

SPECTRUM

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autumn 1971

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MISSION — INSPIRATION?

4

Among the excellent articles in this fourth number of the 1971 volume of SPECTRUM is "The 23-Hour Day," the third in Donald E. Hall's series of *thoughts on the scientific attitude*. We appreciate the willingness of Doctor Hall to share his thinking as he confronts himself, and us, with data related to the history of life on this Earth.

Two other articles in this number — "The Bible and the French Revolution," by John W. Wood, and William S. Peterson's response, "Ellen White's Literary Indebtedness" — are the result of a discussion begun a year ago. That SPECTRUM (Autumn 1970) included two related articles — Peterson's opener, "A Textual and Historical Study of Ellen White's Account of the French Revolution," and an article by Roy Branson and Herold Weiss, "Ellen White: A Subject for Adventist Scholarship." These were then followed by W. Paul Bradley's article, "Ellen G. White and Her Writings," together with spirited criticisms from readers and Peterson's replies to these readers (Spring 1971). Peterson responded to Elder Bradley, "An Imaginary Conversation on Ellen G. White," in the Summer 1971 number.

All these presentations, I feel, constitute a most significant discussion. Yet some important issues never quite came to the surface. One such issue is the urgent need for an Adventist doctrine of Inspiration to be defined more clearly than heretofore. Might it be that the Adventist church could make a truly significant contribution to the intense discussion of Inspiration taking place widely in contemporary Christianity? Perhaps this is part of the *mission* of the church.

MOLLEURUS COUPERUS

Man's Responsibility for His Environment

5

ERVIL D. CLARK

President Nixon's state-of-the-union message has been termed "Nixon's Spirit of '76." The great question of the seventies, he said, is, "Shall we surrender to our surroundings, or shall we make peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damage we have done to our air, to our land, and to our water? Clean air, clean water, open spaces — these should once again be the birthright of every American. If we act now they can be. . . . I see a new America as we celebrate our 200th birthday six years from now — an America where we have clean air and clean water, where we have solved crime on the streets, where no one is hungry, where everyone is guaranteed a minimum wage."

The President's message came at the end of the sixties, a decade of the greatest — the greatest achievement in space and in the growth of knowledge — and a decade of travel. But it was also a decade of great growth of crime, inflation, social unrest, ravaging of the environment, and the blackening despair of population explosion. The editors of *The Ecologist*, in a personal letter, succinctly show that our society is on the edge of disaster: "Our social environment is characterized by delinquency and increasing crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, neurosis and other escapes from the intolerable stresses which surround us, cancer, and new, subtler diseases of spirit and body. And our physical environment is no less disordered: air and water pollution, unacceptable noise levels, local and ugly monotonous surroundings — a countryside of barren hills and treeless plains and an urban wilderness of gray concrete blocks devoid of community. Can anything but joyless, uncreative estrangement flourish in such an atmosphere?"

Wallace Stegner agrees that not one of the environmental problems — from ecological disruption to the shrinking of healthy open space — gets anything but worse, despite our ingenuity.¹ Suddenly, Americans and mankind throughout the world have awakened to find themselves face to face with the irresistible force of expanding population. The voice of alarm sounds with an increasing sense of doom in the titles of writers: LaMont Cole, *Can the World Be Saved?*; Harold Cassidy, *On Incipient Environment Collapse*; Garrett Hardin, *The Tragedy of the Commons*; James Archer, *Can We Prepare for Famine?*; Paul Ehrlich, *Population, Food, and Environment: Is the Battle Lost?*; and Wilbur Bullock, *The Coming Catastrophes*.

"One Santa Barbara, with its fouled beaches and its slimed and dying sea birds and seals, is enough to make a conservationist of a confirmed exploiter and [to] force us to ask ourselves how much an oil field is worth. The poisoning of the Rhine reminds us that American rivers, including the Mississippi, have been similarly poisoned, that Lake Erie is so clogged with sewage and industrial sludge that fish cannot live in its oxygenless waters, that whole catches of the painstakingly cultivated coho salmon of Lake Michigan have been declared inedible because of the amount of DDT in their bodies, that our eagles and peregrine falcons and perhaps our pelicans as well are dying out from eating DDT-contaminated prey."²

Senator Gaylord Nelson, in a speech to Congress January 19, 1970, placed our cumulative "progress — American style" for one year at 200 million tons of smoke and fumes, 7 million junked cars, 20 million tons of paper, 48 billion cans, and 28 billion bottles. "America has bought environmental disaster on a national installment plan: buy affluence now and let future generations pay the price. The unforeseen, or ignored, consequences of an urbanizing, affluent, mobile, more populous society have poisoned, scarred, and polluted what once was a beautiful land from sea to shining sea."³

Civilized man thought he had escaped total dependence on his environment. After all, water comes from a faucet, food from a supermarket, heat from a basement furnace, and rain from seeded clouds. We have not created our own environment, however; instead we are rapidly destroying it. Thomas Kimball, executive director of the National Wildlife Federation, says that we dimly understand that because of our selfishness and ignorance, the so-called "good life" is robbing us of our clean air and pure water, abundant minerals and fertile soil, diverse wildlife and green forests.⁴ Kimball paints a dismal picture of the national EQ, index of Environmental Quality. The air quality index is very bad and getting worse. Air pollution

is a silent killer hovering over every city and affecting the environment all the way to the poles. More than 100 million tons of pollutants released into the atmosphere each year are suspected as major factors in causing emphysema, bronchitis, and lung cancer. Approximately 1.5 billion dollars were spent on air pollution control in the United States in 1968; but nearly 8 billion dollars represented consumer expenditures on tobacco products in 1963 in the United States.

7 The water quality index is bad, and we are still losing. Virtually every stream, river, lake, and estuary is becoming uglier and more dangerous. Municipal wastes, industrial effluents, pesticides, fertilizers, hot water, radioactive elements, and chemical disposals are going to require 26 billion dollars for control in the next five years. The soil erosion toll is still high, but a greater loss may be land gobbled up by roads, airports, and cities. It is startling to find that one percent of the world's land is now paved, and every day airports, highways, and suburban developments voraciously gobble up hundreds of acres of land that are lost forever as green space, wildlife habitats, and recreation areas. The soil quality index is fair, but we are losing gradually.

The forest index is fair, but the trend gives little comfort. Eighty-nine wildlife species are endangered because of diminishing habitat. The wildlife quality index is fair, but the trend is not hopeful. Since the time of Christ, three percent of the world's 4,000 species and subspecies of mammals have been exterminated. At present, fifteen percent of the 395 species of mammals in the United States are endangered.⁵ Already 47 species of wildlife in the United States have been driven over the brink of extinction, and hundreds of the earth's animals, assaulted by pollution poisons, loss of habitat, and exploitation, face a similar fate.⁶ The increase in extinctions since the time of Christ is appalling. Up to the year 1650 there was an average extinction of one species for every 168 years. From 1650 to 1850 the average was one species for every five years. From 1850 to 1900 it was one species for every nine and a half months, and at present it is one species for every eight months. S. Dillon Ripley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, believes that in twenty-five years somewhere between seventy-five and eighty percent of all the species of animals will be extinct. And man is now among the endangered species.

In the mid-1950s the book *Tomorrow Is Already Here*, by Swiss journalist Robert Jungk, was not well received, probably because of its overdrawn, onesided approach. However, it does picture disturbing, haunting elements of truth. Jungk says that America is striving to win power over the sum

total of things, complete and absolute mastery of nature in all its aspects: "To occupy God's place, to repeat his deeds, to recreate and organize a man-made cosmos according to man-made laws of reason, foresight, and efficiency: that is America's ultimate objective."⁷ It is this absence of awe, of any sense of the sacredness of nature that is terrifying. Revelation 11:18 reads: "Thou . . . shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth."

In *Famine — 1975?* the Paddocks emphasize the difficulty of convincing government officials, scientists, journalists, and the bewildered man on the street that a collision of the exploding population and the nearly static agricultural production is imminent. People always point to the complex world economy and the great span of scientific knowledge that will modify the full force of a worldwide famine. The scientist, who is an expert only in his own field, naively takes for granted that the solution lies ready for use in another branch of science.⁸

Christians have frequently been called calamity howlers for interpreting the prophecies of the Bible to mean the disastrous consequences of man's sinful desires. It now appears that a number of their texts may apply to this time in earth's history: "Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath; for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner" (Isaiah 51:6). "For when they shall say peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them" (1 Thessalonians 5:3). "And there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places. All these are the beginning of sorrows" (Matthew 24:7, 8).

We can profitably look to the historical roots of the ecological crisis. Lynn White lays the blame for most of the environmental problems on "orthodox Christian arrogance." White's thesis is that human ecology is deeply conditioned by beliefs about our nature and destiny — that is, by religion. Our daily actions are dominated by an implicit faith in perpetual progress that was unknown to Greece or to Rome or to the Orient. Christianity, in absolute contrast to ancient paganism, not only established a dualism of man and nature but also insisted that it is God's will that man exploit nature for his proper ends. White personally doubts that disastrous ecological backlash can be avoided simply by applying to our problems more science and technology, since science and technology have grown out of Christian attitudes toward man's relation to nature. "More science and more technology are not going to get us out of the present ecologic crisis until we find a new religion, or rethink our old one."⁹

Although there is much uncomfortable truth in the charge, White lumps

too much into the one pot of "orthodox Christianity." He fails to recognize that the greatest exploitation was done by people who had only the vaguest association with Christianity and were interested only in their own selfish gain, a motive distinctly contrary to the self-denial of true Christian love. Bullock points out that the exalted position of man in nature is a basic concept in our understanding of both God and man. On the other hand, the Christian must recognize that sinful man all too often acts as the despoiler of nature and all too seldom as the reverent, responsible conservator and steward. The Western culture that we have glibly accepted as Christian is badly tarnished with selfishness, materialism, and "the love of money."¹⁰

Christians must accept a considerable measure of guilt for abusing and exploiting our God-given domain. The divinely ordained authority is basic to the Christian faith, but we have seriously neglected it.

Richard Wright is concerned, on the other hand, that many scientists are willing to lay the burden of guilt for the environmental crisis on the Christian culture. As a Christian ecologist he deplores this tendency, for it leads to the conclusion that since the root of the problem is primarily religious the solution is also religious. Wright believes that "the only strategy that holds any hope for success is the ecological one. It cuts across religious, sociological, and racial barriers to appeal to basic motives of self-interest. It is not religious belief but human greed and ignorance which have allowed our culture to come to the point of ecological crisis."¹¹

As we read the story of God's plan for this earth, we find that God did indeed tell man to be fruitful and multiply, to replenish the earth and to subdue it, and to have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth (Genesis 1:5). But the Lord put man in the garden to dress it and keep it (Genesis 2:15), not to ravage it to satisfy his own selfish desires. "Thus was the earth a fit emblem of Him who is 'abundant in goodness and truth' (Exodus 34:6), a fit study for those who were made in His image. The Garden of Eden was a representation of what God desired the whole earth to become."¹²

Again we are told that "the poet and naturalist have many things to say about nature, but it is the Christian who enjoys the beauty of the earth with the highest appreciation, because he recognizes his Father's handiwork."¹³ But do the majority of Christians really care — care enough to do something to stop the devastation of the little remaining beauty — or are we careening down a one-way road in frantic pursuit of modern life, with little or no time to look around and to get a fading glimpse of what we are losing?

Garrett Hardin says that each man in a commons is locked into a system that compels him to increase his own interests without limit — in a world that is limited. As human population has increased, the commons has had to be abandoned in one aspect after another. First we abandoned the commons in food gathering; somewhat later we saw that the commons as a place for waste disposal would also have to be abandoned. The recognition of the evils of the commons in matters of pleasure has barely begun. Hardin's main point is that the real tragedy of the commons is man's freedom to breed: "The only way we can preserve and nurture other and more precious freedoms is by relinquishing the freedom to breed, and that very soon. To refuse to restrict, by incentive or by edict, the natural propensity to breed, will inevitably and quickly lead to worldwide famine, to disease epidemics, to unrest, and to war. To force or to encourage people to let nature take its course in the name of sentiment or theology will certainly result in millions of horrible, unpleasant deaths from starvation, disease, and violence."¹⁴

Paul Ehrlich of Stanford University concludes that a great many people are going to starve to death, and soon. He feels there is nothing that can be done to prevent it. His suggestions for action are made in the hope that those who survive will improve the probability of man's making the most of a second chance. These are his proposed moves:¹⁵

1. Convince everyone possible that planet Earth is a spaceship with a limited capacity, that the size of the crew must be determined and an optimal environmental state maintained, that the social, religious, and political problems are colossal.
2. Establish a federal population commission with a large budget for propaganda that supports reproductive responsibility, and control the problem of rising population and lowering quality of life.
3. Change tax laws to discourage rather than encourage reproduction.
4. Change abortion laws.
5. Change the pattern of federal support of biomedical research from death control to population regulation, environmental and behavioral sciences. *Quantity is the first problem.*

If we can solve the population problem at home, we will be in a position to make an all-out effort to halt the growth of the world's population. "The natural reaction to all of this is to turn wearily away to other matters. Yet as with a tumor, the stinging effect of the population explosion will not die down. It continues to eat at the vitals. Always the hour of crisis moves closer."¹⁶

Bullock discusses the ecological crisis, the tragedy of the commons, and

the mutual coercion advocated by Hardin and Ehrlich for control of the exploding population. He is forced to conclude that the problem is real and that only the most drastic solutions can possibly work. However, he cannot comfortably accept the morality of the proposed solutions or enthusiastically promote such laws. Rather, he is inclined to accept such catastrophes as inevitable. The only advice he gives is to become concerned with serving the needy people with whom God brings us into contact.¹⁷

What, then, is the Christian's responsibility to his environment? The solution to the problems of man and the environment lies in the fundamental truth of Adventism: Christ's soon return and his promise to make all things new. But only the Godhead know the end from the beginning, and how soon is soon! We must live as if we will be here for but a day, but plan for it to be a hundred years. There are urgent responsibilities for all Christians that cannot be delayed. These are:

1. Help develop an awareness of the problem by urging people to ponder the real meaning of life, to reassess their sense of values. Make wide use of journals, radio programs, and television shows.
2. Urge the development of a crash educational program to train teachers to hold seminars and to teach special classes. Particularly emphasize the incorporation of the ideas of population control and preservation of the environment into the elementary grades and actively promote understanding of man's dependence on nature.
3. Support legislative control of population and pollution and protection of the environment.
4. Actively engage in conservation projects and organize activities. Become a participant in the struggle to maintain and improve the quality of our environment.
5. Be willing to give up some so-called freedoms. Act responsibly to save our world.
6. Concern ourselves with our neighbors.

And beyond these, each person should do some other positive things such as:

1. Learn once again how to walk.
2. Learn to control material desires.
3. Practice moderation and temperance. Substitute a walk in the woods or a period of meditation or a friendly talk with someone for snacks or fancy labor-saving devices.
4. Learn the principle of reuse.
5. Set an example — start an ecological fad.

6. Practice ecology of the mind: refrain from cluttering it with foolish fears, doubts, and passions.

7. Listen to the sounds of nature.

8. Stand up and be counted. Intelligently activate convictions thoughtfully arrived at.

9. Most of all, be a responsible Christian. If we are going to be called Christians, let us live like Christ. Christ lived to serve others. He fed people, healed their diseases, cared for their physical and spiritual needs, and lived the example of unselfishness. If all who bear his name would do likewise, at least part of the environmental problems would be solved.

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Our Population Predicament

JAN W. KUZMA

13

One of the critical issues of our time and the time ahead is the relationship of population growth to the quality of life on earth. In a report to the World Bank, former Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson states that "no other phenomenon casts a darker shadow over the prospects of international development than the staggering growth of population." Unfortunately, this statement is not the concern of the World Bank only; the prospect of overwhelming numbers is a global development that concerns us all. Pearson's commission reports that little progress can be realized unless "the ominous implications of uncontrolled population growth are understood and acted upon."¹

Many persons have minimized the problem in the false hope that family planning programs would significantly reduce the rate of population growth. With the exception of two countries (Taiwan and Korea), the evidence is to the contrary. Authorities in this field point out that prospects for the success of family planning throughout the world are both promising and dubious: promising if what needs to be done is done; dubious if things continue as they are.

The task is indeed a gigantic one and will no doubt occupy the thoughts and efforts of man for decades to come. For example, if the present rate of growth of 2 percent for the world is to be reduced to 1 percent by the year 2000, more than 1 billion births will need to be averted during the next three decades. This figure is staggering if one compares it with the 2.5 million births (which is 1/400th of 1 billion) that were averted in 1968 by family planning programs. Some efforts have been made to attain Zero Population Growth (ZPG), which would mean that on the average a female would have 2 children. (The 1965 figure in the United States was 2.9 children per female.) But even if ZPG is accomplished, the population will con-

tinue to grow for an additional seventy years. Discouraging as the situation is, it should not be an excuse for delay but an imperative for action. Every day that one fails to act, the task becomes more formidable. Indeed, as Pearson's report emphasizes, "The population problem will not go away but it will be resolved in one of two ways: either by a sensible solution or by a senseless suffering."²

THE WORLD'S POPULATION GROWTH

14 The estimated midyear population of the world for 1970 was 3.6 billion and the population increase — that is, the net gain in population after deaths have been replaced — is about 2 percent, or about 72 million persons per year. Never in human history has man increased by such an amount. The magnitude of this growth rate can be better appreciated if one considers the time that it would require, with the current growth rate, to produce certain population equivalents. For example, it would take only 63 days to reach the population of Australia, about 80 days to reach that of the New York metropolitan area, and about 2.9 years to reach the population of the United States (206 million). At the present growth rate, the population estimate for the year 2000 is 6 billion.

The 2 percent growth rate for the world is an average that varies considerably from country to country. For example, in the United States the rate is 1 percent; in Sweden and Hungary it is about 0.4 percent; for countries such as Taiwan and British Honduras the growth rate is nearly 3.5 percent. The population problem is of particular concern in the developing countries. In the nineteenth century the population was held down by epidemics and poor public health, which resulted in a growth rate of less than 1 percent per year, a rate that approximated that at which the technology of the time could usefully absorb and employ a work force. Today, however, the advances made in public health have resulted in a population growth rate of approximately 2 percent per year, and the technology is no longer able to absorb the work force. (In the developing countries, average death rates have fallen from 23 to 8 per 1,000 in the period from 1922 to 1962, whereas birthrates for the corresponding period have only decreased from 36 to 33 per 1,000, thereby increasing the net reproductive rate from 13 to 25 per 1,000.)³

Today's surveys and censuses, which include data on unemployment, city growth, and internal migration, among other things, begin to indicate the vast social imbalance and deepening misery. As technology becomes ever more efficient, the absorption rate for men becomes less than before,

and this results particularly in the increasing release of farm workers, who then migrate to the cities. Under such conditions city population figures rise together with unemployment figures. Men who are struggling for survival may already number more than half a billion, and by 1980 they are expected to surpass 1 billion and by 1990 to surpass 2 billion.

What is likely to happen to a world with such a mass of unfortunate, miserable people? Pearson's report suggests that we consider the present state of this misery, the realities of human suffering and deprivation in the developing countries, and imagine what it will be like when their populations increase even more. His report lists the following items:

Malnutrition. The current estimate is that at least one-third of the world's people suffer from hunger or nutritional deprivation.

High infant mortality. Infant deaths per thousand live births are four times as high in the developing countries as in the developed countries (110 versus 27).

Low life expectancy. A person in the West can expect to live 40 percent longer than the average person in the developing countries and twice as long as the average person in some of the African countries.

Widespread illiteracy. There are 100 million more illiterates today than there were twenty years ago, bringing the total to approximately 800 million.

Growing and endemic unemployment. Approximately 20 percent of the entire male labor force is unemployed, and in many areas the urban population is growing twice as fast as the number of urban jobs.

Skewed distribution of income and wealth. The disparity in per capita income between West and East (Pakistan, for example) amounted to 18 percent in 1950. It became 25 percent by 1960, 31 percent in 1965, and 38 percent in 1970. The gap between the per capita incomes of the rich nations and the poor nations is widening rather than narrowing, both relatively and absolutely. At the extremes, the gap is already more than \$3,000 and is projected to be \$9,000 by the end of the century.⁴

With the trend toward greater "joys" and almost unlimited consumption of goods in the developed nations and increasing misery for the developing nations, some economists are questioning whether hopes for peace and steady material progress are likely to be achieved. Until the present time, the predominant concern of many economists has been to bring the population under control. They feel that the soaring birthrate diminishes the prospects of continued economic development and possibly cancels the gains that have been carefully made over the years.

The goals of agencies such as the World Bank have been the substantial increase of the quality of life for both parents and children of developing countries by fostering the just distribution of wealth, while populations continue to grow and per capita income continues to rise in the West. The high fertility rates of many countries have now become the concern of even these agencies. In addition, they have other concerns, as pointed out by a recent editorial in the *Population Bulletin*, which states that "the holy grail of 'development' under these circumstances has seized the imagination and drawn forth the labors of people in rich and poor countries alike. It is a near universal hope that modern technology injected into ancient systems of agriculture, manufacturing, mining, and transportation will transform peasant societies into forward-looking states with rapidly rising standards of living. Such transformations, it is believed, will narrow the economic gap between rich and poor countries at ever higher levels of income for both."⁵ This hope of many American economists has dimmed of late, even though it may be chauvinistically appealing.

The editorial continues: "But the scenario of gap-closing, population growth, and ever rising production is an illusion from which the world may now be awakening, for its three elements are mutually insupportable in a finite world with limited resources. It is madness to assume that the West, which already imports more minerals, fuels, and proteins than it exports, can continue to gain wealth and simultaneously help other regions approach its own standard of living. A geologist, M. King Hubbert, has pointed out, 'Before any area can reach the per capita energy and mineral consumption rates of the U. S., it must first build up its own industry to that level. Were the whole world to have done this . . . the presently estimated world supply of the ores of most industrial metals produceable by present technology would have been exhausted before such a level of industrialization could have been reached.' "

Today a strange relationship is developing between wealth and population. It appears that the richer a society aspires to become, the fewer additional people it is able to support in conditions of freedom and health. The editorial mentioned above suggests that it is "madness to assume that the global environment — the thin, fragile biosphere — can long endure the kind of development we have talked about for the last 25 years. The signs of ecological breakdown are everywhere apparent in our estuaries, rivers, airsheds, and wildlife populations. . . . The global collision between popu-

lation and resources as well as between dream and reality is so imminent that our most cherished economic assumptions are now being openly challenged." The editorial concludes: "We cannot logically hope to see a growing world population obtain U. S. levels of consumption while at the same time our own growing population seeks still greater material wealth."⁶

A related point in Pearson's report is that with only 20 percent of the world's population, the countries north of the Tropic of Cancer enjoy 80 percent of its income. If the present economic trends continue in the 1970s, "the shocking disparities of welfare and living standards between the two worlds of the rich and poor" will grow even more lopsided. He adds that as long as these disparities exist, there can be no stability or security or peace.

Charlton Ogburn, Jr., a noted environmental writer, examines the consequences of narrowing the economic gap while per capita income rises and population continues to increase. He points out that the United States has only about 6 percent of the world's population but consumes about 50 percent of the world's output of raw materials (not including food). He questions whether this privileged resource position can continue if the economic gap is to be closed or even significantly narrowed. He proposes that one consider the consequences of a more equitable world — a world in which the income gap between the well-fed and the hungry nations has been narrowed 30 years from now when the population will be 5 billion (a conservative estimate). He suggests that the worldwide level of consumption at that time will be 25 times greater than the level in the United States today. Furthermore, he states, "As a result, the degree of environmental pollution and the global drain on resources will be many times greater than those imposed by the United States in our own time."⁷

Ogburn's considerations are supported in part by the statements made by Conrad Taeuber, associate director of the U. S. Bureau of Census. Taeuber distinguishes between the consequences of population growth and people's ways of living as they relate to the problems of the environment. He indicates that economic and social factors are more important than population growth in threatening the quality of life. Furthermore, for the United States the population problems are and will be more a matter of geographic distribution and the way in which its citizens use their resources than a matter of the rate of increase in total numbers. He states that our current problems of pollution, high crime rate, transportation, and other social ills are not primarily a result of the rate of population growth. Air pollution, for instance, appears to have only a minor relationship to the density of the population. Australia, with a smaller population and an area almost as large as

that of the United States, is also concerned with pollution and traffic problems. These problems are no worse in England, France, or Holland than in the United States, despite the fact that the former are much more densely settled.

To support this premise objectively, Taeuber indicates that in 1970 the United States achieved a trillion-dollar economy. The total gross national product in 1960 was just about half a trillion dollars, and that of 1930 was less than one-tenth of a trillion dollars. Even if one allows for price increases, there was still about a 60 percent increase in the total volume of goods and services since 1960, whereas the population growth amounted to only about 13 percent during the sixties. He illustrates further that between 1930 and 1968 the population of the United States grew by 63 percent, but the consumption of crude petroleum increased by 300 percent, that of natural gas by nearly 900 percent; and the total energy consumption in 1968 was almost three times as great as in 1930. He states that "changing standards and habits, activities, technology, and the style of life have much more to do with the accumulation and disposition of waste materials and pollutants than does the number of persons involved."⁸

OUR CHALLENGE

The question then arises: Can we logically hope to see a growing world population attain United States levels of consumption while at the same time our own growing population is seeking still greater material wealth? Ogburn poses some thoughtful questions: "The hardest choices are those between alternatives which both seem right and good. Today we face such a dilemma. Do we wish to see an ever rising human population go on getting and spending at ever higher levels — levels which bespeak, in Hubbert's words, 'one of the most abnormal phases in human history'? Or, as we prefer to believe about ourselves, do we truly seek the more equitable world in which all people can claim their due share of the earth's bounty?"⁹ It is questionable that we can have it both ways, and it appears that this generation and the coming generation are fated to make a painful choice.

POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES

The crisis of the world's overpopulation is of such magnitude that individuals fail to comprehend it, yet the public and many political organizations appear to regard it with indifference. It is not possible for a population to continue increasing indefinitely without growing beyond certain limits. And unless the public is made aware how severely the current pop-

ulation is draining the finite resources of air, water, and food, support will fail to develop on a voluntary basis and the government will probably step in and attempt to bring things under control. If the government fails, involuntary limitation of various forms such as premature deaths, starvation, disease, and wars will occur.

Some persons suggest that overpopulation is eroding civilized life. In an article entitled "Overpopulation and Mental Health," George Carstairs describes human behavior under confined conditions. He reports the results of studies of concentration camp inmates, and the results on behavior of overcrowding among caged cats and rats; and he makes some observations on how such situations produce alienation and despair in today's youth. He suggests that in addition to the crowding, the frustrations resulting from a crash of high expectation give rise to anger and possibly to violence and bloodshed. He states that uncontrolled overpopulation is a real threat to mental health, and that this poses a serious threat "because mankind today possesses weapons of such destructive power that the world cannot afford to risk outbreaks of massive violence; and yet the lesson of history points to just such a disaster, unless population control can be achieved before vast human communities degenerate into the semblance of concentration camp inmates."¹⁰

Encouraging reports on the increased production of food throughout various parts of the world by improved technology, fertilizers, and modern practices give some hope toward the solution of this grave problem. Nevertheless, the seriousness of the situation, in which impending hunger and starvation will result from the imbalance of available food, continues to grow with the population. The developing nations face a number of problems, but two are basic: (1) the population growth rate is larger than the rate of food production necessary to sustain the population; (2) increase in food production continues to lag behind expectations. Some scientists indicate that unless population growth rates in some of these countries are brought under control so that a balance is achieved between the population and the food supply within the next 10 to 15 years, these nations may reach an irreversible point beyond which there will be an acceleration in malnutrition, economic deterioration, and political instability for which no reasonable solution can be found.

One should not assume that these problems lie in the future. According to Paul Ehrlich, at least a half billion people are undernourished (deficient in calories or, more succinctly, slowly starving) and that approximately an additional billion are malnourished (deficient in particular nutrients,

mostly protein). Estimates of the number actually perishing annually from starvation are between 10 and 20 million, depending in part on the definition of starvation.

To ameliorate the hunger and starvation will depend on increase of food production, which will further accelerate the deterioration of the environment and, according to Ehrlich, will in turn eventually reduce the capacity of the earth to produce food.¹¹ Furthermore, it has been suggested that the population growth rate increases the chances for lethal worldwide plague and possible thermonuclear war. In addition, Ehrlich points out that "there is no technological panacea for the complex of problems composing the population-food-environment crisis, although technology, properly applied in such areas as pollution abatement, communications, and fertility control could provide massive assistance. The basic solutions involve dramatic and rapid changes in human *attitudes*, especially those attitudes relating to reproductive behavior, economic growth, technology, the environment, and conflict resolution." One must realize that even if the population growth rate were controlled other problems would persist, but that these problems would be aggravated by a high population growth rate.

How can these problems be ameliorated? Ehrlich's recommendation is to put political pressure on the United States government so that it will assume the responsibility of not only halting but regulating the growth rate, which could be done by changing the public attitude and, furthermore, by a massive campaign that would restore a quality environment to North America.

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Sanctuary

CHARLES TIDWELL

Build me a sanctuary:
So you said in past times
Although you had no need,
For we were all giants
In thought and size, all fit
As a church. Yet we built
Tabernacles for our humility.

Even after our diminishing
In your fresh-washed world
When we lost our first innocence,
The greens and browns, the forests
And fields, the bright slashes of earth
Were still a house of meditation.

But now with all the sudden growth
Of putrifying gases, yellow and noxious,
And creeping heaps of glass and plastic
And great slicks of oil floating
Through every dead stream to the sea
And our whole world dying, Lord,
Lord, build us a sanctuary.

Women's Liberation

BRENDA J. BUTKA

22

Women's liberation. To many, these frightening words signify the breakdown of family and society and the unnatural desire on the part of women to adopt male mannerisms and dress, hold men's jobs, and be paid men's wages. The phrase evokes pictures of stragglehaired, jeans-clad females abandoning luckless husbands and babies to scream hoarsely in the streets or pen vindictive doctoral theses. Older citizens may summon up memories of suffragettes chaining themselves to the White House fence or going on hunger strikes in English jails.

Many people, including some conservative Christians, shrug the movement off as the aberration of a group of frustrated, unfulfilled (meaning "not happily married") women who ought to be taken in hand by firm husbands or fathers. Pressed about the theological base for their attitudes, they are likely to answer with a perfunctory reference to the Fall and the glib quotation of Pauline texts to the effect that women should keep silence in the church and be subservient to their husbands. As is often the case in its encounters with contemporary cultural phenomena, conservative Christianity tends to write off women's lib immediately as a nonexistent problem, since "biblical solutions" supporting its own current life-style and attitudes have been assumed.

I

What is women's lib? Can Christianity learn anything from the movement? These are the questions that must be answered before we can examine the question of exactly what might be learned.

Briefly, the feminist movement is a protest against Freud's dictum, "anatomy is destiny." Lib advocates of every stripe resent being defined primarily in terms of their sex; they resent being thought of first as women and only second as human beings. They wish to be free to develop talents and

personality without being limited by what is considered appropriately "feminine."

A natural corollary is "men's liberation."¹ However, the movement operates against the background of patriarchal Western society, which has traditionally limited woman's role to family and home, allocating to men leadership positions in the family and outside the home. Until relatively recently, women were even viewed legally as nonpersons, unable to vote or own property. These strictures are vanishing, of course, and women are gaining a measure of legal autonomy, although in only some states is discrimination on the basis of sex completely prohibited. Other states have partial legislation to protect against certain types of sex discrimination, but some states have no such legislation whatever.²

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Even when such external regulations are removed, however, powerful internal regulations are still at work to discourage women from achieving maximum intellectual and personal potential. Little girls are carefully taught that their primary goal is to be wives and mothers. Not too long ago one small girl described her plans for the future: "First I want to be a mommy. Then I want to be a bride in the church. Then maybe a nurse." Although there seems to be some confusion in this little girl's mind about the chronological order in which she could legitimately accomplish her goals, it is fairly obvious that she has been meticulously schooled to "live her whole life in the pursuit of feminine fulfillment."³

Scholastic achievement is on a par with that of boys in grade school but tends to drop off as social interests take over and girls begin to realize that a well-trained mind and a wide range of interests are not as certain a route to social success and marriage as is average achievement in a typically feminine field coupled with external attractiveness and a sort of domestic docility. The trend continues into graduate school. In 1968, although nearly as many women as men had finished four years of college, only 36 percent of master's degree candidates and only 13 percent of doctoral candidates were women.⁴ Even those who do excel often make only tentative plans for a career, invariably prefaced with, "Then of course I may get married instead." In short, currently the American ideal woman (which is the product of a long tradition of feminine inferiority) is the mother-wife-housewife, and girls are molded in that image at the expense of their total physical, emotional, and mental development.

Unfortunately, this image is at violent odds with reality and is contradictory to ideals of maximum exercise of talent and aptitude as well. The typical American mother does work outside the home during her married

life, in fact. During the year 1969, 39.6 percent of married women (whose husbands were also in the home) worked for wages. Even in the category where one would least expect working women — mothers with children under six years of age — nearly 30 percent were employed during the year.⁵

Not only does she work, but the typical woman tends to perform mainly clerical or other routine, low-skill tasks, since her dutiful rush into the mother-wife role pushed other goals aside. She also suffers a heavy burden of guilt, since she is not living up to the idealized image of full-time wife-mother, which she has accepted in accord with the view of society at large.

Why must this image persist? ask the feminists. Not only does it ignore woman's distinctive human characteristic, her mind, in order to enshrine her reproductive capacity, a purely biological ability possessed by all living things, but it ignores the fact that a large proportion of women do enter the working world in fact. Certainly the husband-father role is not seen in the same light as a full-time occupation. Why limit the rewards and frustrations of childrearing to the mother and require guilt if she does not conform? Why limit the rewards and frustrations of productive, paid work in the outside world to the father and force him to question his masculinity if he honestly enjoys caring for his children? For both idealistic and practical reasons, women's lib suggests rethinking both male and female roles in family and society.

II

But much more is involved than simply what men and women do. The core of the issue is what men and women *are*. Identity is involved — not merely function. At present, women tend to be viewed and identified by the world simply as accessories belonging to a male, bearing first a father's name and then a husband's. Personality and ability are submerged in the ambition and accomplishments of the man nearest them. A woman becomes transparent, nonexistent as a person in her own right, as she lives vicariously through her family as daughter, wife, and mother. Schooled to regard family as purpose and goal, she herself has no interests or desires. The emptiness begins to show as the children demand less and less time; and when they are gone, she is left middle-aged in an empty house, her surrogate lives stripped away, no life of her own. The identity crisis which she avoided at twenty by marrying into someone else's identity strikes twice as hard at forty-five.

Women's liberation calls women to personhood, to an independence born of accomplishment that demands self-respect and the respect of others. Family is certainly not excluded from the feminist scheme. In fact, mutual

respect and independence form the basis for enduring love relationships and release much of the internal pressure that builds up when one person lives vicariously through another.

The movement is certainly not homogenous, however, and any attempt to characterize it is doomed to fail in some respect. Included under the same banner are widely different positions, ranging from the simple equal-wage advocate to the radical who proposes to replace patriarchal society with a matriarchy, to substitute female dominance for male. Such diversity of viewpoint makes for much infighting, results in sensational news coverage and confused general impact on the public, and prevents the movement from exerting pressure equal to its potential.

Is women's lib worth a Christian's notice?

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Since women make up half of the world to which Christianity's message is directed, and more than half the membership of the church, the question seems rhetorical. Moreover, the movement has become fairly well entrenched in contemporary culture, as a sampling of popular magazines or college-town bookstores reveals. It would seem that all cultural phenomena should be carefully evaluated by the church, since both members and the objects of their missionary outreach are encountered in the matrix of culture. If theology is in fact aimed at mediating religion and culture,⁶ the women's lib movement should be absorbed into contemporary theological enterprise. At the very least, it should trigger some serious thinking.

III

Given that women's lib exists, that we as Adventist Christians should look at and listen to it, what sorts of things might we be expected to learn?

A hierarchy of issues is involved, pyramiding from broad theoretical issues to detailed specifics, as, for example, the "question" of equal wages for women employees. Specific questions may be quite easily answered; but unless the hidden implications are uncovered, solutions will be piecemeal and temporary. The assumption that the movement can be disposed of by guaranteeing equal wages entirely misses the real thrust — the areas that should provoke real concern among Christians and perhaps lead to radical reversals in life-styles and attitudes. The topic breaks down into roughly three stages.

First, and most superficial, are the specific questions: Should women work outside the home? Should women be allowed on the church platform? Is ordination to the ministry taboo forever? Should women be placed in positions of responsibility and policy formation in the church organization or in their jobs?

Answers to many of these questions will spring out of a balanced consideration (if such be possible) of the family, its internal structure and significance, and its role in society. This is the *second* level, that of the social sciences, including anthropology, sociology, and psychology. However, the sciences are mainly descriptive, and their only pretense at prescription is a feeble reiteration of "what is, ought to be," or "what has been, is no longer working, and new structures are arising that ought to be."

When these sciences become more normative than descriptive, they move into the area of philosophy. This, the *third* and deepest level, is "where it's at" as far as "where it ought to be" is concerned, and certainly this level includes theology. One's theology (as implicit in one's religion, if not explicitly formulated), in fact, is the source for one's "philosophy," if not synonymous with it. Woman's role, like all other issues, must be encountered at all three levels.

Although not proposing to emerge with any ultimate solutions, or even to examine any of the issues in depth, I do intend to sketch briefly some of the directions in which the women's liberation movement might profitably lead our minds.

Most immediately, we might be jarred into considering the personhood of the faceless women who shepherd us from cradle to grave — our mothers, cooks, scrubwomen, secretaries, wives, nurses, elementary school teachers. I rather think a thoughtful inquiry would reveal untold potential that was frustrated or unrealized simply because of the sex of the possessor. Those who have achieved highly have often done so at great personal cost and have suffered unnecessarily.

Thus we might be led to acknowledge honestly — emotionally as well as intellectually — that the "problem" of unfortunate limitation because of sex does indeed exist. This initial "consciousness-raising" step is perhaps the most difficult to take, and the most significant. Quite a risk is involved, since the personal security of many people of both sexes is at stake — exactly as dissolution of the feudal system threatened both nobility and peasants, and as emancipation of the slaves upset the stability of both plantation owners and their human chattels.

If we take the risk, setting aside our vested interests in the status quo long enough to realize the depth of the "problem," we might begin to feel uncomfortably that our glib Pauline quotations don't ring quite true. A little biblical scholarship might well uncover other seemingly conflicting statements that wipe out class distinctions between male and female, along with other Old Testament discrimination between Jew and Gentile, slave

and freeman. Perhaps we might conclude that male-oriented Israelite society tinted the revelation that filtered through it, rather than assume that revelation itself is primarily male-oriented. We might recognize that the traditional arguments for excluding women from the ministry (the masculinity of Christ, the Old Testament priesthood, and the Twelve Apostles) are not employed by Paul mainly because he wanted church members to preserve the dignity of marriage according to the standards of his day in order that the church would cause no scandal. Perhaps Paul's pronouncements on women were never intended to be timeless theological absolutes. (This thought might in turn heighten awareness of the fact that much of what passes as theological absolute may be cultural in origin — which, of course, leads to consideration of, and perhaps reformulation of, doctrines of revelation — which is the foundation of religion).

Certainly a calm appraisal of the roles women have played as prophetesses, deaconesses, and so on, from Israelite times down to the present, would mitigate the force of Paul's flat statements that women should keep silent in church. Adventists, of course, have the further example of Ellen G. White. It would be profitable to study more thoroughly her ideas about women in the context of her time. The church might also be reminded that its own missions have been enormously effective in emancipating and educating women in all parts of the world. Like it or not, the church has been involved in the business of women's liberation for several centuries already, and the consistency required by principle may require firm, even outspoken, support of a moderate brand of feminism.

Once we have loosened our rigid misconceptions about what the Bible does or does not say about woman's role, we will be free to approach the problems of the twentieth-century family in a fresh, completely Christian manner. Christianity emphasizes the worth of the individual and his uniquenesses, and it is the responsibility of the Christian community to encourage and develop those uniquenesses and to break down all stereotypes that prevent individuals from freely encountering one another, in racial, religious, sexual, or financial context.

Quite possibly such an approach would lead away from the nuclear family life-style now in fashion back to the extended family or a communal situation (and, no, this is not abolishing monogamy or sanctioning promiscuity). The nuclear family unit itself would certainly be much more flexible and better able to meet varying needs of family members if it no longer operated under the maxim that, ideally, woman's place is in the home and only in the home. Wives would be free to combine career and family, and,

no less important, husbands would also be free to combine family with career, the reverse side of the women's liberation coin. Family patterns might shift from dependent-independent relationships, which make both parties uneasy, to a healthy interdependence of equals. Rather than living in a hot-house of exclusive motherlove, children might have time to develop relationships with fathers. The mother's importance outside the home might force the child to realize her individuality and see that she does not exist simply to fulfill his every whim. Women who have established an identity apart from the wife-mother role would no longer be left empty and purposeless in childless middle age.

Under this new pattern of family life, with its implications about the independent personhood of woman, answers to specific questions could emerge relatively painlessly without having to force through thickets of antiquated prejudice. Certainly both church and world would profit from additional talents released for the general good, even (perhaps especially) in such traditionally masculine areas as theology and institutional administration.

A careful ear tuned to the women's movement recognizes that the movement strikes indirectly at the heart of the relationship between man and God by forcing reevaluation of revelation, and strikes directly and forcefully at the relationships between man and man. At the very least it would be prudent to listen before it's too late. Perhaps this is the impetus we need to move a bit faster toward our goal of becoming "sons" of God, where, as Paul put it, "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."⁷

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- 1 The underlying assumption is, of course, that sex role patterning is largely cultural rather than inherently biological, an assumption that can be supported by a wealth of anthropological data. See, for example, Margaret Mead's *Male and Female* (New York: William Morrow and Company 1949).
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Racism and Adventist Theology

TALBERT O. SHAW

29

My effort here to identify the features of Seventh-day Adventist theology that seem to engender racial prejudice in the adherents of the church pivots on the *why* of prejudice, a complex problem sociologists, psychologists, and theologians continue to debate. In order to provide what I consider an adequate analysis, I will discuss this matter of prejudice from a psychosocial perspective, examine it as a moral problem, and finally, analyze it theologically.

PSYCHOSOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

As a theological ethicist concerned with the question of prejudice, I am constrained to use the descriptive factualism of social scientists, who have made the province of race relations their particular domain, especially in America. Whereas Christian theologians have given relatively little attention to this problem, many detailed studies have come from sociologists and psychologists independent of religious motivation.

A further reason for appropriating the insights of social scientists on this matter is that I believe the God of Creation (a point which will be elaborated later) is active in history, and that he uses varied avenues to reveal truths. Thus, the social scientists are "thinking God's thoughts after him" as they retrace and confirm the results of sin in human experience, for history is "the laboratory of the abstract ideas of theology and ethics." If theology is to speak redemptively to man's racial tensions, Christian ethics needs the empirical factualism of sociology. It is at this point that creative dialogue should be initiated between the two disciplines.

The painstaking accumulation and analysis of the facts of racial configuration, of the manifold cultural factors affecting prejudice, of the types of discrimination, and the

various studies in the reduction of prejudice, all provide data highly valuable for the Christian in his understanding of the permissive and constrictive conditions in which his actions have to be made as a human being of one race dealing with persons of other races.¹

Of the several works dealing with the problem, Gordon W. Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* seems to give the most comprehensive coverage of the literature and the recurring determinants of prejudice as they appear in such literature. Elaborating on the sociocultural and psychosocial forces converging on the individual, influencing his behavior, Allport writes:

A person acts with prejudice in the first instance because he perceives the object of prejudice in a certain way. But he perceives it in a certain way partly because his personality is what it is. And his personality is what it is chiefly because of the way he was socialized (training in family, school, neighborhood). The existing social situation is also a factor in his socialization and may also be a determinant of his perceptions. Behind these forces lie other valid but more remote causal influences. They involve the structure of society in which one lives, long-standing economic and cultural traditions, as well as national and historical influences of long duration. While these factors seem so remote as to be alien to the immediate psychological analysis of prejudiced acts, they are, nonetheless, important causal influences.²

Allport claims that six determinants of prejudice recur among theorists dealing with the problem.

1. The *historical approach* looks to history for the roots of prejudice. Proponents of this theory see the only adequate explanation for racial conflicts, especially in America, in the background of slavery and the failure of reconstruction in the South after the Civil War.

2. The *sociocultural theory* looks to such factors as tradition, upward mobility, density of population, and group contact for the seeds of prejudice. The pressure of urbanization, which throws many groups together, increases anxiety and exposes people to what is inhuman and impersonal, such as the struggle for goods, luxury, and status.

3. The *situational theory*, espoused by such writers as Lillian Smith in her book *Killers of the Dream*, reflects a kind of "atmosphere theory." Children grow up surrounded by influences which they naturally reflect, without knowledge of historical precedents of exploitation. Their racial acculturation is primarily accomplished by their immediate social milieu.

- 4 The *psychodynamic emphasis*, in contrast to the preceding theories, approaches prejudice from a predominantly psychological perspective: prejudice is rooted in the nature of man and includes such dynamics as frustration, deprivation, and projection.

5. The *phenomenological emphasis* perceives the convergence of histor-

ical and cultural forces on the individual. Character structure and situational factors all come into final focus on the individual. Essentially, the phenomenological approach suggests that a person's conduct springs directly from his view of the situation confronting him, and his response conforms to his definition of these phenomena. The sociology of knowledge is operative here, helping to define the object in perception so that it can be readily identified. (I might observe at this point that stereotyping is a useful tool to the phenomenologist.)

6. The *earned reputation emphasis* involves observable characteristics such as physical (skin color) and attitudinal (relaxed approach to life, which is interpreted as laziness) differences. Such differences, whether real or imaginary, provoke dislike and hostility between groups.³

31 Because none of the above approaches to prejudice taken by itself seems an adequate explanation of this complex problem, and since he sees value in all of them, Allport opts for an eclectic theory of prejudice that draws on all six theories. Each person perceives others according to the social milieu in which he lives, and each situation has a history of economic and cultural tradition. However, from a psychodynamic perspective each individual in this particular society has unique conscious and unconscious mental operations that do not all reflect the aggregate behavior of his group.

It seems, then, that no single theory of prejudice is adequate. I am sympathetic with Allport's summarized position: "By far the best view to take toward this multiplicity of approaches is to admit them all. Each has something to teach us. None possesses a monopoly of insight, nor is any one safe as a solitary guide. We may lay it down as a general law applying to all social phenomena that *multiple causation* is invariably at work and nowhere is the law more clearly applicable than to prejudice."⁴

The discussion so far might seem peripheral to the problem, but this judgment depends on one's way of doing ethics. Obviously, my method offers a view of man to which the social sciences make invaluable contributions. Further, it is notable that none of the preceding theories specifically identifies theology as a determinant of prejudice, although Allport, in the latter part of his book, discusses some correlation between religion and prejudice. He states that religion in this sense pivots on the cultural traditions of a group, and that "religion bears no univocal relationship to prejudice."⁵ The kind of prejudice engendered by religion is more in the category of a clash of faiths, or the irreconcilability of absolutes, rather than in the field of racial prejudice.

To raise the moral problem in race relations is to raise the ethical categories of the 'is' and the 'ought' in human relations. The gap between *what is* and *what ought to be* seems to be the motivating force behind the preoccupation of the social sciences with racial problems in the last half century. Such concern by the social sciences in ethnic tensions as a form of social pathology signifies a cry for social health.

Major studies of the race problem have not been content to present the facts: they have generally moved beyond scientific neutrality and affirmed a moral bias as they assert not only what is possible but what is desirable. The thesis of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*⁶ is that the dilemma in this country is the clear contradiction between the American creed of equality and freedom and the practical application of that creed to American life. It is the split between precept and practice. The implicit assumption is that the American creed has some positive guidelines to ameliorate racial tensions.

Allport deals with alternative ways of reducing group tensions in the final part of his volume. Clearly, racial harmony is an ideal envisioned by the inquiry of social scientists, and the movement from the real to the ideal raises the question of value. Allport states: "Value enters the scientific situation at two points. First, it motivates the scientist (or the student) to undertake and sustain his investigations. Second, it directs his final efforts to apply his findings in the service of what he considers to be a desirable social policy."⁷ So, concern for what ought to be is not the private domain of ethicists and theologians. Social scientists are implicit moralists insofar as they weave into their analyses moral factors which do not emerge from the analyses themselves, but which seem to have existed before the scientific enterprise.

Thus, a theological analysis of race relations may be aided by descriptive factualism in two ways. In the first place, knowledge of empirical data serves as a corrective to simple sentimental "diagnoses and prescriptions." This knowledge also raises the question of the source of moral values and their grounds and goals. At this point, the discipline of Christian ethics becomes pertinent, for it helps to clarify the goals of human interaction. Christian ethics shows that, insofar as man lives and moves and has his being in God, human behavior at its deepest level is not merely a factual problem or a moral problem, but a theological problem.

In this light, racism is not merely the result of a cultural lag (the gap between creed and practice), or the result of inadequate knowledge, or the

result of moral inertia. In the final analysis, the problem of race resides in man's demonic iniquity, in his perverse will, in his worship of the finite rather than the infinite.

A THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS⁸

The Seventh-day Adventist church has no written systematic theology, although one might find the major theological themes briefly dealt with at various places in the literature of the church. From these references a fairly accurate picture of such cardinal doctrines as Creation, the Fall, Judgment, and Redemption could be drawn. Under these categories I shall examine the problem of race.

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1. *Creation and Prejudice.* Paul's discourse with the philosophers on Mars' hill in ancient Athens provided the key to God's creative activity as it relates to the racial question: God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth" (Acts 17:26). Two aspects of Paul's statement are crucial for understanding racial life in Creation. On one hand, the entire creation is unified in the *One God*. On the other hand, biological unity is affirmed, for all men are of *one blood*. Certainly there can be no greater argument for racial parity than a common source and content.

We are all aware of biblicistic distortions by "pious" Christians in search of proof-texts to support segregation and white supremacy as the Creator's intent. But the clear consensus of Pauline and Christian theology is the positive affirmation of the doctrine of unity and racial equality in Creation. The Adventist doctrine of Creation should be interpreted to include not only the original Creation at the dawn of time, but also the dynamic activity of God in sustaining and remaking man in his image. So, God has both created and is creating an order of racial unity and equality within racial diversity. Man has corrupted God's created order, but in addition there is a "*given* order of equality-in-diversity," the truth of which has been asserted by our democratic dogma that "all men are created equal." Of course there is variety within this unity, for unity does not mean sameness. Yet, within the vast array of selves and races there is common ground of creatureliness and finitude.

Cultural anthropologists and students of ethnic differences affirm the Christian doctrine of the equality of life in creation: "Most scientists today are agreed that there are not innate biological differences between races to justify an assumption of the superior moral or intellectual capacity by any race over another."⁹ Empirical inequalities are acquired, or cultural, differ-

entials rather than biologically inherent qualities. The functional inequalities which we daily encounter are really deviations from a given norm, a matter recognized by social scientists who envision a society based on freedom and equality, although they do not claim to be informed by Christian theology. Christian affirmation of the doctrine of Creation, therefore, stands in judgment against those who would espouse the cause of racism on the basis of racial superiority. To be a racist is to deny the God of Creation.

2. *The Fall and Prejudice.* In the Fall, man not only has lost his innocence but has gained pride. Of the catalogue of sins common to man in this state of estrangement from God, there is none more repugnant to Deity than the sin of pride. In classic Christian thought, pride is the rejection of the "Infinite Source of life" for some finite substitute. In terms of racial prejudice, fallen man makes of himself, or "some collective projection of himself, the center of love and value." Not God, but the self and the race become the object of worship, so that adoration is given the creature rather than the Creator.

Whereas true worship of the Creator who is the universal God tends toward an inclusive 'I-Thou' society, the worship of a finite center of reference, such as the race or nation, creates an exclusive 'I-It' society, and the principle of color or caste becomes dominant. God is dethroned and racial superiority is crowned.

The sin of racial pride, then, is tantamount to idolatry, which is just as repugnant to God when man worships himself in the Adventist church (or in any church) as when ancient Israel worshiped at the shrine of Baal. At this point, the locus of racial sin moves a step beyond the sociological notion of environmentalism to an inner voluntarism. Certainly, external conditioning is not canceled, but the primary focus here is on a perverted will rather than on a bad culture. Here is displayed the will-to-power that sustains racial prejudice as it generates and protects outward forms of discrimination. This will-to-power is what has created the Negro in America, because without the Negro there is really no *white*, sociologically understood. The maintaining of opposites is necessary to the preservation of distinctions. The group image thus bedevils racial relations.

Racial life in the Fall is seen in the myriad instances of paternalism practiced both inside and outside the church. Liberal whites will go to the ghettos of the land to help the wretched prisoners within the walls of poverty, but they will oppose the admission of a black family to their block in the suburbs. A black minister will be invited to a post in a union conference, but will flee from the empty tokenism that he encounters. Racial life in the Fall

is that of self-love and race-love rather than mutual love. Such documented paternalism destroys God's basic order of created community. Sin is at the root of racial pride.

3. *God's Judgment and the Racial Question.* Christians believe that "all men must stand before the judgment bar of God." Since sin, theologically, is at the root of prejudice, and since the Judgment therefore deals with sinners, racists cannot escape the judgment of God. Aspects of this judgment are apparent within the social order today, for God is still sovereign. Man stands accused and troubled at the contradiction between the 'is' and the 'ought,' between precept and practice. Each desperate attempt to justify racial pride, or to cover racial sins with pretensions of morality, is evidence of the "thrashings of a troubled conscience caught on the hook of God's judgment." Clichés that represent that Negroes are "happier with their own people" or "prefer their own churches" are rationalizations designed to justify segregation and soothe moral compunction.

The judgment of God on racial pride might be seen in the recent rise of aggressive black leadership demanding equal rights and equal status. James Foreman's request for five hundred million dollars from the white churches to promote black improvement programs might not be too far fetched, even in the terms of Ellen White, who states, "The American nation owes a debt of love to the colored race, and God has ordained that they should make restitution for the wrong they have done them in the past."¹⁰ The present demand of black leaders within the Adventist church for black union conferences is a case in point.

4. *Grace and Racial Redemption.* Christian theology moves beyond the point of mere diagnosis to prescription, or redemption. Our soteriology envisions the healing of torn racial relations, for God is the God of Creation, Judgment, and Redemption. These aspects of God's activity in the world need not be totally sequential, but might be simultaneous, insofar as redemption is seen in creation, and healing in the midst of suffering.

The redemptive goal in race relations is an open, integrated society in which all men may enjoy freedom and equality, without which there can be no self-fulfillment. The goals of redemption must be similar to those of creation; otherwise we are left with a theological contradiction, since the God of Creation would be in conflict with the God of Redemption. Implicit in a monotheistic belief is the notion of a universal community of mutual respect and mutual love.

On this side of the millennium, Christian ethics may have to use the insights of sociology and the sanctions of public legislation to bring about tol-

erable harmony among recalcitrant racists. However, the “impossible possibility” remains relevant, even as a principle of motivation to achieve higher levels of justice within a society whose redemption is being completed.

CONCLUSION

What aspects of Adventist theology seem to engender racism? If Adventist theology is similar to the preceding brief analysis of cardinal aspects of Christian theology, then there is no space in it for the determinants of prejudice. When, then, are the marks of prejudice found in a church whose epistemology is grounded in divine revelation — a church that claims to espouse fundamental canons of orthodoxy?

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In the first place, my foregoing brief analysis of the determinants of prejudice suggests that the causes of prejudice are more psychosocial than theological. Further, the analysis of theology and race supports this position. Critical theologizing brings judgment on racism rather than endorsement of racism.

Racism persists within the Adventist church for the same reasons that it thrives in the Bible Belt and in fundamentalist groups in this country: emphasis on individual salvation and a radical eschatology. Niebuhr says that “hearts changed by mass revivalism remain remarkably unchanged in racial affections.”¹¹ Revivalism focuses on man’s vertical relation to a God who will take care of all social problems “over there.” Horizontal relationships and interests become proportionately less important as “other world” concentration increases. Sin becomes an individual and private affair between the believer and God, and the corporate aspects of human experience are blurred.

This picture suggests that psychosocial forces engender prejudice in individuals. These individuals generally have a personality structure that feeds on the dynamics of insecurity and exclusiveness. Fundamentalism, with its moralism and emphasis on forgiveness of personal sins, answers the need for security, whereas withdrawal from the world, and preoccupation with the world to come, support the tendency toward exclusiveness. These aspects of fundamentalism do not of themselves engender prejudice, but they are facets of doctrine that the racist finds congenial.

The history of pietistic moralism has always been characterized by ethical carelessness. In fact Rauschenbusch, reacting to Protestant individualism with his ‘social gospel’ at the turn of the present century, set for himself the task of “Christianizing the social order.” He perceived that concern for so-

cial justice is inherent in the theocratic impulses contained in Judaism, is reasserted in Calvinism, and is intrinsic in those faiths that stand in the Calvinistic heritage. Such impulses are intent on bringing "the whole of life under the domain of Christ." These were the ideas behind his *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. The purpose of Christianity, Rauschenbusch believed, is to transform human society into the Kingdom of God by regenerating human relations and reconstructing them in accordance with the will of God.¹²

Although I do not share the optimism of Rauschenbusch in human nature, I do share his interpretation of, or rather his concern for, the social implications of the gospel. Preoccupation with the Absolute and the Transcendent makes moral striving on the plane of history insignificant. Moral insensitivity and a lack of social vigor flow from a perfectionistic ethic that does not see the will of God and the Kingdom of God as relevant to the racial problems in society.

Thus far, the Adventist church has been controlled by social forces. Too often racism infects theology, organizational structure, leadership, financial appropriations, and institutional programs. I concur with Niebuhr that "denominational Christianity, that is, a Christianity which surrenders its leadership to the social forces of national and economic life, offers no hope to the divided world. Lacking an integrating ethic, lacking a universal appeal, it continues to follow the fortunes of the world, gaining petty victories in a war it has long lost. From it the world can expect none of the prophetic guidance it requires in its search for synthesis."¹³

As long as the marks of a racist society continue to appear in the Adventist church, the church's victories will be feeble compared with her calling and potential. Regional conferences, and now the cry for black union conferences, represent the black man's thrust toward equality and freedom within the ecclesiastical structure — which, he thinks, contains truths vital to his destiny. Let us not forget, however, that the need for regional conferences in the church is clear evidence of the victory of social forces over the church, for the dogma that makes regional conferences necessary is anthropological, not theological.

Finally, racial bigots within Adventism will not be converted by hypothetical imperatives that the exclusion of black people from a white church in Alabama will diminish the church's effectiveness in the mission fields. They have a more serious problem in their souls. Literally they must be "born again."

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The 23-Hour Day

III. THOUGHTS ON THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE

DONALD E. HALL

39

It is easier to raise questions than to provide satisfactory answers for them. So goes a critical truism familiar to all educators. It could be argued, of course, that questions have a stimulating value in themselves, independent of the answers that may (or may not) be given. But some persons will still feel that answers are of surpassing importance, and in any case they are certainly to be desired.

In two preceding articles I have considered some suggestions as to how a scientific attitude should affect our approach to problems in religion, and some criticisms of answers that have been given by others.¹ Now it is only fair that I should anticipate and reply to the objection that those articles have not shown clearly what kind of answer I think should be given to the questions I have raised.

THE POSSIBILITY OF PROOF

One of the most powerful tools of logic is the method of counterexample, the use of which may be adequately illustrated for our purposes as follows.

Suppose I have noticed that 5 times 5 equals 25, and 6 times 6 is 36, and have therefore wondered whether it is true as a general proposition (which I call A) that "whenever I square a number, its last digit reappears as the last digit of the answer." If I were dealing only with a finite set, there would be a straightforward way to find out; for if there existed only twenty "numbers," I would need only try the other eighteen cases to ascertain the truth or falsity of A. But since there are in reality infinitely many numbers, and I could never test every case, one of two things may happen. First, I may try 10 (and get 100), 16 (256), 31 (961), and similarly successful cases.

As long as this happens, the possibility is at least left open that A is true; but since I have not tested all cases, it may yet turn out that A is false. Therefore I can never prove A by any list of examples; and if A *is* true, this can be proved only in some other more sophisticated way. The second possibility is that I may happen to try 2 (and get 4), in which case I need look no further: a single counterexample suffices to prove the absolute falsity of A as a general, all-inclusive proposition.

This illustration suggests to me that the method of counterexample has an important role to play when we are attempting to decide what general statements we can truthfully make about a subject like the history of the Earth. When we first have a vague idea, we will try it in a few places where it has a reasonable chance of success, and thus be encouraged to formulate it carefully into a definite and concise general proposition. But then we will not continue looking for easy cases to demonstrate its truth; in the language of my example, we would not pick a million numbers all ending in 0, 1, 5, or 6, and then publish a glowing report of how successful the theorem was. We ought instead to pick deliberately the most difficult case, perhaps the one most different from those we have already tried. One should hope to be able to say, "This is the most stringent test I can devise at the moment; if my theory is going to fail or prove subject to limitations, this seems the most likely place." If the theory passes this test, it will not yet be proved true, but the likelihood of its truth will at least be much more convincing. And if it fails, we may thereby avoid waste of time and effort and be able to resume searching for a better theory.

A PROMISING PROBLEM

It is in this vein that I wish to consider what might be called the era of the 23-hour day. I suspect that those with a thorough knowledge of geology will know of more stringent tests than this for creationistic models of Earth's history. But this particular test seems to me to have the advantages of being straightforward and relatively easy to understand, and of going directly to the heart of the matter.

With the exception of carbon-14, radioactive age determinations are made on igneous or strongly metamorphosed rocks — that is, on inorganic material. This leaves room for heated debate as to just how closely some fossils, in adjoining sedimentary strata, are associated with the dated rocks. There is a three-way split into (a) those who accept both dates and association (usually labeled "evolutionists"), (b) those who argue against the association in order to allow old rocks but no life before a recent divine fiat

("old-Earth creationists"), and (c) those who argue against the validity of all radioactive dating methods in order that the rocks as well as the fossils can be regarded as recent ("young-Earth creationists"). These labels are not entirely clear-cut; there would be some, for example, who believe in a long history of life on Earth but a recent special creation of mankind.

On the other hand, radiocarbon and amino-acid dating techniques,² which deal directly with organic material, are based on processes with relatively short half-lives. Again, there is debate between some who argue against the dating methods in order to retain a date for Creation around six thousand years ago, and others who feel they can allow life to extend back some tens of thousands of years in order to explain this data while remaining basically creationistic in their outlook.

41 We might cut away many extraneous issues and face the problems of any creationistic model most bluntly if we had a class of data that deals *directly* both with organic life and with ages in hundreds of millions of years. The 23-hour day would appear to be such a case, and to it I now direct attention. In order not to lose sight of the forest while examining the trees, I will record most of the scientific details in a series of appendixes (even though the considerations there are mainly elementary) and give here only a very brief summary.

The rotation of Earth on its axis is not quite steady, but is slowing very gradually as a result of friction connected with the ocean tides. If this process had been active at about the present rate for a hypothetical period of 200 million years, its accumulated effects would have been enough to lengthen the day from 23 to 24 hours. When each day was shorter, there would have been more days in each year (Appendix A).

It has recently been found that a number of marine creatures such as clams and corals build into their skeletons a permanent growth record very similar to tree rings. Experimental studies of modern specimens indicate that daily, monthly, and annual variations in growth may all be recorded (Appendix B).

But while modern specimens show 360-370 days per year, fossils are found that yield counts of 400 and more. The hypothesis of a long history of tidal friction comparable to the present amount then dates a specimen with 380 minor growth bands per major one as being about 200 million years old, 400 days per year as 450 million years old, and so forth. Paleontologists report good agreement between these dates and the ages assigned to the fossils by the usual stratigraphic methods (Appendix C). This would appear to constitute confirmation, by a completely independent method, for

the very great ages assigned to life on Earth in the evolutionary theory — and so much criticized by creationists as unreliable.

CONFLICT AND RESPONSE

Now that the problem has been thrust on our attention, what shall we present in the way of explanation? Let us consider the pros and cons of several possible attitudes.

First, some might entertain the thought that the data have been irresponsibly gathered or reported and are simply not what they appear to be. There is always a chance of this being so in any particular investigation, at least in the early stages. But I must say that my own study of the original articles has not given me any reason to think that such a thing has happened in this case. At the very least, we must take this as the best data available on the subject until any more are found that would contradict it; and on this basis we must decide what to do with it.

Second, some will say, "I don't care; this doesn't bother me; the Devil is just making these things up and trying to deceive us; but I'll stick with the Bible." This position has in its favor that it seems to provide comfort for some people. There is also, at least on the surface, a certain admirable consistency in stubbornly clinging to this one authority, come evidence or high water. Such a person may be thought hopelessly backward by many others, but perhaps that should not influence us. After all, being right must certainly come before being popular. Yet, at the practical level, one cannot ignore the fact that such an attitude of obscurantism will effectively eliminate the possibility of evangelizing educated people. And at the philosophical level this position leaves unsaid that one can only stick with what *he thinks* the Bible means. So we return to the problem of *how* one may know he has the correct interpretation, to the exclusion of others. And we are right back to the matter of examining *evidence* for beliefs, which is exactly what we are being asked to do now with the data on the 23-hour day.

Third, there is the possibility of saying (if one had not already done it long before on the basis of other data), "This is conclusive; no viable alternative remains — I'll just have to write off any possibility of creationism." This would give one the satisfaction of joining the intellectual majority, and we must not underestimate the very strong arguments that could be made in favor of this position. But, in its pure form, such an attitude shows some misunderstanding of science, which seldom views things quite so definitely. The careful scientist with typical inclinations toward evolution would be saying, "This certainly seems to fit nicely into my model, and

indicates some definite difficulties with the other one" — or at least he would if he were acquainted with cautious and scientifically responsible creationists. But some creationists have a penchant for committing themselves irretrievably to one or another very narrow and specific model of how Creation had to happen; and these models the scientist might justifiably consider to be definitely disproved by his new evidence.

Fourth, perhaps we could come up with a new and improved type of creationist model that would account for the new data. This is certainly a very desirable and scientifically legitimate procedure. It is also difficult, and we cannot be assured of any early success — the more obvious ideas immediately encounter difficulty. But we have good theological as well as scientific grounds for this approach. The prophet Jonah and William Miller are two outstanding examples of people who had to radically revise their models of how God deals with men — the old model in each case was an approximation to truth, not truth itself, and a better approximation became necessary. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."³

A variety of models for a Noachian Flood might be thought to include reasons for a slowing of the Earth's rotation. But if this occurred suddenly, there should be only two values — pre-Flood and post-Flood — for the number of days in a year, whereas the observations seem to indicate a continuous variation. On the other hand, an attempt to build continuous variation into a Flood model leads to a threefold problem:

1. If an appreciable part of the slowing is pre-Flood, then a great deal of change and deposition of fossils is being attributed to that period, and this really removes the Flood as a cause anyhow.

2. If the slowing is said to be continuous rather than sudden, and yet limited to a Flood duration of about a year, then none of the intermediate values for number of days per year would have lasted long enough to be recorded by the fossils, and we return to the problem that only two values should be observed.

3. If the slowing is mainly post-Flood, then the major part of the geologic column would have to be laid down, not during the Flood, but over a period of many years after it. This does not fit well with the usual idea that the waters (and violent events in general) were largely abated by the end of the first year. It also leaves as a mystery why the present rate of slowing (which extends at least 2,500 years back, well over halfway to Ussher's date for the Flood) should be so much smaller (perhaps a million times) than the immediate post-Flood rate, which must have persisted for many years (perhaps a hundred at least).

Thus I must admit that at present I have no satisfactory model to propose, nor can I readily imagine the existence of a workable model, even though I would still like to hold open the possibility that such a model might yet be discovered.

Fifth, and not to the exclusion of the fourth, I personally feel that this is one of those gray areas of uncertainty in which I would be wise to refrain from polemics on any side. I must take this evidence and examine it honestly, and give it some weight relative to all other evidence available to me. I may admit that I am not entirely satisfied, but neither science nor theology will allow me to simply ignore even one piece of available evidence. I will attempt to arrive at the most nearly satisfactory conclusions, but they will be admittedly tentative, and may even be phrased in terms of relative probabilities for several models of what has taken place. In other words, I frankly hold suspended judgment.

This may be a disappointment to some: "You promised answers at the beginning, and now you're just leaving us vaguely in midair again with this so-called suspended judgment." But that is precisely my point: I believe that suspension of judgment *is* the appropriate answer for the present time on many subjects. More than this, I think that sometimes it is the *only* reasonable answer. And it must not be just a show of suspended judgment, followed by a muttering under the breath that "in my heart I know it can't be that way." I think we must say in all honesty not only that this piece of evidence appears to point strongly toward a very long history of life on Earth, but that it actually compels us to consider seriously the probability that there is in that model some truth after all.

Our fervent desire for a definite and final answer cannot provide that answer. Neither can our most sincere longing that the answer turn out to be A instead of B make it so. These desires must be consigned to second place; honesty and candor in the search for Truth must come first.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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APPENDIX A

The Earth as a Clock

By any ordinary standard, the Earth is a remarkably accurate timepiece. Its daily rotation on its axis is so steady that clocks may be set by it within small fractions of a second from day to day, by observation when some convenient star appears to pass directly overhead. Special telescopes are mounted just for this purpose in such places as the U. S. Naval Observatory in Washington, D. C. Long series of such astronomical observations lead to the conclusion that the present mean tropical year consists of 365.242199 mean solar days.⁴

45 But the Earth-clock is not perfect, nor should we expect it to be. When compared with modern atomic clocks, the Earth is found to be slightly erratic, running as much as half a minute behind or ahead of its average rate. Records of eclipses also allow us to check on the Earth's rotation well over two thousand years into the past. Both lunar and solar eclipses occur in definite cyclic sequences and can be predicted in advance. But predictions based on past eclipses tend to be just slightly behind the actual occurrence of new eclipses. After allowance for short-term fluctuations, this can be accounted for by a gradual slowing down of the Earth's rotation, so that a day is about two thousandths of a second longer now than it was a hundred years ago.⁵ The total amount of time "lost" in a century is about half a minute, and in a millennium nearly an hour; in 5,000 years the Earth would be almost a day "behind" where it would be if it had kept rotating at the original rate. (The reader with a background in mathematics will recognize that each small increment of rotation rate will make a contribution to "total time lost" which is proportional to how long ago it occurred. Integration of these contributions results in quadratic dependence on total time elapsed, so that the time lost in a millennium exceeds that lost in a century by a factor of 100 rather than 10.)

There are two general ways in which the rate of rotation of any object may be changed. The first is exemplified by the ice-skater's trick of extending or retracting his arms while spinning. Application of the law of conservation of angular momentum requires that whenever the parts of a body are rearranged to reduce its moment of inertia (a measure of how far its mass is located, on the average, from the axis of rotation), this will automatically be compensated by an increase in angular velocity (rate of rotation) just sufficient to leave the product of these two quantities unchanged. There have been speculations that the Earth, if originally formed by accretion, would have had a greater moment of inertia which was reduced to its present value by melting and formation of a differentiated core. The resulting increase in angular velocity would appear to be opposite to what is needed to explain the data with which we are concerned.⁶ However, the most recent analysis⁷ indicates that the long-term average acceleration does involve some positive "nonfrictional" component whose mechanism is still uncertain; this cancels part of the larger negative frictional effect described in the following.

The second way to affect the Earth's rotation is to have it acted upon by other celestial bodies, for its angular momentum may change if there is a torque (a combination of forces acting to bring about a turning motion) applied from outside

itself. The most important such influence comes from the Moon, and may be understood in terms of FIGURE 1. The Moon raises tides in the ocean, and to a lesser extent in the Earth's crust itself. (It has recently become possible to measure directly the tidal distortion of the Earth's overall shape by its effect on satellite orbits.)⁸ If these tides were located directly underneath the Moon, they would not give rise to torque; but the presence of friction allows the Earth's rotation to carry the tidal bulges somewhat ahead of where they "ought" to be. The Moon can then pull back on the nearer tide and thus slow down the Earth. The angular momentum given up by the Earth is not lost, but is transferred to the Moon. The result is that the Moon moves farther out from the Earth and takes longer to revolve around it.

Meanwhile, the Earth's revolution about the Sun continues unabated (except for a relatively minor effect of the solar tides, which would tend to lengthen the year); so the number of days per year and the number of months per year both slowly decrease. Also, it turns out, the fractional change in the length of the day is greater than that of the month; so the number of days per month decreases as well. If we look to the past rather than to the future, we should expect to find more days per month and per year.

If we were to assume that the known present rate of slowing down is comparable to that which has acted in the past, we would predict that it would have been something like 200 million years ago that the day was only 23 hours long, and that it would take a little over 380 of these short days to fill a year. This prediction is arrived at by extrapolation and must be used with due caution. We cannot dismiss it out of hand as completely meaningless, however, just because of a prejudice against anything "uniformitarian." This is simply one hypothesis that deserves to be tested along with any others we may formulate.

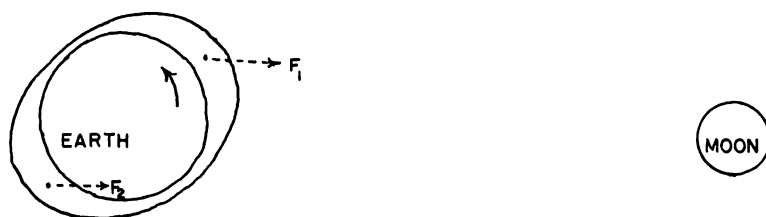


FIGURE 1: Mechanism for slowing the Earth's rotation. Tides raised by the Moon are carried forward from the sublunar and antilunar points by the Earth's rotation. The Moon's force of attraction, F_1 , for the nearer tidal bulge is slightly greater than F_2 . Since these forces are applied on opposite sides of the Earth, their difference constitutes a torque in the clockwise direction.

APPENDIX B

Marine Animals as Calendars

Living organisms reflect the conditions of their environment in their own health and growth, but it is somewhat the exception for a permanent record of environmental fluctuations to appear in the hard parts of either plant or animal. Annual growth rings in trees have been known about long and widely; but only recently has detailed study been made of corals and mollusks whose mineral deposits in reef or shell show a repetitive banded structure.

An interesting experimental study was carried out by Pannella and MacClintock in 1965-67⁹ on the bivalve *Mercenaria mercenaria*. Over a hundred live clams were collected at low tide near Woods Hole, Massachusetts; their shells were notched with a file and numbered with printer's ink. They were then replanted in the intertidal mud just west of Duck Island. After 368 days, and again after 723 days, several specimens were recovered and killed so that the growth of their shells could be studied microscopically.

The shells had grown as much as fifteen millimeters along the ventral margin, and thin sections taken from the shell clearly showed a banded structure, much like tree rings, with spacings of a few microns. Considerable information seems to be recorded in this structure. First, a simple counting of "rings" indicates that they represent a daily cycle of activity and rest, for a number of specimens showed between 360 and 370 growth increments when collected after 368 days, and between 720 and 725 when collected after 723 days. This idea is also supported by comparable agreement between the number of growth increments from the notch to points of sudden narrowing of the bands, and the number of days from transplantation to December 18, 1965, or January 10, 1967, these being the dates of the first major freezing spells of the two winters.

Not only were daily patterns of growth observed; the authors also reported bidaily, semimonthly, and annual periodicities. The annual variations are easily recognized, for during winter the daily layers are one to seven microns in thickness, whereas they increase to ten to sixty microns in summer. Fourteen-day cycles are also expressed by changes in thickness of daily increments; and these cycles alternate in strength to make a monthly cycle.

The reasons for these cycles are far from fully understood, but (with the exception of the bidaily rhythms) it is not at all surprising that they should occur. Variations in light and/or warmth seem to provide a stabilizing mechanism for approximately daily metabolic rhythms in a wide variety of organisms, including man; there is a large body of literature on this subject of "circadian rhythms."¹⁰ Light might seem the more likely stimulus for subtidal life, where the temperature is kept nearly constant by the ocean. The same factors vary annually; in this case we might expect stronger temperature effects, both directly as they influence the activity of the organism in question, and indirectly as they influence its food supply. But the reduction of total hours of daylight in winter could well have similar effects. Some experimental work is being done to elucidate these mechanisms.¹¹

The food supply of subtidal and intertidal animals should also be strongly de-

pendent on the tides. There are two major reasons, of comparable importance, why the level and range of the tides vary from day to day. First, at new moon and full moon, the Sun cooperates with the Moon in raising tides, making them about 40 percent larger than they would be from the Moon's influence alone. At half moon, the Sun and Moon oppose each other and tides are weaker. These neap tides occur approximately every 14.8 days (half a synodic month) and correspond to reduced activity and narrower growth increments in the clams; the stronger spring tides between may bring more food within range.

Second, the Moon's orbit about the Earth is not circular; when it is closest (at perigee) its tide-raising effect is about 35 percent larger than when it is farthest away (at apogee). Thus there is also a 27.3-day (sidereal month) cycle in tidal strength, and this too is reflected in clam growth, mainly through an apparent alternation in strength of the 14.8-day cycles. (However, it has also been proposed¹² that the animals were just more interested in the opposite sex at full moon.) The growth patterns must not all be expected to look alike, because the Earth's rotation around the Sun means that in the course of a year there will be not just half as many monthly cycles as there are semimonthly cycles, but one extra as well; that is, 27.3 is not exactly twice 14.8. But these statements are not exact either, because the Moon's orbit is not stationary in space, and the direction to apogee rotates around the Earth once in 8.8 years. All in all, the tides are a fascinating — and very complex — subject.

Interesting though these questions are, for our further argument it matters only that daily, monthly, and annual variations do occur and have been correctly recognized. In fact, a strong point of these arguments is that they depend not on the exact details of the mechanism by which such cycles are produced, but only on our being convinced that the cycles actually occur.

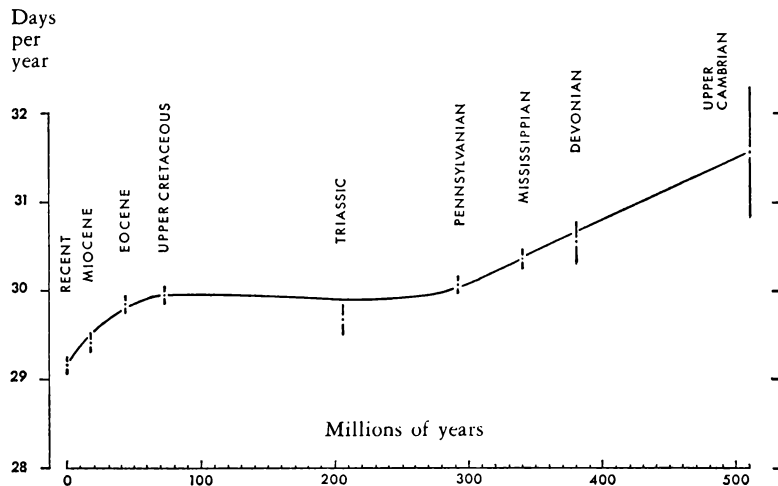


FIGURE 2: Variation in length of the synodic month, from Pannella, MacClintock, and Thompson.¹⁷ The horizontal axis represents standard "geological age." The error bars show "standard error" (expected standard deviation of the mean) for each set of counts.

APPENDIX C

The Changing Calendar

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The study by Pannella and MacClintock (described in Appendix B) was largely motivated by a new line of evidence in the field of paleontology, beginning in 1963 with an article by Wells.¹³ It had long been known that certain species of coral showed annual variations in growth, and that certain specimens showed fine ridges on a much smaller scale between the annual bands. Wells put some modern specimens under the microscope, found that he could count about 360 small ridges per large one, and concluded that they probably represent daily growth variations. He then obtained some fossil coral showing similar structure, and found that he could count up to 400 or more small ridges per large one. The age of such a fossil could then be estimated by extrapolating the Earth's present rate of slowing and by asking when there would have been that many days in a year. And, remarkably, this estimate was comparable to the age as determined by standard geological methods based on the stratum in which the fossil had been found.

This process is open to the criticism that the investigator, having a preconceived idea of the result, might tend to count as many ridges as he expected. In order to eliminate this possibility of bias, Runcorn¹⁴ proposed using the surface of a coral specimen for a diffraction grating. The periodicity of the reflecting surface determines the angles at which light will be preferentially scattered. The measured angles then provide an independent check of the ridge count. This method has its own technical difficulties, of course, and as yet I have not seen quantitative results from it to know whether it will support the counts by Wells.

Wells' work was soon followed by recognition and counting of monthly bands on corals by Scrutton,¹⁵ and of daily, monthly, and yearly bands in bivalves by Berry and Barker.¹⁶ A further article by Pannella, MacClintock, and Thompson¹⁷ summarized data on the number of days per month found by a count of over twenty thousand individual daily bands in two dozen specimens. These specimens were mainly bivalves, but included a Pennsylvanian cephalopod and a Cambrian stromatolite. The results are presented in FIGURE 2. The first notable conclusion from this data is that the rate of slowing appears not to have been constant. Since the amount of tidal friction depends strongly on the extent of shallow seas, or perhaps on the existence of the Antarctic ice shelves,¹⁸ we are led to interesting speculation about whether changes in the rate of slowing can be understood in terms of continental drift histories.

The second conclusion, more pertinent to our interests, is simply that the evidence for continuous change is very strong. The Pannella study presents data in sufficient detail that the reader can assess by his own standards the statistical significance of the counts. I have used a common standard test, the t-test,¹⁹ to analyze the data. This test indicates less than one chance in a billion that the Recent and the Pennsylvanian specimens, for example, could give counts as different as they do if the true mean counts were really the same. Thus, as statistics go, one would say it is virtually certain that the modern and the fossil specimens give truly different counts.

The same test also indicates less than about 13 percent probability that Cretaceous and Pennsylvanian counts are not truly different, 3 percent for Pennsylvanian vs.

Mississippian, 6 percent for Mississippian vs. Cambrian, and so on for other possible comparisons. The conclusion that the differences are significant is strengthened by the current experimental studies of Clark,²⁰ who finds that "missing growth lines account for all scatter in the data, so that the maximum, not the average, line count is most representative." Thus, if the bands represent daily and monthly variations in growth, as appears most reasonable, animals have been growing on Earth in several eras with different numbers of days in the month or year, each era lasting at least long enough to be recorded by the fossils.

APPENDIX D

To Be Specific

50

Although this information is subsidiary to the principal conclusion of my article, some may still wish to know what probabilities I assign to various models on the basis of my study. As to whether a divine Creator is responsible for the origin of life or whether life resulted from random accidental associations of molecules, I feel that the first idea provides a much more satisfactory explanation than the second. But as to how the Creator worked, I am much less certain.

For a variety of reasons, mainly outside the scope of this article, at present I assign a rather low probability to an age of 6000 ± 100 years for the biosphere. Evolution as commonly understood is not the only alternative, and it certainly has serious problems itself. So I still assign enough likelihood to an age of a few tens of thousands of years to retain a lively interest in such models.

But also I see an appreciable probability that somehow our exegesis has failed, and that the history of life on Earth must be measured in millions of years. I do not really consider the idea attractive; yet I must entertain the possibility that some day God himself might be explaining to me how this could be so. If that should ever occur, I hope I would not be offended, or express any bitterness that he had allowed me to misunderstand or that he had not done it all in the way I thought he should.

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A CHRISTIAN DECLARATION ON THE CITY

OUR COMMISSION

Christian man is commissioned by the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Christ to witness to justice where there is oppression, healing where there is brokenness, and reconciliation where there is separation.

Learn to do good, seek justice, correct oppression. *Isaiah.*

Deal justly and fairly, rescue the victim from his oppressor, do not ill-treat the alien, the orphan, or the widow. *Jeremiah.*

Is not this what I require of you as a fast: to loose the fetters of injustice, to untie the knots of the yoke, and set free those who have been crushed? Then, if you call, the Lord will answer; if you cease to pervert justice, if you feed the hungry from your own plenty and satisfy the needs of the wretched. *Isaiah.*

He opened the scroll and found the passage which says: The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me; he has sent me to announce good news to the poor; to proclaim release for prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind; to let the broken victims go

free; to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor. *Jesus.*

Then the King will say unto those on his right hand: 'When I was hungry you gave me food; when thirsty, you gave me drink; when naked, you clothed me; when I was ill you came to my help, when in prison you visited me. Anything you did for one of my brothers here, you did for me.' *Jesus.*

There is neither bond nor free, for you are all one in Jesus Christ. *Paul.*

Suppose a brother or a sister is in rags, with not enough food for the day, and one of you says: 'Good luck to you, keep yourselves warm, and have plenty to eat,' but does nothing to supply their bodily needs, what is the good of that? *James.*

He has entrusted us with the message of reconciliation. *Paul.*

Christ's method alone will give true success in reaching the people. The Saviour mingled with men as one who desired their good. He showed his sympathy for them, ministered to their needs, and won their confidence. Then he bade them, Follow me. *Ellen White.*

OUR COMMITMENT

In our teaching and preaching, we commit ourselves to educate our membership as to the nature and meaning of life in the inner city. We therefore urge:

- That we affirm the implications of our biblical doctrine of man which requires the healing of salvation to be addressed to total man in his total setting.
- That we carefully examine the prophetic writings which have always guided our movement, to inform ourselves of those principles which are to guide us in witness to the city.
- That we not only be made aware of population trends which have caused four of five individuals in our country to become urban dwellers, but that we may sense in such statistics the very real needs of human hearts beating alongside our own.

In our institutional planning, we commit ourselves to engage in mission to the inner city. We therefore urge:

- That we structure specialized programs by way of communicating and applying the gospel to the needs of the student, the commuting executive, the immigrant, the black man, and the alienated youth.
- That we share through word and deed the good news of the gospel as we face such urban realities as meaninglessness, racism, poverty, and separation.
- That we underscore our commitment by allocating funds and personnel and resources by way of ministering to the urban scene.
- That we request the standing inner-city commission — which draws on laymen, pastors, the New England Memorial Hospital, and the Southern New England, Northeastern, and Atlantic Union Conferences — to study ways of implementing the above resolutions and to report on them at our next annual constituency meeting.

In our individual and corporate outreach, we thus prayerfully gear ourselves to incarnate the body of Christ in this present order, and disorder, to which we are called to minister.

Southern New England Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

OUR CONDITION

The city is uniquely in need of prophets. Of apostles. Of the Christ.

The city is people. Ethnic groupings. And students. And blacks, migrants, commuters, and executives.

The city is congestion. Tension. Rush. Anxiety. Fear. Sophistication. Change. And payola and ulcers and rats.

The city must also, however, be viewed in terms of spiritual dimensions: for wherever broken relationships exist we learn anew the meaning of incarnation and salvation and discipleship.

Because the city is people, there is where the Christ is found. Because the city has need, there the church — Christ's body — must exist in mission.

OUR CONFESSION

We confess our shortcomings.

We have ministered chiefly to those whose life-styles parallel our own.

We have been uninformed and ignorant of the existence led by our brothers in the inner city.

We have remained largely insensitive to the hurt and brokenness experienced in the urban tenement.

We have been negligent in translating the good news that is the gospel in terms meaningful to the university student and the high-rise dweller.

In neglecting these complex needs of the city, we have faulted the gospel commission and betrayed our lack of confidence in God's power to redeem the whole of man.

Second Birth

JOE MESAR

54

When the Christmas tree cracks in the middle
And the ornaments are trampled to bits,
When the dinners are spilled in the kitchen
And the dance is stopped in the square,
When the excavation is completely examined
And the chronicles have all been compiled,
When the sound of the scuffle is muted
And the smoke disappears in the hills,
When the fog lifts,
When the earth is clean,
We can join the Magi.

The Bible and the French Revolution

AN ANSWER

55

JOHN W. WOOD

The question I wish to raise is this: Do these historians have any attitude or bias in common which might explain why Ellen White was attracted to them? With these words William S. Peterson lays the basis for his recent article, "A Textual and Historical Study of Ellen G. White's Account of the French Revolution."¹

I wish to examine some of the data given by Peterson and test the validity of his tentative conclusions. I will proceed on two levels: *First*, are there indeed any common biases in the works cited, and do these represent Mrs. White's common attitudes with these authors? *Second*, and more importantly, are the *a priori* assumptions of Peterson's work valid — that is, did Mrs. White choose her authorities in such a way as to make her choices a valid basis for textual studies?

I

The Peterson article points out that there are nine works cited in the 1911 chapter of *The Great Controversy* under examination. I have listed them in my references, and the reader should note carefully the differences between this list and Peterson's.²

WALTER SCOTT

The work of the first author, *The Life of Buonaparte*, by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), is quoted in several places in the center section of Ellen

White's chapter. It is true that Scott was not *primarily* a historian but an author of popular historical novels. However, he did write other histories, and his name made them unusually successful. Peterson says:

In a one-year period Scott was able to produce the massive nine-volume work (printed in small type), thereby earning for himself 18,000 pounds. His secretary, then an inexperienced young man, later described how he and Scott both wrote for twelve hours every day in the latter's library, even eating meals at their desks to save time. Occasionally Scott's writing hand would tire, and he would then dictate rapidly to his companion, hardly interrupting the flow of words as he plucked various books from the shelves.³

The evidence cited for this statement is J. G. Lockhart's *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*.⁴ Lockhart was also a littérateur, specializing in biographies. He himself had written a life of Napoleon. His interest in Scott was largely due to the fact that he was Sir Walter's son-in-law and had worked with him for a time.

The picture of the method of Scott's production of his *Napoleon* is not faithfully transmitted by Peterson. The young man who allegedly worked (wrote!) for twelve hours a day, even gulping down meals at his desk, was not Lockhart himself, but one Robert Hogg, employed by a publishing firm in which Sir Walter held the controlling interest. In 1833 Hogg wrote Lockhart, at the latter's request, to record something of the production of *Napoleon*. This letter, dated February 16, 1833, said: "Having been for a few days employed by Sir Walter Scott, when he was finishing his *Life of Buonaparte*, to copy papers connected with that work, and to write occasionally to his dictation, it may perhaps be in my power to mention some circumstances relative to Sir Walter's habits of composition."

Thus, Hogg worked with Scott as a copyist for only the last few days of the job. He said of the first day: "I was punctual, and found Sir Walter already busy writing. He appointed my tasks, and again sat down at his own desk. We continued to write during the regular work hours till six o'clock in the evening, without interruption, except to take breakfast and dinner, which were served in the room beside us, so that no time was lost; — we rose from our desks when everything was ready, and resumed our labors when the meals were over. I need not tell you that during these intervals Sir Walter conversed with me as if I had been on a level of perfect equality with himself."

So the "inexperienced young man" was really a professional copyist. Instead of writing for twelve hours a day, for months, even eating at his desk, he was employed for a few days as a copyist. As the full statement shows,

the two men did not at all gulp down food at their desks, but retired to the dining room of Sir Walter's country estate, Abbotsford.

Hogg continued: "Once or twice he desired me to relieve him, and dictated while I wrote with as much rapidity as I was able. . . . His thoughts flowed easily and felicitously, without any difficulty to lay hold of them, or to find appropriate language."⁵ Rather than taking dictation every day for months, Hogg actually took dictation "once or twice." The reason for this is clear if one reads the full account of Scott's life at this time. He was seriously hampered by what seems to have been arthritis or neuritis, and it was becoming increasingly difficult for him to write for long periods.

Lockhart followed this recitation with the observation that "two years had elapsed since Scott began" the work, but that he himself had subtracted the time that he estimated Scott used in working on other material and in travel. (Some of the travel was in connection with the production of *Napoleon*.) So the *actual writing* of the work took "hardly more than twelve months," which gives quite a different picture of the book's production. (Scott was noted for the speed with which he produced *all* his works.)

Lockhart continued: "The magnitude of the theme and the copious detail with which it was treated appear to have frightened the critics of the time. None of our great reviews grappled with the books at all." Napoleon had died in 1821, and Scott began his work in 1825. He had no previous biography to follow. Lockhart attributed much of the criticism to Scott's impartiality in treating Napoleon.⁶ The situation would be somewhat analogous to that of a great American man of letters attempting an objective portrait of Adolf Hitler in 1949 and arriving at the conclusion that, after all, Hitler had his strong points.

Too, exactly those points which the French would think were praiseworthy the English were likely to think were most heinous. Scott received criticism from both sides of the Channel, but for different reasons. The outcry in some of the reviews was not against Scott's treatment of the Revolution (called "Preliminary Review" in the book) but against his treatment of Napoleon and his policies. Mrs. White, of course, was interested only in the preliminary section of the book, which dealt specifically with the Revolution.

The history was never accepted as fully authoritative. That Scott was not as great a historian as he was a novelist caused some disappointment. Nevertheless the book was unusually popular. It certainly did not receive universal disclaim. Goethe wrote: "The richest, the easiest, the most celebrated narrator of the century undertakes to write the history of his own time. . . .

What could now be more delightful to me, than leisurely and calmly to sit down and listen to the discourse of such a man, while clearly, truly, and with all the skill of a great artist, he recalls to me the incidents on which through life I have meditated, and the influence of which is still daily in operation?"

Goethe observed that he himself had conversed with Napoleon, and often he had considered thoughtfully the political events of the age. James Fenimore Cooper wrote Scott to console him about the displeasure with which some Frenchmen had greeted the history (one general had even threatened to duel because of the treatment he had received): "The French abuse you a little, but, as they begun to do this five months before the book was published, you have no great reason to regard their criticism. It would be impossible to write the truth on such a subject and please this nation. One frothy gentleman denounced you in my presence as having a low, vulgar style, very much such a one as characterized the pen of Shakespeare."⁸

Peterson suggests James C. Corson's *A Bibliography of Sir Walter Scott* "for a list and summaries of contemporary reviews."⁹ But Corson's book does not give summaries. Only four works (of a list of over thirty) have any content notation at all. The notations are brief quotes, truncated sentences that give the exact words that Peterson passes on in his article, and nothing more. They are added as synopses of these works because these in particular are negative; and the mildest of these has been omitted from the Peterson article.

Corson added this to the comment on *The Eclectic Review*: "The reviewer [in the 1827 article] does admit, however, that, with a good deal of re-writing, the work could be made valuable."¹⁰ A reader unfamiliar with the genre of criticism in the nineteenth century might be led to think that there is some valid reason for trusting the judgment of the two reviewers whose single phrases have been brought forward. Actually, would-be men of letters frequently attacked the great with a ferocity that would make us shudder today. Moreover, there is no reason to think that these men were historians themselves, or would even be taken by their readers as expressing anything more than their personal opinions. Literary journals in those days were much more closely identified with a political viewpoint, and the speed with which they came and went was bound to make anything a reviewer said something less than weighty, especially when the comment was on someone of Scott's stature.

It is evident that Peterson himself has not read the full works he cites (or the group as a whole). I think it would be more valuable for the reader to

read the full work rather than the single piece of sentence quoted from each, and then judge for himself whether the objections are to Scott the historian, or to Scott the stylist, or to Scott the literary enemy. The obvious test of *public* reaction to the reviews is the way in which the book sold. It enjoyed a long popularity — and did indeed help Scott pay off his debts.

JAMES A. WYLIE

59

The second source treated is that of James A. Wylie (1808-1890), a very well-known nineteenth century author who, with good reason, shared the fear that most Calvinists had of the power of the papacy. Quite *unlike* Scott, who had noted in his journals his wish to "die a skeptic," Wylie was an ordained minister. He was an editor for fourteen years (1846-1860) and a professor of religion at the Protestant institute at Edinburgh for thirty years (1860-1890). He held a doctor of laws degree from Aberdeen University. By no means were all of his works devoted to grinding a Protestant ax, the unfortunate term Peterson uses in an effort to dismiss Wylie as a historian.

Wylie had indeed come to the most strong conclusion about the nature of the papacy, convictions not particularly shared by Scott. His *History of Protestantism* had brought his mind continually in contact with the actions of the papacy during the period from the earliest reformers to the counter-reformation. A thorough study of that period of history was not particularly calculated to set the mind at ease. However, there is an even more significant factor at work here. Wylie wrote his history (it was not outdated when Mrs. White used it) during 1874-77, when Catholicism was at its nadir.

The pope of the time was none other than Pius IX, who signed a concordat with Austria, strengthened the position of the church in France to its highest power since the Revolution a century before, and convened a universal council to solidify his authority. It was this council (the little-discussed Vatican I) that the pope guided into the doctrine of papal infallibility in matters of faith and morals. Pius interpreted "faith and morals" to mean practically everything touching human life, and he made claims more absolute than any pontiff in history. In 1864 he issued the famous Syllabus of Errors, blacklisting such dangerous errors as freedom of conscience, separation of church and state, democracy, and the right of religions other than Catholicism to exist within a state.¹¹

All of this was not likely to commend the papacy to a scholar of Wylie's stature. He was certainly not alone in his fears; but he had a better basis than blind prejudice for them, both as a Calvinist minister and as a historian. In view of the almost fantastic claims Pius IX was fulminating, it is

not surprising that a Protestant scholar would attempt "the exposure of papal errors," Wylie's stated intention of doing so with clarity and vigor is to be lauded.¹²

Peterson apparently has no objection to Wylie at all except that Wylie has arrived at the same conclusions as Mrs. White. The strange argument is given that Mrs. White should not have used Wylie, since Wylie shared her conclusions. Are we to assume that all historians who agree with Mrs. White are therefore automatically excluded as sources of historical truth? Non sequitur.

GEORGE R. GLEIG

60 The third author discussed is George Robert Gleig (1796-1888). Whereas Wylie had been one of the founders of the Free Church of Scotland and throughout his lifetime was opposed to the liturgical and ritual practices of the Church of England, which seemed to him to be reflecting Rome, Gleig was the son of an Episcopal bishop, himself a minister of the Church of England. Throughout his life he remained a staunch high churchman. Once again, the supposed correspondence fails to materialize.

Peterson says that Gleig's "chief contribution to British public life was an attack on the Reform Bill of 1832."¹³ This is quite untrue. Gleig was a popular minister and had a large parish. He had begun writing history as early as the 1830s. In 1844 he became the chaplain-general of the British armed forces and in addition was the inspector-general of military schools, but perhaps his favorite work was the chaplaincy of the Chelsea Hospital, where he was noted for philanthropy and zeal.¹⁴ In the light of these facts it is difficult to understand Peterson's statement and his choice of one lone fact for Gleig.

Moreover, I fail to see the connection between Gleig's opposition to the Reform Bill in 1832 and an article written *thirty-eight years later*. Does Mrs. White's use of the two lines from the *Blackwood's* article endorse Gleig's opposition to the Reform Bill, or endorse his unusual zeal and philanthropy at Chelsea Hospital? Does it endorse ideas put forth in his series of textbooks for schoolchildren, or ideas found in *India and Its Army*, or any of his numerous other works? Or does it, in fact, endorse any of his ideas at all other than those expressed in the two sentences which she quoted?

ARCHIBALD ALISON

The next author treated is Sir Archibald Alison (1792-1867). The choice of Alison and the exclusion of Henry White is unfair and does not fit the

reasons given for choices and exclusions. Henry White has more material quoted, line for line, than Archibald Alison (a fact I shall return to shortly).

The only thing learned about Alison is that *The Dictionary of National Biography* mentions his typical Tory beliefs. Supposedly his intentions were to be interpreted "to prove that Providence was on the side of the Tories."¹⁵ If Peterson had given the full quotation rather than a piece of sentence, we would see that this was not a statement of the compilers at all, but of leading Tory minister Benjamin Disraeli, who, though himself a Conservative, did not agree with Alison's conclusions. Apparently Sir Archibald's conclusions were not so much his party's as his own!

61 The twentieth century historian G. P. Gooch quoted by Peterson says in his *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* that "Alison himself rightly attributed his success to the surpassing interest of his subject and his priority in the field. Readers could afford to overlook his platitudes in return for the first comprehensive survey of the most eventful years in modern history."¹⁶ Alison's *History of Europe* was successful and was considered by Gooch to have priority in its field, to be a book that readers could use and yet easily distinguish Alison's own maxims. Gooch lists Hallam, Macaulay, Alison, and Napier as historians who were read all over the world.¹⁷ This fact is especially important.

Peterson next says incorrectly that Mrs. White quoted Alison twice. One of these quotes (four lines long), found on page 274-275 of *The Great Controversy* (1911), in reality is a quote from Lacretelle, whom Alison quoted. The only quotation from Alison, then, is this found on page 276:

"Mortals, cease to tremble before the powerless thunders of a God whom your fears have created. Henceforth acknowledge no divinity but Reason. I offer you its noblest and purest image; if you must have idols, sacrifice only to such as this. . . . Fall before the august Senate of Freedom, oh! Veil of Reason!"

The goddess, after being embraced by the president, was mounted on a magnificent car, and conducted, amid an immense crowd, to the cathedral of Notre Dame, to take the place of the Deity. There she was elevated on the high altar, and received the adoration of all present.¹⁸

What is most revealing about this single quote from Alison is that it reveals nothing. The description of this particular piece of republican foolishness was not limited to Tory historians; it was material well known and easily verifiable. It would seem that Alison's material is "brief and primarily factual."¹⁹ Why does Peterson include Alison but ignore Henry White, from whom more material is quoted?

Perhaps it is because the invalidity of the theory being propounded would be apparent if Henry White (1812-1880) had been treated. Similar research on him reveals that he was a careful and reputable scholar and author of standard history texts. He had worked at Geneva with d'Aubigné, and his *History of France* went through eight editions. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that "in 1867 he published his most important book, 'The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, preceded by a History of the Religious Wars in the Reign of Charles IX,' London, 8vo, a work of genuine research. White's was the first English treatise to show that the massacre was the result of a sudden resolution, and not of a long-prepared conspiracy."²⁰

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The striking thing about Henry White is that his perspective was so completely different from Alison's, as indeed both were different from either Wylie's or Scott's. Unlike Wylie he was a secular historian; unlike Scott he was an educator. It is not suprising that White was not treated in "A Textual Study."

M. A. THIERS

Anachronistically, Peterson did include Marie Joseph Louise Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), the "M. A. Thiers" of *The Great Controversy*.²¹ The Peterson article gives one line of Gooch, one which Gooch himself said was based on the critic Croker, hardly a trustworthy commentary on the worth of the work of a French leader. A careful look at what Gooch said gives a more balanced view:

He combines an unshakable conviction of the justice and necessity of the Revolution with a detached view of its agents. . . . He is an out-spoken opponent of the Terror, warmly admires the private virtues and courage of the royal family, and blames many actions of the Revolutionists. . . .

The 'History of the French Revolution' scarcely deserved its popularity, but some of the charges against it are greatly exaggerated. . . . Like Mignet he misread the Girondins and overpraised the Directory, but his general approval of the aims and results of the Revolution, combined with repudiation of the Terror, represents the broad verdict of history.²²

This sounds like something less than an indictment of the work as untrustworthy.

Peterson almost reveals how inadequate is the theory of similar bias when he mentions that Thiers was president of the French Republic, and when he mentions just two paragraphs earlier that Gleig (the military Episcopalian bishop) was advocating military intervention on the part of

the British government in France — in his article of 1870. Thiers was a prominent member of the National Assembly elected in the crisis of 1870. He became president, not of the Third Republic, but of the short-lived Provisional Republic as the necessary compromise candidate in the struggle to form a new government that followed the debacle of Napoleon III's downfall. *This was the year 1871.*

So Thiers was a French political centrist. If there was one idea he would have liked less than all others, one can well imagine it would have been the thought of British military intervention in France that Gleig was advocating at the time. It would have been hard in 1888 to cite intentionally two authors with such opposite opinions as these men! Nor should one attempt to downgrade Thier's history because of his political experience; the opposite view would seem to be far more reasonable.

For purposes of discussion, I have referred only to those authorities and works cited by Peterson and have added facts, figures, and dates where it seemed absolutely necessary to do so. I should point out here that these sources are extremely narrow and limited, however. The similarities that were alleged to exist between the various authors are at best superficial. To attempt this kind of textual analysis on so narrow a scale is in its own way incomplete. To treat five of the scores of authors used in *The Great Controversy* is certainly inadequate. But the reader is advised to study in greater detail the lives of even the five men used as examples; even the superficial similarities are nonexistent.²³

The greater problem is that this method does not fit the facts of the situation; it takes no account of the actual way in which the historians were chosen.

II

I turn now to the wider questions. On what basis did Mrs. White in reality choose her historians? What changes were made between the various editions? What do these changes reveal about Mrs. White's changing intentions?

Though Peterson declines comment on the plagiarism issue and states specifically that he wishes to avoid this question, a carefully selected passage compares Wylie's account with Mrs. White's obvious paraphrase. This is done, however, five pages after the admission that Nichol had already treated this very issue in detail and after the comment that "I have no quarrel with Nichol's arguments" that follows it.²⁴

The first "error" treated is that of the tocsin, or ringing bell. This is certainly a familiar problem. Which bell was rung? Supposedly a factual error

in the 1888 edition had to be corrected in the 1911 printing of the book. It is alleged that the real error was in misreading the source prior to 1888. I quote the Peterson article:

Wylie (volume two, p. 600), upon whom Mrs. White was drawing at this point in the chapter, wrote that "the signal for the massacre was to be the tolling of the great bell of the Palace of Justice." Two pages later in his book, Wylie explained that in the event it was the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerois which was rung. Obviously Mrs. White had read the first statement but not the second, for she displayed confusion also about the time of night when the bell sounded.²⁵

This is incorrect. The truth of the matter is that Wylie did indeed affirm on page 600 that the signal was to be the bell of the Palace of Justice. On page 602 he said:

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The Queen-mother feeling the suspense unbearable, or else afraid, as Maimbourg suggests, that Charles, "greatly disturbed by the idea of the horrible butchery, would revoke the order he had given for it," anticipated the signal by sending one at two o'clock of the morning to ring the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerois, which was nearer than that of the Palace of Justice. Scarcely had its first peal startled the silence of the night when a pistol-shot was heard. The king started to his feet, and summoning an attendant he bade him go and stop the massacre. It was too late; the bloody work had begun. *The great bell of the Palace had now begun to toll*; another moment and every steeple in Paris was sending forth its peal" [italics supplied].

The original statement in the 1888 edition was that "the great bell of the palace, tolling at dead of night, was a signal for the slaughter."²⁶ In every single sense in which this sentence could be taken it is absolutely correct.

Actually, Wylie left it to his reader to decide whether his *page 602 account* (which fits Mrs. White's narrative well) was in reference to the Palace of Justice or the royal palace. These buildings, along with the royal chapel, St. Germain l'Auxerois, were all within half a block, and the king (a twenty-four-year-old dying neurotic) may have heard one bell, two bells, or all three bells. Wylie did say that the palace bell set all the other bells to ringing. (I will discuss shortly the reasons for changing the perfectly legitimate 1888 statement.) The bells began to toll somewhere between two and three in the morning, and I find it difficult to see how the unchanged statement "tolling at dead of night" displays any confusion about time.

Furthermore, the two Wylie statements are not as widely separated as the reader was led to believe. The first statement is found at the bottom of page 600 of Wylie's work. Page 601 is a full-page engraving of the murder of Admiral Coligny. The second statement is actually part of the next paragraph, which is found on page 602. Since Mrs. White summarized informa-

tion found on pages 602-603, it is apparent that not only had she read the second statement, but probably she was drawing on it.

Next Peterson gives the example of the "breviaries of the Old and New Testaments" changed to read "breviaries, missals, and the Old and New Testaments" in the later book. The key here is the lack of understanding of how historical information was gathered for *The Great Controversy*. Since the material came from the Bouchez-Roux collection,²⁷ probably the wording is that of an original translation, one which very probably was correct. It is obvious that Peterson was unclear about what went on in Basel in preparation for the 1888 edition. (See note 33.)

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The next "error" is supposedly exaggeration. In 1888 Mrs. White supposedly spoke of "millions" and then trimmed this down to "multitudes" by 1911. But anyone familiar with the way in which Mrs. White uses the word "multitude" throughout the book (e.g., the 1911 edition, page 667, where it refers to all the lost of all ages) would find it difficult to see this as a scaling-down. The reason for the change is obvious. Mrs. White was trying to thwart the use of belief in "verbal" inspiration (that is, that use of every word, every phrase, every punctuation mark by an inspired author was the work of the Spirit and therefore an absolute) to decide exactly how many persons died (or which bell was rung). Thus she exchanged the more technical term for the less technical one.

Any historian would be hard put to decide which of the statements is the more correct. In that decade of constant turmoil, destruction of life and loss of records (1789-99), it would be hard to research this matter properly. Certainly Peterson cannot tell with any accuracy how correct or incorrect the original statement was, as he seems to be suggesting is possible.

He next suggests that Mrs. White transformed Wylie's 400 to 500 refugees into "thousands upon thousands" and compressed them from the longer period into the sixteenth century. Peterson's footnote on this point says:

Wylie . . . goes on to assert: "The men who were now fleeing from France were the first to tread a path which was to be trodden again and again by hundreds of thousands of their countrymen in years to come. During the following two centuries and [a] half these scenes were renewed at short intervals." Mrs. White reduces all of this information to one sentence and thereby distorts it: "Thousands upon thousands found safety in flight; and this continued for two hundred and fifty years after the opening of the Reformation." In other words, Mrs. White removes Wylie's "hundreds of thousands" of Protestant exiles from "the following two centuries and [a] half" and instead places this enormous group in the sixteenth century.²⁹

There is certainly a distortion here, but it comes because the sentence from Mrs. White has been lifted from its context (never a very reliable way of determining what an author means to convey). The E. G. White quotation, followed by her use of Wylie on page 278 (1911), looks like this:

But unhappy France prohibited the Bible, and banned its disciples. *Century after century*, men of principle and integrity, men of intellectual acuteness and moral strength, who had the courage to avow their convictions, and the faith to suffer for the truth, — *for centuries* these men toiled as slaves in the galleys, perished at the stake, or rotted in dungeon cells. Thousands upon thousands found safety in flight; and *this continued* for two hundred and fifty years after the opening of the Reformation.

Scarcely was there a generation of Frenchmen *during that long period* that did not witness the disciples of the gospel fleeing before the insane fury of the persecutor, and carrying with them the intelligence, the arts, the industry, the order, in which, as a rule, they pre-eminently excelled, to enrich the lands in which they found an asylum [italics supplied].

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The Wylie quote runs on for another twenty-three lines, emphasizing repeatedly that this went on for "three hundred years." Nothing could be more clearly stated. It is quite clear that in the context, the fleeing, like the persecution, continued for a period of hundreds of years. And, by the way, what becomes of the exaggeration? Mrs. White replaced Wylie's "hundreds of thousands" with "thousands upon thousands." Obviously, hundreds of thousands means a minimum of 200,000 persons, and Mrs. White's phrase is certainly a justifiable synonym that could be used for numbers far smaller!

Now I turn to the ill-founded charge that Mrs. White's selectivity constituted suppression of the facts and thereby distorted the truth. The surprising statement is made that "she did not take into account any political, social, or economic forces operating in the Old Regime." The most direct answer to this kind of allegation is simply to quote the numerous statements regarding the situation of society in the Old Regime. The 1911 edition (pages 279-280) said:

The gospel would have brought to France the solution of those political and social problems that baffled the skill of her clergy, her king, and her legislators, and finally plunged the nation into anarchy and ruin. But under the domination of Rome the people had lost the Saviour's lessons of self-sacrifice and unselfish love. They had been led away from the practice of self-denial for the good of others. The rich had found no rebuke for their oppression of the poor, the poor no help for their servitude and degradation. The selfishness of the wealthy and powerful grew more and more apparent and oppressive. For centuries the greed and profligacy of the noble resulted in grinding extortion toward the peasant. The rich wronged the poor, and the poor hated the rich.

In many provinces the estates were held by the nobles, and the laboring classes were only tenants; they were at the mercy of their landlords and were forced to sub-

mit to their exorbitant demands. The burden of supporting both the church and the state fell upon the middle and lower classes, who were heavily taxed by the civil authorities and by the clergy.

Thus far mentioned, in order, are: (1) the domination of the state by a foreign power; (2) oppression of the poor by the rich; (3) growing oppression due to selfishness; (4) tenancy; (5) the unreasonable taxation of the middle class; and (6) the support of the clergy by the state.

Then there follows a twenty-line quotation from Wylie which described (1) the lack of legal sanctions for the poor; (2) their overburdening with physical labor; (3) lack of redress of grievances; (4) the unfairness of the courts; (5) bribery of the courts; (6) the siphoning off of tax money for private purposes; and finally (7) the exemption of the First and Second Estates from taxation.

Thereafter comes a sound condemnation of Louis XV, "who, even in those evil times," the author said, "was distinguished as an indolent, frivolous, and sensual monarch." Then, "With a depraved and cruel aristocracy and an impoverished and ignorant lower class, the state financially embarrassed and the people exasperated, it needed no prophet's eye to foresee a terrible impending outbreak."

Mrs. White continued in a similar vein for another two pages, laying a large share of the blame for the rampant social evils on the clergy. She charged that this group was fostering intentionally the prevailing social conditions to weaken the state and make it dependent on the church: "Rome had misrepresented the character of God and perverted His requirements, and now men rejected both the Bible and its Author. . . . Enraged at the glittering cheat to which they had so long paid homage, they rejected truth and falsehood together; and mistaking license for liberty, the slaves of vice exulted in their imagined freedom."

This is certainly consistent with Mrs. White's treatment of history as the outworking of two contending forces grappling for the minds of men, especially when it is compared with the statements elsewhere in the book stating what she believed the power of Rome to be based on. She had quite fairly warned in the introduction on what basis she would proceed.²⁹ On page 285 she stated:

When Satan wrought through the Roman Church to lead men away from obedience, his agency was concealed, and his work was so disguised that the degradation and misery which resulted were not seen to be the fruit of transgression. And his power was so far counteracted by the working of the Spirit of God, that his purposes were prevented from reaching their full fruition. The people did not trace the effect to its cause, and discover the source of their miseries. But in the Revolution, the law of God

was openly set aside by the National Council. And in the Reign of Terror which followed, the working of cause and effect could be seen by all.

The Revolution was quite clearly presented in this chapter as the unavoidable result of the French reaction to the Reformation. Rather than ignore the political, social, and economic forces in operation, the author emphasized them, and then, having done so, went a step farther to make them evidences of an even deeper problem. The charge of one-dimensional history totally fails to explain the purpose of the chapter.

Peterson goes on to the phrase "priest of the new order" for the comedian Monort, suggesting that Mrs. White hoped to give the false impression that Monort was a member of the Roman Catholic clergy who had defrocked before the Convention. The Ellen White statement is found on page 274 of the 1911 edition:

He [the Bishop of Paris — we are in the middle of a Scott quote, volume one, chapter seventeen] then laid on the table his episcopal decorations, and received a fraternal embrace from the president of the Convention. Several apostate priests followed the example of this prelate.

"And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth." Infidel France had silenced the reproving voice of God's two witnesses. The word of truth lay dead in her streets, and those who hated the restrictions and requirements of God's law were jubilant. Men publicly defied the King of heaven. Like the sinners of old, they cried: "How doth God know? and is there knowledge in the Most High?" Psalm 73:11.

With blasphemous boldness almost beyond belief, one of the priests of the new order said: "God, if You exist, avenge Your injured name. I bid You defiance! You remain silent; You dare not launch Your thunders."

A casual look at the full quotation, thus disconnected from the context, would give the impression that in reality infidel France had silenced the voice of God's two witnesses (traditionally understood to be the Testaments) by suppressing the Bishop of Paris and his fellow prelates. It is much easier to interpret the passage to mean that the "word of truth" and "restrictions and requirements" that were hated were those of Roman Catholicism, and that the Almighty was being abused in the person of his bishop, rather than the version Peterson gives us!

Of course, this is not the meaning at all in context. Anyone reading the chapter with any care would recognize immediately that the paragraph that begins "'And they that dwell upon the earth'" signals a new section of the chapter, with material under a new subheading. There are several of these verses from Revelation eleven in the chapter; they are its skeleton,

and the key to its interpretation. Each one signals another subdivision and a new phase of Mrs. White's running exposition of the prophecy.

Such phrases are to be found on page 267, paragraph two, "They shall prophesy;" page 268, paragraph one, "And if any man will hurt them," and paragraph three, "When they shall have finished;" page 269, paragraph two, "The great city;" page 271, paragraph one, "Where also our Lord;" page 273, paragraph two, "The beast that ascendeth;" page 274, paragraph two, "And they that dwell upon the earth;" page 287, paragraph one, "After three days and a half."

In each of these cases the introduction of the text signals that the theme is being changed to the new theme of the next verse, and all the historical material introduced will be connected in some way with the fulfillment of that particular verse.

Furthermore, any freshman English student should be able to identify the technique usually termed comparison and contrast that is used on page 274. The old order is being compared and contrasted with the new order; the old priests with the new priests. There is no hint that they are the *same* individuals, but rather quite different ones.

Peterson tells us that Mrs. White's phrase "priest of the new order" could only be used "in some extravagantly metaphorical sense." Is he suggesting that the English word "priest" has only one meaning, that is, a member of the Roman Catholic clergy? This is at best dubious etymology. A national magazine recently referred to a certain popular music idol as the "high priest of rock." Was the well-known weekly journal engaging only in extravagantly metaphorical wordplay liable to be misunderstood by its readers? Certainly not. Nor is there any evidence that the word had any such limited meaning when Mrs. White used it in the nineteenth century.³⁰

I have shown that the sources used were not poor ones, nor were they mishandled. Instead, they were used soundly and consistently to present those things Mrs. White had seen in vision.

One last point ought to be observed, and that is this. Not only is the study of the sources valid if, and only if, it proceeds along the stated criteria which Mrs. White used, but that a study of this one particular chapter should assume that *it does not purport to be a history of the French Revolution*. The Peterson thesis has missed the whole point. The title of the chapter is "*The Bible and the French Revolution*." Any reader should assume that the title of a given work is in some way related to its content.

I repeat: the chapter only purports to examine the *relationship* between the Bible and the French Revolution. It does not pretend to be an examina-

tion of the Revolution in general, but it does deal with only certain aspects of it. Viewed in this light, the author's intended exposition of Revelation eleven (which, by the way, was entirely her own, and the only reason for using historical data at all) examines the relationship between France's rejection of the Reformation, the resultant and long-continued social ills, and the consequent Revolution. Repeatedly and in many different ways the author showed that this was her only purpose.

The book's introduction had stressed the author's philosophy and intentions. Any careful reader should read the introduction thoughtfully and take it into account before attempting an analysis of the book itself. I think that the introduction adequately speaks for its author concerning her theory of history, and no one need enter into such a discussion, competent or otherwise.

It is true, as was suggested, that many of Ellen White's readers know little or nothing of the real Mrs. White. I think that there is everything to be gained and nothing to be lost if Adventist scholarship would take a long and careful look at her work. Truth — if it is truth — is always strengthened by careful study.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- 1 William S. Peterson, A textual and historical study of Ellen G. White's account of the French Revolution, *Spectrum* 2:60 (Autumn 1970).
- 2 Sir Walter Scott, *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*, two volumes (Philadelphia: J. and J. L. Gihon 1858). This is the American edition. The original work was printed in London in 1827.
George R. Gleig, The great collapse, *Blackwood's Magazine* 108: 641-656 (November 1870).
James A. Wylie, *The History of Protestantism*, three volumes (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin 1874-1877).
Henry White, *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew* (New York: Harper and Brothers 1871). This is the American edition used. The larger work appeared in London in 1868.
Sir Archibald Alison, *History of Europe, 1789-1815* (New York: Harper and Brothers 1872). *The Great Controversy* notes give no publisher for the American edition. Peterson lists a much earlier edition that was not used.
M. A. Thiers, *The History of the French Revolution*; trans., Frederick Shoberl (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott; London: Richard Bentley and Son 1854). Peterson is incorrect in his initial change. *The Great Controversy* correctly follows the Library of Congress designation "M. A." Peterson lists an earlier edition which was not used.
Philip Buchez and Prosper Roux, *Histoire Parlementaire de la Revolution* (Paris: Paulin 1834-1838); also titled *Journal des Assemblies Nationales*. The subtitle reveals that it covers a period from 1789 to 1815. Its catalogue card shows that it is a forty-volume work published in twenty volumes.

Guillaume de Felice, *History of the Protestants of France*; trans., P. E. Barnes (London 1853). Neither Peterson nor *The Great Controversy* notes list a publisher.

J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin*, eight volumes (London: Longmans 1863-1878).

- 3 Peterson, p. 61.
- 4 J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company 1901), vol. 5, p. 88. This whole period of Scott's life should be read carefully.
- 5 Hogg goes on to relate that Scott had apparently researched the material in advance, as we gather also from the journal.
- 6 Lockhart, p. 88.
- 7 Lockhart, p. 88.
- 8 Lockhart, p. 89.
- 9 Peterson, p. 68.
- 10 James C. Corson, *A Bibliography of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd 1943), p. 282.
- 11 Joseph Moody (editor), *Church and Society* (New York: Arts, Incorporated 1953), p. 233.
- 12 *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Founded in 1882 by George Smith; edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sydney Lee (Oxford University 1959-1960), vol. 21, p. 1152.
- 13 Peterson, pp. 61-62.
- 14 *DNB*, vol. 7, p. 1304.
- 15 *DNB*, vol. 1, p. 288.
- 16 George P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press 1959), p. 286. Peterson quotes from the 1913 edition, but I am here using the 1959 revision by the author.
- 17 Gooch, p. 287.
- 18 Alison, volume one, chapter ten, as quoted by Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association 1911), p. 276.
- 19 This was the one criterion for dismissing the authors not treated by Peterson in his article.
- 20 *DNB*, vol. 21, p. 48.
This last piece of information is of the greatest importance, as it marked a breakthrough in an understanding of the Massacre, and is still held today as the basis for a proper understanding of it. For a thorough modern treatment of the period, see J. E. Neale, *The Age of Catherine de Medici* (London: Jonathan Cape 1963).
- 21 See note 2, item six. Peterson has not looked at the Library of Congress catalogue card correctly. The full name is given on the lower right-hand side of all catalogue cards.
- 22 Gooch, pp. 190-191.
- 23 The non-treatment of d'Aubigné is unusual, since, of the numerous works cited, he is most frequently referred to. Mrs. White had stated her desire to procure authorities noted throughout the Protestant world whose references would be accepted by Roman Catholics. See note 29.
- 24 One could wish that Peterson had accepted his own statement and not re-introduced the plagiarism issue several pages later. A more glaring inconsistency

of this type, however, is found in the statement on page 66: "To treat *The Great Controversy* as history is to ignore the book's fundamentally theological character."

- 25 Peterson, p. 64.
See Wylie, vol. 2, pp. 600-604, for the full account. See also note 31 for the original White statement.
- 26 See note 31.
- 27 See note 2, item seven.
- 28 Peterson, p. 68. See note 25.
- 29 This was the longest introduction Mrs. White had written for one of her later works. It was obviously designed to be a synopsis of her understanding of the gift of prophecy to non-Adventist readers. Mrs. White compares herself to the extra-biblical prophets (e.g., Iddo and Jasher) and lays a basis for the purely prophetic section of her book.
- 30 The etymology of our English word *priest* is enlightening. It is directly traceable through the Latin to the Greek *presbuteros* or "elder," and was used to designate "civic as well as religious officials." See William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, fourth edition (University of Chicago Press 1968), p. 706. The word retained both meanings.
- 31 By a fortunate coincidence, such comparison is easily possible for the average reader. The 1888 text copyright having elapsed, the book was recently republished privately (New York: Pyramid Books 1967). The number is N-1719. Quotation marks have been inserted by the publishers, but are sometimes in error.
- 32 See Ellen G. White, *Evangelism* (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association 1946), pp. 574-575. See also W. C. White, *The Great Controversy* — new edition, in *Notes and Papers Concerning Ellen G. White and the Spirit of Prophecy* (Washington: E. G. White Estate 1966), p. 194.
- 33 For further information on the production of the 1888 and 1911 *Great Controversy* revisions, see W. C. White, *The Great Controversy* — new edition, in *Notes and Papers*. See also Arthur L. White, The place of history in "*The Great Controversy*" story, in the same work. The second work is the unpublished manuscript" Peterson referred to.

Ellen White's Literary Indebtedness

73

WILLIAM S. PETERSON

Although I admire Mr. Wood's evident industriousness, I must take exception to the method of his article, which really obscures rather than clarifies the issues at stake. His technique is to assault our sensibilities with such an onslaught of miscellaneous factual information—most of it wildly irrelevant—that we are left feeling benumbed by what superficially appears to be a tour de force of scholarship. In fact, Mr. Wood is guilty of (*a*) manipulating evidence to his own advantage, (*b*) offering misleading generalizations about the historiography of the French Revolution, (*c*) repeatedly asserting what he cannot prove, and (*d*) concealing the dogmatic assumptions upon which his argument rests. Under these circumstances, his claim to sit in judgment on the quality of the scholarship of others seems rather hollow.

I must also object to the tone of calm superiority with which he announces, in his final paragraphs, that he has now successfully disposed of all the problems discussed in my article. Given the very imperfect state of our knowledge about Mrs. White's writings, we really should at this point make our assertions less sweeping than that. So far as possible, both Mr. Wood and I ought to try to avoid the *ex cathedra* note in our pronouncements. I was particularly startled to find Mr. Wood declaring that "no one need enter into . . . a discussion of Mrs. White's theory of history." I cannot believe he really means that, since in the following paragraph he observes that "there is everything to be gained and nothing to be lost if Adventist scholarship would take a long and careful look at her work. Truth—if it is truth—is always strengthened by careful study."

I will proceed on the assumption, then, that the latter statement reflects Mr. Wood's real sentiments.

I

Clearly Mr. Wood is happiest and most persuasive in dealing with questions of fact. Some of these matters I will discuss here, though I have relegated the more trivial ones to a long footnote.¹ On the other hand, when he turns his attention to the *ideas* of my article, he seems to me less successful. Consider, for example, this paragraph:

Peterson apparently has no objection to Wylie at all except that he has arrived at the same conclusions as Mrs. White. The strange argument is given that Mrs. White should not have used Wylie, since Wylie shared her conclusions. Are we to assume that all historians who agree with Mrs. White are therefore automatically excluded as sources of historical truth? Non sequitur.

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This is utter nonsense, and Mr. Wood must surely know that it is. It does not bear the slightest resemblance to anything I said in my article. Anyone who has so seriously misread me is certainly in no position to deliver a patronizing lecture on my alleged misinterpretation of a passage by Mrs. White — which, he claims, would be perfectly clear to “any freshman English student.”

Mr. Wood first offers a survey of the historians cited by Mrs. White in chapter fifteen of *The Great Controversy*, since he feels I have evaluated them unfairly. Some of the information he supplies here is of interest, but most of it seems to me, frankly, irrelevant (and for that reason I have dealt with his specific objections in my first note). The question at issue is not how much time Sir Walter Scott devoted to lunch or even what he thought of Napoleon, but rather his reputation as a historian.

I contended in my article that Scott's unusually strong Tory bias and his careless research prevented him from treating the French Revolution objectively or accurately. If Mr. Wood has any evidence to refute this observation, he should present it, instead of quibbling about Scott's eating habits. In fact, as Mr. Wood must realize, the estimate of Scott's historical writings which I presented reflects the consensus of modern historians. If Mr. Wood then wishes to assert (as Elder Bradley did) that Scott and his contemporaries presented a “true” picture of the French Revolution and that twentieth-century historians have been corrupted by papal influence, I can only throw up my hands in despair. At that point we are no longer dealing with evidence that can be rationally assessed; we have instead imperceptibly drifted into the realm of our collective Adventist fantasies.

Similarly, I fail to see the connection between the repressive policies of Pius IX and Wylie's *History of Protestantism*. The internal evidence of Wylie's writings suggests very strongly that he was an anti-Catholic fanatic of the type that no Adventist ought to respect. Our rejection of Catholicism is based on doctrinal grounds, not a visceral hatred as in the case of Wylie. Again, although Mr. Wood speaks admiringly of "Wylie's stature," he offers no proof of it. The reason for this silence, I presume, is that — so far as I can determine — Wylie *has* no stature today as a historian.

Mr. Wood also devotes a good deal of space in this section of his article to refuting a position I never held: that the historians in question expressed identical views on every subject. I merely said that there were some similarities in their attitudes toward the Revolution, and (though Mr. Wood ignores this point altogether) that they were far from being the best authorities available in Mrs. White's day. If Mr. Wood will take the time to study the historiography of the French Revolution — as he apparently has not yet done — he will discover that impartial, documented studies of the Revolution by men like Taine and de Tocqueville were in print when Mrs. White was revising and expanding *The Great Controversy* during the 1880s.

Mr. Wood's response to this statement, I gather, is that Mrs. White's historical sources were reliable *because* she consulted them. Indeed, this is his fundamental assumption, though it is almost hidden by a plethora of facts and footnotes. Near the end of his article he declares that the sources "were not poor ones, nor were they mishandled. Instead, they were used soundly and consistently to present those things Mrs. White had seen in vision." Beneath the trappings of a presumably factual inquiry, then, we discover here a syllogistic logic which is identical to Elder Bradley's: (1) Mrs. White was shown all of the events of the French Revolution in vision; (2) she quoted the historians whose accounts corresponded with her visions; and therefore (3) these historians provide the most reliable accounts available.

This, I submit, is the a priori basis of Mr. Wood's article which belies his pretensions of inductive scholarship. Mr. Wood seems not to understand that it was precisely his major premise that I was calling into question. What evidence does he find of visionary revelations in chapter fifteen? As I wrote in my article:

It is true that the early part of the chapter is a discussion of the prophetic significance of the French Revolution and that the final pages offer moral generalizations on the decline of France. But the central section of "The Bible and the French Revolution,"

which is entirely historical, I have compared line by line with her sources — where they are known — and I do not find a single detail which is not also present in them. Even her moral perspective is shared by the historians she consulted. Except for a few broad generalizations about the Albigenses, Mrs. White provided no connected historical narrative in 1884; this appeared only after she had been reading in Andrews' library, and then every fact, every observation, came from printed sources.

Since writing the above, I have discovered that "The Bible and the French Revolution" was an untypical chapter in its use of a wide variety of historical sources. Some of the earlier chapters of *The Great Controversy* are based almost exclusively on d'Aubigné — that is, virtually every paragraph is a quotation, close paraphrase, or summary of d'Aubigné. Therefore, to assert, as Francis D. Nichol did, that only twelve percent of *The Great Controversy* is quoted matter is, in a sense, to beg the question.² D'Aubigné in these chapters is supplying the *structure* and *perspective* of the book, not merely a few illustrative details. (Obviously if I were to attempt to document this generalization, I would exhaust the patience of even the very patient editor of SPECTRUM; but Mr. Wood or anyone else can test my statement by reading d'Aubigné and *The Great Controversy* side by side.)

Mr. Wood's manner of treating Mrs. White's specific historical errors in the 1888 edition is very curious, to say the least: in each instance, *ignoring the fact that Mrs. White tacitly acknowledged the error by correcting it in 1911*, he insists that she made no mistakes in 1888. By now it should be unmistakably clear that Mr. Wood is defending not Mrs. White's inspiration — since no writer in SPECTRUM has denied or questioned it — but a particular theory of her inspiration. Evidently he sees her writings as inerrant and completely free of all factual mistakes. If he does *not* hold this view of her inspiration, then why does he feel obliged to defend her acknowledged inaccuracies?

And yet, at other times, Mr. Wood seems ready to abandon this hardline position (which I doubt is accepted by most Adventists) and to announce instead that the only really important pages in chapter fifteen are the introductory ones, which interpret the prophecies of Revelation eleven; the rest of the chapter, he appears to be saying, is merely illustrative anecdotes. Her exposition of Revelation eleven, according to Mr. Wood, "was entirely her own, and the only reason for using historical data at all." This particular claim, however, would be very difficult to support, for her interpretation of the prophetic significance of the French Revolution had been held by nearly all millenarian groups of the early nineteenth century.

Students of prophecy had long been convinced that the 1260 days of Revelation eleven represented 1260 years, but unfortunately they had no

specific date with which to connect either the beginning or the end of the period. Thus the French Revolution — the anticlericalism of which could be interpreted as making war on the Two Witnesses (i.e., the Old and New Testaments) — created widespread interest in apocalyptic prophecies in both America and Britain, because it supplied the necessary date for the conclusion of the 1260 years. From there it was quite easy to work back to A.D. 538 as the beginning of papal supremacy.³ Considering how generally this interpretation was accepted among millenarianists of otherwise diverse views, I do not know in what sense it can be described as “entirely [Mrs. White’s] own.”

Mr. Wood also lays a good deal of stress on a few passages in which Mrs. White spoke of the underlying causes of the French Revolution; these passages, he tells us, offer a subtle and profound analysis of the events treated in the chapter. Yet even here it seems to me that there are serious obstacles to accepting at face value what she said about the Revolution. I will give only a few examples:

1. She was under the mistaken impression that the Revolution was initiated by the populace. In fact, it began among the aristocracy, then filtered down to the bourgeoisie, and finally reached the masses.⁴

2. She repeatedly mentioned the extreme poverty of the middle and lower classes in France as a cause of the Revolution. In fact, they were among the most prosperous in Europe.⁵

3. She described France, on the eve of the Revolution, as being under the domination of Rome. In fact, the Gallican church was extremely nationalistic and jealous of its prerogatives. France was of course Catholic, but it was not in any real sense under papal control.⁶

4. She provided an inaccurate account (*The Great Controversy*, p. 282) of the role of the Estates-General in the Revolution. She referred to the Third Estate as the “outraged populace” and apparently attributed to it the extremism of the Terror. In fact, the Third Estate was the bourgeoisie, and it advocated only very moderate reforms. The more violent revolutionists came from a different quarter.⁷

5. She especially attributed the French Revolution to France’s rejection of the Reformation. In fact, the French Revolution was part of a larger pattern of revolutions throughout western Europe and North America during the late eighteenth century. It was preceded, for example, by revolutions in Britain’s American colonies, the Netherlands, and Belgium. And these other revolutions — some in Protestant lands — occasionally produced widespread suffering and social dislocation as severe as in France.⁸

Since Mr. Wood has now put himself on record as agreeing with me that Mrs. White's writings will benefit from a closer study by Adventist scholars, I feel it would be useful for me to conclude this response to his article by suggesting some further lines of inquiry.

The published sources of *The Great Controversy* are relatively easy to investigate, since they are listed in the footnotes and bibliography. There are some indications, however, that the pattern of this book's literary development is not so untypical as one might suppose, and that in many of Mrs. White's volumes there are unacknowledged borrowings. How extensive her literary indebtedness was or what particular sources she used we do not know in most cases, for there are no footnotes in her other books.

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I will repeat — since neither Elder Bradley nor Mr. Wood seems willing to believe me — that I am not discussing plagiarism. I am talking about *literary indebtedness*. Plagiarism is a narrow, technical term which simply does not apply in the case of Mrs. White, because I am not accusing her of dishonest motives or of violating the copyright law. I am simply asking what published sources she used, and how and why she used them. If Elder Bradley insists on treating me as if I were a reincarnation of D. H. Can-right, then he misunderstands both my method and my intent.

Any literary scholar can tell us that "source studies" are among the most treacherous tasks to undertake, for merely establishing a similarity — even a marked similarity — between two literary texts is not sufficient evidence of borrowing. One must also demonstrate (a) that text B was written after the publication of text A (the presumed "source"), (b) that the author of text B could be reasonably supposed to have had access to text A, and (c) that the ideas or even the language of text A have not become sufficiently dispersed so as to be, in effect, the common literary property of the age.

It is this third condition that is especially important to keep in mind in dealing with Mrs. White's books. Although many Adventist readers today are not aware of it, the types of books that Mrs. White wrote — particularly the Conflict of the Ages series — represent very common genres in the nineteenth century. In any large university or seminary library one will find row on row of Victorian lives of Christ, most of them done in approximately the same manner as *The Desire of Ages*. Frequently the engravings, the chapter titles, the style, and the pattern of development are virtually identical. To an Adventist who has been raised on *The Desire of Ages*, reading these books can be an eerie experience, evoking as it does the shock of recognition and the sudden realization that *The Desire of Ages* belongs to a

recognizable literary category; one becomes aware that it was not produced in a vacuum. Obviously to isolate specific "sources" or "influences" in such a context is difficult, for we are confronted instead with an entire atmosphere of shared literary assumptions and habits.

Nevertheless, with the advice of some of my friends, I have been able to compile a modest list of sources that Mrs. White is known to have used in her other books.⁹ In each instance I have verified to my own satisfaction that some indebtedness exists, although I make no pretense of having sampled more than a few chapters in every book. What follows, therefore, is not meant to be definitive but is based on at least a brief examination of the book:

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1. W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *The Life and Epistles of the Apostle Paul* (1852). Nichol claims that "direct quotations of words, phrases, and clauses, plus any accompanying close paraphrase," constitute about seven percent of *Sketches from the Life of Paul*.¹⁰ My impression is that the influence of Conybeare and Howson in *Sketches* is more pervasive than this figure might indicate, since their book appears to have supplied the basic structure of many of Mrs. White's chapters.

2. Frederic W. Farrar, *The Life and Work of St. Paul* (1879). Mrs. White shows some familiarity with this book also in *Sketches from the Life of Paul*, but her precise indebtedness would be difficult to establish, because Farrar borrows extensively from Conybeare and Howson.

3. Friedrich W. Krummacker, *Elijah the Tishbite* (1835; first English translation, 1836). There are unmistakable evidences throughout the chapter entitled "Elijah the Tishbite" in *Prophets and Kings* of borrowing from Krummacker.

4. Daniel March, *Night Scenes from the Bible* (1869). The chapters entitled "At the Feast of Tabernacles," "Gethsemane," and "The Walk to Emmaus" in *The Desire of Ages* draw very heavily on this work, often in the form of close paraphrases.

5. Frederic W. Farrar, *The Life of Christ* (1874). I find occasional but distinct indications of indebtedness in *The Desire of Ages*. Compare their descriptions, for example, of the marriage feast at Cana, Lazarus' grave, and the second cleansing of the Temple.

6. C. E. Stowe, *Origin and History of the Bible* (1867). Mrs. White paraphrases and quotes this book so extensively in *Selected Messages* that I will quote the relevant passages from both. (Incidentally, it will be observed that Mrs. White is here appropriating another man's ideas, not historical information.)

Moreover, human minds are unlike in the impressions which they receive from the same word; and it is certain that one man seldom gives to another, of different temperament, education, and habits of thought, by language, exactly the same idea, with the same shape and color, as that which lies in his own mind; yet, if men are honest and right-minded they can come near enough to each other's meaning for all purposes of practical utility.

Here comes in the objection that the Bible can be made to mean anything and everything, all sects build upon it, the most diverse doctrines are derived from it.

This infelicity it shares with everything else that has to be expressed in human language. This is owing to the imperfection, the necessary imperfection of human language, and to the infirmity and perverse ingenuity also of the human mind. It is not anything peculiar to the Bible. Hear two opposing lawyers argue a point of statute law in its application to a particular case. Hear two opposing politicians make their diverse arguments in reference to the true intent and force of a particular clause in the United States Constitution. . . . It is for practical purposes only that the Bible was given.

Yet prepossessions, prejudices and passions come in so plentifully to darken and confuse men's minds, when they are reading the Bible. . . .

The Bible is not a specimen of God's skill as a writer, showing us God's mode of thought, giving us God's logic, and God's rhetoric, and God's style of historical narration. How often do we see men seeking out isolated passages of Scripture, and triumphantly saying that such expressions are unworthy of God, and could not have proceeded from Him. . . . God has not put himself on trial before us in that way in the Bible. . . . It is always to be remembered that the writers of the Bible were 'God's penmen, and not God's pens.'

It is not the words of the Bible that were inspired, it is not the thoughts of the Bible that were inspired; it is the

Human minds vary. . . . The minds of different education and thought receive different impressions of the same words, and it is difficult for one mind to give to one of a different temperament, education, and habits of thought by language exactly the same idea which is clear and distinct in his own mind. Yet to honest men, right-minded men, he can be so simple and plain as to convey his meaning for all practical purposes. . . . They [skeptics] declare that the Bible can prove anything and everything, that every sect proves their doctrines right, and that the most diverse doctrines are proved from the Bible.

The writers of the Bible had to express their ideas in human language. . . . Because of the imperfections of human understanding of language, or the perversity of the human mind, ingenious in evading the truth, many read and understand the Bible to please themselves. It is not that the difficulty is in the Bible. Opposing politicians argue points of law in the statute book and take opposite views in their application and in these laws. . . . The Bible was given for practical purposes. . . .

Prepossessions, prejudices, and passions have a strong influence to darken the understanding and confuse the mind even in reading the words of Holy Writ. . . .

The Bible is written by inspired men, but it is not God's mode of thought and expression. It is that of humanity. God, as a writer, is not represented. Men will often say such an expression is not like God. But God has not put himself in words, in logic, in rhetoric, on trial in the Bible. The writers of the Bible were God's penmen, not His pen.

It is not the words of the Bible that were inspired, but the men that were inspired. Inspiration acts not on the

men who wrote the Bible that were inspired. Inspiration acts not on the man's words, not on the man's thoughts, but on the man himself; so that he, by his own spontaneity, under the impulse of the Holy Ghost, conceives certain thoughts and gives utterance to them in certain words, both the words and thoughts receiving the peculiar impress of the mind which conceived and uttered them, and being in fact just as really his own, as they could have been if there had been no inspiration at all in the case. . . .

The Divine mind is, as it were, so suffused through the human, and the human mind is so interpenetrated with the Divine, that for the time being the utterances of the man are the word of God. (*Origin and History of the Bible*, pp. 17-20; 1867.)

man's words or his expressions but on the man himself, who, under the influence of the Holy Ghost, is imbued with thoughts. But the words receive the impress of the individual mind. The divine mind is diffused. The divine mind and will is combined with the human mind and will; thus the utterances of the man are the word of God. (*Selected Messages*, volume one, pp. 19-21; written in 1866.) 1866

7. An anonymous article (described as "Selected" to indicate that it had been reprinted from another source), "Men Wanted," *Review and Herald* (January 24, 1871), p. 47. This forms the basis of a famous passage in *Education*:

The great want of this age is men. Men who are not for sale. Men who are honest, sound from center to circumference, true to the heart's core — men who will condemn wrong in a friend or foe, in themselves as well as others. Men whose consciences are as steady as the needle to the pole. Men who will stand for the right if the heavens totter and the earth reel. ("Men Wanted.")

The greatest want of the world is men — men who will not be bought or sold, men who in their inmost souls are true and honest, men who do not fear to call sin by its right name, men whose conscience is as true to duty as the needle to the pole, men who will stand for the right though the heavens fall. (*Education*, p. 57.)

8. The *Apocrypha*. Mrs. White's account of her earliest vision was first printed in the *Day-Star*, an Adventist newspaper, in 1846; a year later James White reprinted it and some other material by himself and Joseph Bates in a pamphlet entitled "A Word to the 'Little Flock.'" In this reprint of her narrative, Elder White appended footnotes identifying scriptural allusions and paraphrases, and among these are seven references to the *Apocrypha*, all but one to the book of 2 Esdras. These texts supply such details as the numbers of mountains surrounding Mount Zion (in the New Earth), the kinds of flowers which grow upon them, the manner in which Christ crowns the redeemed, and the appearance of the clouds during the time of trouble.

9. John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667). The early chapters of *Patriarchs*

and Prophets show a close knowledge of this work. Compare their respective descriptions of the occasion on which the Father announced Christ's unique position to the angels in heaven (*PL*, bk. v; *PP*, ch. 1), the conversation between Eve and the Serpent in Eden (*PL*, bk. ix; *PP*, ch. 3), and the subsequent exchange between Adam and Eve (same references). Arthur White claims that Mrs. White did not read Milton, but this seems to be based on nothing more than oral tradition. In any event, the similarities between their treatments of the events associated with Creation are too striking to be ignored.

III

I have attempted, in these replies to Mr. Wood, Elder Bradley, Doctor Bolton, and Doctor Roberts, to explain my viewpoint as fully and honestly as possible. I really think it is now time, however, for the debate to be continued by others more qualified than myself. The intention of my original article was to stimulate thought and discussion, and I am happy to see that it has done so. But, having made my contribution, I trust that I will be forgiven for saying that I am weary of writing replies to replies, and that I now want nothing more than to return to the research for my next book — which has absolutely nothing to do with Mrs. White. I will look forward to discovering in future issues of *SPECTRUM* whether the methodology and suggestions I have offered prove useful to any other contributors.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 I will take up the items in approximately the order in which they appear in Mr. Wood's article:
 - a. Mr. Wood attributes to me the opinion that Scott's secretary was J. G. Lockhart. I said nothing of the sort. However, Mr. Wood is correct in pointing out that Robert Hogg and Scott ate in the room adjoining the library, though I cannot attach the overwhelming importance to that fact which he does. As to my assertion that Hogg was "an inexperienced young man," Mr. Wood supplies no evidence to contradict it. Hogg was not a "professional copyist," as Mr. Wood claims; he was a proofreader.
 - b. I *did* read some of the contemporary reviews of Scott's life of Napoleon but did not cite any of them — aside from those quoted in Corson's bibliography — because I had no desire to belabor the obvious. Mr. Wood has no right to infer from my silence on the point that I was unfamiliar with the material. Incidentally, his remarks about the supposed mediocrity of the "literary journals" (an inaccurate term) shows an alarming ignorance of the history of Victorian journalism — but let that pass.
 - c. Mr. Wood's lengthy discussion of Pius IX is so amusingly off the subject that it probably deserves no comment; I cannot imagine what this has to do with Wylie.

d. Mr. Wood disagrees with my statement that Gleig's "chief contribution to British public life was an attack on the Reform Bill of 1832." I was in fact merely paraphrasing the *Dictionary of National Biography*: "Gleig was a strong conservative in politics, but took little part in public affairs, except in attacking the Reform Bill of 1832."

e. If I had reported that Gleig frequently beat his wife, Mr. Wood might justifiably have complained that I was introducing irrelevant evidence; however, since I was discussing his political outlook, my comment on his attitude toward the first Reform Bill was entirely proper. If Mr. Wood also wishes us to know that Gleig was a philanthropic man (or even that he loved his wife), I have no objection, but I fail to see what this tells us about Gleig's politics.

f. Mr. Wood is flagrantly guilty of the sin of which he accuses me — distortion through selective quotation — when he cites G. P. Gooch in his discussion of Alison. According to Mr. Wood, "Sir Archibald's conclusions were not so much those of his party as his personal views;" according to Gooch, Alison's *History* "became the Bible of the Tory party." Gooch adds (in a passage which Mr. Wood neglects to quote) that Alison's fame as a historian was gradually sapped by the "growth of disinterested historical science." (G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* [London: Longmans, Green 1913], p. 305.)

g. Alison's passage about the Goddess of Reason is not merely "factual," because this very minor episode in the Revolution was precisely the one seized upon and moralized upon by Tory historians.

h. Mr. Wood is probably correct in saying that I should have treated Henry White. I wish that he had done so himself, for this would have made his own article more constructive.

i. I am puzzled by Mr. Wood's very angry response to my treatment of Thiers, whom I described as "somewhat more impartial" than the other historians in question. Mr. Wood, in citing Gooch, is once again guilty of quoting out of context, for Gooch (pp. 199-201) provides a largely unsympathetic view of Thiers' work. He describes the opening chapters of Thiers' *History* as "sketchy and careless;" his object is described as "frankly political;" and his treatment of events is labeled superficial.

j. I have no enthusiasm to quarrel with Mr. Wood about which bell signaled the beginning of the St. Bartholomew Massacre. It is clear that he has made up his mind that Mrs. White was incapable of committing error in her writings, and any evidence to the contrary must be desperately explained away. Mrs. White was told about her error in 1910, and she changed the passage in the 1911 edition. It is as simple as that. Yet Mr. Wood goes through the most violent intellectual contortions to deny the obvious. And what extraordinary powers of obfuscation he brings to this task: we are even given a description of the engraving on page 601 of Wylie!

k. "Breviaries of the Old and New Testament" was clearly a mistake, and only one who holds — as Mr. Wood evidently does — that Mrs. White was infallible would argue otherwise.

l. In his insistence that Mrs. White changed "millions" to "multitudes" because the latter was a "less technical" term, Mr. Wood is obviously grasping at straws. The 1888 statement was an error, and the error was corrected in 1911. Mr. Wood, for some obscure reason, feels that the error must be defended. I would refer him to my reply to Doctor Bolton (*SPECTRUM*, Spring 1971), in which I offer precise statistical data about the deaths during the Terror — which Mr. Wood rather presumptuously announces in advance that I cannot supply.

m. I am not persuaded by Mr. Wood's interpretation of the "thousands upon thousands" who fled from France. Again, I would merely invite the readers of SPECTRUM to read Wylie and *The Great Controversy* together and then to reach their own conclusions.

n. In dealing with the "priest of the new order," Mr. Wood once more displays his ingenuity in obscuring an issue. I haven't the slightest interest in how "a well-known weekly journal" recently used the word *priest*, nor do I understand what it has to do with the question at hand. Since throughout the chapter Mrs. White attributes the Revolution to the sins of Catholicism, this reference to a priest is not likely to be interpreted in a figurative sense by any reader.

o. As for the Bishop of Paris, Mr. Wood simply asserts — in the face of evidence to the contrary — that Mrs. White was not guilty of distorting quoted material. He offers no supporting proof for this statement, which presumably we are supposed to accept on his authority alone.

p. Mr. Wood insists that I failed to take into account the fact that Mrs. White was writing about the Revolution only from the viewpoint of religious history; yet I said this repeatedly in my article.

q. The British Museum *Catalogue* (which I consulted) lists Thiers under "Louis Adolphe" Thiers; the Library of Congress *Catalogue* lists him under "Adolphe." (His full name was Marie Joseph Louis Adolphe Thiers.) I was not guilty of misreading the L. C. *Catalogue*, as Mr. Wood suggests.

r. I am grateful to Mr. Wood for reminding me that d'Aubigné is briefly cited in chapter fifteen. I overlooked him — by mistake, not from any of the sinister motives which Mr. Wood generally attributes to me.

s. When I declared that *The Great Controversy* is not to be treated as history, I meant that it is not to be seen as *reliable* history. Obviously when Mrs. White makes historical statements, these must be tested by the usual standards of historical scholarship.

- 2 Francis D. Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association 1951), p. 420.
- 3 Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (University of Chicago Press 1970), pp. 5-7.
See also LeRoy E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, three volumes (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association 1946-50), passim.
- 4 Georges Lefebvre, *The French Revolution from Its Origins to 1793*, trans. Elizabeth N. Evanson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1962), pp. 97 ff.
- 5 Lefebvre, pp. 33-37.
- 6 Albert Guerard, *France: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1959), pp. 144-147.
- 7 Lefebvre, pp. 102-115.
- 8 R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, two volumes (Princeton University Press 1959-64), passim.
- 9 I am also indebted to an excellent mimeographed paper by C. Mervyn Maxwell, "History of Sabbath and Sunday: Change of the Sabbath." This paper is highly important and deserves to be published.
- 10 Nichol, p. 424.

On Law and Justice

A REJOINDER

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E. GILLIS ERENIUS

Richard Hammill [The Church *Does* Need a Law School, Summer 1969]¹ has obviously touched on a controversial subject. Since the publication of this article, a lawyer and a nonlawyer as well have discussed the question of whether or not it would be desirable to establish an Adventist law school,² and one might therefore say that the subject has been so well elucidated that there is hardly much else to add. However, Hammill discusses some basic issues, legal and philosophic, which are controversial and on which, throughout history, philosophers and jurists have tried hard to reach a satisfactory agreement. Because Hammill's article is fragmentary and tendentiously misleading, I think that further comments on it are justified.

Hammill regrets that too many lawyers approach law in a completely secular framework. He maintains that the place of law in society can be understood more realistically in the light of Christian doctrine and the divine claim on man. If he means that the theory of law as science should benefit by philosophy of religion, then I think that he is right. It would probably be stimulating and fruit-bearing if lawyers, when carrying on their scientific study, worked in close collaboration with sociologists and philosophers in the field of religion. But if Hammill wants to stress a lack of aim at realism in jurisprudence, then I think that he does not understand this point and that he makes poor and hasty conclusions.

Hammill sweepingly makes short work of two outstanding legal scholars: Holmes from the new world and Kelsen from the old. The reader easily gets the impression that Holmes and Kelsen are false prophets. Because he is presented with feeble facts and with the idea that the source of law is

God, and that law is an extension of God's will and God's order, the reader is led to think that the Decalogue is the second edition of the law. (True, our "secular" laws follow the general direction of these commandments, although deprived of their theological basis.) Hammill further claims that the commandment "Thou shalt not bear false witness" hides itself behind the Law of Contracts. Finally, Hammill concludes that the church needs a school of law to teach about the source of law, its nature, and its existence to provide for justice.

What kind of shocking sins of omission has Hammill found in jurisprudence? What mistakes ought to be corrected by an Adventist law school — mistakes which, according to Hammill, have contributed to the idea that most law schools are pervaded by legal philosophies that do not accept that law exists to provide for justice?

The problem concerning the origin, the nature, and the binding force of law has occupied the minds of philosophers, social reformers, and jurists from ancient times. Although theories and doctrines have varied through the ages, with some simplification we can divide the ideas into two main groups.

1. On one side, one finds old views that operate with law as an idealistic, normative phenomenon; that is, law consists of a coherent system of norms which, either because of their own inherent qualities or because of the authority of the forces or social authorities that create and uphold the law, are binding for the individuals. The first of these views is typical of the different variants of "natural law;" the last appears in mutually rather heterogeneous schools that can be classified within the term *legal positivism*.

2. On the other side, one finds modern schools that look on law as a complex of social facts and events of such a real nature that they are accessible for objective study and analysis with empirical methods. Among the modern schools one finds the *American realist movement*, whose foremost mental father is Oliver Wendell Holmes. Holmes was a pragmatic positivist or a judicial skeptic whom Hammill would perhaps call an ethical relativist.

It is true that Holmes was one of the most influential exponents of relativism — at least in the common law world. In his famous essay "The Path of the Law,"³ Holmes gives an entirely empirical and skeptical definition of the law: "The prophecies of what the courts will do in fact, and nothing more pretentious, are what I mean by the law." Consequently, if he were literally interpreted, there could not be, according to Holmes, any connection between law and ethical ideals. Hammill remarks that "this concept . . . has become a fundamental concept in modern jurisprudence."

The latter statement is not so. This definition in itself is onesided, exaggerated, and utterly incorrect.⁴ "As has been pointed out by many competent critics, Holmes himself, neither as a jurist nor as a judge, adhered to this statement."⁵ Therefore it seems to be incorrect to assume from this remark that Holmes wanted to eliminate the "ought" from jurisprudence and that his philosophy of law is indifferent to any values. One can ask whether Holmes here pretended to say more than that judgments of values cannot be scientifically proved. If that is not so, his views might be, and in reality were, radically different from the proposition that values do not count.

Kelsen, on the other hand, tries to make jurisprudence immune from political conflict by eliminating values from jurisprudence. In his "pure theory of law"⁶ Kelsen places law outside the world of time and space. His aim is to demonstrate how law should be treated without being mixed up with elements alien to its true nature. This means in particular that law must be sharply distinguished from ethics, on one hand, and from the facts of social life and the natural world in general, on the other hand. Kelsen's "pure theory of law" is of primary interest as an attempt to reach a kind of solution to the validity problem of the law. However, he has not made a more thorough analysis of the nature of the rules of law. Kelsen's theory may be looked on as an *extreme* among modern attempts to elucidate the nature of the rules of law in order to express it in a more correct manner and thereby expose the background of the untenable theories which, after the classical theory of "natural law," have appeared in the form of the will-of-the-state theory of historical legal positivism.⁷

Another extreme position is represented by the Swedish jurist, Karl Olivecrona, one of the Scandinavian realists. Contrary to Kelsen, he looks on the rules of law as a phenomenon that belongs to the world of time and space. The Scandinavian realists' scientific method of approach is characterized by the fact that their works never begin with a definition of law. In order to come out with a definition, they must analyze the facts first. This procedure consists simply of taking up such facts as are covered by the expression *rules of law*, and from the very start there is no attempt to make any assumptions concerning the nature of these rules.

In general, I think that we could learn much from this approach. A jurist, whether Christian or not, must devote himself to his work with a humble mind and without first having bound himself to a "patent solution." Holmes' approach to the judicial function in a free and democratic society was first of all a philosophy of humility. As Friedmann puts it: "He perceived the arrogance or the ignorance of many of his predecessors who had

asserted their faith and their prejudices under the guise of objectivity. Against this, Holmes did not assert another dogmatic faith, but a philosophy of responsible and humble skepticism, based on a careful study of the problem involved and the scrupulous weighing of the conflicting values and interests at stake."

We Adventists should be proud of and rejoice in our message. But let us strive for humility and, above all, for temperance in all things. We must intelligently and without bias scrutinize things — especially questions of this far-reaching and difficult nature. Then, perhaps, with increased knowledge we will be able to put away from our Christian belief seeming disagreements. A better understanding between the church and the jurists might be one of the results. Only in such a manner — through an intelligent and unbiased study of the great and difficult questions of law — would we be able to obtain mutual benefit and gain "a more adequate view of the place law holds in all areas of life — including religion." Thus may Hammill's aims be reached.

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Apologetics as History

INGEMAR LINDEN

MOVEMENT OF DESTINY

By LeRoy Edwin Froom

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LeRoy E. Froom has acquired international recognition as Adventism's best known and most assiduous researcher. His large works include the four-volume "Adventist encyclopedia," *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, which has become a classic in the field of prophetic interpretation, and the impressive two-volume *Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers*. He has now written *Movement of Destiny*, a heavy book dealing with doctrinal development within the Seventh-day Adventist church. Church historians are indebted to Froom for the vast amount of source material he has put together.

Froom's monumental works could not have been produced without the tremendous financial backing of a strong institution and a small army of helpers. Obviously the reason the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference leaders have supported Froom in this expensive enterprise is that he stands as the foremost current apologist of his beloved church. Upon his shoulders has been laid the task of "putting the record straight" and countering all "charges" against Adventism's founding fathers and succeeding leaders.

This commission puts a considerable limitation on all his works. In writing as an apologist, Froom has given a biased and one-sided treatment of what has often been very rich source material. Consequently, the reader must always be on the alert when studying Froom, asking himself whether he has been given a full account, or whether important aspects have been neglected or misrepresented. Only those who know historical development of Adventist doctrine, independent of Froom's presentation, are in a position to evaluate his defensive writings.

In the introduction to *Movement of Destiny*, the present leaders of the General Conference unhesitatingly recommend the book as the authoritative history of Adventism and urge all pastors and theologians in Adventist circles to study it carefully. Froom himself emphasizes that several General Conference presidents, going back to the strong world leader Arthur G. Daniells, have spurred him to write this much-needed work. Thus it seems to be designed to take care of criticism against the Adventist church, whether that criticism be from outside or inside.

Froom sets forth the Seventh-day Adventist church as heaven's prophetically predicted movement. But he does not adequately depict Adventism's American, ante-

bellum cultural beginning. Instead, he states simply that his church is a direct continuation of the pure apostolic church.

Nor does Froom give a satisfactory description of the Adventist crisis after October 1844, which is of fundamental importance. Apart from intriguing allusions to the "shut-door" doctrine, Froom does not discuss the fate of Miller's radical left-wing group after the "great disappointment." Furthermore, he leaves the reader in the air concerning the relation of Ellen G. White and other Adventist leaders to the important "shut-door" doctrine.

The author discusses Arianism, or more accurately Unitarianism, and its inroads among Adventists, but he does not show from where these rationalist ideas were derived. In one instance, Froom avers that Henry Grew, a "conditionalist" Seventh-day Adventist church father who did not believe in endless hellfire, also was an Arian. It seems likely, therefore, that conditionalism and Arianism could go hand in hand as a current rationalism in deistic and revivalistic America. Further research can bring more light on this problem.

A large part of the book is devoted to explaining how it was possible for so many Adventist pioneers to entertain "faulty" ideas on Christology, Trinitarianism, and the Atonement. Many of the leading men were of the opinion that the real atonement did not begin until 1844, when Christ as high priest entered into the second compartment of the heavenly sanctuary. Although Froom extensively analyzes the doctrine of the Atonement, he does not see that the real reason for the "faulty" view was related to the Adventist dilemma of the "great disappointment." According to Crosier's *Day-Star Extra* article, dated February 6, 1846, Miller's protesting left-wing, in contrast to the majority at the Albany Conference, did hold that the final atonement began on October 22, 1844. It is surprising that Froom has not made such elementary facts clear in his voluminous work. Could the reason be that he does not want to see any connection between the "faulty" atonement concept and the Adventist understanding of the sanctuary?

Problems regarding Christology and the Atonement are further illustrated when Froom refers to Uriah Smith, the well-known editor of the *Review and Herald*, as representative of the church when, in his *Fundamental Principles* of 1872, he made a public statement of faith, defending "the Bible only" as the rule of faith. When in the same work, however, Smith defended Arian views and limited the orthodox Christian view on the Atonement, Froom finds his opinions to have been only his "personal" ideas and not representative of the church.

The fact is that Unitarian concepts, although never supported by Ellen G. White, were prevalent within Adventism at least until the end of the last century. Froom is right in claiming that the authoritative position of Mrs. White led to a final victory for the doctrines of the Trinity and the completion of the Atonement on the cross.

Another example of the misleading apologetical approach is Froom's discussion of the denominational background of Adventism's fathers. He lists the denominational affiliation of Miller's preachers at large, which is not very relevant, instead of giving the background of the few pioneers among the post-disappointment men: Hiram Edson, Joseph Bates, James White, and others.

Froom does not use the critical historical method with adequate energy and con-

sistency. Letters from 1930 and interviews from the same period are accepted as valid source material for what took place in Minneapolis in 1888. Moreover, virtually no space is allotted to the opposing party. In like manner, Adventism's most famous physician, John Harvey Kellogg, receives biased treatment. Froom states that the real issue between Kellogg and the Adventist leaders was his "hoary" pantheistic ideas. Richard W. Schwarz has given a more balanced view in his book, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.*

Stylistically, *Movement of Destiny* makes heavy reading even for experts. The author endlessly chops the text into small sections with titles and numbers. Furthermore, the work is not well planned and often is repetitious. There are too many chapters styled like "The Lesson of the Faltering Messenger — No. 1" and "The Lesson of the Faltering Messenger — No. 2."

But in spite of its limitations, the work has some indisputably good points. The thorough treatment of the doctrinal struggle within the Adventist church over Unitarianism, Christology, Trinitarianism, and the Atonement are valuable chapters, as is the delineation of the epochal 1888 Minneapolis General Conference. Of general interest is the chapter dealing with the move of Adventism to achieve full fellowship with the evangelical and fundamentalist camps in the United States — which includes the many conferences in 1955-1956 that led to the publication of *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*. It is regrettable, however, that Froom completely ignores the considerable opposition the book raised among some older Adventist leaders, such as M. L. Andreasen.

Although *Movement of Destiny* is written primarily for use within the Adventist church, it claims to be an authoritative, scholarly work on the development of the Seventh-day Adventist church. Therefore it is remarkable that there is no real critical apparatus, not even a bibliography. Froom mentions in passing that he commands an unsurpassed array of historical source material, but he does not give the titles of the items. And the mass of information he has accrued may not be accessible to scholars in general but reserved for a "trusted" few. Thus more valuable material, like the wealth of sources in the vaults of the Ellen G. White Estate, is closed to the world. It is high time that these vaults be fully opened to serious research workers, in order to make possible a thorough and fair treatment of the development of the worldwide Adventist movement.

Movement of Destiny seems to be the work of the General Conference "defense committee to put things straight," with Froom serving as an untiring preacher and organizer of the material. An objective history of the Adventist church remains to be written. One can only wonder what influence the illustrious group of Adventist scholars, whose names Froom gives, have had on this work. The fact is that the number of defensive, apologetical works issued by Adventists is now very adequate. It is time for fully-established Adventists who are at the same time unbiased scholars to step forward and try to answer the many questions concerning Ellen G. White and Adventist history that are still unanswered.

Man-Usurper or Steward?

STAN A. AUFDEMBERG

CRISIS IN EDEN, A Religious Study of Man in Environment

By Frederick Elder

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The author of *Crisis in Eden*, a Presbyterian minister, believes that modern man has two alternatives open to him in relation to the natural order. He can think in terms of man *and* environment, with man standing over against nature. Or he can think in terms of man *in* environment, with man as an inextricable part of nature. These two choices have more than just scientific issues at stake; there are theological and religious implications as well. Elder goes to the Scriptures for the cause of the environmental crisis and to the churches for the solution.

The "exclusionists," who view man in opposition to nature, are those who have created the prevailing definition of nature in today's society.¹ Man, they believe, is the epitome of created value, the measure of all creation. Their extreme anthropocentrism causes them to view the various aspects of life as separate file folders in a drawer and not as a web of interdependent strands. They subscribe to current trends toward increased technology and urbanization. Though their critics are concerned about man's increasing control over his environment, the exclusionists believe man is doing nothing more than fulfilling that purpose for which he came into existence.

Elder believes the exclusionist view of nature, the dominant one in Western society, has been shaped by the centuries-old interpretation of the doctrine of Creation. In the second chapter of Genesis, man is presented as the center of all creative acts. He is created first, and all that comes after him is for his benefit; other living creatures are created because "it is not good that man should be alone." In chapter one, though man is created last, he is made in the image of God, given dominion over all creation, and enjoined to subdue the earth. It is this interpretation of the Creation doctrine, Elder concludes, that has been the source of man's anthropocentrism and of a distorted view of nature.

Life scientists from several fields compose the bulk of those Elder terms "inclusionists."² They view life as a unit, a self-contained biological spaceship that can function correctly only when all elements of the system are in balance. Although man may be important, they refuse to view him as isolated from the other elements of nature. Western man's interesting control over nature appalls them; and they point out the paradox that as man more and more dominates the earth, he is less and less its master. He is faced only with the prospect of living in an ever more crowded, manipulated environment. Inclusionists look forward to a world where man functions as a knowledgeable dominant, moderating his biological and technological activity so that once again he may have the balance of nature so necessary for survival.

The inclusionists are not willing to let the exclusionists have the final word on the biblical doctrine of Creation. The first chapter of Genesis depicts man as the last of

God's created works, indicating a dependence on what was created previously. Man could not exist apart from the life forms created before him. When the dominion verses (1:27, 28) are considered in this light, man will see himself as a steward of Creation, not a usurper. By declaring Creation "good" at the end of each Creation day, God assigns value to all life forms, not just man.

Elder draws on ecological evidence to show that man is killing himself by refusing to acknowledge his dependence on nature and the need for balance in all its elements. By polluting every level of his environment, he is virtually committing suicide. Strong measures must be taken, especially in the area of population control, since ultimately the cause of the environmental crisis is too many people. But the people that are here must be willing to undergo sacrifices in a consumer-oriented society if the problem is ever to be solved.

Elder recognizes that most of the world, and especially America, is not ready or willing to pay the price for a quality environment. It is one thing to propose solutions and quite another thing to enact them. For this reason, it is necessary to introduce new values and priorities into society. He proposes a "new asceticism" made up of three elements: (1) restraint (the size of the families must be limited); (2) emphasis on quality existence (preserving clear lakes is as important as acquiring material goods); (3) reverence for life (to eliminate *any* life form is wrong).

How is this new asceticism to become a reality? Not by government, because government is more a reflector than a shaper of society's values. Not by schools, because the role of schools seems to be that of questioning values, not transmitting them. Not by the family, because the family doesn't have enough moral authority left in American culture to be able to influence value change.

By such a process of elimination, Elder concludes that it is the responsibility of the churches to effect a new value-orientation. Churches have the advantage of numbers (fifty percent of all Americans are in church on a given Sunday) and of moral influence. By teaching that God is the Creator and Unifier of all life, the church can shift man's thinking from anthropocentrism to a new relationship with nature. Here is Elder's apocalyptic challenge to America's churches: "The churches could emerge from their parochialism and, armed with empirical and aesthetic, as well as biblical and theological, data, could lead the country, and through it the entire planet, back from the brink of ecological disaster on which it presently teeters" (p. 161).

Elder may have more faith in the influence of America's churches than the evidence warrants, but one can appreciate his challenge. America's churches need to begin influencing values rather than merely reflecting the values of its members. The Seventh-day Adventist church would seem to be in a better position than most, because it already has the necessary theology. What other church utilizes as much of its resources preaching and defending the Creation doctrine? The affirmation that God is the Source of all living things should demand concern about destruction of life by irresponsible living.

One could only wish that the church would spend less time attacking the evolutionists and more time exposing polluters of the environment. The Adventist church has always taught that nature reveals God's law and divine character. Shouldn't the church be outraged at the destruction of such an important medium of revelation?

Concern for health, one of the oldest Adventist trademarks, should logically embrace opposition to pollution, for no greater threat to healthful living exists.

By attacking the environmental problem from the theological base, Elder may rally the support of the Christian churches. Although most Christians support the ecology movement individually, they haven't seen justification for applying the muscle of the churches to the whole problem. *Crisis in Eden* can be an important means of bringing about their mobilization. The churches have been talking for centuries about saving the world. If they help save it physically, they will be in a better position to save it spiritually as well.

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BOOK REVIEWS Since the quality and variety of reviews can best be maintained and improved with a wide base of participation, readers are encouraged to submit reviews of books that they feel are of special interest or importance. Information on editorial criteria and manuscript format, which may be helpful to prospective reviewers, is available from the Book Review Editor, Gary Land, 205 South George Street, Apartment B-1, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103. Inquiries about reviews should also be directed to this address. *All other typescripts and letters of comment* for publication, however, should be sent to the Editor, Box 866, Loma Linda, California 92354.

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