part II

The Sabbatarian Remnant Becomes the "Remnant Church," 1849-1854

The year 1849 marks the beginning of a new stage for Sabbatarian Adventists. With the publication of their first periodical, *The Present Truth*, James White stabilized this group which had previously lacked a solid platform and identifiable leadership. Another move hardly noted for its significance in Adventist historiography so far is James White's first collection of hymns published in the same year. Not only did the title contain an ecclesiological statement indicating that Sabbatarian Adventists considered themselves to be a profiled group,[67] the fact that a hymnal was now in existence demonstrated that the scattered believers began to view themselves as unified or at least cohering enough to form local churches with some degree of similarity in practice. Evidently, the steps toward an ecclesiological self-understanding during the previous two years translated into the movement's life.

[63]Joseph Bates, *A Vindication of the Seventh-Day Sabbath, and the Commandments of God: With a Further History of God's Peculiar People from 1847 to 1848* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1848). "God's Peculiar People" also appears in the title of the 1849 hymnal; see n. 67.

[64]Bates, *A Vindication*, 7: "[A]re not these individuals who enter the gates of the city the same remnant that are at last saved by keeping the commandments?" That this kind of legalistic reasoning was a general danger of Bates's thinking has been observed by Knight, who also draws a fine line of distinction between Bates' fundamentally legalistic approach and the Whites' "gospel orientation" (*Joseph Bates*, 83-88, esp. 88).

[65]Bates argues, "the great mass of advent believers . . . have . . . also turned into the enemy's ranks, leaving the remnant to finish up the work" (*A Vindication*, 98).

[66]Although P. Gerard Damsteegt does not focus on the remnant motif (and devotes only pp. 147-148 and 243-244 to it, analyzing early Adventist thought on it in a systematic rather than historical manner), his whole work develops the missiological significance of early Adventist thinking much further (*Foundations of the Seventh-Day Adventist Message and Mission* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977]).

[67]James White, *Hymns for God's Peculiar People That Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus* (Oswego, NY: Richard Oliphant, 1849). The remnant motif appears only once, in a rather inconspicuous manner in hymn 10.

Early in the same year, Ellen White published visions that shed light on the future course of the Sabbatarian Adventist movement and, at the same time, clarified elements of the remnant concept. Her vision of 5 January 1849, "The Sealing," referred to Revelation 7 and emphasized that "the remnant . . . were not all sealed,"[68] thus applying the term to an entity that was still in development.[69] In the extreme apocalyptical mood of the time, such a view served to curb attempts at declaring the sabbatarian group closed and viewing its mission as accomplished. Furthermore, the 16 December 1848 vision, mentioned in the same publication, is the first in which she mentions the "perfect order and harmony" on the New Earth, a theme which would soon translate into a call for "gospel order" in the developing sabbatarian church. Therefore, the beginning of 1849 had strengthened further elements of the nascent sabbatarian ecclesiology and missiology.

Bates stressed the mission concern in the same period in *A Seal of the Living God*.[70] This booklet emphasized the identification of Sabbath keepers with the "remnant,"[71] but also expressed a modification in the sabbatarian-Adventist reasoning. This modification is easily overlooked because of Bates's patchwork style, but it is of crucial importance for the group's developing ecclesiology. On the basis of a peculiar understanding of God's covenants,[72] Bates continued to assert that "advent believers . . . will love and keep this covenant with God, and especially . . . his [God's] Holy Sabbath, in this covenant; this is a part of the 144,000 now to be sealed."[73] Different from earlier thought, however, he fully disentangled remnant theology from its Millerite connection and thus opened the door for a much wider vision of sabbatarian mission. According to Bates, the criterion for belonging to the

[68]Ellen G. White, *To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God* [Broadside], 31 January 1849.

[69]Later publications of the vision omitted the "all" in this statement and thus reinforced the view of the remnant as developing in an interim phase before the end of history (Ellen White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *The Present Truth*, August 1849, 22-23; and idem, *Early Writings of Ellen G. White* [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1882], 38).

[70]Bates was also the first to link the Sabbath with the apocalyptic "seal" of Revelation 7 (Joseph Bates, Letter to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, 7 August 1848 [Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate]).

[71]Joseph Bates, *A Seal of the Living God: A Hundred Forty-Four Thousand of the Servants of God Being Sealed in 1849* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1849), 19, 56.

[72]Bates believed there were four covenants between God and humanity; he considered the Sabbath to be part of the crucial perpetual covenant, thus to be kept until the end of history (ibid., 59-65). This covenant idea did not make any significant impact on Adventist thinking.

[73]Ibid., 61.

remnant, viz. the 144,000, was now no longer the Millerite experience but the Sabbath. He asserted:

> The other part are those who do not yet so well understand the advent doctrine, but are endeavoring to serve God with their whole hearts, and are willing, and will receive this covenant and Sabbath as soon as they hear it explained. These will constitute the 144,000, now to be sealed with "a seal of the living God," which sealing will bear them through this time of trouble. . . . All advent believers who despise, and reject this covenant, will just as certainly be burned and destroyed with the ungodly wicked at the desolation of the earth.[74]

Like the other Sabbatarian Adventists, Bates continued to teach the "shut door" for non-Adventists for some time.[75] Yet this shift in thought—that the remnant was constituted by commandment-keeping Christians, not primarily by those who had participated in the Millerite movement—would soon move Sabbatarian Adventists' missionary attention away from other Adventists to the Christian world and, finally, to humanity at large. The joy of welcoming non-Adventist converts[76] gradually directed the focus of the "remnant" understanding away from the Millerite connection, and the increasing separation from "first-day" Adventists soon made an incipient organization unavoidable.

This organization grew mainly through paraecclesial activities inherited from the Millerites: a regular periodical the committees that ran publications beginning in 1850 and the conferences announced in it. In terms of ecclesiology, *The Present Truth* and another short-lived follow-up magazine, *The Advent Review*, continued the lines visible in earlier publications, but also contained a few new elements of significance. Even if they were only mentioned in passing, James White's call for "gospel order" (i.e., a leadership system derived from the NT),[77] a case of church discipline,[78] and a first connection of ecclesiological thought with visionary experiences,[79] indicated

[74]Ibid., 61-62.

[75]Knight, *Joseph Bates*, 132.

[76]James White reported already in the first number of *The Advent Review* ("Our Tour East," August 1850, 15): "One brother, who had not been in the advent, and had made no public profession of religion until 1845, came out clear and strong on the whole truth. He had never opposed the advent, and it is evident that the Lord had been leading him, though his experience had not been just like ours."

[77][James White,] "The State of the Cause," *Present Truth*, May 1850, 80.

[78]James White, "Our Tour East," 14.

[79]James White emphasized that "the Bible no where [*sic*] teaches that the time has past [*sic*] for such special revelations; and . . . there is positive testimony that the Church is to be blessed with special revelations 'IN THE LAST DAYS'" (untitled editorial comment, *Present Truth*, December 1849, 40, emphasis original).

that sabbatarian Adventism was forming itself into a recognizable body with procedures, boundaries, and an increasingly unambiguous self-understanding.

It is interesting that James White, the main author and editor, continued to invoke the remnant motif in such a context, but used it in a more inclusive way than Bates had done. White addressed the first issue of *The Present Truth* to the "scattered remnant" and expressed his desire that "God help them to receive the truth, and be established in it."[80] Here and in a few other sections,[81] the "remnant" was still thought of as comprising both the group of sabbatarian believers and those potentially joining the Sabbath keepers from among the former Millerites.[82] A similar use of the motif is found in Ellen White's writings during that time. She described the remnant as a group *in fieri*, growing through "efforts to spread the truth." Her explanation of Isa 11:11a—"the Lord showed me that he had stretched out his hand the second time to recover the remnant of his people"[83]—implied a decidedly missionary dimension of what could be called the "emerging remnant."[84]

[80]James White, [editorial,] *Present Truth*, July 1849, 1.

[81]George W. Holt wrote, "The Lord has set his hand to gather the remnant of his people. . . . Precious jewels that were covered up a few weeks since, now begin to shine. God is doing his last work for the 'remnant'" ("Dear Brethren," *Present Truth*, March 1850, 64). J. C. Bowles formulated, "O, sound the alarm, and let the message fly! I think it is the last one to the remnant" ("Dear Brother White," *Present Truth*, September 1849, 32). James White praised those "who have valued the salvation of the remnant much more than their time, strength and property" in Vermont, indicating also that his use of the term was not static and did not imply a clear boundary yet ("Our Tour East," 15).

[82]In another instance, James White used the term to indicate the small quantity of those to be sealed ("The Third Angel's Message," *Present Truth*, April 1850, 66): "They, though but a small remnant, finally triumph."

[83]"Dear Brethren and Sisters," *Present Truth*, November, 1850, 86-87. Even though the date differs (September 23/October 23, 1850) and the wording is not exactly identical, the same vision is referred to in *Spalding and Magan's Unpublished Manuscript Testimonies of Ellen G. White, 1915-1916* (Payson, AZ: Leaves-of-Autumn Books, 1985), 1. Similar formulations occur in two earlier visions. One is from 7 September 1850: "Every jewel will be brought out and gathered, for the hand of the Lord is set to recover the remnant of his people" (Ellen G. White, *A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White* [Saratoga Springs, NY: James White, 1851], 57). The other vision, which also quotes Isa 11:11a, is dated 29 July 1850 (idem, *Manuscript Releases* [Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990], 18:10 [No. 1302; MS 5, 1850]). The same phraseology is also used in the article "Conferences," *Advent Review*, November 1850, 72, presumably written by James White.

[84]This missionary dimension is also evident in the terms "scattering time" and "gathering time," which were used by the sabbatarian leaders from 1849 to distinguish between the period immediately following October 1844 and the present (cf. Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 319-325).

The connected double meaning of "remnant" in the Whites' thought—meaning both the already existing and the future remnant—becomes clearer through an analysis of the "Mark of the Beast" vision of 1850. In it, the prophet joins a heavenly choir and an angel tells her: "The little remnant who love God and keep His commandments and are faithful to the end will enjoy this glory and ever be in the presence of Jesus and sing with the holy angels." After that the vision continues: "Then my eyes were taken from the glory, and I was pointed to the remnant on the earth. The angel said to them, 'Will ye shun the seven last plagues? . . . Ye must have a greater preparation than ye now have. . . . Sacrifice all to God. Lay all upon His altar—self, property, and all, a living sacrifice.'"[85]

In this vision, Ellen White contrasts two aspects or phases of the eschatological remnant: the future remnant of overcomers, of those who have been "faithful to the end," and the present "remnant on the earth." Interestingly, both are connected with an imperative—faithfulness and sacrificial living. Therefore, while Ellen White constructed a clear link between these two phases, her main emphasis was not what we could call the ontological notion of being "the last end of the church" (a common Adventist phrase she never used), but a critical view of remnant believers in danger of not corresponding to their call.

In fact, this self-critical remnant concept appears to have been a major burden of Ellen White in 1849-1850. She constantly called for a more sacrificial spirit. Already in 1849, she noted that the lives of "some who profess the present truth . . . do not correspond with their profession. They have got the standard of piety altogether too low, and come far short of Bible holiness."[86] In 1850, she warned that some among the "people of God" were "stupid and dormant . . . and were attached to their possessions."[87] She deplored that "there was too little glorifying God, too little childlike simplicity among the remnant."[88] Evidently, the prophet felt that a remnant self-understanding did not preclude undue self-assuredness to be rebuked.

During the following years, the magazine of the future Seventh-day Adventists, the *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, contained frequent references to the remnant motif. The term became such a regular and prominent self-description of Adventist Sabbath keepers[89] that one

[85]White, *A Sketch of the Christian Experience*, 54. The title of this vision, dated 27 June 1850, is added in White, *Early Writings*, 66.

[86]Ellen White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *Present Truth*, September 1849, 31.

[87]Ellen White, "To the 'Little Flock,'" *Present Truth*, April 1850, 71 (reporting a vision of 26 January 1850).

[88]*Manuscript Releases*, 18/10 (No. 1302; MS 5, 1850; vision of July 29, 1850).

[89]An automated search in the *Review and Herald* yields more than 900 hits for "remnant" in the 1850s. By contrast, there are only about 150 hits for the expression

can consider the concept behind it to be the driving force of this group's ecclesiological thinking already in the early 1850s. Very few of these instances still pointed beyond Sabbatarian Adventists and had other Millerites in view as well.[90] The general meaning attributed to the term was those who were kept together by the bond of Sabbath practice. As time passed, a systematic outline of interpretation also appeared and reappeared in the paper, indicating that the explanatory attempts connected with the motif had solidified. The common reasoning was that Rev 12:17 referred to a (1) small (2) last generation (3) sabbatarian group that (4) experienced persecution because of commandment keeping.[91]

This crystallizing self-designation as "remnant" went hand in hand with two trends. One was to attach further ideas to the remnant concept. Bates, for instance, argued the "remnant" should pray with outstretched arms;[92] this view does not appear to have made much impact, however. Sabbatarian Adventists also generally equated the "remnant" to the 144,000 of Revelation 7 and 14.[93] The most important innovative interpretation was connecting visionary experiences to the remnant concept via Joel's prophecies.[94] Although Ellen White was not mentioned in these reflections, the reasoning clearly centered upon her prophetic ministry, which was interpreted as fulfilling a biblically predicted dimension of the remnant.

The other trend was the increasing stabilization of the formerly loose-knit "remnant" into a church. Spurred by growth from a few dozen believers

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"little flock" in the same period.

[90]See, e.g., H. S. Case, who speaks about the tasks to do "until the scattered remnant are established on the commandments of God" ("From Bro. Case," *Review and Herald*, 22 July 1852, 46).

[91]This reasoning appears in an almost identical manner in the note, "To Ira Fancher," *Review and Herald*, March 1851, 52; and "The Sabbath and Ten Commandments Taught and Enforced in the New Testament," *Review and Herald*, 2 June 1851, 90; "The Faith of Jesus," *Review and Herald*, 28 February 1854, 44 (aspects 1-3); "The Position of the Remnant," *Review and Herald*, 12 September 1854; and [Uriah Smith], "Who are the Remnant?" *Review and Herald*, 28 February 1856.

[92]Joseph Bates, "Attitude in Prayer," *Review and Herald*, January 1851, 40.

[93]Cf., e.g., S. T. Cranson, "The Remnant, or 144,000," *Review and Herald*, 8 September 1853, 68-69. Only when Seventh-day Adventists had increased to proportions beyond that number in the twentieth century did this view ebb away; cf. a 1901 statement of Ellen White in which she assigned discussions about "Who is to compose the hundred and forty-four thousand?" to the realm of "questions which will not help . . . spiritually" (MS 26, 1901, published in Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages* [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1958], 1:174).

[94]Joseph Bates, referring to Joel 2:28-32 ("The Gifts of the Gospel Church," *Review and Herald*, 21 April 1851, 69-70); v. 28 contains a reference to prophecy and v. 32 contains the word "remnant" in the KJV.

in 1846-1847 and perhaps around 200 in 1850 to probably more than 2,000 in 1852,[95] the early 1850s saw an increasing use of the self-designation "church of God" in Sabbatarian Adventist publications. A growing concern for the "children of the remnant,"[96] leading to a second periodical in 1852[97] and revealing the need for some degree of continuity, also indicated a consolidation of the future Seventh-day Adventists as a body.[98]

By the middle of the 1850s, the use of the remnant motif started to show a corresponding tendency. In the 1840s, Adventists had referred to "the remnant" in a manner that made the motif appear to be in sharp contrast to "the churches," i.e., any organized denomination. In 1854, the language began to change. In addition to the phrase "the remnant of the church," which was more common in this earlier period,[99] James White began to speak about "the churches of God's remnant people."[100] In the same year, he used the expression "'remnant' church" for the first time.[101] This somewhat tentative manner of designating the sabbatarian movement did not persist, for in the very next *Review and Herald* issue, White spoke of "remnant church" without

[95]James White, "A Brief Sketch of the Past," *Review and Herald*, 6 May 1852, 5.

[96]The need to serve the spiritual needs of children and youth of Sabbath keepers was first emphasized in a letter of Rebekah G. Whitcomb, "Letter from Sister Whitcomb," *Present Truth*, April 1850, 72, and in an article by Joseph Bates, "Duty to Our Children," *Review and Herald*, January 1851, 39-40.

[97]The *Youth's Instructor* was published from August 1852; besides various articles and letters, it also contained "Sabbath School Lessons," which later led to the Adventist Sabbath School practice as it is known today.

[98]This consolidation is likewise visible in a second, considerably enlarged hymnal, *Hymns for Second Advent Believers Who Observe the Sabbath of the Lord* (Rochester, NY: James White, 1852). This hymnal contained 139 songs; a supplement added 39 more songs. The transition to a more ecclesial perspective is seen in the fact that the book had four main sections: general songs, Sabbath, baptism, and Lord's Supper—the 1849 hymnal contained only 53 songs and none on the latter two themes. Most of the general songs still had a strong apocalyptical content, but the new focus on the ordinances and the Sabbath (the latter with 18 compared to 4 songs in the 1849 edition) reveal the growing need for more congregational-focused material.

[99]See, e.g., in O[tis] Nichols, "The Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet," *Review and Herald*, 2 March 1852, 98; [James White], "Signs of the Times," *Review and Herald*, 13 September 1853, 73, 75. This formulation drastically loses importance in the following years; an automated count yields less than 60 hits until the end of the 1990s, i.e., less than one instance every two years.

[100][James White], "The Position of the Remnant," *Review and Herald*, 12 September 1854, 37. Later in the same year, he wrote about "the remnant, the last of the church on earth" ("[Sabbath School Lesson] Number XX," *Youth's Instructor*, December 1854, 95).

[101][James White], "A Cloud of Witnesses," *Review and Herald*, 17 October 1854, 78.

quotation marks applied to "remnant."[102] In the following years, others began to use the same expression,[103] and although the simple "remnant" remained the dominating term by far, "remnant church" continued to be used alongside and expressed the growing ecclesial self-understanding of Adventist Sabbath keepers. The antisectarian remnant had transformed into a new church.

Remnant Ecclesiology and the Formation of a New Denomination, 1854-1860

The reality that Sabbatarian Adventists were becoming a church was a surprise to many, for earlier Adventists had not aimed at establishing an ecclesiastical entity of any kind, of creating a denomination resembling the "sects," which they had decried as "Babylon." They only wanted to prepare people for Jesus' soon return and had been convinced that no new organization was necessary for this purpose. But the tremendous numerical growth of Sabbath keepers had produced a situation that could no longer be ignored. Thus, James White began to work for "church order," i.e., the establishment of a leadership system and organizational patterns, from the early 1850s.[104] As time went by, the Sabbath-keeping Adventists clearly became a quasi-denominational body. Only two elements were missing: an official act of organizing the body into a church entity, and a more well-defined ecclesiology that would provide the rationale for such a move.

The gradual change in terminology in the mid-1850s reveals the development of ecclesiological thinking during the period. Whereas sabbatarian publications during the 1840s and early 1850s had frequent references to the "scattered believers" and the "little flock," the mid-1850s saw a significant increase in the positive use of the term "church" in the *Review and Herald*. Merritt E. Cornell published his booklet, *The Last Work of the True Church*, in 1855, and it is not merely coincidental that Ellen White's well-known *Testimonies to the Church* began to appear in the same year.[105] A

[102][James White], "The Cause," *Review and Herald*, 24 October 1854, 84.

[103]See, e.g., S. B. Warren, "From Bro. Warren," *Review and Herald*, 12 June 1855; Luther Paine, "From Bro. Paine," *Review and Herald*, 10 April 1856; J. B. Frisbie, "Communication from Bro. Frisbie," *Review and Herald*, 12 February 1857, 115. From 1857, "remnant church" appears regularly, more than 80 times in the 1860s and with a similar frequency during the following decades. "Remnant Church" in capitals begins to appear only in the twentieth century.

[104]Mustard, 116-192, describes and analyzes these steps in detail.

[105]Merritt E. Cornell, *The Last Work of the True Church* (Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1855). The "Testimonies" booklets from the 1850s and part of the 1860s were later republished as the first part of a nine-volume series (Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1 [Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1948]). These were the first Sabbatarian Adventist books and the first Ellen White publications using

considerably enlarged hymnal was also put into the hands of Sabbath keepers in 1855. Its preface read "for the use of the Church of God scattered abroad. . . . To the Church of God, waiting for the coming and kingdom of Christ."[106] The waiting remnant had begun to develop a distinctly eschatological ecclesiology.

This development was further enhanced by a more definite interpretation of the remnant in Rev 12:17 ("the remnant . . . , which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ"). Earlier Sabbatarian Adventist reflections had emphasized the general continuity of spiritual gifts and the legitimacy and significance of prophetic ministry,[107] but, in 1855, James White elaborated a close connection between the gift of prophecy and the "remnant" by referring to Rev 19:10 ("the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy").[108] This would soon become a standard explanation among Sabbath-keeping Adventists.[109] It added a powerful dimension to their remnant ecclesiology: they could now claim that both sabbatarianism and the prophetic gift of Ellen White were fulfillments of prophecy and marks of the true end-time church. The mid-1850s were, therefore, the period in which Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology developed through a growing "church" self-understanding, a more systematic explanation of the eschatological remnant, and an incipient use of the term "remnant church," which combined these two developments into an ecclesiologically viable concept.

Stabilizing attempts at times produce unforeseen dynamics. In Adventism, these consolidating shifts of thoughts were soon complemented with a seemingly divergent innovation: the application of the Laodicea motif of Revelation 3 to Sabbatarian Adventists. In the early 1840s, the "lukewarm" Laodiceans, the last of the seven churches of Revelation 2–3, had been

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"church" in the title.

[106]James White, *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus* (Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1855), preface. This 352-page hymnal was the first to contain music and had 474 hymns.

[107][Joseph Bates], "The Gifts of the Gospel Church," *Review and Herald*, 21 April 1851, 69-70 (connects "remnant" with Joel 2:19-20); David Arnold, "The Oneness of the Church and the Means of God's Appointment for Its Purification and Unity," *Review and Herald*, 26 June 1855, 249-251.

[108]James White, "The Testimony of Jesus," *Review and Herald*, 18 December 1855, 92-93.

[109]J[ames] W[hite], "Revelation Twelve," *Review and Herald*, 8 January 1857, 76; J[ames] W[hite], "Unity and Gifts of the Church—No. 3," *Review and Herald*, 31 December 1857, 60-61; J[ames] W[hite], "Unity and Gifts of the Church—No. 4," *Review and Herald*, 7 January 1858, 68-69; Roswell F. Cottrell, "Foreword," in *Spiritual Gifts*, Ellen G. White (Battle Creek: James White, 1858), 1:15-16; D. T. Bourdeau, "Spiritual Gifts," *Review and Herald*, 2 December 1862, 5-6.

interpreted by Millerites as referring to Christianity in general.[110] In the second half of the 1840s and early 1850s, Sabbath keepers applied the motif to the nonsabbatarian Millerites,[111] while the exemplary "Philadelphia" church was thought of as being identical to the sabbatarian "remnant."[112] Yet, James White changed his position in 1856 by interpreting "Laodicea" as applying to Sabbath-keeping Adventists.[113] His view was soon adopted by others,[114] and since has served Seventh-day Adventism as an instrument of self-criticism.[115]

As surprising as this new and antitriumphalist notion may seem, its ecclesiological relevance should not be underestimated. Just when remnant reasoning, with its central importance for Sabbatarian Adventist ecclesiology, had reached a stage of maturation, the triumphalist potential inherent in the view of the remnant as "the last true church" was curbed by a dissimilar eschatological motif. The very success associated with the remnant theology of the previous years, a wholly unexpected numerical explosion of sabbatarians,

[110]See Miller, *Evidences*, 2d ed., 155-156. A letter attributed by the *Adventist Pioneer Library* collection to James White revealed the same view; see J. S. W., *A Letter to Rev. L. F. Dimmick: A Brief Review of His Discourse, "The End of The World Not Yet"* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 10; however, the letter cannot have originated from White, who had not been a full-fledged Millerite when it was originally written, i.e., in July 1842. The writer is most probably John S. White, who contributed to Millerite papers on various occasions. The *Adventist Pioneer Library* is part of the CD-ROM *Ellen White Writings: Comprehensive Research Edition* (Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 2008).

[111]See Joseph Bates's references in *The Opening Heavens* [1846], 36-37, *Second Advent Way Marks* [1847], 77; in his book *An Explanation of the Typical and Antitypical Sanctuary by the Scriptures with a Chart* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1850), 13-14; and his articles "The Laodicean Church," *Review and Herald*, November 1850, 7-8; and "Our Labor in the Philadelphia and Laodicean Churches," *Review and Herald*, 19 August 1851, 13-14. Further see [James] W[hite], "The Design of the Chart," *Review and Herald*, February 1851, 47; and [James White], "The Immediate Coming of Christ," *Review and Herald*, 17 February 1853, 156. Other radical post-disappointment Adventists held similar views about the mainstream Millerites; see nn. 39 and 41.

[112]Bates, *An Explanation of the Typical and Antitypical Sanctuary*, 13-14; James White, "The Third Angel's Message," *Present Truth*, April 1850, 68.

[113]James White, "Watchman, What of the Night?" *Review and Herald*, 9 October 1856; James White, "The Seven Churches," *Review and Herald*, 16 October 1856.

[114]See, e.g., R. F. C[ottrell], "Are We in Laodicea?" *Review and Herald*, January 1857, 77; J. B. Frisbie, "Communication from Bro. Frisbie," *Review and Herald*, 12 February 1857, 115.

[115]Ellen White had already applied in 1852 the words to Laodicea in Rev 3:14-20 to "many who profess to be looking for the speedy coming of Christ," implying that some Sabbatarian Adventists were also among those whom she considered to be "like the nominal church" ("To the Brethren and Sisters," *Review and Herald*, 10 June 1852, 21. Even James White saw the Laodicean condition in some Sabbath keepers during the same year ("Eastern Tour," *Review and Herald*, 14 October 1852, 96).

had created not only a church, but also the need for an ecclesiology that kept the balance originally inherent in the view of a small, nonecclesiastical, and antiorganizational remnant. When the remnant had developed into the "remnant church," the emerging ecclesiology implied in this term needed a critical corrective, which was readily provided by the world of ideas in which Adventists breathed—the inventory of biblical apocalyptic.

The numerical growth of Adventist Sabbath keepers in the early 1850s had spurred not only a change of attitudes toward "church order," it also led to a situation in which a considerable number of individuals no longer displayed the original Millerite fervor. Apparently the "waiting remnant" could not remain in a position of high-tension waiting for more than a decade, and while a church became reality, the movement's leaders observed what they interpreted as a slackening of commitment, a "lukewarmness" of spirituality. This trend led to a picture in which "remnant church" ecclesiology and frequent severe criticism by the Adventist prophet went hand in hand. Already in the early 1850s, Ellen White had pointed to the need of more dedication among Sabbatarian Adventists. In 1854, she wrote: "I saw that the remnant were not prepared for what is coming upon the earth. Stupidity, like the lethargy, seemed to hang upon the minds of most of those who profess to believe that we are having the last message. . . . A great work must be done for the remnant. They are, many of them, dwelling upon little trials."[116]

Similar statements frequently appear in her *Testimonies* from 1855 onward. In the first of these, titled "Thy Brother's Keeper," the prophet reports a vision in which "remnant" and "church" are used as synonyms:

> I saw that the Spirit of the Lord has been dying away from the church. . . . I saw that the mere argument of the truth will not move souls to take a stand with the remnant; for the truth is unpopular. . . . I saw that the church has nearly lost the spirit of self-denial and sacrifice; they make self and self-interest first, and then they do for the cause what they think they can as well as not.[117]

The many other texts and visions of Ellen White containing statements of this kind[118] raise the question as to what ecclesiological consequence

[116]James White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White* (Rochester, NY: James White, 1854), 39-40. James White himself held similar sentiments and called Sabbatarian Adventists "an inexperienced and unsanctified church" and deplored "the rash, exclusive and retaliating spirit of some of the brethren" ("The Faith of Jesus," *Review and Herald*, 7 March 1854, 53-54).

[117]This 1855 text is republished in *Testimonies*, 1:113-114.

[118]For 1855, see "Parental Responsibility" (chap. 18) and "Faith in God" (chap. 19); for 1856, "Conformity to the World" (chap. 23); and for 1856, "Be Zealous and Repent" (chap. 25). The latter text contains a reference to the "message to the Laodicean church" (*Testimonies*, vol. 1). Numerous other texts from later years could also be cited.

such recurrent reproofs had. When comparing her portrayal of Sabbatarian Adventists' lives with that of other Christians, one finds parallels in many cases, even if the assessment of "the churches" is still darker. Yet, the generally skeptical attitude regarding the Christian character of all "professed" or "nominal" believers' discipleship, whether Sabbath keepers or nonsabbatarians, indicates that the principle behind these assertions is what may be called a "critical ecclesiology," derived from an eschatologically loaded theology combined with a pessimistic anthropology on one side and a strongly Arminian soteriology on the other. At any rate, the prophet's ministry focused on pastoral concerns and on what had to be changed in the life of the church and of believers, rather than on developing new theological or ecclesiological thought. She adopted her husband's view of Laodicea and integrated it into her ministry of rebuking and warning the "remnant."[119]

With an ecclesiology containing the potential for balancing a distinct theological self-understanding and a realistic view of ethical challenges to its members, the young church was able to take more definite steps toward an organizational identity. The self-perception as a denomination first appeared in a guarded manner in the late 1850s.[120] In 1860, Sabbatarian Adventists discussed an official name[121] in the context of local church-building ownership and voted it to be "Seventh-day Adventist."[122] Now James White argued that "it is objected that we shall be classed among the denominations. We are classed with them already, and I do not know that we can prevent it, unless we disband and scatter."[123] It took only one more year for the first permanent state conference to be organized and less than two and a half until Seventh-day Adventists became a denomination by establishing its General Conference. The earlier rejection of "sectarian" organization[124] had given way

[119]See the chapter "The Laodicean Church" (1859) in *Testimonies*, 1:185-195.

[120]Alvarez Pierce, "From Bro. Pierce," *Review and Herald*, 7 May 1857, 6, spoke about "the other denominations."

[121]A comprehensive description and evaluation of this episode of Adventist history is Godfrey T. Anderson, "Make Us a Name," *Adventist Heritage* 1 (1974): 28-34.

[122]The wording of this name appears only rarely before 1860: once in 1853 (here as "seventh-day Adventist": S. T. Cranson, "From Bro. Cranson," *Review and Herald*, 14 April 1853, 191) and twice in 1859 (John N. Andrews, "History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week," *Review and Herald*, 4 August, 1859, 82; "Extracts from Letters," *Review and Herald*, 18 August 1859).

[123]"Business Proceedings of B.C. Conference," *Review and Herald*, 23 October 1860, 179.

[124]Even in 1853, an article on "Church Organization," copied from an 1844 issue of the (nonsabbatarian) *Voice of Truth*, argued against "sectarian" organizations (*Review and Herald*, 6 January 1853, 135).

to a more pragmatic view of being a church on the basis of the ecclesiological advances of almost two decades.

It is interesting that the remnant motif did not find its way into the name of Seventh-day Adventists. While it had been among the phraseology commonly used as a self-designation, the name "Church of God" had been favored by many as an official name,[125] including James White.[126] By way of contrast, "remnant" and "remnant church" had developed a theological significance that was not deemed as significant for a self-designation meant for outsiders. The name "Seventh-day Adventist," however, was explained as being precisely such a way of communicating to the world the main tenets of faith held by the young denomination.[127] At a deeper level, one can also argue that the reservation of the remnant motif for theological reasoning expressed the tension caused by the fact that the "little flock," the "waiting remnant," had become a sizeable church rather than having met the awaited Savior. When the "last end of the church" had turned into another denomination, Adventist ecclesiology had to fit into this new dispensation. While remnant thinking did not remain fully independent of the new organization, it had the potential to serve as a critical corrective *vis-à-vis* denominational realities. Thus, "remnant church" would remain the term for a provisional body[128] and a description for an interim organization intended to prepare believers for the final events of history.[129]

As late as 1858, Ellen White spoke of the Millerites of the early 1840s as "remnant."[130] With this perspective of remnants of specific periods, early Seventh-day Adventists believed to have the task of preparing people to be part of the "final remnant,"[131] while not being identical to it. Moreover,

[125]"Business Proceedings of B.C. Conference," 179; cf. also Joseph B. Frisbie, who stated: "*The Name*—THE CHURCH OF GOD. . . . This is the name that God has seen fit to give to his church, because it belongs to him" (*Order of the Church of God* [Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1859], 1, emphasis original).

[126]"J[ames] W[hite], "Organization," *Review and Herald*, 19 June 1860, 36.

[127]Cf. White, *Testimonies*, chapter 24, "Our Denominational Name," 1:223-224.

[128]For analogous sentiments among Pentecostals who came to think of their churches as "liminal" entities, see Vondey, 110.

[129]Ellen White did not frequently use the term "remnant church"—35 times in writings published during her lifetime ("remnant" appears about 300 times)—and apparently only beginning in the 1880s, the first occurrence being found in "Our Present Position," *Review and Herald*, 28 August 1883, 546. The search for the term was done with the CD-ROM *Ellen White Writings: Comprehensive Research Edition*.

[130]White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1:153; she formulated, "the remnant, who loved the appearing of Jesus."

[131]Although the expression "final 'remnant'" appears only in the twentieth century—notably in *Questions on Doctrine* (Washington DC: Review and Herald, 1957), 196—the distinction between the denomination considering itself the provisional

by virtue of not being the official name of the Seventh-day Adventist Church but a theological concept linked with the historical development of its self-understanding, the remnant motif also continued to hold the potential for functioning as a tool of critical self-reflection. Ellen White's frequent warnings to the "remnant," the antisectarian notions and skepticism regarding all human organizations linked with the term in earlier stages, and the "Laodicea" complement to remnant ecclesiology from the 1850s onward continued to serve Seventh-day Adventists as reminders that they had come from a faith of radical commitment to "the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus" that had its focus not on ecclesiology or an ecclesial body, but on the return of Jesus and the final establishment of the kingdom of God.

Conclusion

As theology in general, Adventist remnant thinking did not develop in a vacuum. The apocalyptic mood of the epoch and the use of the remnant motif by movements in the environment of Adventism indicate that Sabbatarian Adventists reconfigured a kind of thinking that was widespread around them. Unsurprisingly, Millerite ecclesiological terminology and thought was most important for Sabbatarian Adventists because the latter inherited much of their interpretations and perspectives. The basic structure of their later remnant thinking was, therefore, obtained from the Millerites.[132]

As much as a historicist reading of Scripture prompted Advent believers to think of themselves as the "remnant," the identification with this term also contained an empirical dimension. Millerites had applied many biblical and particularly apocalyptic terms and imagery to their present situation because they assumed that they were the last generation on earth and, therefore, experienced a revival in which the few remaining prophecies were to be fulfilled. If most other Christian interpreters viewed Rev 12:17 as describing the church in general, this experientialist approach to the apocalyptic writings of the Bible added substantial impetus to the Adventist self-understanding.

While the term "remnant" was only one among several descriptions used by the Millerites to explain their experience and self-understanding, it proved to be the most resilient term after 1844. Evidently, the motif was rich in terms

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remnant and the final apocalyptical remnant is already laid out in Ellen White's earlier writings; see the quotation before n. 85 and its subsequent discussion.

[132]This is visible even in formulations by Miller, Bates, and James White, for they all use almost identical wording in the interpretation of the crucial text (Rev 12:17): "'The remnant,' is the last part of the church" (Miller, *Evidences*, 2d ed., 53); "the remnant (the last end) of God's children" (Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath*, 52; cf. 59); "The 'remnant' of the seed of the woman, or last end of the church just before the second advent" (James White, "The Third Angel's Message," *Present Truth*, April 1850, 66).

of eschatologically relevant content and concepts that could be connected. Yet, when comparing Miller's multiple applications of the term with the later sabbatarians' interpretation, it becomes clear that it was the experiences of disappointment, of discovering the Sabbath, and of possessing a prophetic voice in their midst that made it plausible for the future Seventh-day Adventists to narrow down the designation of "remnant" to seventh-day Sabbath keepers.

Although in all likelihood earlier Sabbath advocates—the Seventh Day Baptists—and their remnant ecclesiology of past epochs did not directly influence Adventist thinking, this seventeenth-century parallel is remarkable in that it shows how the combination of sabbatarian and eschatological convictions led to a result that resembled Seventh-day Adventist theology. This means that, on one hand, Adventists did not invent their ecclesiology in a purely idiosyncratic manner. On the other hand, the earlier Seventh Day Baptist analogy also indicates that the rise of the Millerite movement and its aftermath were not a necessary ingredient for an ecclesiology constructed around the remnant motif.

At the same time, it is significant that remnant ecclesiology has not been developed anywhere else as distinctly as it has been among Seventh-day Adventists. Several conditions were necessary for this development of the remnant motif: (1) its application to the experience of those participating in the Advent revival; (2) historical, theological, and terminological continuity with the Millerite movement; (3) a sufficiently open (i.e., vaguely defined) interpretation of the term in the initial period; (4) an early sabbatarianization, which considerably boosted the motif's importance; (5) further development of the term into a distinct concept through exegetical and theological reflection; (6) the intertwining of remnant thinking with a doctrine of spiritual gifts, which enhanced both the ecclesiological role of Sabbatarian Adventists and the status of Ellen White as a prophet; and (7) a transition from an antisectarian view of the remnant to connecting the motif with a denominational ecclesiology. Only because each of these conditions were successively met in the phases investigated above could remnant ecclesiology unfold the way it did. The more or less explicit support of this emerging doctrine by the prophet ultimately provided the cement for building it into the elaborate doctrinal scheme of Adventists.

With regard to the dynamics and reasoning leading to the emergence of the Adventist self-understanding as "remnant church," this research yields several insights:

(1) Initially even Sabbatarian Adventists viewed themselves as a nondenominational "remnant"; therefore, the change from a "nonchurch" ecclesiology to a more unambiguous view of themselves as "church" was a gradual but significant shift, even if this was not noticed at the time. Yet, it was a necessary one for the Millerite antiestablishment logic and its

ecclesiological consequences were valid only until 1844. After the October 22 disappointment, a new thinking *had to* be developed, and naturally this thinking grew best on the soil of the Millerite premises that had made the revival successful. As among the restorationist "Christians," the antisectarian component was ultimately sacrificed because its nonecclesiological impulse constituted a stumbling block to building a Christian community.

At the same time, the Sabbatarian Adventists developed into the only permanently growing body remaining from the Advent revival precisely because they took central aspects of Millerite thinking to their logical conclusions and were thus able to present a coherent package of ideas to potential adherents. Many aspects of Millerite eschatology could only survive after being fertilized by a strong emphasis on Sabbath keeping. It was the sabbatarianized eschatology zygote that was able to mature into a church, first in the test tube of Millerism and soon in the world around. The ecclesiological justification of existence for this developing organism increasingly centered on the remnant motif.

The term "remnant church" was used only from 1854. However, "remnant" (without the addition of "church"), being the biblical term, clearly remained the dominant expression. When "remnant church" was applied to the emerging denomination later called Seventh-day Adventists, this application was done with the conviction that a church body was needed until the Second Coming for the sake of smoother missionary operations. Since the *parousia* was believed to be at hand, little need was seen to differentiate between "remnant church" and what was to be called the "final remnant" in the twentieth century. Such a differentiation made sense only much later, when the seeming delay of the *parousia* led to further discussions on remnant ecclesiology. Thus, one can infer that the "remnant church" was seen as the "final remnant" *in statu nascendi*; the Adventist denomination was, therefore, conceptualized by its founders as a temporary entity preparing people to be among God's faithful at the time of the imminent Second Coming. In a way, Adventists thus repeated the experiences of first-century Christianity, which Alfred Loisy summarized with his famous comment: "Jesus foretold the kingdom, and it was the Church that came."[133]

The fact that the denomination was not officially called "remnant church" further indicates that the ecclesiology expressed in this term was built with a considerable potential for friction. Its architects constructed it around an organization thought of as possessing a unique function—preparing persons for a time of widespread apocalyptic turmoil and persecution when believers will have to live their faith in a particularly individual manner—thus substantially reducing the ontological importance of the actual organization

[133]Alfred Loisy, *The Gospel and the Church* (London: Pitman & Sons, 1908, 166); French original: *L'Évangile et l'Église* (Paris: Picard & Sons, 1902), 111.

they founded. Yet ultimately, a similar friction is part of the very nature of religion as an individual commitment experienced in a community context, and which, therefore, remains a paradox inherent in all ecclesiological considerations that the history of Christian thought has brought forth. The peculiarity of the Adventist version is that its apocalyptical orientation further intensifies this paradox. At the same time, the Advent believers' development of a thoroughly eschatological ecclesiology continues serving as a reminder to all Christians that the church and its history are indeed interim realities which express our concepts of God's kingdom, but which come to an end when it is established in its fullness.

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THEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF JOHN WESLEY TO THE DOCTRINE OF PERFECTION

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Introduction

The doctrine of perfection is biblically based. In Matt 5:48 (NIV), Jesus declares, "Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect." However, the meaning of the term "perfection" is contested, with many different interpretations ranging from one extreme to another.[1] At one end of the spectrum, it has been concluded that perfection and Christian growth is not possible, while at the other it is thought that humans can attain a state of sinless perfection. Within this range of understandings, scholars agree that no one has better described the biblical doctrine of perfection than John Wesley. For example, Rob Staples proposes that this doctrine "represents the goal of Wesley's entire religious quest."[2] Albert Outler notes that "the chief interest and significance of Wesley as a theologian lie in the integrity and vitality of his doctrine as a whole. Within that whole, the most distinctive single element was the notion of 'Christian perfection.'"[3] Harald Lindstrom indicates that "the importance of the idea of perfection to Wesley is indicated by his frequent mention of it: in his sermons and other writings, in his journals and letters, and in the hymn books he published with his brother Charles."[4] John Wesley himself affirmed that "this doctrine is the grand *depositum* which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly He appeared to have raised us up."[5]

This article will examine Wesley's basic contributions to the doctrine of perfection. The study will (1) address factors that played a major role in the formation of his understanding of perfection, and (2) examine his contribution to the doctrine of perfection.

[1]For full theological and historical treatment on the doctrine on perfection, see H. K. La Rondelle, *Perfection and Perfectionism: A Dogmatic-Ethical Study of Biblical Perfection and Phenomenal Perfection* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1971).

[2]Rob Lyndal Staples, "John Wesley's Doctrine of Christian Perfection: A Reinterpretation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Pacific School of Religion, 1963), vi.

[3]Albert C. Outler, ed. *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 30.

[4]Harald Lindstrom, *Wesley and Sanctification: A Study in the Doctrine of Salvation* (London: Epworth, 1950), 126.

[5]Ibid.

The Formation of Wesley's Understanding of Perfection

Wesley's understanding of perfection must be studied against two major factors: (1) practical mystical, and (2) the influence of the Eastern church fathers.

Practical Mystical

Wesley noted at the beginning of *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* that he had been influenced in his understanding of the doctrine of perfection by practical mysticism. "This [the doctrine of Christian perfection] I owe to the serious part of mankind," he wrote, "those who desire to know all 'the truth as it is in Jesus.'"[6] Several sources made a strong impact on him. For example, in 1725, he read Jeremy Taylor's *Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650) and *Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651), of which he noted:

> In reading several parts of this book, I was exceedingly affected; that part in particular which relates to purity of intention. Instantly I resolved to dedicate all my life to God, all my thoughts, and words, and actions; being thoroughly convinced there was no medium; but that every part of my life (not some only) must either be a sacrifice to God, or myself, that is, in effect, to the devil.[7]

So deeply influenced was he by Taylor that he began to keep a diary in order to record and measure "his progress in holy living."[8]

A year later, in 1726, Wesley read Kempis's *Christian Pattern*. He was greatly moved by the idea of "inward religion," or "religion of the heart." As a result, he noted that "even giving all my life to God . . . would profit me nothing, unless I gave my heart, yea, all my heart to him."[9] This conversion moment proved transformative for him. "I began to alter the whole form of my conversation," he stated, "and to set in earnest upon a new life." In response to his ever-deepening experience, he noted, "I set apart an hour or two a day for religious retirement. . . . I watched against all sins, whether in word or deed. I began to aim at, and pray for, inward holiness.'"[10] He became certain that true religion had to come from the heart.

[6]John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, in *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley in Ten Volumes*, 1st American ed. (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1827), 3:5.

[7]Ibid., 5.

[8]Richard P. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 35.

[9]Wesley, 4-5.

[10]Bruce Eugene Moyer, "The Doctrine of Christian Perfection: A Comparative Study of John Wesley and the Modern American Holiness Movement" (Ph.D. dissertation, Marquette University, 1992), 29.

A year or two later, Wesley became acquainted with William Law's books, *Christian Perfection* (1726) and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1729). "These [books] convinced me," he stated, "more than ever, of the absolute impossibility of being half a Christian; and I determined, through his grace, (the absolute necessity of which I was deeply sensible of), to be all devoted to God, to give him all my soul, my body, and my substance."[11]

These authors greatly impacted Wesley's view of holy living and of a complete heartfelt commitment to God. But it was not the only influence on his understanding of perfection—the Eastern church fathers also brought an ever-deepening transformation to Wesley's doctrine of perfection.

The Eastern Church Fathers

Outler concludes that Wesley's writings on perfection should be read "in the light of its indirect sources in early and Eastern spirituality."[12] A first important influence was that of his father, Samuel. Wesley read at least two important documents that his father wrote: (1) *The Young Student's Library* (1692), which contained a list of various books among which were two works on Greek Christianity—William Beveridge's *Synodikon* and Cotelier's *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta* (or "Documents of the Greek Church);[13] and (2) *Advice to a Young Clergyman* (1735), which contained "a more extensive prospectus of his recommended readings in ancient Christianity."[14] Ten pages of this work were specifically concerned with the importance of the early Christian fathers. In the years 1724 to 1725, while Wesley was seeking ordination as a priest of the Church of England, his father also urged him to read Chrysostom's work, *De Sacerdotio* ("On the Priesthood"). "'Master it,' he urged, 'digest it.'"[15]

A second source for Wesley's appreciation of early Christian tradition came from a small group organized at Oxford by his brother Charles that studied ancient liturgies and monastic piety of the fourth-century Christian fathers.[16] By early 1732, the group also started to observe "fasts" on Wednesday and Fridays in imitation of early church practices. It is possible that the group may have learned about these practices from Robert Nelson's *Companion to the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*, a book which Wesley had read the previous year.[17] Or, as Wesley himself admitted, the suggestion of observing

[11]Wesley, 5.

[12]Outler, 252.

[13]Ted A. Campbell, *John Wesley and Christian Antiquity* (Nashville: Kingswood, 1991), 24.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid., 25.

[16]Outler, 8.

[17]Campbell, 26-27.

the weekly fasts may have come from his friend, John Clayton. Whatever the case, it is clear that Wesley began to be more and more interested in the beliefs and practices of the early church.

A third source of Wesley's interest in ancient Christianity was his fellow "Methodist" friend, Clayton. Because of Clayton's influence, Wesley began to study deeply newly available ancient Christian literature, discovered during "the patristic renaissance of the last half of the seventeenth century."[18] British scholars began to show a particular interest in the history and teachings of the church during the first three centuries as this literature became available.[19] By the time Wesley went to Oxford, the libraries were full of scholarly editions of works on early Christian tradition and the church fathers. The revival of classical antiquity greatly influenced Wesley's theological understanding of perfection.

A fourth source of Wesley's interest in early Christian traditions was his meeting with the Moravians, who had brought with them to the United States their understanding of German pietism. During his stay in Georgia, he often engaged in the study of early Christian texts with the Moravians. Consequently, he read several works including Laurence Echard's *General Ecclesiastical History* (1702), the works of William Cave such as *Primitive Christianity*, and *Spiritual Homilies* attributed to Macarius of Egypt.[20] What Wesley found particularly fascinating about these authors was their views about the doctrine of perfection. "Their concept of perfection as a process rather than a state," observed Outler, "gave Wesley a spiritual vision quite different from the static perfectionism envisaged in Roman spiritual theology of the period and the equally static quietism of those Protestants and Catholics whom he later deplored as 'the mystic writers.'"[21] Outler also insightfully noted that "in the writings of what he [Wesley] thought was 'Macarius the Egyptian,' he was actually in touch with Gregory of Nyssa, the greatest of all the Eastern Christian teachers of the quest for perfection."[22] This is significant since it is likely that Gregory of Nyssa was the main source of Wesley's doctrine of perfection.

Gregory of Nyssa composed, probably late in life, an influential work, *On the Life of Moses*, in which he discussed the idea of perfection.[23] The work has been traditionally divided into two sections: "History" and "Contemplation."

[18]Outler, 9.

[19]Campbell, 9.

[20]Ibid., 35.

[21]Outler, 9-10.

[22]Ibid., 9, n. 26.

[23]Anthony Meredith, *Gregory of Nyssa* (London: Routledge, 1999), 99. It is impossible to date with certainty this work. Most historians, however, date it toward the end of Gregory's life on the basis of external and internal evidences.

Section 1, "History," is a paraphrase of the story of Moses as it is revealed in the book of Exodus. Section 2, "Contemplation," is an allegorical interpretation of Moses' story and is much longer than the first section. It is in this second section that Gregory expounded his idea of perfection.

There are three similar ideas about perfection and Christian holiness in *The Life of Moses* that correspond to those held by Wesley. First, the *Life of Moses* reveals Gregory's principal doctrine that "human goodness is a continued progression towards an infinite God, *epektasis*'." Gregory proposed that it was only in this context that Paul's words in Phil 3:13-14—"Forgetting what lies behind me and reaching out to what lies ahead, I press towards the goal to win the prize, which is God's call to the life in Christ Jesus"—could be realized.[24] Since human beings are finite, concluded Gregory, the progress toward the infinite God and his loving character was without end. Perfection, therefore, was a constant progress from darkness toward "greater truth."[25] The paradox, however, was that although a Christian was in Christ, yet he or she was "summoned to an ever-increasing truth." The life of virtue was a paradox of "standing on the rock which is Christ and forever moving forward."[26]

Second, Gregory emphasized the idea that Christian perfection and the striving for excellence was important for the life-experience of every believer. As Anthony Meredith puts it, "Gregory was becoming increasingly convinced that Christian excellence was ethical rather than mystical."[27]

Third, "religious virtue" consisted of two parts: God and a right conduct. Gregory's refusal "to divorce right conduct from correct belief" set him "apart from pagan religion," which seems to have practiced a form of amoral worship, and from those Christian writers who seem to have believed that it was possible to reach a state "after which virtue ceased to matter or to be demanded simply because it was already firmly possessed."[28]

These same three ideas will be found in Wesley's writings on perfection. Thus, while Wesley was influenced by both Western and Eastern Christianity, his idea of perfection came from the Eastern tradition of *teleosis* ("becoming perfect"), rather than from the Western Latin tradition of *perfectus est* ("made perfect, or static"; "completed perfection").[29] Because of the influence of the Eastern church fathers, Wesley's idea of perfection was open to continual growth.

[24]Anthony Meredith, *The Cappadocians* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995), 69.

[25]Ibid., 73, 77.

[26]Ibid., 69.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Meredith, *Gregory of Nyssa*, 100.

[29]Moyer, 24.

How, then, did practical mysticism and the Eastern church fathers influence Wesley's understanding of perfection?

Wesley's Contributions to the Doctrine of Perfection

Generally, it is believed that there are three Wesleyan contributions to the question of perfection: (1) perfection understood as a process rather than a state, (2) perfection seen as "perfect love," and (3) perfection understood as not being sinless.

Perfection as a Process, not a State of Being

One of the most valuable contributions that Wesley made to the doctrine of perfection was his affirmation that perfection was a "process rather that a state."[30] Thus, for example, at the beginning of his first tract on the subject of perfection, *The Character of a Methodist* (1739), he noted that perfection was not something that he "had already attained," but rather it was something that was a continuous process throughout his life and beyond.[31] Wesley believed that even heaven would be a place where believers would grow in grace and perfection.[32] In this vein, Wesley noted in his sermon, "The Scripture Way of Salvation," that

> from the time of our being 'born again' the *gradual work of sanctification* takes place. We are enabled 'by the Spirit' to mortify the deeds of the body, of our evil nature. And as we are more and more dead to sin, we are more and more alive to God. We go on from grace to grace, while we are careful to 'abstain from all appearance of evil', and are 'zealous of good works', 'as we have opportunity, doing good to all men'.[33]

In the preface of the second volume of hymns that he and his brother Charles published in 1741 he explained further that,

> "This great gift of God, the salvation of our souls, is no other than the image of God fresh stamped on our hearts. It is a 'renewal in the spirit of our minds, after the likeness of him that created them'. . . . Having this hope, that they shall see God as he is, they 'purify themselves even as he is pure; and are holy, as he that hath called them is holy, in all manner of conversation. Not that they have already attained all that they shall attain,

[30]Outler, 10.

[31]Wesley, 13.

[32]See Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville: Kingswood, 1994), 191.

[33]John Wesley, "The Scripture Way of Salvation," in *John Wesley's Sermons: An Anthology*, ed. Albert C. Outler and Richard P. Heitzenraters (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991), 374, emphasis supplied.

> either are already (in this sense) perfect. But they daily 'go on from strength to strength.'"[34]

Wesley thus clearly differed in his understanding of perfection from Calvinists and even those American Methodists who interpreted perfection in terms of "'the second blessing' or 'entire sanctification' as a state of grace.'" For Wesley, perfection was to be a process of growing.[35]

Perfection as "Perfect Love"

Wesley's second contribution to the doctrine of perfection was his description of it in terms of being loving. While he used terms such as holiness, sanctification, and Christian perfection interchangeably,[36] his favorite way to describe the concept of perfection was the process of being perfect in love.[37]

During the first Methodist conference in 1744, Wesley reported several questions that people asked concerning the doctrine of sanctification or perfection. On the question, "What is implied in being a perfect Christian," he answered: "The loving God with all our heart and mind, and soul; Deut. vi, 5."[38] In the *Character of a Methodist*, he wrote that "a Methodist is one who loves the Lord his God with all his heart, with all his soul, with all his mind, and with all his strength."[39] Again, in another sermon, "The Scripture Way of Salvation," he asked, "What is perfection?" His immediate answer was: "It is love excluding sin; love filling the heart, taking up the whole capacity of the soul. It is love 'rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, in everything giving thanks.'"[40] Similarly, in the sermon "The Circumcision of the Heart," he again showed that, for him, perfection meant "love," explaining that,

> If thou wilt be perfect, add to all these charity: add love, and thou hast the 'circumcision of the heart.' 'Love is the fulfilling of the law,' 'the end of the commandment'. Very excellent things are spoken of love; it is the essence, the spirit, the life of all virtue. It is not only the first and great command, but it is all the commandments in one. . . . In this is perfection and glory and

[34]Wesley, *A Plain Account*, 15.

[35]Outler, 31.

[36]For example, in his sermon, "Christian Perfection," John Wesley wrote that perfection was "only another term for holiness" and that they were "two names for the same thing" ("Christian Perfection," in *John Wesley's Sermons: An Anthology*, ed. Albert C. Outler and Richard P. Heitzenraters [Nashville: Abingdon, 1991], 73).

[37]W. E. Sangster, *The Path to Perfection: An Examination and Restatement of John Wesley's Doctrine of Christian Perfection* (New York: Abdingon-Cokesbury, 1943), 77.

[38]Wesley, *A Plain Account*, 48.

[39]Ibid., 13.

[40]Wesley, "The Scripture Way of Salvation," 374.

> happiness. The royal law of heaven and earth is this, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.'[41]

For Wesley, perfection came to mean "perfect in love."[42]

Perfection as Not Being "Sinless"

A third contribution by Wesley to the understanding of perfection was his refusal to define perfection as being "sinless." This point was controversial even among Methodist followers. For example, Thomas Maxfield, one of the first lay preachers of the Methodist movement, and George Bell, a soldier in the King's Life Guards, claimed that "perfect Christians were without sin and, once perfected, would persist in this angelic-like state."[43] In response, Wesley wrote a letter to Maxfield in November 1762 in which he expressed his disagreement with the sinless and angelic perfectionism promoted by the two men.

There was, for Wesley, a "distinction between the absolute perfection required of Adam before the debilitating effects of sin and the more limited post-Fall expectations of fulfilling the law of love."[44] Perfection was attainable in this life, but it was not an absolute perfection. Perfection was subjected to the "limitations of human life" as "no one could be so perfect as to achieve deliverance from all defects."[45] In 1742, he wrote: "We willingly allow, and continually declare, there is no such perfection in this life, as implies either a dispensation from doing good, and attending all the ordinances of God; or a freedom from ignorance, mistake, temptation, and a thousand infirmities necessarily connected with flesh and blood."[46] On the question, "Do you affirm that this perfection excludes all infirmities, ignorance, and mistake," Wesley answered: "I continually affirm quite the contrary, and always have done so."[47] Thus, he concluded that even "the most perfect have continual need of the merits of Christ."[48]

Wesley, in the context of perfection and its relation to freedom from sin, made a crucial distinction between "sin, properly so called," and "sin, improperly so called." "Sin, properly so called," was "a voluntary

[41]John Wesley, "The Circumcision of the Heart," in *John Wesley's Sermons: An Anthology*, ed. Albert C. Outler and Richard P. Heitzenraters (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991) 27-28.

[42]Lindstrom, 141.

[43]Heitzenrater, 209.

[44]Maddox, 185.

[45]Lindstrom, 145.

[46]Wesley, *A Plain Account*, 178.

[47]Ibid., 27.

[48]Ibid., 28.

transgression" of God's law. On the other hand, "sin, improperly so called," was an "involuntary transgression of a divine law, known or unknown."[49] In other words, he differentiated "willful and conscious sins from involuntary and unconscious shortcomings and failures."[50] It is because of this distinction that he found his idea of perfection to be in accordance with the Bible. In one sense, a man could be called perfect, while, on the other, he or she could not be considered as absolutely perfect. In this regard, he noted:

> I believe there is no such perfection in this life as excludes these involuntary transgressions, which I apprehend to be naturally consequent on the ignorance and mistakes inseparable from mortality. Therefore *sinless perfection* is a phrase I never use, lest I should seem to contradict myself. I believe a person filled with the love of God is still liable to these involuntary transgressions. Such transgressions you may call sins, if you please: I do not.[51]

This understanding of sin and perfection explains his sermon, "Christian Perfection." Wesley wrote the sermon "in order . . . to remove the difficulty arising from this seeming contradiction" in his views on sin and perfection. In this sermon, he first considered the question "in what sense Christians are *not* perfect," before explaining "in what sense they *are* perfect."[52] Not surprisingly, his conclusion was that "Christian perfection" did not "imply . . . an exemption either from ignorance or mistake, or infirmities or temptations." For him, there was not an "absolute perfection on earth." He explained:

> There is no 'perfection of degrees', as it is termed none, which does not admit of a continual increase. So that how much soever any man hath attained, or in how high a degree soever he is perfect, he hath still need to 'grow in grace', and daily to advance in the knowledge and love of God his Saviour.[53]

Wesley's idea of perfection was, therefore, "adjusted to the present circumstances of man."[54] Distinguishing perfection from "sinlessness" was an important Wesleyan contribution to the better understanding of the biblical concept of perfection as a whole. Though the doctrine of perfection had been "much abused," Wesley encouraged his fellow Methodist preachers to teach it to the believers "constantly, strongly, and explicitly."[55]

[49]Ibid., 66-67.

[50]Rolf J. Poehler, "Sinless Saints or Sinless Sinners? An Analysis and Critical Comparison of the Doctrine of Christian Perfection as Taught by John Wesley and Ellen G. White" (Unpublished paper, Andrews University, **date**), 25.

[51]Wesley, *A Plain Account*, 29.

[52]Wesley, "Christian Perfection," 70.

[53]Ibid., 73.

[54]Lindstrom, 146.

[55]Ibid., 169.

Conclusion

Wesley's view of perfection did not appear in a vacuum. There were important influences that played a vital role in the formation of his view on perfection. The practical mystical works of Taylor, Kempis, Law, and the traditions of the Eastern church fathers were particularly important sources from which he drew as he contemplated the significance of inner holiness and growth in one's Christian life.

Second, the doctrine of Christian perfection became one of the most important elements of Wesley's theology; indeed, it might even be said to be the most important element in his theology. He brought a deeper and fuller understanding of biblical perfection. His position that biblical perfection was not a state, but rather a growing process, that it was based on love, and that it did not mean "sinless" condition continues to resonant in evangelical theology.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

ALLUSIONS TO GENESIS 11:1-9 IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL: AN EXEGETICAL AND INTERTEXTUAL STUDY

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Date completed: June 2013

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the allusions to Gen 11:1-9 in the book of Daniel and to demonstrate, on exegetical and intertextual grounds, the references and allusions to Gen 11:1-9 in the book of Daniel and the theological implications of those connections.

After reviewing the different kinds of intertextuality and the methodology used by OT scholars in the area of literary allusions (chap. 1), this dissertation investigates the allusions to Genesis 11 in both the historical (chap. 2) and the visionary sections (chap. 3) of the book of Daniel. All the allusions to Genesis 11 in the book of Daniel are discussed and given an assessment of either "certain allusions," "possible allusions," "uncertain allusions," and "nonallusions."

Furthermore, this study outlines the contribution of the allusions to Genesis 11 to the theology of the book of Daniel (chap. 4) and specifically relates the Babel motif to the themes of the kingdom of God, judgment, and the Israelite worship institution, the Temple.

Finally, a summary and conclusions (chap. 5) gather and present the various findings and insights gained from this research. Based on the evidence submitted in this dissertation, it is concluded that the allusions to Genesis 11 play a dominant role in the whole book of Daniel. It is further shown that the allusions to Genesis 11 make a prominent contribution to the main theological themes in Daniel and cannot be ignored by the careful exegete.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bateman, Herbert W. IV, Darrel L. Bock, and Gordon H. Johnston. *Jesus the Messiah: Tracing the Promises, Expectations, and Coming of Israel's King*. Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2012. 527 pp. Hardcover, $33.00.

Jesus the Messiah is coauthored by Herbert W. Bateman IV, Professor of New Testament Studies at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary; Darrell L. Block, Senior Research Professor of New Testament studies at Dallas Theological Seminary and President of the Evangelical Theological Society; and Gordon H. Johnston, Professor of Old Testament Studies at Dallas Theological Seminary. The main goal of the book is to demonstrate, based on written evidence, that Jesus is the Messiah (17). While the authors consider various literary approaches to this topic—Jesus as a social reformer, a religious reformer, a messianic prophet, a messianic restorer, the son of David, the Son of God (18-19)—they do not, however, constrain themselves to these propositions. Instead, their task is to trace the messianic promises from the Hebrew Scriptures and from Second Temple literature before considering the fulfillment of these promises in the NT narratives of Jesus. They demonstrate that the biblical portrait of the Messiah is gradually and progressively presented in both Testaments (21). Therefore, the book's main argument is "God does not disclose everything at once, especially at the start" (22-25). Each inspired text is part of a larger puzzle from which the entire portrait of Jesus as the Messiah emerges when all the pieces are put together.

The authors come to this messianic puzzle through a threefold approach that provides the basic outline of the book: (1) a contextual-canonical approach, that is, how the "First" Testament presents the promises of the Messiah in the context of progressive revelation; (2) a messianic reading of the text, that is, how the Jewish people understood the messianic passages until the time of Jesus; and (3) a Christological understanding, that is, how Jesus and the early church understood the messianic texts by affirming some elements and rejecting others, thereby presenting a coherent portrait of Jesus the Messiah who was promised in the "First" Testament (26-35). According to Bateman, "the burden of this book is the demonstration of this threefold reading strategy as fundamental for making sense of Jesus' and the early church's messianic claim" (26-27).

Jesus the Messiah is currently the most comprehensive work done on this subject. The broad scope of research and the depth of its investigation examines not only evidence found in the Hebrew Bible, but also the Apocrypha, Pseudopigrapha, DSS, and ancient historians such as Josephus.

This work is well written and provides enjoyable reading for the experienced biblical scholar. However, inexperienced readers might find the outline and its internal connections confusing. While each chapter ends with

a partial conclusion, there is not a final conclusion that pulls together the threefold approach. The book would be greatly strengthened by bringing these three sections together to form a complete portrait of Jesus as the Messiah. Despite this, the book is still the most important work from an evangelical perspective on this issue to date. The authors have accomplished their goal of uncovering the historical Jesus.

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Beale, G. K. *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012. ix + 192 pp. Paper, $17.99.

G. K. Beale, Professor of New Testament and Biblical Theology at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is the coeditor of the bestselling *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (2007), which is the "how to" tool for helping students and pastors perform their own exegesis. He is also the author of numerous books, including *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* (2011) and *The Book of Revelation*, New International Greek Testament Commentary (1999).

The NT's use of the OT has been a passion of Beale's since 1985 when he began to notice a lack of existing material on how "to interpret OT citations and allusions in the NT" (ix). The methodology developed in the *Handbook* is the result of years of research and of teaching NT courses. The *Handbook* expands on his previous commentary. Since readers may not take the time to read his entire *Commentary*, the *Handbook* serves as a more accessible tool and a quick resource for understanding his methodology.

Beale begins chapter 1 by addressing the frequently asked question of "whether the NT interprets the Old in line with the OT meaning" (1). He then examines the history of interpretation and outlines the major debates among scholars regarding the use of the OT in the NT. He also addresses several objections from NT scholars who have rejected the notion that the NT interprets the OT with the same hermeneutical methods used by the OT authors. After giving each objection thoughtful consideration, he points to a possible solution in the typological-hermeneutical approach and provides a survey of the debates surrounding this approach. Beale defines the term "typology" as "the study of analogical correspondences among revealed truths about persons, events, institutions, and other things within the historical framework of God's special revelation, which, from a retrospective view, are of a prophetic nature and are escalated in their meaning" (14). This hermeneutical approach becomes the standard for the following chapters.

In chapter 2, Beale continues his examination of the typological-hermeneutical approach by categorizing NT authors' quotations and allusions to the OT text. He shares a workable approach for how allusions should be examined and provides criteria to follow in categorizing them. He also includes an excursus elaborating on allusions and echoes and exploring how to understand "intertextuality."

Chapter 3, "An Approach to Interpreting the Old Testament in the New," is the core of this book (41). While Beale acknowledges that there is no watertight methodology for discovering OT allusions in the NT, he nevertheless points to nine approaches for doing so, providing examples and elaboration on each approach.

Chapter 4, "Primary Ways the New Testament Uses the Old Testament," builds upon chapter 3, particularly on point seven, "analyze the author's interpretative [hermeneutical] use of the OT" (55). He shares examples of direct and indirect fulfillment in the OT and gives examples of typology (e.g., analogical, symbolic, proverbial, rhetorical, OT segment as a blueprint or prototype for a NT segment, alternate textual, assimilated, and ironic or inverted) and how to distinguish type in texts. He then moves to "not-yet fulfilled Old Testament prophecy" (66).

In chapter 5, Beale addresses the hermeneutical and theological presuppositions of the NT writers. He demonstrates how the NT writers are rooted in the OT and demonstrates their agreement that Christ as the Messiah represents the true Israel of the OT, that history is unified by a sovereign plan, that eschatological fulfillment is through Christ, and that Christ is the end-time center of redemptive history.

Chapter 6 surveys sources related to Jewish backgrounds. Beale expands each category of his nine-step hermeneutical approach and concludes each step with valuable resources.

Chapter 7 completes the *Handbook* with a case study to illustrate the book's methodologyby examining Rev 3:7 and its use of Isa 22:22. He looks at both passages, noting the author, context, exegetical parameters, how Jewish sources used Isa 22:22, the typological-hermeneutical interpretation of each passage. He also further explores the theological implications of these passages to demonstrate how they are interrelated.

The Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament is well organized. Each chapter begins with a short introduction and concludes with a brief recap. Beale includes an occasional excursus and footnotes to clarify or deepen a particular point. His use of both recent and older secondary sources such as Rabbinic literature is commendable. This book has a well-rounded bibliography and provides important resources (particularly in chap. 6) for comparing the NT with the OT.

The author gives readers a reliable guide in the complex area of the NT's use of the OT. Beale has succeeded in developing a convincing argument that

typology is a hermeneutical key for interpreting the NT use of the OT. His definition of typology and the discussion in chapters 1 and 2 are essential for understanding his hermeneutical concept. His explanation of key terms such as "escalation" and "retrospective" (14) helps to eliminate confusion.

One minor shortcoming of the book relates to the author's occasional use of charts; it would be helpful to a less-knowledgeable reader if he had included additional explanation and clarification of each chart. In chapters 3 and 5, he points out five presuppositions that underlie the NT writers' interpretation of the OT (96-97). Could it be that the NT writers' interpretation of the OT is based on presuppositions other than those Beale mentions? For example, the Exodus motif may well be an additional presupposition. Perhaps the author should have pointed out that NT writers are not limited to those five presuppositions, important though they may be.

While concise, the *Handbook* gives an adequate introduction to the rich content and issues at hand. It is a useful book with a wealth of information and resources. Seminary students and pastors will benefit from having it on hand for further research. This book could easily be used as a textbook at both the college and graduate levels and brings multiple opportunities for understanding the NT's use of the OT.

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Bebbington, David. *Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. 306 pp. Hardcover, $110.00.

David Bebbington's *Victorian Religious Revivals* examines seven local revivals that occurred between 1841 and 1880 that showcase global developments within nineteenth-century evangelicalism. The author, a Baptist scholar and author of *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (2005), argues that the "twin forces of respectability and Romanticism" exerted their power "over the trajectory of revival" (274). A common culture of revivalism ensued, demarcated by denominational varieties. With time, even the denominational boundaries became increasingly blurred.

Bebbington defines a revival as "outbursts of fresh vigour that stirred whole congregations or even larger bodies of Christians to renewed faith and activitsm" (1). Revivals, he continues, have taken on a variety of forms, both planned and spontaneous, as a significant cultural and religious force. He identifies four distinct patterns (see **Table**).

As Victorian revivals continued from the earlier Presbyterian and Congregational models to the Methodist and even synthetic approaches,

Pattern	Characteristic	Emotional State	Conversion Process	Catalyst?	Role of Minister
Presbyterian	orderly	restrained emotions	gradual	Lord's Supper	firmly controlled by minister
Congregational	tight discipline	free-reign to emotions	gradual	preaching	minister was in charge
Methodist	"less imposition of order and decorum"	expression of emotions with tears, shouting, and outlandish behavior	"sudden"	preaching, especially at camp meeting	lay leadership was normal
Synthetic Approach	"ignored old boundaries"	very emotional, with physical prostrations	"immediate surrender"	careful planning	may or may not be involved

gradually "there emerged a largely homogeneous evangelical approach to awakenings" (12). The author challenges traditional notions of revivalism as dependent upon personalities and an urban environment. Whereas these larger-scale events later did exist (as personified by Dwight L. Moody), there is clearly an older culture of "small-scale events" that predated and continued in tandem with it (262). In many ways, these later urban efforts were the culmination "of a long and hitherto unfinished trajectory" (17).

Scholars of trans-Atlantic evangelicalism will especially appreciate chapter 2 (21-52), which provides a helpful overview of the historiography of revivals. Earlier interpretative themes, argues Bebbington, largely revolve around "religion and society." "The culture was the full range of communal attitudes within which the awakenings were set; the piety was the spiritual fuel out of which the fire of revival was kindled" (21). He describes and critiques views of "providential history," "psychological interpretation," Turner's "Frontier thesis," and arguments for "social," "economic," or "nationalist" control. He then observes recent trends (35-39) that reassert the importance of ideas, the role of religious practice, how such revivals have been depicted, and a growing understanding of the international links between said revivals. Instead of "religion and society" as an interpretative rubric, Bebbington argues for "culture and piety" as a more "all encompassing" model that pays careful attention to the nuances of the particular and keeping piety central to these events.

Small-scale revivals were ubiquitous during the Victorian era. Shared characteristics include reliance on Scripture, emphasis upon the cross, the need for conversion, and intense activism. Such revivals "were an expression of an international movement. . . . There was a common revival culture that bound together people on opposite sides of the globe" (262). What appears to separate the varieties of revivalism were not national but rather denominational characteristics. Chapters 4, 5, and 8 highlight Methodist revivals. Lay people played a prominent role in outbursts, meetings became excited, conversion was instantaneous, and the theology was thoroughly Arminian. Progressively through the Victorian era, Methodists became less willing to experiment as social respectability took hold. Camp meetings, for example, became an annual event instead of a novelty. By way of contrast, the Presbyterian pattern was the opposite of the Methodist approach. Chapters 6 and 7 showcase revival as restrained emotion, the careful consideration of conversion, and, naturally, a theology that was decidedly Calvinist. In such cases, the communion service served as a significant catalyst for revival. A third denominational pattern emerges in chapters 3 and 9 with the Baptists. Calvinists in theology, they resembled Methodists in many respects with their "strong experiential emphasis" (263). The last revival that took place in 1880 in Nova Scotia further highlights that with time "denominational traditions were starting to be eroded" (263).

All of the revivals studied had certain common characteristics. "No single economic cause can be assigned to them, but they were shaped by the occupation of their participants" (274). Each community was shaped significantly through a common livelihood such as fishing or mining that brought with it a sense of danger and a potential loss of life. Another common factor in all the revivals was that of prayer and an expectation that revival was close at hand. Thus, various catalysts—the Lord's Supper, overseas missions, and even temperance and music—could play significant roles in bringing about revival.

This book is a starting point for additional research on still other regional and denominational groups in existence during the Victorian era. Such groups include Seventh-day Adventists, who embraced their own form of revivalism and whose prophetic voice, Ellen G. White, rejected popular notions of revivalism, and Mormons. More research is needed for building upon Bebbington's work.

College libraries will do well to add this volume to their collections if they are interested in American religious history. Unfortunately, the price of the book makes it unlikely that it will receive a wide circulation outside of academic institutions.

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Collins, Paul M., and Barry Ensign-George, eds. *Denomination: Assessing an Ecclesiological Category*. Ecclesiological Investigations, 11. New York: T. & T. Clark, 2011. x + 177 pp. Hardcover, $110.00.

It is rare to find an entire book seeking to clarify a single term in ecclesiology. *Denomination* is such a book, and its editors are to be congratulated on publishing a collection that sheds light on a reality that has not been given due scholarly attention. In fact, since the publication of *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* by H. Richard Niebuhr in 1929, the only major works discussing the denominational configuration of Christianity with this term in focus were two volumes edited by Russell E. Richey (1977 and 1994, the latter together with Robert B. Mullin).

The editors of this collection are a British Anglican priest and former theology professor and an American Presbyterian minister, who serves as a denominational theologian. Together they aim at a deepened reflection on whether the existence of denominations in the contemporary global Christian church can or should be accentuated in a more theological manner than is usually the case. A first step toward this aim is reflected in the title, which claims that the term "denomination" *is* an "ecclesiological category" and, at

the same time, limits this claim by suggesting that this category must be duly assessed.

Not surprisingly, the responses to their thesis differ. With its tapestry of nine "denominational" or "confessional" perspectives (Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Orthodox, Pentecostal, Quaker, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic), one would not expect much agreement. The contributions demonstrate the range of feelings that a simple term can evoke and of the divergent perspectives extant in ecclesiology including the bold suggestion that "denomination" is a necessary term and entity (Ensign-George's introductory chapter), a more-or-less hesitant support (Steven Harmon, Baptist), a somewhat uneasiness with the term (Gesa Thiessen, Lutheran), a critical acceptance (Amy Pauw, Presbyterian, and Peter de Mey, Roman Catholic), a near-complete acceptance (Paul Avis, Anglican), and total rejection (Elena Vishnevskaya, Orthodox). One of the strengths of the book is that it presents conflicting views even on the basic question of whether, and if yes, to what extent, the term "denomination" can serve to clarify ecclesiological discourses.

Another remarkable feature is the structure of the nine contributions, which approach the debate from widely different angles, with varying emphases, and rather diverse outlines. Yet, with only two exceptions, they each contain deliberations on four aspects: (1) a discussion of the term, (2) regional case studies on how particular church bodies match its meaning, (3) the relationship between particular confessional polities or ecclesiologies with "denominational" identity, and (4) the meaning of denomination(s) for ecumenism.

What is somewhat surprising is how often churches or their representatives prefer *not* to use the term in spite of the fact that the characteristics of their body of believers do correspond to the most basic description of "denomination": an "intermediary" entity that exists "to mediate between . . . the church universal and the local congregation" (6). Of course, uneasiness may exist because of inherited alternative terms that various traditions have favored: "movement" (Pentecostals/Wolfgang Vondey), "connection" (Methodists/Russell Richey), "convention" or "fellowship" (Baptists), "confession" (Lutheran), "association" or "meeting" (Quaker/Ann Riggs), and, of course, "church" (Anglican, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic).

This mosaic of terminology raises the question of whether there are persuasive reasons why the term "denomination" and all these other descriptions of God's people should or should not be used in ecclesiological reflection and even in other contexts in which the subject of the church is addressed. Avis asserts that this way of speaking betrays a sociological perspective that is better avoided when we speak of the things of God (22). But are not other descriptors or images for "church," including *ekklesia*, borrowed from extratheological language as well? The Orthodox abhor the

term because according to them the church does not have parts. Thus, they view the term as supporting the idea of a divided church (91, 93). Yet, this approach does not as neatly solve the problem of Christian unity versus diversity; even the various autocephalous churches of Orthodoxy do not agree with each other in every matter. Some churches with Anabaptist or nonconformist backgrounds avoid the term "denomination" because for them the church is Spirit-led and missional, which is why they tend to use self-descriptions that appear more dynamic. However, like "denomination," ultimately other terms merely illustrate the nature of theology, which can absorb thought patterns, expressions, and meanings from outside religion and mold them into theologically appropriate language.

It is typical for collections of essays such as this to contain inconsistencies or to lack clarity in some aspects. In this book, this happens right at the center—defining what a denomination is. Ensign-George suggests a five-part definition: "a contingent, intermediary, interdependent, partial, and permeable embodiment of the church." (6) The other essays are responses to Ensign-George's paper and his definition is echoed by several contributors either in full (Harmon, 39) or at least partly (Vishnevskaya, 90-94; Pauw, 139-140; de Mey, 158). However, others ignore Ensign-George's definition (e.g., Avis, Thiessen, Vondey, and Riggs), produce their own definition (Richey, 69), or use an alternative one (Harmon, 36-38). This certainly adds variety, but it also leads to a picture in which even the main motif remains somewhat fuzzy.

Perhaps this fuzziness is unavoidable to some extent, and certainly the book was meant more as a stimulating contribution to the debate than as a well-argued position on the essence of the term "denomination." By providing material from across the spectrum of Christian traditions, it answers some questions but raises new ones. To what extent can or should theology and ecclesiology, in particular, adopt empirical (e.g., sociological) findings and terminology? What is the relationship between systematic theology and external reality in more general terms? Moreover, when reflecting upon the authors' understanding of the relevance of the "denominational" paradigm for ecumenism viz. interchurch relations, one also finds a large variety of ideas (in part contradictory ones) that all need further debate.

Some insights in particular are significant for Seventh-day Adventist theology. Pentecostals stress the "eschatological orientation of the body of Christ" (110), which implies a contrast between narrowly (i.e., purely organizationally) conceived denominational identities. The "liminal character" (110) of denominations and the missionary orientation of Pentecostalism (108) define an ecclesiology that resembles Adventist self-conceptualization in a striking manner. As for Baptists, their emphasis on the local congregation as *ekklesia* enables denominations to be considered as *ecclesial*, but not as *ekklesia* (39, 42-43). This Anabaptist impulse is of vital importance in each centralized church organization. Yet, the most ingenious affirmation is, in my

view, Pauw's assertion that "to claim a denominational identity is to see one's own body as a part of the universal church but not as the whole church" (133). This awareness existed among Seventh-day Adventists as early as 1860 when they decided *not* to name themselves the "Church of God" because they wanted to avoid the "appearance of presumption," while also expressing their mission to the world in their chosen name. At its best, therefore, the term "denomination" reveals that every Christian movement faces the challenge of relating to other parts of Christianity in meaningful ways, while affirming the reasons for its own existence.

Altogether, the value of the book lies not only in its diversity of perspectives, but also in its presentation of many aspects of a commonly used but ecclesiologically under-reflected reality. While some of the essays lack conciseness, they confirm that "denomination" is a useful term, even if only to describe elements of an intermediate church level and to define adequate limits to other ecclesiological terms. One does not have to like the word, but theologians will benefit from using it in a more thoughtful manner. Thus, anyone interested in ecclesiology, interchurch relations, and the sociology of Christianity will be stimulated by reading this book.

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Dever, William G. *The Lives of Ordinary People in Ancient Israel: Where Archaeology and the Bible Intersect*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. x + 436 pp. Paper, $25.00.

William G. Dever is Professor Emeritus of Near Eastern Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Arizona and is currently Distinguished Visiting Professor of Near Eastern Archaeology at Lycoming College. He was director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and has directed excavations at important sites such as Gezer and Khirbet el-Kom. However, for most archaeology scholars, Dever needs no introduction since he is a bastion in the field of ancient Near Eastern archaeology.

The style and content of this handbook corresponds with the author's previous volumes: *Did God Have a Wife?* (2005), *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It?* (2001), and *Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?* (2003). In the words of Dever, this volume is written for "students of the Hebrew Bible . . . primarily for the non-specialist" (vi). However, it should be read by a broad audience, including lay people and scholars as its appeal is Dever's unique perspective on archaeology, coming from his nearly 50 years of field experience and his willingness to write what he feels and never pull any punches. The volume includes footnotes with sources (and often Dever's thoughts on said sources) and an ample bibliography, which will be most beneficial to undergraduate students just

beginning in the field or graduate students wanting to expand out of their fields of study.

One must also appreciate how transparent Dever is, revealing his biases (a secular-humanist approach that is unconcerned with theological discussions), as well as his strengths (a professional archaeologist with training in the Hebrew Bible). In the conclusion, he is also fairly transparent as he attempts to critique his book as a work of history. What might come across as hubris reads as circumspection as he admits that "absolute objectivity is impossible; but . . . some objectivity is better than none" (372, n. 7).

In this book, Dever attempts to construct a history of ancient Israel by focusing first on archaeology, then secondarily on the text (and only when the text is "historically accurate beyond reasonable doubt" [vi], which seems somewhat arbitrary), before finally moving into the realm of speculation and attempting to reconstruct what things actually were like. It should be stated that this book is not, in fact, a history of ancient Israel because Dever is focusing only on the eighth century B.C.E., a time period when the archaeological data is copious and the textual evidence fairly accurate. It almost seems as if this book is an exercise for Dever to see if he could construct a history based solely on archaeology. In my opinion, the exercise turns out quite well, and apparently Dever thinks so too, based on his critique of his own work in the conclusion and considering that his next book is tentatively titled *An Archaeological History of Israel and Judah*.

In the first two chapters, Dever discusses history writing and those who write histories. Chapter 1 focuses on the methodology of writing a history, while the second chapter addresses, in the form of a literature review, his favorite foes, the revisionists/minimalists. Chapter 3 sets the stage for the archaeological and textual details to come by focusing on historical geography. In some ways it would have made sense to place chapter 6, on everyday life, directly after this chapter because there are natural connections between geology, hydrology, pedology, and agriculture. It should also be noted that Dever mentions the phrase "land of milk and honey" several times without mentioning its actual meaning. Chapter 4 finishes setting the stage for the remainder of the book. The discussion moves from geography to detailing a hierarchy of sites within the land, along with an encyclopedia-type entry on eighth-century-B.C.E. archaeological remains from important sites. Here the main appeal is Dever's hierarchical and demographic approach to excavated and surveyed archaeological sites.

Chapters 5 and 6 provide transition from a broader overview to the archaeological details of cities, towns, villages, and everyday life in the countryside. Chapter 5 looks at urban planning, defense systems, administrative buildings, and other archaeological structures. This chapter would have been strengthened by interacting with the current excavations at Ramat Rahel since theories on the nature of its monumental architecture have changed.

The focus then shifts in chapter 6 from larger-scale structures to small rural settlements, household objects, and items used in food preparation and consumption. This chapter is noteworthy for going beyond the archaeological data and looking at ethnographic studies in the modern rural Middle East, much of which is drawn from Dever's own experience in local Palestinian villages. The largest contribution to the "biblical data" section of these two chapters is Dever's summary of the Hebrew words for various architectural features and domestic objects.

Chapters 7 and 8 examine the socioeconomic makeup and religious practices of eighth-century-B.C.E Israel and Judah, then move to more theoretical questions that are still framed with archaeological evidence. The chapter on socioeconomic structures looks at the archaeological evidence for elite architecture. Palaces at Samaria and Lachish are described, as are elite residences at Hazor, Tell el-Far'ah, Tell en-Nasbeh, Tell Beit Mirsim, and Beersheba. Dever then focuses on small finds such as stamp seals and ostracon and what they can tell us about literacy and bureaucracy. Here there is a discussion of the upper class, and, in the previous chapter, a discussion of the lower class, but what of the middle class? By combining archaeological evidence and ethnographic studies, Dever points out that the middle class is represented in the commercial district of cities, in which potters, weavers, brewers, and others would have plied their trade. The chapter on religion takes the same structure as the previous one, focusing first on religious/cultic structures such as temples, sanctuaries, and shrines before moving on to cultic objects such as standing stones (or *masseboth*), altars, and figurines. This chapter is a good overview, but offers nothing new to Dever's previous work on the subject (see *Did God Have a Wife? Archaeology and Folk Religion in Ancient Israel*).

The last two chapters before the conclusion of the book examine Israel's neighbors and warfare. Chapter 9 is a brief summary of the Philistines, Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Phoenicians, and Arameans. It seems slightly out of place here and perhaps would have fit better alongside the chapter on historical geography or omitted altogether. Chapter 10 begins differently than previous chapters. Instead of discussing archaeological evidence for warfare, Dever writes in narrative form about the buildup to war between Israel/Judah and Assyria in the eighth century B.C.E. He still relies here on archaeological information in the form of royal inscriptions. I have a few issues with this section. First, Dever mentions that all known cities have only one gate (322), but based on the excavations at Kh. Qeiyafa, we now know of one city with two gates, albeit in a slightly earlier phase of Iron II. Second, he briefly mentions "Solomon's stables" at Megiddo, calls them storehouses, and assigns them to the ninth century B.C.E. While all of this might be accurate, Deborah Cantrell's recently published monograph, *The Horseman of Israel: Horses and Chariotry in Monarchic Israel* (2008), makes a

strong case for the presence of horses and chariots at Megiddo and a number of other sites in Israel. Finally, Dever discusses border forts as government initiatives, placed there for some defensive purpose. This description is probably accurate, but he includes the three forts in the Buqeiah Valley, which were clearly built as part of a government project to perform intensive agriculture in the valley, either in preparation for the Assyrian attack or as the result of the loss of the "breadbasket," that is, the Shephelah. Regardless of when they were built, these forts and the accompanying intense exploitation of the valley are important parts of the larger archaeological story at the end of the eighth century B.C.E. The chapter concludes with discussion of the sites in Israel possibly destroyed by the Assyrians, archaeological evidence of siege preparation in Judah (including the Siloam Tunnel and *lmlk* storage jars), and the fall of Lachish, where the archaeological, epigraphic, and biblical evidence match up quite nicely.

There are very few editing errors: examples include Tier 2 instead of Tier 3 (82) or Faust 2010 instead of Faust 2011 (89). The illustrations, maps, and photographs are numerous and well done. The majority of the photographs are Dever's own and his ethnographic shots are equally as valuable as his archaeological ones.

Despite the few issues I mentioned in my summary above, I would highly recommend this handbook, written in a style that is all Dever's own, to students, scholars, and laypeople interested in the intersections between archaeology and the OT.

Marcy, New York Owen Chesnut

Fowl, Stephen E. *Ephesians: A Commentary*. New Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2012. xviii + 249 pp. Hardcover, $40.00.

Stephen Fowl is Professor of Theology at Loyola University, Baltimore, Maryland. His doctoral research at the University of Sheffield focused on the hymnic material in Paul's writings. He is especially interested in the theological interpretation of the NT, a theme on which he has written extensively (and which finds expression to the benefit of the preacher, e.g., reflections on the atonement [43-44] and the doctrine of the Trinity [57]). Fowl is also the author of a 2005 commentary on Philippians (Two Horizons Commentary, Eerdmans).

The treatment of each section of the letter, in accord with the style of the New Testament Library series, consists of an introduction, an original translation, notes on the translation, and commentary. This organization works well, though notes on the translation sometimes become extended and are, occasionally, redundant with the commentary. Fowl includes two excursi: one on the meaning of Eph 1:23, which displays "a fruitful ambiguity" (65), and

another on "The Death of Christ in Ephesians." While the concept of dying with Christ is absent from Ephesians, this does not represent a significant deviation from the undisputed letters. Rather, Ephesians coheres with them in treating the cross as a "self-revelation of God's character" (75-76).

Fowl writes both carefully and clearly. With some frequency, he offers a succinct statement that is worthy of wide attention. One example would be his finely tuned summary about the relationship between Jews and Gentiles as expressed in Ephesians: "Paul does not think that Israel's status has simply been transferred to a (nearly exclusively) Gentile church. Rather, through Christ, Gentiles have been brought within God's purposes for all creation as manifested through the calling of Israel" (49).

Fowl is interested in the views of early Christian interpreters and frequently mentions the views of Chrysostom, Origen, and others. With regard to recent scholarship on Ephesians, Fowl often refers to the commentaries by Lincoln, Hoehner, Best, and Schnackenburg (listed in descending order of reference).

One notable feature of the commentary is its size. The length of commentaries treating a relatively small document such as the epistle to the Ephesians has grown over the years with most recent commentaries on the letter falling in the range of 500-900 pages. Fowl's contribution bucks the trend, offering a lucid treatment of the letter in a mere 249 pages, which invites wider use and readership than much longer tomes.

Anyone drawn to the volume by its reasonable size will be rewarded by an introduction that offers careful, well-balanced answers to the questions surrounding Ephesians (the relationship between Ephesians and Colossians, use of the OT, recipients, and occasion). Fowl's characteristic approach is to avoid over-reading the evidence and to reflect on the interplay of issues, especially the bias introduced by presuppositions concerning authorship. While some might feel this yields timid conclusions, I found myself responding affirmatively on most counts. In the wider commentary though, Fowl sometimes overreaches in a laudable effort to accommodate a variety of views. Can one really argue that 4:7-16 portrays Christ's ascension as leading to the descent of the Spirit *and* affirm a descent-into-hell interpretation? (139).

Fowl confesses, "I genuinely do not know whether Paul wrote Ephesians," holding that it was composed by Paul or by "someone close to him . . . within a decade or two after his death" (28). Adopting a canonical approach, he downplays the significance of the authorship question for the appropriation of the letter and proceeds to write most of the rest of the commentary as would one who believes Paul himself to be the author.

I found his reflections on the eschatology of the letter especially helpful (22-25). Paul's apocalyptic view centers on the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus and that the messianic age is both "now" and "not yet." In this light, it is difficult "to argue that any differences between Ephesians and the undisputed letters are so significant as to be differences of kind" (24).

Fowl is keen to understand the "dividing wall" of 2:14-15 in the context of the earlier Pauline letters in which Paul repeatedly argues against the abolition of the law. So the "dividing wall" should be taken as "a straightforward image of separation" (91) and is not the Jewish law since it had not been destroyed by Christ. "Under Sin's influence the torah became both a source and an instrument of hostility" (94). It is this hostility that Christ nullifies.

The treatment of the famous "armament passage" of Eph 6:10-20 offers a communal and passivist reading, arguing that "believers are not called to make war on the devil or any other spiritual power" (203). Fowl seems to miss the ancient context of the battle metaphor and the importance of "standing" when the ancient phalanxes crashed together. This means that he does not quite know what to do with the sword as part of the armor or of the idea of "waging peace." Why not understand Paul's metaphor as the military one it is, which he guards by the phrase, "the gospel of peace"? As it stands, Fowl's reading, with its sustained advocacy for believers being in only a defensive posture, is muddled. What does the language of struggle—"our struggle"—mean? And, why the "full panoply" of God's armor? In his view, believers—the church—are all dressed up with no place to go! This is a curious lapse given his generally well-considered views and the significant contributions of his mentor, Lincoln, to understanding the metaphorical world of the passage.

Written both with scholarly candor and from the perspective of someone who believes that Ephesians should inform the life of Christians individually and in community, Fowl's commentary is an excellent and often inspiring contribution. He proves a sane and capable guide to the interpretive issues one confronts in Ephesians and the scholarly conversations surrounding them.

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Greidanus, Sidney. *Preaching Christ from Daniel*. Foundations for Expository Sermons. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012. xv + 440 pp. Paper, $34.00.

sAfter perusing the library shelves, one comes to the conclusion that there are not many books offering preaching material on Daniel. Sidney Greidanus, Professor Emeritus of Preaching at Calvin Theological Seminary in Grand Rapids, Michigan, confesses that at the beginning of his pastoral and preaching ministry he missed much of the good news by neglecting to proclaim messages from Daniel. He says that in the first eight years he only produced one sermon that was based on this important biblical book.

In *Preaching Christ from Daniel*, Greidanus follows what he calls the "hermeneutical homiletical approach" to the books of the Bible and he applies a "redemptive historical Christocentric method" to biblical texts. Central to

the book are God's sovereignty, providence, and his coming kingdom, leading him to define Daniel's message as: God is in control and capable of saving those faithful to him even from certain death. Similarly, on a broader level, God is in control of earthly empires. He uses their actions to further his own plans, judging the evil powers, while protecting his suffering people. In the end, God will bring his perfect kingdom on earth (21-22).

Greidanus's book is not only about preaching from Daniel's book in general, but specifically about preaching Jesus Christ from the book of Daniel. This he does on seven levels: (1) a redemptive-historical progression from salvation history's beginning to end, (2) a promise-fulfillment theme of Christ's two comings, (3) a typology in which Jesus is the antitype and Daniel clearly prefigures Christ, (4) an analogy that points to the teaching or goal of Jesus, (5) longitudinal themes that are traced through both testaments, (6) NT references that include citations and allusions, and (7) contrasts between the periods before and after the time of Christ.

The book is written with an awareness of today's scholarship and has extensive footnotes and a bibliography. Greidanus writes more than one would normally expect to find in a book on preaching concerning introductory issues in the book of Daniel and about prophetic applications (often called "interpretations"). Most of the applications of apocalyptic prophecies from Daniel (and some from Revelation) are in line with standard evangelical positions, some of which differ significantly from the historicist approach to those prophecies. The book of Daniel, says the author, is ideally suited for a series of sermons—six based on the stories and five based on the four visions. It is interesting that Greidanus includes Daniel 11 in the final "vision" of the future because it is clear chapter 11 records not a vision, but rather a long "audition."

The author is commended for pointing out the following pitfalls that sermons from the book of Daniel should avoid: (1) the preaching text ought to be a literary unit, not a phrase or a verse because biblical authors communicated their messages not in a few words or phrases, but in literary units; (2) the preacher should keep the sermon focused on the theme of the passage and not stray into moralizing; (3) one should be aware of the danger of speculating on the details of the visions or predicting the end of the world; and (4) allegorizing should give place to impressionistic and dramatic effects of the prophetic imagery.

There is much in Greidanus's work that I appreciate and agree with. Yet, there are some positions or statements that merit further discussion. The first has to do with the activity of the "little horn" as presented in Dan 8:9-12. The author applies this part of the vision to the time when Antiochus [Epiphanes] "threw down to the earth some of the host and some of the stars, and trampled on them" (274). But was it Antiochus or someone greater than him who was capable of starting a cosmic conflict against God and his

people? Another claim that could be debated has to do with the Anointed Prince from Dan 9:25, who according to the author is *not* Jesus Christ, but Ezra, who is only "a type of Christ." On the positive side, Greidanus holds that in the next verse (Dan 9:26), the Anointed One *is* Jesus Christ. I would also add that in the comparative chart of Daniel's prophecies on p. 344, where there is a blank space, the climax should be "the sanctuary restored" to match the climaxes from the other revelations presented in the book.

The most significant issue in this book, I think, has to do with the identity of the person behind the titles "man clothed in linen" and "Michael." According to the author, these titles do not refer to Christ, but to certain created beings such as angels. Greidanus concludes by saying that "there is no biblical evidence for identifying Michael as the preincarnate Christ" (356). I would agree that there is no *direct* or *explicit* evidence, but there is some *implicit* evidence to support Michael's divine nature. One could ask these simple questions: Who is the Alpha and the Omega of the long conflict between good and evil according to Daniel 10–12? Is it not Michael, whose name brackets Gabriel's long speech thereby forming an *inclusio*? Who is the only person in the book of Revelation (especially in chap. 12) who was able to defeat Satan and his angels? My own study of Daniel 10–12 has convinced me that this final revelation given to Daniel is more Christ-centered than any other in the book (see "Making Sense of Daniel 11" in *Adventist Review*, 13 June 2009).

In conclusion, Greidanus's work provides much material on the topic of preaching from the book of Daniel that ministers could use. The book is well written and documented in spite of occasional repetitiveness. I wish the last chapters from Daniel were presented in a Christ-centered way as the title of this book suggests. The work will prove helpful to anyone interested in preaching from Daniel's book.

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Helyer, Larry R. *The Life and Witness of Peter*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2012. 329 pp. Paper, $26.00.

In this latest book, Larry R. Helyer, Emeritus Professor of Biblical Studies at Taylor University, a liberal arts university in central Indiana, introduces the reader to the apostle Peter. *The Life and Witness of Peter* is a companion book to an earlier publication, *The Witness of Jesus, Paul and John* (2008). This book fills a neglected area of study in NT theology. All passages dealing with Peter in the Gospels, the book of Acts, the epistles of Paul, and the two epistles of Peter are brought together to explore his life, witness, and teachings. The book ends with a survey of traditional teachings and legends associated with Peter.

The Life and Witness of Peter is one of a number of recent publications on the apostle and his epistles and helps to demonstrate a renewed interest in the Petrine writings, particularly in regard to ecumenical studies. The style of writing is simple and accessible to lay people and students in biblical studies.

Helyer's approach is based on a few important presuppositions that he outlines at the beginning of the book. He accepts both epistles as genuinely authored by the apostle, a rarity in recent NT studies. He believes that all four Gospels are the result of "eyewitness testimony" (14), meaning that he also accepts the reliability of the tradition that the Gospel of Mark is a witness to Peter's understanding of the life and ministry of Jesus, and that the accounts of Peter in the book of Acts are historical and reliable. The result is a synthesis and harmonization of all materials about or authored by Peter in the NT. This approach to NT narratives is not without its weaknesses and generates the kind of speculations about Peter's extended family found early in the book (26-27, 35). Nevertheless, the book is a fair introduction to Peter and his epistles.

In his discussion of the themes in 1 Peter, Helyer highlights the apostle's thoughts on Christology (Jesus as the Lamb of God, the Suffering Servant, the Cornerstone, and the Shepherd), pastoral counsels regarding the Christian's sufferings that come from following Jesus' example (128-147, 162-183), and the people of God (184-204). His explanation of the difficult passage regarding Christ's preaching of the gospel to the dead (1 Pet 3:18-22) builds on his knowledge of intertestamental literature, particularly *1 Enoch*. He concludes that the traditional interpretation of Christ's descent into hell in the interval between his death and resurrection does not offer a satisfactory explanation and instead favors the interpretation of Christ's victory over the forces of evil at his resurrection (154-156). This point leads Helyer to conclude that "Peter's christological confession is not unique but shares common ground with confessional and creedal statements found in other portions of the NT, especially Paul's letters" (155). In his discussion of the theological themes of 2 Peter, the author focuses on the character and destiny of the false teachers (238-254) and on cosmic eschatology, in particular the delay of the *parousia* (255-271).

The last chapters summarize views of the early church fathers on the life and death of Peter in Rome, where, various traditions explain, there arose a cult of veneration of the apostle in the second century. There is also a valuable summary of pseudepigraphal documents attributed to Peter.

This book has the advantage of bringing together all references to Peter in the NT. The author's commanding knowledge of intertestamental literature, as presented in *Exploring Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period* (2002), also helps to set the context of first-century Christianity and challenging passages in the Petrine epistles.

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Institute for New Testament Textual Research. *Novum Testamentum Graece: Nestle-Aland*, 28th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012, 94+890 pp. Hardcover, $59.95.

After nineteen years, the highly anticipated new edition of the *Novum Testamentum Graece*, or as it is more commonly referred, the *Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament*, has finally been published. This edition is the twenty-eighth in a long history of volumes that date back to the seminal text of Eberhard Nestle published in 1898. Whereas the last three editions were developed under the direction of the now deceased Kurt Aland and an international team of textual scholars, the current volume is the result of the dedicated labor of the Institute for New Testament Textual Research in Münster, Germany, under the supervision of Holger Strutwolf.

A first glance at the volume might lead one to conclude that little change has taken place over the last nineteen years. The current edition not only has nearly the same look and feel as the NA27, but the Greek text of the two volumes is identical, except for 34 largely minor textual changes across 31 verses in the Catholic Epistles. While such textual gains may seem modest, they do not reflect the extent of the advances that make the current volume a much-improved edition of the NT text. These advances will be evaluated in connection to the stated goals identified by the book itself: (1) to include the latest results from the *Editio Critica Maior* on the text of the Catholic Epistles, and (2) to completely revise the textual apparatus for clarity of use (48).

Following the work of the *Editio Critica Maior*, the text of the Catholic Epistles has been established on an entirely different basis from the rest of the NT text. The method used to do this is the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method developed by Gerd Mink. Instead of classifying manuscripts and their readings based on "text-types," this method seeks to be more comprehensive by comparing all the readings in a given manuscript to all the other readings across an entire book or corpus in order to determine the genealogical "coherence" among the various readings. One of the interesting results of this method so far is the greater appreciation it has produced for the role of Byzantine manuscripts in the textual history of the Catholic Epistles. While scholarly consensus is growing in favor of the beneficial aspects of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method, the verdict is still out on whether it will be as useful outside of the Catholic Epistles.

The vast majority of the 34 textual changes in the volume involve one word, either an omission, addition, replacement, elision, or a change of case. Of the remaining differences, nine involve two words, three involve three words, and one involves four words. The most significant changes occur in 2 Pet 3:10 and Jude 5.

The textual problem in 2 Pet 3:10 involves the reading εὑρεθήσεται and its meaning in relation to the destruction of the world on the day of the Lord.

Although the reading is difficult, the NA27 listed it as the initial reading due to its strong external support (א B K P 0156^{vid} 323 1241 1739^{txt}) and because it also offers the best explanation for the rise of the other variants. The text of the present edition, however, prefers the reading οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται. This is surprising since it does not have the support of a single Greek witness, and the support it does have is extremely minimal (sy$^{ph\ mss}$ sa cv^{vid}).

The other interesting textual change is the decision to favor the reading in Jude 5 that instead of identifying Jesus as the Lord, instead presents him as the one who delivered the Israelites out of Egypt. This change is understandable. It has the strongest support among both Greek and versional witnesses, and it is also the most difficult reading, suggesting why later scribes would have altered it.

Along with a newly established text of the Catholic Epistles, there is also a completely revised textual apparatus for them. Following aspects from the *Editio Critica Maior*, the revised apparatus in the Catholic Epistles is somewhat different than the apparatus for the rest of the NT. The primary differences include the abbreviation "Byz" to represent the "Byzantine text in a pure form," instead of the gothic 𝔐, and the sign "◆" to identify passages that the editors are divided about concerning which variant represents the initial reading. The editors also abandoned the use of the square brackets ([]) in the Catholic Epistles since they felt more sophisticated forms were necessary to describe differing degrees of reliability. These changes are likely a harbinger of the sort of revisions that will eventually define the entire textual apparatus of future editions of the Greek text.

The most significant feature of the present volume, however, is the revision and correction of its entire critical apparatus. An indication of the extent of these changes can be seen in the increase of the number of pages between Matthew to Revelation (from 680 pages in the NA27 to 789 pages in the NA28). While some of this increase may be attributed to a slight increase in the size and spacing of the Greek font, the vast bulk of the increase is due to the changes made to the apparatus, which include both the addition and elimination of variant readings and the witnesses that support them.

A comparison of the manuscripts listed in Appendix 1 of the NA27 and NA28 reveal that 219 manuscripts were deemed insignificant for establishing the text of the NT and therefore eliminated. This included the removal of 93 of the 272 uncial manuscripts, 121 of the 219 miniscule manuscripts, and the removal of 5 of the 10 Greek lectionaries cited previously. In an attempt to ascertain how the elimination of these witnesses affected the various readings in the textual apparatus, a sample examination was made of each variant affected by the elimination of the 18 miniscule manuscripts listed on p. 710 of the NA27 (1518 1555 1573 1574 1678 1689 1709 1729 1758 1827 1831 1832 1836 1838 1845 1846 1875 1877). The following types of changes were revealed: (1) outside of the Catholic Epistles, 11 minor variants were removed

(e.g., Matt 5:45; Luke 3:22, 23-31; Rom 3:25; 2 Cor 2:9, 8:21; Phil 1:20; Heb 11:13; Rev 2:1), and the support for 3 readings was removed (Acts 5:9; Gal 1:3; Rev 1:6); and (2) within the Catholic Epistles, 10 variants were removed, and the support of 21 other readings was affected. While the loss of the testimony of these 18 miniscule manuscripts is unfortunate, their textual value simply did not outweigh their absence in a hand edition of the NT.

Other casualties in the NA28 apparatus include the loss of subscriptions, the symbol identifying readings from the NA26, conjectures, and the signs *pc* (*pauci*) and *al* (*alii*), due to the confusion over the significance of the presence or absence of these two signs on a given reading.

The absence of the above manuscripts and features from the apparatus of the NA28 was offset by a number of additions. The most notable is the inclusion of new manuscripts deemed more significant for the study of the text, including 11 papyri, 1 uncial ms (0211); and 10 miniscule mss (5 18 30 288 606 1175 1718 2473 2521 2685). An example of how these new witnesses augment the current apparatus can be seen in the revised support of the initial text of Rom 5:2. In addition to increasing the textual support of the passage by seven new witnesses, the revised apparatus also includes the support of three current witnesses (104 630 1241) that were not listed previously. Until a searchable form of the new apparatus is available, it is impossible to determine how significant these particular manuscripts will be on the current text.

Other noteworthy features that should not be overlooked include (1) the much welcomed decision to spell out the full text of variant readings instead of merely abbreviating them (e.g., James 1:17), (2) a bolder vertical line to separate variant readings in the apparatus, (3) the revision of the minor readings in Appendix 2 (an increase from 15 to 28 pages) that includes moving some minor readings to the main apparatus itself (e.g., Matt 2:23), and (4) the expansion of the textual citations and allusions in Appendix 4 (now Appendix 3).

The NA28 marks another significant and much welcomed stage in the history of NT textual criticism. The advances it has made in establishing the text of the Catholic Epistles and the accuracy and clarity of its revised textual apparatus will make it the definitive text for scholarly study for years to come. It is a "must have" purchase for professors, seminary students, and pastors alike.

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Joosten, Jan. *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose*. Jerusalem Biblical Studies, 10. Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 2012. 513 pp. Hardcover, $75.00.

Since the days of pioneers such as Wilhelm Gesenius and Samuel Driver in the nineteenth century, the question of how to understand the verbal system

of biblical Hebrew has proven to be a major challenge for Hebraists. The rise of new linguistic methods and the discovery of new Semitic texts and languages have provided a fertile ground for discussion. As the title indicates, Jan Joosten attempts to elucidate the various aspects of the Hebrew verb into one system. Thus, he does not simply synthesize the scholarly debate, but supplies the reader with valuable and clear examples of the points under discussion. While he reviews previous studies, he also aims at presenting a new comprehensive theory of the Hebrew verbal system. Linguistically, he places himself within the Saussurian structuralist school, meaning that he searches for "an underlying system" (*langue*) "in the multifarious phenomena attested in texts" (*parole*) (9). He accepts a diachronic approach to biblical Hebrew and associates himself with scholars such as Avi Hurvitz and Steven Fassberg from Hebrew University.

Joosten's stated goal for the book is "to provide exegetes of biblical texts with a dependable analysis of the meaning and use of Hebrew verbal forms" (7). Thus, the book is not primarily meant for linguists, even if they will benefit from it. He focuses on classical biblical Hebrew (Genesis–2 Kings), but also includes two chapters on poetry and late biblical Hebrew.

The methodological choice to approach the text from a structuralist viewpoint leads Joosten to attempt to determine the meaning of verbal forms based on opposition: "the meaning of a given verbal form is determined in opposition to that of another verbal form, the meaning of a group of forms in opposition to another group" (10). Even if he acknowledges the value of text-linguistic approaches, making the distinction between narrative and discursive texts foundational in their approach to Hebrew grammar, he does not see this distinction as primary. He also argues frequently against the notions of foreground and background in the text used by text-linguistics. Further, even if he acknowledges major differences between the genres of prose and poetry (he does not operate with a "language of the law" as a separate category, as some grammarians do) he does not see this difference as basic. Rather, he argues that all base themselves upon the same verbal system, even if the verbal system of poetry is only partially understood. He therefore disagrees with those claiming that poetry represents an entirely different verbal system.

In general, his basic argument is that only the *wayyiqtol*, *qatal*, and predicative participle really belong to the indicative system, while he classifies under modal forms *yiqtol* and *weqatal* on one side, with the volitives (cohortative, imperative, and jussive) on the other. It means that the indicative forms are the only ones expressing factuality, while the modal forms indicate *irrealis*, a process that is not, or not yet, real. Further, while *wayyiqtol* is a preterite, he sees *qatal* as a tenseless expression of anteriority. He sees *wayyiqtol* as going back to a Proto-Semitic prefix preterite form, attested in the Akkadian preterite *iprus*. Contrary to most grammars, he does not see the *wayyiqtol* as expressing

sequence. Rather, according to him the form expresses that an action took place in the past, while it is the genre that turns it into a sequential story. He also sees within the biblical corpus indications that the *wayyiqtol* becomes replaced by *wᵉ+qatal*, something clearly seen in Mishnaic Hebrew. Similarly, he does not see *weqatal* as essentially expressing succession. Rather, this "is due partly to the conjunction and partly to the VS word order" (292). According to him, Su-Ptcp often implies the ongoing nature of an action, while Ptcp-Su stresses the factuality of a situation. Su-Ptcp is a way that biblical Hebrew can express the "actual present," contrary to the claims of many grammarians. He also argues that the verbal participle (Su-Ptcp), originally expressing progression, in late biblical Hebrew began encroaching on meanings originally expressed by the *yiqtol* (imminent future, general present, and repeated action in the past). He sees the main function of the imperative not to be a command, but "to express the will of the speaker regarding the addressee" (94).

Joosten chooses to take the various morphological forms of the Hebrew verb as his basic starting point. The advantage with this is that he bases himself upon objective, verifiable phenomena in the language. But the form and semantics of the verbal system do not have a one-to-one relation. One form might have various meanings depending on the context, and the same meaning can be expressed by various forms. As he believes that meaning is constituted in difference, he is forced to constantly compare various forms with one another. Even if his methodological approach requires this, it makes his discussion become somewhat repetitive. On the other hand, semantic similitude often becomes Joosten's basic argument for associating various forms. But then it also rests more on subjective and disputable interpretation than the phenomena of the forms themselves.

Joosten argues against those collapsing biblical Hebrew into one unified system, such as Young and Rezetko do. He also challenges those dating texts more on historical-critical theories than on linguistic data. From a conservative approach to the biblical text, it is noteworthy that he argues that classical biblical Hebrew bears features "very close to the language used in Judean inscriptions of the monarchical period" (379), meaning that they belong to the pre-exilic era. As current linguistic studies, according to the author, cannot with certainty establish further subdivisions in biblical Hebrew than the pre-exilic (classical biblical Hebrew) and post-exilic (late biblical Hebrew), Joosten's arguments will challenge critical scholarship in their late dating of many biblical books. He also pushes the boundaries and argues that precursors of the classical biblical Hebrew verbal system are found with identifiable features (419). With signs of archaic biblical Hebrew, this would indicate an early date of biblical books, even if the language of the main corpus might have been updated at a later stage, thus bearing the profile of classical biblical Hebrew.

A minor critique is that the book deserved a more quality binding. My cover loosened. As it will work as a reference grammar, it should have been made more durable. It is also a shame that the book was not given a more distinct layout. The various levels of titles are not always immediately clear and are, at times, confusing. This is only partly remedied by the "Detailed Table of Contents." This section would be more helpful it included page numbers to the subsections so the reader could go directly to a specific area of interest. There is an "Index of Biblical References" that is a valuable tool for exegetes, but it would have been desirable to have a subject index.

Joosten goes beyond any up-to-date approach to the Hebrew verbal system in scope and detail. Undoubtedly, the question of whether the difference between verbal form, the distinction between narrative and discourse, and the difference between genres will color the debate around Joosten's theory. I also expect that there will be debate around Joosten's denial of the consecutive aspect of the *wayyiqtol* and *weqatal* forms and his classification of the verbal forms into indicative and modal forms. I do, however, appreciate his modesty and openness as he is fully aware that he is not providing the final word on the verbal system. He points out cases that might challenge his own theory. In several places, he points out areas that need further study. Joosten takes the analysis of the Hebrew verbal system to a level of sophistication the serious student of Hebrew should appreciate. For the biblical exegete, this book will indeed be a valuable reference grammar for analyzing and understanding the verbs in specific passages.

Berrien Springs, Michigan KENNETH BERGLAND

Jung, Martin H. *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)* (Reformation and Confessional Era [1517-1648]). Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2012. 288 pp. Paper, €24.99.

Martin H. Jung is Professor of Evangelical Theology, particularly historical theology, church history, and confessional history, at the University of Osnabrück, Germany. As with his concise introduction to 2,000 years of church history, *Kirchengeschichte* (Grundwissen Christentum, 3 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2010]), and his excellently formulated and researched book *Philipp Melanchthon und seine Zeit*, 2d ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2010), this current volume on the Reformation and Confessional eras (1517-1648) is succinct, informative, and readable.

The textbook contains fifteen neatly arranged chapters that are preceded by an introduction. Chapter 1 delineates the background, preconditions, and general conditions in the empire, the church, the educational system, and the discoveries. Chapters 2-8 focus on influential people, groups, and countries during the Reformation period. Chapter 2 outlines developments

from Martin Luther's reformatory discovery in 1517 until the Peasant's War in 1525, disagreements with Thomas Müntzer and Erasmus of Rotterdam, and the impact of the Wittenberg Reformation. Chapter 3 continues with the Reformation in Wittenberg (1526-1546), Melanchthon, and the dissemination of Lutheranism. Chapter 4 focuses on Zwingli's Reformation in Zürich and his successor Heinrich Bullinger. Chapter 5 discusses Jean Calvin and the Reformation in Geneva, Theodore Beza, and the triumph of Calvinism, even in Germany. Chapter 6 shifts the focus to various Anabaptist groups, the Mennonites, the Schwenckfeldians, and the Baptists, even though these originated at a later date. Chapter 7 examines the contributions of Katharina von Bora, Katharina Zell, and Caritas Pirckheimer, with two sections on marriage and celibacy and on the implications of the Reformation on women. Chapter 8 turns to reformatory movements in other countries such as Anglicanism in England, the Huguenots in France, and Lutherans, Calvinists, and Socinians in Poland. Chapter 9 focuses on the colloquies (1540-1541), various religious wars, the Interim (1548-1552), and the Peace of Augsburg (1555). Chapter 10 addresses the Council of Trent and the Catholic Reform. Chapter 11 introduces the beginning of the Confessional era in the Lutheran, Reformed, and Arminian traditions. Chapter 12 looks closely at Baroque scholasticism, Romanic mysticism, and Jansenism. Chapter 13 deals with the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the historical ramifications of these wars on European history. Chapter 14 describes the relationship between Jews and Christians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Chapter 15 describes various crises and revivals of piety, emerging mysticism (Weigel and Böhme), Arndt and "true Christianity," Descartes and the Enlightenment, the Pietistic movement, and the end of the Confessional era. The regular chapters are concluded with a discussion on the aftermath of the Confessional era and the heritage of the Reformation in the modern era.

Since Jung's work is a professed evangelical textbook, it could be argued that its presentation of history is one-sided. However, the author consistently integrates Catholic perspectives, avoiding apologetic purposes. Further, the presentation of the Anabaptist movements is very balanced and nuanced, showing that the movement was often associated with the Münster Rebellion, although the latter constituted an extreme and fanatical wing that was, in fact, totally disconnected from the more moderate parts of the Radical Reformation (128). Jung nicely bridges the discussion of the Anabaptist movement's continuing significance and presence in modern times (123-124, 126, 132-133, 136).

The advantage of Jung's textbook lies in the fact that it is not just another book about the Reformation and post-Reformation periods. Its real strength is found in the enclosed syllabus for university studies and exams on both epochs. Instructors and professors may adapt this syllabus to their needs.

Maps, figures, tables, and excerpts from original source material contribute to a better presentation and portrayal of the discussed content. Each chapter concludes with a list of further readings. Foreign and technical terms are defined in a glossary. Individuals and subject matters are easily located in the person and subject indices.

Berrien Springs, Michigan DENIS KAISER

Kristof, Nicholas D., and Sheryl WuDunn. *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide*. New York: Vintage Books, 2009. xxii + 296 pp. Hardcover, $15.95.

Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide was published in 2009 in book form and in late 2012 was made into a PBS two-part documentary series. As a result, the book is experiencing a resurgence of interest. The book is filled with poignant, expertly, yet sensitively written stories that are both heart wrenching and horrific. The authors, Nicholas D. Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn, recount the individual stories of women from across the globe who have suffered unimaginable abuse and provide intermittent journalistic commentary on various aspects of gender inequality in the regions where these women live. It would be difficult for any reader not to have a strong emotional response to these stories and sensitive readers are advised that these stories are an account of some truly deplorable acts against women.

The coauthors are Pulitzer Prize winning journalists, so a high standard of prose is to be expected and is certainly delivered. Together, they won a Pulitzer in the *International Reporting* category in 1990 "for knowledgeable reporting from China on the mass movement for democracy and its subsequent suppression" (see www.pulitzer.org/awards/1990). In 2006, Kristof won a second Pulitzer in the *Commentary* category for "his graphic, deeply reported columns that, at personal risk, focused attention on genocide in Darfur and that gave voice to the voiceless in other parts of the world" (see www.pulitzer.org/citation/2006-commentary). Kristof has also been a Pulitzer finalist an additional four times. This husband and wife team has coauthored three books together: *China Wakes: The Struggle for the Soul of a Rising Power* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995); *Thunder from the East: Portrait of a Rising Asia* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001); and the topic of this book review, *Half the Sky*. Their books focus on sociocultural and political issues in predominantly Eastern Asia through the use of interviews and personal experiences.

Half the Sky is an investigation of the breaches of basic human rights inflicted upon women in primarily the developing and politically unstable sectors of the world. It seems to concentrate on giving the survivor a voice

and providing commentary from those who work first-hand with these women.

The book profiles issues such as sex trafficking, slavery of women and girls (some as young as three years old), and rape as a means of control or as an act of war to show the brute strength of the conqueror while humiliating the conquered. The different ramifications of rape, particularly among strongly patriarchal and religious communities are profiled and include commentary on honor killings, social ostracism, inflicted physical deformity such as acid burning or removal of the nose, all of which insinuate that the causation of the rape was the victim's responsibility and not that of an opportunistic, abusive, or sociopathic perpetrator. There is significant emphasis placed on the sense of powerlessness experienced by the women featured in this book, where they are victims of crimes but often receive no support from law enforcement or even their own families, who believe these crimes have now brought shame to the family.

The book also discusses maternal mortality, female circumcision, injuries occurring as a result of childbirth, and the physical harm of childbirth by girls 13 years old and younger. There is also a discussion on the role of religious organizations in the instigation and perpetuation of discrimination, hostility and violent behavior toward women. It is suggested that these behaviors and general attitudes toward women within religious organizations are not necessarily misogynistic in origin, but are rather theological. The writers suggest that the Koran and the Bible are, in recent times, being read differently with regard to slavery and ask why the same could not be done to emancipate women.

In addition to sharing the stories of women and the individuals who work with them, the writers also suggest solutions they believe could make a difference. The solution of most prominence is education for girls, which can result in delayed marriage and pregnancy, and in some of the individual cases cited, change family and community perceptions about the academic and economic potential of girls. It is also suggested that increased maternal health options, particularly for women in rural areas, access to microcredit, and empowering women to become entrepreneurs could also be life-transforming for women in politically volatile and developing countries where human-rights abuse toward women is most prevalent. The book concludes by encouraging readers to contribute funds to organizations that address these human-rights violations toward women at a grassroots level, rather than waiting for governments to make a change.

This book is inspirational, poignant, and timely. The accompanying PBS television series gives a human face to some of the women profiled in the book and features human service and political advocates of women's rights. Together, this book and television series become a powerful and influential vehicle for change.

Despite the inspirational dynamic and eloquence of the narration, it must be emphasized that this book is more appropriately classified as a work of journalistic commentary rather than a scholarly publication. While some reference to empirical studies to support the authors' claims are given, often the only support provided is anecdotal and based on the observations of one or a small number of people. Also, references to "studies" are made throughout the book without naming their researchers, what they were researching, or providing a reference within the bibliography. If promoted as a scholarly publication, its lack of consistently referenced empirical evidence gives critics of this book far too much opportunity to accuse the writers of seeking out the troubled strata of politically volatile countries and reporting on exceptional circumstances that are not representative of communities as a whole. As a work of journalistic commentary, however, the singling out of individuals from different regions around the world makes readers aware of the atrocities these women are experiencing—experiences not even one woman should have to endure. As a journalistic commentary, it would also be at liberty to encourage readers to become financially and politically proactive in bringing these issues to an end. Given the final section of the book encourages readers to do just that, it would seem that motivation for collaborative change and fundraising, not scholarship, is the primary purpose of this book. All things considered, the expectation that there exists extensive, reliable, peer-reviewed research on women's issues in developing and politically volatile countries is decidedly unreasonable. This book, despite its journalistic focus, certainly warrants notice by scholars as it provides an overview of the global discussion regarding these issues, and provides an excellent opportunity for relevant disciplines to source a whole range of topics for empirical study. This is something invaluable to graduate students seeking a dissertation or thesis topic that could make a significant and consequential contribution in creating or enhancing solutions for these issues in these regions.

The solution of increased education suggested by the authors may provide short-term benefits; however, in the long term they may not necessarily produce the results expected. Education as a means of addressing hostile attitudes toward women may have some efficacy as a study by Glick, Lameiras, and Castro provides evidence that the level of educational attainment is negatively correlated with attitudes of hostile and benevolent sexism in both sexes ("Education and Catholic Religiosity as Predictors of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism Toward Women and Men," *Sex Roles* 47 [2002]: 433-442). Given this, education as a solution to sexism needs to be offered not only to all girls, but also to all boys, otherwise attitudes of hostile and benevolent sexism, both of which are also positively correlated with one another (P. Glick, P. and S. T. Fiske, "The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70/3 [March

1996]: 22-48) will continue within an uneducated male population. Additionally, while education may provide a short-term solution by allowing women to be upwardly mobile, financially independent, and contribute to the economy of their region, what will happen when universal primary, secondary, or tertiary education become the norm? One issue facing Western countries is that a baccalaureate degree does not provide the employment or salary opportunities it once did. Western countries, too, despite opportunity and access to education, are not exempt from rape, sexual abuse, violence, and discrimination toward women. Even the authors acknowledge that "education isn't always a panacea" (170) and cite two instances in Saudi Arabia and India where education among women has not had the desired effect. Once again, mainly anecdotal evidence and commentary is cited to explain these anomalies, not empirical evidence. While women the writers know personally may have been able to change their lives through education, it may not be education that is the sole reason for this shift. Other factors such as personality, self-efficacy, association with influential Westerners like the writers, political stability returning to their country, and/or any combination of these or a host of other factors may have contributed to these outcomes and may warrant further investigation before millions of donated dollars are spent on such an ambitious endeavor. Consideration to other contributing factors also needs to be made such as the influence of the hierarchical structure of the larger society (e.g., a caste or one-party system); neurological functioning that is the result of genetics, epigenetics, and early childhood; theological patriarchy or a dominant religion; and/or environmental effeminizing that may permanently alter the temperament and perception women have of themselves thereby challenging attempts to rehabilitate them, despite education. Education itself can be problematic if its curriculum is only teaching the societal views that are a part of the problem. Be that as it may, education seems to be the proverbial "best boat afloat" at this point, so even though it may not provide all the answers, it is a good place to start.

Half the Sky, while not a scholarly publication, provides a comprehensive overview of the global discussion regarding the oppression of women in developing and politically volatile countries. As such, this book serves as a good introduction and will help the reader to become more aware, and hopefully, more involved in addressing these important social issues both proactively and academically.

Berrien Springs, Michigan Leanne Sigvartsen

Logos Bible Software. *Logos Bible Software Version 5: Platinum Collection*. Bellingham, WA. ww.logos.com. $2,149.95.

In the Fall of 2012, Logos Bible Software issued version 5 of their popular Bible software program. The previous version had been designed and programmed

from the ground up to replace the Libronix software, adding a newspaper-style graphic user interface and allowing cross-platform compatibility (Windows and Mac versions). In contrast to the radical reconceptualization of version 4, the latest version changes occur largely unnoticed to the user. The new features include better core programming, new search functions (clause search), new features (Bible events, topic guide, sermon starter guide, Bible sense lexicon, syntactical force information, timeline), and revamped sales packages.

The new features available to users in version 5 are all intended to make search results more informative to the user. With the exception of the clause search, they don't change how a user engages with the program, but with how the results are displayed.

Several of the new functions are merely graphic reinterpretations of existing functions. The added Bible events tab is only available in narrative accounts in which it basically repeats the passage heading. The topic guide duplicates the same entries found in the passage guide. The sermon starter guide breaks a passage into topics. This might be helpful as a starter for topical sermons, but it does not facilitate exegetical sermons.

The sense lexicon is a tab included in the Bible word study guide. It lists multiple meanings (e.g., literal versus metaphorical) for a word if applicable. Apparently, only searches for nouns are supported as multiple verb; adjective, and adverb searches yielded no results. Of ten noun searches, only two produced more than one listing. A Hebrew search of *regel* ("foot") listed eleven different word senses among them: animal foot, human foot, big toe, animal leg, leg (two entries), times, and person. It does not list the euphemistic usage of foot. Since these results are not hyperlinked, the user cannot examine the passages the editors placed under each heading. The usefulness of this tool is questionable, as a simple dictionary entry (such as the BDB) is more succinct, informational, lists textual examples, and is not exclusively limited to nouns.

Greek students will be delighted with the new syntactical force display in the exegetical guide. It assigns each word a syntactical category and displays this at the end of the morphological parsing. As great as this initially sounds, there are two limitations to this resource. First, it is only helpful for nouns and particles. All declined verbs are merely listed as "finite verbs." Second, contrary to morphology, syntactical usages are difficult to pinpoint and Bible scholars frequently disagree on the nuances of the language (e.g., the discussions on subjective and objective genitives). While the database that is invoked for this (Lexham SGNT) often gives credit to this interpretive element by assigning several possible categories to words in question, the exegetical guide only shows one of these multiple entries. Unfortunately, the user will have to open the database to see these alternatives since the syntactical force display only links to a generic glossary rather than hyperlinking to the database itself.

With the new timeline feature, Logos is attempting to close the gap to other Bible software programs. The Logos developers added an impressive 8,390 historical events to their timeline. On one hand, the amount of information is truly impressive; on the other, the usefulness suffers as a result of this. A horizontal time sample of the first century results in 26 vertical pages of events (based on a 13-inch laptop screen) and zooming in a time sample of a single year (1 B.C.) still generates 10 vertical pages. Complicating matters, the Logos developers apparently sorted items by screen space rather than chronology or categories (e.g., the birth of Jesus is followed by the life span of Philo, which is followed by Jewish revolts of the first century). Other Bible software timelines demonstrate how helpful it is not only to follow a chronological display, but additionally to categorize events by nations or by class such as events, writings, rulers, or prophets. While other timelines allow a filtering based on a conservative or critical view, nations or neighboring nations, the Logos timeline only filters by timeframes or by search. This search bar limits the display window to showing only items matching the search, but unfortunately it does not jump to these entries. The user will usually just see a blank page and only extensive scrolling through the timeline will reveal the results. Additional problems with the timeline include entries not suitable for a timeline (multiple entries to naming practices of a region or time period or "6 B.C. Before Jesus' ministry"), duplicate entries (five entries for the writing of the book of Daniel or three entries for Jesus' birth), and abundant inconsistencies in terminology (entries for Herod sometimes specify "the Great" or "Antipas"; other times, it is unspecified but referring to one or the other). The timeline function is well intentioned, but it falls short of usefulness.

The new clause search feature allows users to access a new way of interacting with Scripture. This function enables searches for subjects, objects, things, and places that are not referenced directly but implied or replaced by alternative words. This new capability bears potential in opening up new searches. But in a number of sample searches mixed results were achieved. First, this search field introduces a new non-Boolean search syntax, which raises the learning curve and limits the feature's capabilities. Second, the function struggles with passive verbs, sometimes referring to the recipient of the action as subject, sometimes the acting agent as the subject. Divine passives are never classified as such. Third, the morphological search limits the user to search only for verbs in an original language. Fourth, not all second aorist forms are included in lemma searches. Finally, all subjects and objects need to fit a specific Logos-generated entry. A search for Jesus on *a* mount is impossible; instead, the user can only search for a specific mount such as Mount Nebo. Overall, this function bears potential if more freedom is given to the user and the morphological search is expanded. Currently, the user needs to be aware of severe limitations in his or her search for helpful results.

The biggest disappointment with the version 5 update is the change to the collections. As advertised, the collections have increased in the raw number of volumes accessible to the user, but instead of adding new resources these collections replace previous resources. The scholarly commentaries such as the *New International Greek Testament Commentary* and the *Pillar Commentary* have been removed to make way for several commentaries written at the turn of the twentieth century (e.g., Lange's, *Expositor's Greek Testament*) and more popular commentaries (e.g., *Teacher's Commentary*, *Unlocking the Scriptures for You*). Many of these resources are searchable open-source collections and can be obtained free of charge on sites such as books.google.com. To use John Evan's critique, the more scholarly commentaries have been replaced by mostly outdated lay/pastoral resources. Replacing the dropped resources is a setback of $1,100.

The core functions have been improved slightly over the last version, but the overall performance is still not up to par with programs such as Accordance or BibleWorks. In comparison to these other programs, Logos 5 is significantly more resource-intense both in terms of processor as well as storage usage. Also frequent downloads force the program into a processor-intense and time-consuming reindexing process that can cripple the computer processor for extended periods of time.

The main purpose of a Bible software program is the capability to search primary and secondary literature. The graphic-user interface of the Logos software is attractive but confusing for anything but a simple search. The two main search bars are located on the homepage, but there are many more powerful search bars available in different locations across the software. The top search bar on the homepage is intended to search for system resources and commands, but it also responds to library or Scripture searches. The side search bar is the preferred tool for topical or Scripture searches. This feature provides a search of all library items. Additionally, searching for a library resource is best done in another search pane (Library panel), as are complex or original search functions (the separate search panel). Each open book has its own search box allowing for a search of only that resource, though it is limited to page numbers or scriptural references in headlines (no words or phrases). Finally, there are five guide templates with search fields that display very different results. The passage guide lists commentaries, biblical people, places, and events, some graphical eye-candy, and media resources. The exegetical guide displays the apparatus and word-by-word analysis of a biblical passage. The Bible study guide provides a detailed analysis of a single word: lemmas, English translation variants, Septuagint translation (though this was nonfunctional) and the new sense function discussed above. If this sounds confusing, it is. This multitude of search functions and locations demands a steep learning curve in order to make use of the resources this software includes.

Not only does the software place searches in many places, the results of these searches are sometimes perplexing. A home page top bar search for Matthew 2 suggested as resources the *New American Commentary* on Genesis. The top bar is particular about how a user enters searches: a search for "settings" does not render any results, while entering "prog" already presents the desired result of "program settings."

If the top search bar is too specific, the side bar is too fluid in accepting hits. I was surprised to find that among a search for the Greek grammatical construction of a "subjective genitive" (32,072 hits in 360 resources), the *Baker Encyclopedia of Psychology and Counseling* ranked quite high with 48 hits. On closer inspection, articles on rape and exhibitionism attributed to this high count by reinterpreting a "genitive" as "genitals" and "subjective" to individuals as "subjects." A subsequent phrase search resulted in zero hits and only a search with quotation marks "subjective genitive" rendered usable results.

The mobile application is plagued by similar design inconsistencies and inadequate search results. A long press on a word results in an option bar, including among others a lookup tab for instant details and a search tab. The search tab results in a search limited to the particular inflected form of the word in the entire library. After several additional tabs, one can reduce the search to a single resource, in this case a Greek Bible (NA28). But only the inflected form has been searched and no other options are available (lemma or root). It is possible to replace the inflected ending with a radical (*), but this yields results only for regular declined or conjugated words. Any stem changes of the root are disregarded. To perform a lemma search, the lookup tab needs to be chosen instead of the search tab in the initial popup. In the lookup pane, both search and Bible Word Study options become available. The Bible Word Study pane that opens reflects a lemma search. Unfortunately, only a handful of sample passages are displayed. The user does not have access to all the hits. The process is confusing and the results are unsatisfactory.

In summary, Logos 5 has clearly been designed to appeal to the lay person, even more so than Logos 4. The homepage layout and design encourage a "stumble-through" approach and simple topical and scriptural searches are easily accessed. Complex searches, on the other hand, are buried within the program and change their syntax in different modules. Instead of promoting the self-exploration of Scripture, the updates add more interpretive resources prepared by the Logos staff. These new resources don't allow the user to interact with those results. The collections are also geared toward the practical or confessional rather than the scholarly discussion of the Bible.

Scholars will bemoan the absence of scholarly resources and the complicated and at times unreliable search tools. (Under)graduate students will be frustrated in having invested a small fortune in this program, but not being able to write their exegesis papers with the secondary resources

included. Pastors will find the one-sided library limiting (e.g., leadership and small-group resources are abundant, children and youth ministry resources absent). Finally, lay members will be overwhelmed by a plethora of resources, which are often hard to prioritize. In this case, less would be more.

The biggest advantage of the Logos software is the least known or advertised: Logos hosts an impressive collection of books the user can purchase beyond the base package. The possibility of purchasing prepublication books is also appreciated. Nonetheless, in light of other Bible software programs, the update, as well as the program itself, cannot be recommended to any serious student of the Bible. Scholars should look to other software programs as they offer more resources for less money.

Berrien Springs, Michigan EIKE MÜLLER

MacDonald, Gordon. *Building Below the Waterline*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2011. 250 pp. Paper, $14.95.

Gordon MacDonald, who is the Chancellor at Denver Seminary and an editor at large for *Leadership Journal*, has served as a pastor and author for more than forty years. His books include, *Going Deep* (2011)*, Who Stole My Church?* (2010)*, A Resilient Life* (2006)*,* and *Ordering Your Private World* (2003). He has also worked with ministries such as InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, serving as president for three years, and World Relief, of which he currently serves as chairperson.

MacDonald argues that the inner life of a leader determines the strength of the leader's service. He speaks to issues of character, integrity, attitude, and spiritual practice in the first eleven chapters of the book. The second part of the book addresses the public service of a Christian leader: how leaders present and model Christ to those they serve. The book shares wisdom accumulated from a life of service and a moving appeal for strong spiritual foundations.

Building Below the Waterline is ambitious in its range of topics. The first chapter attempts to form a theoretical foundation for leadership. MacDonald misses the mark if one is expecting good research and sound theory in regard to understanding leadership. His review of the traits of a leader in the early pages could be wrongly interpreted as an argument for natural-born leaders who possess certain qualities. It is the weakest part of the book, and disappointing. He does not immediately make the case for life-long leadership development; instead, his argument unfolds as the book progresses. Keep reading! The brief foray into leadership theory is not the best part of MacDonald's book.

The author's focus on spiritual development in the following chapters of part 1 is an important message for leaders at every stage of ministry. The

personal style and vulnerability he demonstrates will be especially meaningful to mid- or late-life ministers; however, the message is most valuable for young leaders who are forming their ministry. The book is not a usual work on biblical spirituality. Anchored in biblical truth, the personal style, reflection, and biblical exploration are captivating and inspiring. MacDonald has a writing style that is organized, clearly practical, and deeply spiritual.

The pages of *Building Below the Waterline* are filled with deeply personal and meaningful reflection. MacDonald borrows from his lifetime of service and I found myself identifying with his reflections in my own experience. He does not compromise a clearly conservative biblical foundation as he examines the personal realities of Christian service. Instead, he reflects on the experience of biblical characters, the admonitions of Christ, and the exhortation of Christ interpreted in our experience.

The book articulates warnings for persons in ministry who may rely on charisma, talent, or competency. His description of the five stages of personal decline—arrogant conceit, undisciplined pursuit of more, denial of risk and peril, grasping for a silver-bullet solution, and becoming irrelevant—are examples of such caution.

Building Below the Waterline is ideal for discussion among a cohort of colleagues who have developed enough trust for honest dialogue. Each concise chapter concludes with three questions for reflection. The chapters are focused in their attention to specific matters of spiritual growth and thus provide opportunity for friends to inspire one another in forming solid foundations for life and ministry. The book is especially important for young pastors and other religious leaders who are beginning their leadership, as well as those who may find their enthusiasm for ministry plateauing after the first decade. The spiritual foundations proposed by MacDonald can transform ministry. As he asserts in his introduction, if church leaders tend to matters of spiritual maturity below the waterline, they can build above the waterline.

Andrews University Skip Bell

Moreau, A. Scott. *Contextualization in World Missions: Mapping and Assessing Evangelical Models*. Grand Rapids: Kregel. 2012, 429 pp. Paper, $28.99.

Years ago I took a local university class on cultural anthropology. One evening the professor became aware of my missionary interests and immediately attacked me as representing a group of people who deliberately disrupted non-Christian cultures to convert and change these people groups, upsetting their supposedly pristine existence and probably thus destroying his opportunity for employment and possible tenure. I responded by asking him if he took pencil and paper with him into these societies or any other "Western" artifacts. I assured him that his very presence in those societies

along with his Western "gear" was already introducing change, disrupting the society, and producing little or no assistance to them. Missionaries, at the least, were bringing education and Western medicine that could improve their lives and enable them to prepare to enter the larger world. Fortunately, I was auditing the class since anything above a D grade was out of the question after that discussion.

In subsequent years, as missionaries and anthropologists began talking and subsequently taking down the barriers between themselves, both found their worlds enlarged. Missionaries began to sense the need to (better) understand the culture and society in which they operated and how to better and more positively interact within a particular culture and society.

Missionaries moved from a "we-know-it-all-and-you-have-nothing-to-offer" position to a "let-me-understand-you-better" attitude that enabled them to appreciate the riches of the culture within which they were working. They began to talk about indigenization and "dynamic equivalents." In the early 1970s, the term "contextualization" entered the missiological lexicon and then the excitement began. Pages 32-35 of this volume detail the history of the term and its struggle for acceptance and survival. Moreau offers his own definition of the term:

> From an evangelical perspective, then, contextualization captures the tension of Christians having biblical revelation that is universally true and applicable while living in a world of societies that are widely diverse in their religious identities. "Simply stated, contextualization means that the message (or the resulting church) is defined by Scripture but shaped by culture" (35).

Few other issues generate as much discussion and argument among missiologists as does the meaning of contextualization. Moreau brings clarity to a rather new and still experimental social science by providing an excellent analysis of the subject, its major proponents, and the various forms of contextualization. He begins in the introduction by carefully defining the terms and parameters of the topic. He warns almost immediately that he is limiting his discussion to evangelicalism, which he also carefully defines.

The major part of the book consists of presenting a number of interrelated categories of contextualization with emphasis on specific and primarily evangelical missiologists. Moreau's assumption is that conciliar churches are, as a whole, unengaged in the contextualized process or debate.

Each chapter is introduced with a "Chapter Overview" and "Outline" and closes with "Keywords for Review," "Questions for Reflection," and "For Further Study." These features greatly enhance the value of the book.

Missiologists, professors of mission, and serious students of missiology will find this a helpful book, particularly as a reference tool. Moreau must be appreciated for his work in clarifying the fault lines and occasional conflicts

and misunderstanding in the increasingly complex field of crosscultural communication and church planting.

Berrien Springs, Michigan Bruce Campbell Moyer

Oden, Thomas C. *John Wesley's Teachings, Volume 1: God and Providence*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012. 240 pp. Paper, $22.99.

_____. *John Wesley's Teachings, Volume 2: Christ and Salvation*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012. 319 pp. Paper, $22.99.

_____. *John Wesley's Teachings, Volume 3: Pastoral Theology*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012. 303 pp. Paper, $22.99.

_____. *John Wesley's Teachings, Volume 4: Ethics and Society*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, forthcoming.

Thomas C. Oden, Professor Emeritus of Theology and Ethics at Drew University, is a prolific author and promoter of theological thought leading beyond the uncertainty of modernism to positive Christian life and thought. There are more than 60 volumes bearing his name in the James White Library at Andrews University.

A brief overview of the trajectory of his thought revealed in these publications provides the background for an understanding of the purpose and significance of *John Wesley's Teachings*. Some thirty years ago, concerned regarding the bankrupt state of contemporary theology, Oden published *Agenda for Theology: Recovering Christian Roots*. Having broken ranks with liberal theology, and pointing to the ruins of postmodernism, he advances an agenda obtained by the recovery of classical orthodoxy. An edited and enlarged version, *After Modernity… What?* (1990) points to a new way forward. This conviction was movingly confirmed in a subsequent publication, *Requiem: A Lament in Three Movements* (1995), which, despite the lament at the "appalling theological disorientation," (13) consists primarily of "An Invitation to the Feast," (9)—a feast of the riches of Christianity gained in a serious return to classical Christianity. This was reaffirmed in *The Rebirth of Orthodoxy: Signs of New Life in Christianity* (2002) and again in his three-volume *Systematic Theology* (1992-2006).

Oden is also a significant leader in bringing the light of the early church fathers back to contemporary Christianity. He initiated and serves as the General Editor of the *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*. However, there is also another side to his contributions to contemporary thought: he is a Methodist and his publication of 15 of Albert Outler's essays in *The Wesleyan Theological Heritage* (1991) indicates his concern to awaken interest in Wesleyan theology. Outler had pointed to the significance of Wesley's thought and the influence of the early church and Byzantine fathers on his soteriology in *John*

Wesley (Oxford University Press, 1964). Subsequently, he edited the *Sermons* of J. Wesley, published in the first four volumes of the *Bicentennial Edition* of *the Works of John Wesley* (1984-1987). Oden followed Outler's essays with two publications: *The Transforming Power of Grace* (1993) and a three-volume *Systematic Theology* (1992-2006), in which his deep interest in the classical church fathers and Methodism is united.

Having covered the development of Oden's theological pilgrimage from modernism to affirmation of the positive spiritual and intellectual benefits of classical and Wesleyan theology, we are ready to explore *John Wesley's Teachings*. The extensity of Wesley's publications of homilies, letters, journals, doctrinal tracts, essays, and diaries upon which Oden draws is revealed by the 35 scheduled volumes of 500-700 pages (16 of which have been published) of the *Bicentennial Edition* of his writings. The *Teachings* volumes are composed of constant citations from Wesley's publications, systematically organized under categories appropriate to the theme explored.

In volume 1, *God and Providence*, Wesley's teachings regarding God, creation, providence and evil, man, sin, and original sin are organized in categories basic to systematic theology. Wesley did not publish a volume on systematic theology and has often been regarded as a folk theologian; however, an examination of the writings drawn together by Oden indicates the profundity of his thought. Perhaps the most significant section of this volume consists of the four chapters dealing with the fundamental sources of Wesley's theology, the Wesleyan Quadrilateral: Scripture, Tradition, Reason, and Experience. This term coined by Outler remains in general use, but is not intended to imply that they have equal weight. The primacy of Scripture reveals the importance and function of Scripture in Wesley's spiritual experience and theology. While he did not accept *sola Scriptura* in the sense affirmed by the Reformers, Scripture was certainly the primary authority. As regards tradition, Oden clearly indicates that Wesley's thought and experience was profoundly influenced by the scriptural exegesis of the early fathers whom he regarded as teachers of genuine Christianity. Furthermore, he defended the orthodoxy of his teachings as being in harmony with the three ancient creeds—the Apostle's, Nicene, Athanasian—and the 39 Articles. Having indicated the weight Wesley gave to Scripture and tradition, Oden turns to his use of reason as a special God-given gift and outlines its benefits and limitations. He then proceeds to the most sensitive issue in the Quadrilateral, that of experience. Again, using frequent citations, he outlines the significance of spiritual experience in the Wesleyan revival, deals with the dangers of bigotry and excessive enthusiasm, and the importance of true love that governs the senses. Oden proceeds to present Wesley's theology of creation and original sin, pointing forward to redemption.

In the longer volume 2, *Christ and Salvation*, Wesley's understanding of the doctrine of salvation is clearly presented with the aim not merely of

systematic exposition, but of encouraging thought relevant to Christian experience. Many of the citations drawn from Wesley's academic teachings are spiritually enriching. Themes handled include Christology, the scriptural way of salvation, justification, the Holy Spirit, grace, predestination, salvation by faith, regeneration, sanctification, sin remaining after justification, eschatology, judgment, and the new creation. Oden indicates where Wesley's understandings are in harmony with the early fathers, the great Reformers, and Anglican thought. He uses Wesley's responses to his critics to outline the issues regarding the *ordo salutis*, which are under dispute and to illustrate the consistency of his thought. Among these are Wesley's affirmation of the third use of the law in contradistinction to the Lutheran position—his rejection of *simul justus et peccato* and affirmation of the doctrine of sanctification. Enabled by the Spirit, the Christian turns away from the death of sin, is justified by faith, and the process of sanctification and the joys of right living commence. He affirms freedom of the will and defends against charges of Pelagianism and righteousness by works.

Volumes 1 and 2 constitute excellent textbooks for the study of Wesley's theology. In addition to demonstrating the cohesion and depth of Wesley's theology for beginners, the text-by-text references provide unparalleled access to source materials for professionals. I have not previously read books in which thought is so consistently developed in terms of relatively brief citations from external sources or with so many footnotes identifying the sources. Oden's ability to select statements relevant to particular topics promotes the impression that he lives in Wesley's thought world, and he takes the reader with him. Both of these volumes could be used to enrich courses in general Wesleyan studies whether historical or theological and would be useful in acquainting students with the vast body of source material available. In addition, they could be utilized to enrich discussion in general courses on systematic theology.

Volume 3, *Pastoral Theology*, fills an important gap in Wesleyan studies. Much has been written on the theology and history of Methodism, but relatively little on Wesley's teaching on the ministry, the church, and pastoral care. Topics covered include the office and gifts of ministry, soul care, pastoral care for the family, church and ministry of the word, ministries of baptism and the Lord's supper, the unity of the church, effective church leadership, and the ministry of evangelization. Oden has excavated insights close to the heart of Wesley and organized his clear directives and teachings in categories relevant to the broad outline of topics relevant to contemporary pastoral care. Throughout he seeks to inspire ministries that encourage the work of the Holy Spirit in the body of believers. Special attention is paid to the sacraments of baptism and the blessings of the Lord's supper. The overall concern is to promote effectiveness in the ministry and a deepening of religious experience in the congregation.

The breadth and wealth of publications on every aspect of the Wesleyan heritage during the past 30 years, including the *Bicentenial Edition*, *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, and countless historical and theological studies is amazing. Notwithstanding, there is nothing I am aware of that is comparable to *John Wesley's Teachings*, nothing that uses Wesley's teachings as frequently, and nothing that provides such direct connection with Wesley's thought on a wide variety of topics as do these volumes. In addition to their value as textbooks in Wesley study courses, they constitute source books for the location of fundamental Wesley teachings. Inasmuch as Adventist understandings of the way of salvation are basically grounded in Wesleyan/Arminian patterns of thought, these volumes constitute an excellent source of information regarding our own theology. Reading these volumes generated the feeling that I was entering into the thought world and experience of Wesley in a way not previously experienced. I highly recommend the use of these volumes in seminary courses on Wesleyan studies, pastoral ministry, personal spirituality and theology, and especially in those dealing with issues in the way of salvation. I cannot avoid feeling that Outler, the mentor who revived Oden's interest in Wesley, would be highly pleased with these volumes and the contributions they make. I have no criticisms or suggestions to offer.

These volumes are well organized. Each contains a helpful Preface and Introduction that present a clear view of the purpose and subject matter of the volume, including a list of Abbreviations of the 97 publications referred to in the footnotes. There are many finely printed footnotes on every page indicating sources of quotations, and fairly extensive lists of Further Reading at the end of chapters and some subsections. Appendices include a list of sermons, published bicentennial volumes, and subject and Scripture indices.

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